Closing report for the "The long-run effects of tracking on disadvantaged students' labour market outcomes – two natural experiments from Poland and Hungary" NKFI project

Daniel Horn, principal investigator

In the original research plan we have aimed at conducting two studies on the long term effect of tracking. One was to look at the Polish reform in 1999 and see whether extended general training helps the disadvantaged more than the others. While the other, the Hungarian case, was to offer the possibility to test whether the early tracking academic schools would harm the disadvantaged more than the others.

At the end of the project we have achieved just that. While there were some obstacles in the way of getting the Polish data and thus we had to switch the timing of the two studies and ask for a 6 months extension of the project (these were communicated to the NKFI project office in due time, and received permissions for these changes), we have managed to successfully finish both sub-projects.

The two papers contribute to our understanding on how early selection affects the labour market outcomes of the students.

Summaries

The Hungarian paper uses a unique institutional change to provide causal estimates on the long-term effects of early educational selection. During the post-socialist transition the structure of the Hungarian education system changed gradually as new early-selective tracks were established. These elite academic tracks are cream-skimming the best students at ages 10 and 12 - as opposed to the typical age of first selection at age 14 - in order to provide better education and thus better employment chances for the selected. Utilizing the spatial and time variance in the establishment of these early-selective tracks we provide difference-in-difference estimates on the effect of earlyselection on the probability of unemployment and other outcomes. Using the 2011 Hungarian Census data we estimate time, cohort and settlement fixed-effect models. The paper contributes to the literature in two ways. Firstly, contrary to previous policy evaluations on the effect of de-tracking school reforms we identify the effect from a re-tracking policy, which made the Hungarian school system more selective. Secondly, the establishment of the early-selective tracks did not overlap with other large-scale educational policy changes, which allows for an accurate identification of the effects of early educational tracking. Our results show that early selection has no effect on the average unemployment chance, wage or on tertiary participation probabilities of young adults. The effects are not only insignificant but are precisely estimated zeros. However we also show that these effects are

likely to be heterogeneous. Although, due to endogeneity problems, we are not able to estimate separate effects for the different status people, we are able to test different effects for roma and non-roma. The racially differenced effects show that roma students are less likely to continue to tertiary level, when they are more exposed to early selection, suggesting that early-selective tracks can increase racial (or status) differences also on the long run.

The *Polish paper* looks at a different reform, which decreased the selectivity of the system. The Polish educational reform in 1999 is often considered successful as the results of the Polish students, and especially that of the low-performers, on the OECD PISA tests have improved significantly since the introduction of the new system. The reform extended the previous 8-year undivided comprehensive education to 9 years, core curricula were introduced and the examination, admission and assessment systems were changed. It has been argued before that this longer comprehensive education improved the test performance of worse performing students; hence increasing average performance and decreasing inter-school variation of test scores. However, the lack of reliable impact assessment on long-run labour market effects of this reform is awaiting. In this paper, we aim to fill this gap by looking at the causal effects of the reform. By comparing the labour market outcomes of the pre- and post-reform cohorts, we find a non-negligible and positive effect. We look at employment and wages as outcomes. Using data from the EU-Statistics on Income and Living conditions, and pooling the waves between 2005 and 2013 and taking the 20-27 year-olds, we generate a quasi-panel of observations to estimate the treatment effect by difference-in-difference estimation. We find evidence that the reform was successful on the long-run: the post-reform group is more likely to be employed and they also earn higher wages. On average, the treatment group is around 2-3% more likely to be employed, which effect is driven by the lowest educated. The post-reform cohort also earns more: we find an over 3% difference in real wages, which is also more pronounced for the lowest educated.

Deliverables

Within the project two English language Masters' Theses were written, and one Hungarian language and one English article has been written while another English and another Hungarian language article is being prepared.

One of the MA thesis by Klára Gurzó: "The long term effects of early-tracking in schools: a natural experiment in Hungary" was submitted and defended at the Central European University in 2015. The other MA thesis by Luca Flóra Drucker "The effects of the 1999 Polish educational reform on labour market outcomes" has been submitted in October 2015 to the ELTE Economics Department and if to be defended in June 2016. Both of these theses were transformed to publications.

The Hungarian study has been published in the Közgazdasági Szemle (in Hungarian), co-authored by Klára Gurzó and Dániel Horn, and is currently under submission (in English) to an international peer-reviewed journal. The Polish case study has appeared as a working paper (co-authored by Luca Flóra Drucker and Dániel Horn) in the Budapest Working Paper Series, and is currently under review in the Közgazdasági Szemle (in Hungarian) and is planned to be submitted to an international journal (in English).

International and national conferences, seminars and workshops.

Results from the Hungarian case study have been presented at the XXIII. Meeting of the Economics of Education Society in Valencia (Gurzó), at the AMCIS "Education Systems: Inequalities, Labour Markets and Civic Engagement" conference in Amsterdam (Horn, poster), at the Max-Weber post-doctoral conference in Firenze (Horn), at the eduLIFE workshop in Firenze (Horn), at the 2015 annual meeting of the Hungarian Society of Economists in Budapest (Horn) and at the Education Economics LEER workshop in Leuven (Horn).

Results from the Polish case study have been presented at the meeting of the Hungarian Labor Economists in Szirák (Drucker), at the 2016 annual meeting of the Hungarian Society of Economists in Budapest (Drucker), and at the Research Workshop and Summer School in Economics of Education and Self-regulation in Mainz (Horn).

Results from both researches were presented at the "ELTE igéretes kutató" scientific meeting in Budapest (Horn, poster). I have attached the poster below, as it provides a succinct overview of the whole project.



Az iskolai szelekció hosszú távú hatásai magyar és lengyel esetek*

(kutatás közben)

Horn Dániel MTA KRTK és ELTE TáTK



Bevezetés

- Számost tanulmány igazolta, hogy a korai szelekció növeli a társadalmi csoportok közti iskolai különbségeket. 1,2,
- Kevés olyan kutatás van, ami a szelekció hosszú távú hatásaival foglalkozik.4,5
- És alig akad olyan tanulmány, ami a szelekció növelésének hatásait nézi.6

Az alábbi két tanulmány a korai szelekció növelésének (Magyarország) illetve csökkentésének (Lengyelország) hosszú távú, munkaerőpiaci hatásait vizsgálja két rendszerváltás utáni reform segítségével.

Magyarország⁷

- •A 6- és 8-osztályos kisgimnáziumok bevezetése növelte a szelekciót
- •A kisgimnáziumok időben és térben elszórtan jöttek létre: ezt az exogén varianciát felhasználva becsüljük a korai szelekció hatását az egyének munkaerőpiaci kimeneteire

Adat

- •Népszámlálás 2011 (munkanélk., továbbtanulás, egyetemi végz.)
- •Bértarifa 2011 (imputált bérek)
- Kisgimnáziumi adatbázis (saját felmérés: mikor/hol alakult kisgimn.) Minta: csak az a 139 település és tanulói ahol valaha volt kisaimnázium

Módszer

· Redukált formájú becslések:

 $y_{ikt} = \alpha + \beta g \delta_{kt} + \delta g \delta_{kt} + \gamma_k + u_t + \epsilon_{ikt}$

ahol t-település, k-kohorsz, i-megfigyelés (egyén) y_{ikt} :munkaerőpiaci illetve oktatási kimenet, u_t – település fix-hatás, γ_k – a kohorsz fix-hatás , ϵ_{ikt} – a hibatag g6 és g8 a 6 illetve a 8 osztályos gimn., dummy változója

- •Robosztussági tesztek: g6 ill. g8 dummy helyett arány; instrumentális becslés; "event-history" elemzés
- ·Heterogentiás vizsgálat: roma etnicitás (hátrányos családi háttér proxy) interakciók

Eredmények – redukált forma

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
változók	Munkanélk.	In(kereset)	továbbtanulás	egyetemi végz.	lemorzs.
roma	0.257***	-0.253***	-0.216***	-0.0617***	0.546***
	(0.0137)	(0.00768)	(0.00880)	(0.00319)	(0.0159)
6 oszt. kisgimn.	0.00444*	-0.00256	0.000711	-0.00153	0.00632**
	(0.00237)	(0.00270)	(0.00336)	(0.00204)	(0.00219)
* roma	-0.0176	-0.00682	-0.0456***	-0.0162**	-0.0221
	(0.0158)	(0.00938)	(0.0124)	(0.00656)	(0.0168)
8 oszt. kisgimn.	-0.00225	-0.00410	-0.00254	-0.00560**	0.00514*
	(0.00245)	(0.00341)	(0.00487)	(0.00244)	(0.00270)
* roma	0.00648	0.00651	-0.0239**	-0.00113	-0.0259
	(0.0161)	(0.0104)	(0.0113)	(0.00545)	(0.0179)
lány	0.0138***	-0.0713***	0.124***	0.0344***	-0.0259***
	(0.00220)	(0.00486)	(0.00226)	(0.00217)	(0.00139)
Konstans	0.0280***	12.40***	0.210***	0.0668***	0.107***
	(0.00287)	(0.0102)	(0.00304)	(0.00173)	(0.00201)
Megfigyelések	408,405	452,178	509,274	509,274	509,274
R-négyzet	0.026	0.123	0.034	0.020	0.099
Települések	139	139	139	139	139
Év fix-hatás	Igen	Igen	Igen	Igen	Igen
Iskola-telephely fix-hatás	Igen	Igen	Igen	Igen	Igen
Jelenlegi lakóhely fix-hatás	Igen	Igen	Nem	Nem	Nem

Osszegzett eredmények

- Magyarországon a korai szelekció növelése nem volt pozitív hatással az átlagos tanuló oktatási és munkaerőpiaci kimenetére
- Valószínű, egyes társadalmi csoportok veszítettek is a szelekció növelésével, míg mások nyertek
- Biztos nem nőtt az eredményesség, de nőhetett az egyenlőtlenség -> nem Pareto javulás
- Lengyelországban az 1999-es reform szignifikáns bér és munkavállalási esély növekedést okozott.
 - Ez különösen az alacsony iskolázottságúak kimeneteinek növekedése miatt szignifikáns

Lengyelország

- Lengyelországban közoktatási reform 1999:
- Strukturális reform: iskolaszerkezet változtatás 8+4 év helyett 6+3+3 év; 8 helyett 9 év komprehenzív oktatás (szelekció
- Tananyag reformja: központi törzsanyag, ezen felül a tanároknak nagyobb szabadság
- Vizsgarendszer, értékelés, felvételi reformja: felvételi vizsgák helyett év végi központi vizsgák a 6., 9. év végén + érettségi
- A reform az 1986. január 1-je után születettekre volt érvényes

- EU-SILC keresztmetszeti adatbázis
- 2005-2013, 20-27 évesek
- 48500 megfigyelés, ~5400 évente
- Exogén kezelés: 1985/1986 a határ
- Függő változók:

foglalkoztatottság, reálbérek Módszer

- Szakadásos regresszió illetve különbség a különbségekben (diff-in-diff) modellek
- · Robosztussági tesztek: kohorsz hatások vizsgálata, minta szűkítése (csak 1985 és 1986)
- · Heterogenitás vizsgálat: elvégzett iskolafokozat szerint

Eredmények – diff-in-diff

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	
változók	munkavállalá		s log reálbér		
Kezelt csoport (szül.év>=1986)	0.0234**	0.0641***	0.0298*	0.0532	
	(0.0101)	(0.0248)	(0.0157)	(0.0451)	
Tapasztalat	0.158***	0.148***	0.0585***	0.0679***	
	(0.00427)	(0.00420)	(0.00577)	(0.00578)	
Tapasztalat négyzet	-0.0131***	-0.0117***	-0.00519***	-0.00520***	
	(0.000473)	(0.000469)	(0.000656)	(0.000640)	
Végzettség (ref.: alapfok)					
Középfok		0.145***		0.0921***	
		(0.0164)		(0.0271)	
* ke zelt		-0.0393		0.00998	
		(0.0243)		(0.0429)	
Felsőfok		0.251***		0.262***	
		(0.0182)		(0.0273)	
* kezelt		-0.0649**		-0.127***	
		(0.0260)		(0.0456)	
Konstans	0.495***	0.381***	6.646***	6.535***	
	(0.0202)	(0.0245)	(0.0318)	(0.0436)	
Megfigyelések száma	23,408	23,204	15,450	15,447	
R-négyzet	0.179	0.182	0.162	0.180	
Régiő fix-hatás	Igen	lgen	lgen	Igen	
Életkor fix-hatás	Igen	lgen	lgen	Igen	
Év fix-hatás	Igen	lgen	lgen	Igen	
Robusztus standard hibák a zá	irójelekben, ***	p<0.01, **	p<0.05, * p	<0.1	

Hivatkozások

1. Ammermüller, Andreas. 2005. Educational Opportunities and the Role of Institutions. Maastricht. ROA, Research Centre for Education and the Labour Market, 2. Hanushek, Eric A., and Ludger Woessmann. Ammermuler, Andreas. 2005. Educational Taristory and the Note of institutions. Massfrint: NUA, Research Centre for Educational Tracking Affect Performance and Inequality? Differences in-Differences exceeded Across Countries: The Economic Journal 116 (\$10) (Marchi), 3. Horn, Dainel (2013) Diverging performances: the detrimental effects of early educational selection on equality of opportunity in Hungary. Research in Social Stratification and Mobility, Vol. 32, June p. 25–43, 4. Meghir, Costas, and Marten Palme. 2005. Educational Reform, Ability, and Family Background." The American Economic Review 95 (1) 414–424; 5. Pekkarinen, Tuomas, Roope Usustalo, and Sari Kerr. 2009. School Tracking and Intergenerational Income Mobility. Evidence from the Finnish Comprehensive School Reform'. Journal of Public Economics 93 (7-8) (August); 6. Piopiunik, M. (2014). The Effects of Early Tracking on Student Performance: Evidence from a School Reform in Bavaria. Economics of Education Review. 42(c). 12-33. o.; 7. Gurzó, Klára és Horn Dániel (2015) A korai iskolai szelekció hosszú távú hatása: egy közpolitikai kísérlet tanulságai. Közgazdasági szemle, 62(10).