Session structure

1. Key principles in conceptualising inequality
2. Social inequalities and *supranational* policymaking
3. Social inequalities and *national* policymaking
4. Data needs for measuring equity
1. Key principles in conceptualising inequality
we define equality as “the state of being equal in terms of quantity, rank, status, value, or degree”

Jacob and Holsinger (2008), in Cameron, S., Outhred, R., & Daga, R. (Forthcoming).
Measurement of education equity

equity “considers the social justice ramifications of education in relation to the fairness, justness, and impartiality of its distribution at all levels or educational subsectors”

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Measurement of education equity
“Recall the face of the poorest and the weakest person you may have seen and ask yourself if the step you contemplate is going to be any use to them”

Inequality of what?
Opportunities or outcomes?
John Rawls, A Theory of Justice

- focus on fair equality of opportunity
- the veil of ignorance
- inequalities permissible if:
  - attached to offices and positions open to all under conditions of fair equality of opportunity
  - they are to be to the greatest benefit of the least-advantaged members of society.
Amartya Sen, *Development as Freedom*

- focus on fair equality of opportunity
- the capability approach
- unlike Rawls, focuses not on resources but on outcomes
- inequalities permissible if:
  - they reflect differences in the outcomes that people want
1. What qualities do you think an equitable education system requires?
2. Should the same principles apply throughout the system?
3. What do you see as the main barriers to increasing equity?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symmetrical</th>
<th>Asymmetrical</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Equality of condition</td>
<td>Meritocracy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impartiality</td>
<td>Redistribution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minimum standards</td>
<td></td>
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</table>
3. What do you see as the main barriers to increasing equity?
3. What do you see as the main barriers to increasing equity?

- Inequality is a norm globally
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Wealth decile</th>
<th>Wealth shares (%)</th>
<th>Top</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
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<td>0.8</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>-0.6</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
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<td>0.2</td>
<td>1.2</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Brazil</td>
<td>-0.7</td>
<td>-0.4</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>-0.2</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chile</td>
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<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colombia</td>
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<td>-0.1</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Czech Republic</td>
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<td>1.8</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td>-1.9</td>
<td>-0.1</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finland</td>
<td>-0.8</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>-0.2</td>
<td>0.1</td>
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<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>-0.5</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
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<td>0.3</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>5.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>-0.9</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Global Wealth Databook 2017
3. What do you see as the main barriers to increasing equity?

- Inequality is a norm globally
- Scale
8.2 million (2012)

229 million (2013)

Sources: Department for Education, 2012 Link; All India Educational Surveys, 2013 Link
Learning outcomes: where do we currently stand?

Of the 650 million primary school age children in the world:

- **38%** of children are not learning the basics.
- **130 million** are in primary school but have not learned the basics.
- **120 million** have not even completed 4 years of school.
3. What do you see as the main barriers to increasing equity?

- Inequality is a norm globally
- Scale
- Complexity
Map showing the dominant home languages in South Africa, based on ward-level data from the 2011 census. In this context, a language is dominant if it more than 50% of the population in a ward speak it at home, or more than 33% speak it and no other language is spoken by more than 25%.
Linguistic Diversity Around the World

The index of linguistic diversity is a number ranging between zero (0) and one (1) and reflects the amount of linguistic diversity in each country. A linguistically diverse country is characterized by the presence of a number of linguistic groups. In a linguistically homogeneous country, a great majority of population speaks a single language. In the extreme case of diversity (index = 1), everybody speaks a different language; in the extreme case of homogeneity (index = 0), all people speak one language.

Index of Linguistic Diversity
- Green: 0.85 - 0.99
- Light Green: 0.65 - 0.85
- Greenish Yellow: 0.45 - 0.65
- Yellow: 0.25 - 0.45
- Light Yellow: 0.10 - 0.25
- Light Orange: 0.00 - 0.10
- Orange: No Data

Number of Spoken Languages in Each Country
- 820
- 410
- 205

Countries with the largest number of spoken languages:
- Papua New Guinea: 820
- Indonesia: 742
- Nigeria: 516
- India: 427
- United States: 311
- Mexico: 297
- Cameroon: 280
- Australia: 275
- China: 241

Countries with the highest index of linguistic diversity:
- Papua New Guinea: 0.99
- Vanuatu: 0.97
- Tanzania: 0.96
- Solomon Islands: 0.96
- Central African Republic: 0.95
- Chad: 0.95
- Dem. Rep. of Congo: 0.95
- Cameroon: 0.94
- India: 0.93

Native Languages as Percent of All Spoken Languages:
- Black: 90 - 100
- Brown: 75 - 90
- Orange: 60 - 75
- Red: 45 - 60
- Yellow: 30 - 45
- Light Orange: 9 - 30

Data source: www.ethnologue.com
Cartographic source: Articque
3. What do you see as the main barriers to increasing equity?

- Inequality is a norm globally
- Scale
- Complexity
- Compound interest
2. Social inequalities and supranational policymaking
Think of a topic/domain on which the intellectual frame and action are completely different today than before. What precipitated this paradigm shift?
Goal 1: Expanding and improving comprehensive early childhood care and education, especially for the most vulnerable and disadvantaged children.

Goal 2: Ensuring that by 2015 all children, particularly girls, children in difficult circumstances and those belonging to ethnic minorities, have access to, and complete, free and compulsory primary education of good quality.

Goal 3: Ensuring that the learning needs of all young people and adults are met through equitable access to appropriate learning and life-skills programmes.

Goal 4: Achieving a 50 per cent improvement in levels of adult literacy by 2015, especially for women, and equitable access to basic and continuing education for all adults.

Goal 5: Eliminating gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2005, and achieving gender equality in education by 2015, with a focus on ensuring girls’ full and equal access to and achievement in basic education of good quality.

Goal 6: Improving all aspects of the quality of education and ensuring excellence of all so that recognized and measurable learning outcomes are achieved by all, especially in literacy, numeracy and essential life skills.
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Goal 6: Improving all aspects of the quality of education and ensuring excellence of all so that recognized and measurable learning outcomes are achieved by all, especially in literacy, numeracy and essential life skills.
4.1 By 2030, ensure that all girls and boys complete free, equitable and quality primary and secondary education leading to relevant and effective learning outcomes.

4.2 By 2030, ensure that all girls and boys have access to quality early childhood development, care and pre-primary education so that they are ready for primary education.

4.3 By 2030, ensure equal access for all women and men to affordable and quality technical, vocational and tertiary education, including university.

4.4 By 2030, substantially increase the number of youth and adults who have relevant skills, including technical and vocational skills, for employment, decent jobs and entrepreneurship.

4.5 By 2030, eliminate gender disparities in education and ensure equal access to all levels of education and vocational training for the vulnerable, including persons with disabilities, indigenous peoples and children in vulnerable situations.

4.6 By 2030, ensure that all youth and a substantial proportion of adults, both men and women, achieve literacy and numeracy.

4.7 By 2030, ensure that all learners acquire the knowledge and skills needed to promote sustainable development, including, among others, through education for sustainable development and sustainable lifestyles, human rights, gender equality, promotion of a culture of peace and non-violence, global citizenship and appreciation of cultural diversity and of culture’s contribution to sustainable development.

4.a Build and upgrade education facilities that are child, disability and gender sensitive and provide safe, non-violent, inclusive and effective learning environments for all.

4.b By 2020, substantially expand globally the number of scholarships available to developing countries, in particular least developed countries, small island developing States and African countries, for enrolment in higher education, including vocational training and information and communications technology, technical, engineering and scientific programmes, in developed countries and other developing countries.

4.c By 2030, substantially increase the supply of qualified teachers, including through international cooperation for teacher training in developing countries, especially least developed countries and small island developing States.
**Figure 2. Key differences between development agendas**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2000-2015</th>
<th>2015-2030</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Duration of compact</td>
<td>Duration of compact</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International organizations</td>
<td>Member States</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Universal primary completion</td>
<td>Lifelong learning and equity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender parity</td>
<td>Gender and various disadvantaged groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 (and gender parity)</td>
<td>10 (including means of implementation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 to 5</td>
<td>11+ (not including disaggregation)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Key concepts to measure**

- Who defined targets/indicators?

**Key equity concept**

- How many education targets?

Source: UNESCO Institute for Statistics

Leaving no one behind: an agenda for equity

Kevin Watkins

The case for equity

Shortly before his death, Mahatma Gandhi offered a powerful reflection that helps to cut through some of the complexity surrounding debates about equity: “Be all the face of the poorest and the weakest person you may have seen and ask yourself if the step you contemplate is going to do him any good.”

It’s a simple but compelling guide for policy makers concerned with combating extreme inequality. Something of the same spirit underpins the report of the High Level Panel established by the UN Secretary General to make recommendations for the post-2015 development agenda. “Going beyond the identification of universal goals, the report calls for “a focus on the poorest and most marginalized” and a commitment to “leave no one behind.” This approach is in-keeping with other work on “marginalisation” and a commitment to “leave no one behind”.

The report was a crucial staging point in an ongoing debate that is seen and asked yourself if the step you contemplate is going to do him any good.”

Overseas Development Report

• Five transformational shifts. In addition to leaving no one behind, these are (1) sustainable development, (2) jobs and inclusive growth, (3) peace and effective, open, and accountable states, and (4) a new global partnership.
• 17 goals on economic, social, cultural, and environmental rights, and (5) a new global partnership.
• 17 targets, most of which were not quantified but included the eradication of extreme poverty and preventable child deaths.
• The report has been likened to an onion.

Why the neglect? Political calculation is doubtless part of the answer. With inequality in rich countries on a steep upward trajectory, many governments in those countries are understandably reticent about advancing a strong equity agenda at the UN. Poorer countries, many of which are also experiencing substantial increases in inequality, have been equally parsimonious. The governments of several emerging economies—including one or two exceptions, African governments have also studiously avoided embracing the High Level Panel report’s agenda. Their preferred narrative focuses on Africa’s emergence as a region characterized by high growth, a rising middle-class, and booming foreign investment. It is not difficult to see why many of these governments would prefer to see inequality kept out of the post-2015 framework. The report’s distinctly modest record on poverty reduction can be traced in large measure to rising inequality—and to the failure of governments to ensure that nobody is left behind. Whether by accident or design, the High Level Panel’s report has touched a raw nerve. At a time when inequality around the world is rising, when disparities linked to wealth and opportunity are under challenge from social protest movements, and when many governments stand accused by their citizens of placing vested interest before the public good, a post-2015 agenda that demands a strong equity agenda at the UN is probably more urgent than ever. Watkins, K. (2014). Learning no one behind: an agenda for equity.

1. What are Watkins’s central arguments on how to reduce inequality?

2. Choosing three claims, how persuasive do you find these?
Current trends in learning versus necessary progress for all 12-year-olds to be learning the basics in rural India by 2030

Stepping-stone targets for South Asian and East African countries

Source: Author calculations based on ASER and UWEZO, 2012; Rose and Alcott (2015)

3. Social inequalities and national policymaking
Measuring equity for national education policy-making
Chapter 4 Draft

Pauline Rose, Ben Aicott, Ricardo Sabates, Rodrigo Torres
Literature

Research question

Analysis

Understanding prior knowledge

Clear & meaningful

Advancing knowledge
To what extent do national education plans include measures for tracking progress towards equity within national education plans?

- We omitted any countries that did not have a plan since 2004.
- Of the 75 countries identified, 34 were from sub-Saharan Africa.

Considerable focus on goals and indicators at supranational level.
We know far less about national governments.
Findings/claims:

• Equity measures are more commonly available in plans for indicators related to access at the primary level.
• Few national education plans include indicators for learning.
• For those that do so, the main dimension of inequality included is gender.
Figure 3: Proportion of countries with indicators for access and learning by school level (out of 75 countries)

- Participation: Pre Primary 25%, Primary 33%, Secondary 41%
- Learning: Pre Primary 3%, Primary 47%, Secondary 55%
- Participation, Early Years: Pre Primary 8%, Primary 25%, Secondary 41%
- Learning, End Primary: Pre Primary 5%, Primary 35%, Secondary 21%
- Participation, Completion: Pre Primary 13%, Primary 27%, Secondary 17%
- Learning, Completion: Pre Primary 13%, Primary 32%, Secondary 75%

Legend:
- Green: Indicator with equity dimension
- Yellow: Indicator without equity dimension
- Gray: No Indicator
Figure 1: Number of countries including indicators for participation in primary and secondary education by equity (out of 75 countries)
Figure 2: Number of countries including indicators for completion by equity dimension (out of 75 countries)
4. Data needs for measuring equity
Take a more expansive approach to how disadvantage is measured
Take a more expansive approach to how disadvantage is measured

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Gap in % in school and able to perform division (percentage points)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rural India</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural Pakistan</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanzania</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uganda</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Take a more expansive approach to how disadvantage is measured.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Poverty</th>
<th>Gender</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rural India</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural Pakistan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanzania</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uganda</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Gap in % in school and able to perform division (percentage points)

Take a more expansive approach to how disadvantage is measured

- **Rural India**: 20% Poverty, 10% Gender, 60% Mother's education
- **Rural Pakistan**: 30% Poverty, 5% Gender, 65% Mother's education
- **Tanzania**: 25% Poverty, 15% Gender, 60% Mother's education
- **Kenya**: 30% Poverty, 10% Gender, 60% Mother's education
- **Uganda**: 25% Poverty, 15% Gender, 60% Mother's education

*Gap in % in school and able to perform division (percentage points)*

Take a more expansive approach to how disadvantage is measured.

- Rural India
  - Poverty: 20%
  - Gender: 10%
  - Mother's education: 20%
  - Region: 50%
- Rural Pakistan
  - Poverty: 15%
  - Gender: 10%
  - Mother's education: 25%
  - Region: 50%
- Tanzania
  - Poverty: 20%
  - Gender: 10%
  - Mother's education: 30%
  - Region: 40%
- Kenya
  - Poverty: 15%
  - Gender: 10%
  - Mother's education: 30%
  - Region: 45%
- Uganda
  - Poverty: 10%
  - Gender: 10%
  - Mother's education: 30%
  - Region: 50%

Gap in % in school and able to perform division (percentage points)

Expand the coverage of data collection

Expand the coverage of data collection

Figure 7: Among poorer girls in rural Pakistan, those out of school are far less likely to be learning.

Data source: ASER Pakistan 2014. Sample covers 10–13 year-old girls in rural areas who are in the lowest wealth quartile.

Focus explicitly on disadvantaged subgroups from the earliest years.

**Figure 8:** Ensuring all 12-year-olds are learning the basics by 2030 will require efforts targeted at all children, but with a focus on the most disadvantaged.
Provide transparency over whose education is financed

Provide transparency over whose education is financed

Figure 10. Public education spending on the richest decile relative to spending on the poorest decile, by level of education, latest year available.
Session structure

1. Key principles in conceptualising inequality
2. Social inequalities and supranational policymaking
3. Social inequalities and national policymaking
4. Data needs for measuring equity
What do you see as the major **benefits** and **challenges** of

a. economics of education

b. rights-based approaches for holding governments to account for improving equity?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Benefits</th>
<th>Challenges</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
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</tbody>
</table>

Theory

- Human capital
- Rates of return

Research question

- Causality
- Value

Evidence/analysis

- Quantitative (inferential, Neyman-Rubin)
What do you see as the major **benefits** and **challenges** of

a. economics of education  
b. rights-based approaches

for holding governments to account for improving equity?

<table>
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<tr>
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a. **economics of education**

b. rights-based approaches

for holding governments to account for improving equity?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Benefits</th>
<th>Challenges</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Resources are scarce</td>
<td>Overlooking how &amp; why</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Representation of scale</td>
<td>Efficiency &gt; Equity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education not overlooked</td>
<td>Measurement (validity &amp; myopia)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
EDUCATION IS LOW ON DONORS PRIORITY LIST

Share of total aid allocated to education, health and population, and transport, 2002-2015

#FundEd  Bit.ly/FundEd
DONORS ARE TURNING AWAY FROM EDUCATION

The share of aid allocated to education has fallen for the sixth year in a row, and falls well short of the amount needed to achieve MDG 4.

**TOTAL AID TO EDUCATION IS 4% LOWER THAN IN 2010**

**24%**

**WHILE TOTAL DEVELOPMENT AID INCREASED SINCE 2010 BY**

The transport sector now receives the same or more than education.

The share of aid received by the transport sector, which was two thirds the level of education in the mid-2000s, has been equal or higher since 2012.

**8%** Aid to basic education increased by 8% in 1 year

**6%** But is still lower than 2010 levels by

Read our paper to see the three core turning points for donors to reverse their move away from education: bit.ly/FundEd

#FundEd Bit.ly/FundEd
Conceptualising inequality for education policy and planning

Ben Alcott
bma27@cam.ac.uk
Tripos – Education, Global Inequalities and Social Justice
Session 7, 20 November 2017
Scarcity for empathy, is affected by the environments they mediate are most plastic and therefore Fourth, although adapta

LIFE CYCLES

In the area of education, the South African government introduced policies aimed at increasing access to higher education for disadvantaged students. These policies were designed to address the long-standing issue of education disparity in the country, which had resulted in a significant gap in outcomes for students from different socio-economic backgrounds. The government's efforts were supported by international organizations, such as the World Bank, which provided funding and technical assistance for the implementation of these policies.

Research has shown that increased access to education can lead to improved economic outcomes for individuals and societies. For example, a study by Psacharopoulos and Woodhall (1985) found that a one-year increase in education is associated with a 10% increase in earnings for men and a 20% increase for women. Similarly, a study by Cohn and Geske (1990) found that investments in education can lead to a 5% increase in GDP per capita.

However, despite these benefits, education policies in South Africa and other countries have faced criticism. Critics argue that education systems are often designed to benefit the privileged few, and that the educational outcomes for disadvantaged students are often poor. In order to address these issues, it is essential to continue to invest in education and to develop policies that are sensitive to the needs of marginalized communities.

In conclusion, education is a critical tool for promoting economic development and social progress. However, it is important to ensure that education policies are designed to benefit all members of society, and that the outcomes of these policies are measured and evaluated in order to ensure that they are effective.

The Changing Pattern of Wage Returns to Education and its Implications

It is commonly believed that labour-market returns to education are highest for the primary level of education and that they decrease for subsequent levels. Recent evidence reviewed in this article suggests that the pattern of wage returns is changing. The causes of such changes, and their implications for both education and labour-market policy, are explored.

Key words: Rates of return to education, labour markets, poverty alleviation.

Early family environments are major predictors of cognitive and noncognitive abilities. Researchers have documented the importance of early (0-6 years) cognition and personality of pupils in cognitive-developmental (C.D.) function. The C.D. function also provides a framework for the understanding of children's early development. Therefore, if there are children at or below the age or those at an early disadvantage. Disabilities arise from the lack of cognitive and noncognitive interventions for children with disabilities. However, children with disabilities can learn and develop.

Introduction

While education has many important non-market benefits, it is also valued for its role in raising earnings. The extent to which it raises earnings is closely related to the "return" to education. Estimates of premiums and social returns to educational attainment have been undertaken for a large number of developing and developed countries.

Usually the studies are based upon information drawn from samples of workers in waged work, rather than on all employed persons (including those in self-employment and agriculture). They are also typically not adjusted for unemployment among the educated, nor for ability. Thus, the usual source of data for estimating the return to education is "wages of the educated" minus the "wages of the uneducated".
How should states distribute resources across education levels to maximise equity?
Of the 650 million primary school age children in the world, 38% are not learning the basics. 130 million are in primary school but have not learned the basics, and 120 million have not even completed 4 years of school.
Figure 5.1: Some young people do not even enter secondary school, and many do not complete it
Lower secondary gross enrolment ratio and proxy for progression from lower to upper secondary school, by country, 2010
Table 1. Returns to investment in education by level, full method, latest year, regional averages (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Social</th>
<th>Private</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>Secondary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia*</td>
<td>16.2</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe/Middle East/North Africa*</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>9.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin America/Caribbean</td>
<td>17.4</td>
<td>12.9</td>
</tr>
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<td>OECD</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>9.4</td>
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<td>Sub-Saharan Africa</td>
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<tr>
<td>World</td>
<td>18.9</td>
<td>13.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Table A1.
*Non-OECD.
Investing in Disadvantaged Children: Skill Formation and the Economics of Life Cycles

James J. Heckman

This paper summarizes evidence on the effects of early environments on child, adolescent, and adult achievement. Life cycle skill formation is a dynamic process in which early inputs strongly influence later economic, social, and health outcomes. Early environments have long-lasting impacts on development, and policies to improve the environment of poor families have the potential to increase economic and social returns to investment in children.

The rates of return to investments in early childhood education are much higher than those for investments in later education. This principle stems from two characteristics of early childhood development: (i) early learning confers value on adult earnings, and (ii) socioeconomic differences in early learning are strongly and positively correlated with adult earnings.

The diagram illustrates the rates of return to human capital investment across different stages of life. Preschool programs have the highest rates of return, followed by schooling and job training. The opportunity cost of funds decreases as children grow older, further emphasizing the importance of early investment.

Early family environments are major predictors of life cycle outcomes. Policies that improve these environments have the potential to increase economic and social returns to investment in children.