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**Returns to education and social class:
Cross sectional evidence for vocational and academic qualifications**

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Abstract

A wave of recent empirical work has uncovered a social class-wage gap in several advanced economies, where individuals from working class backgrounds get paid less than those with identical observable characteristics, but from a higher social class. This observation has been referred to as the "class ceiling" on account of similarities with the gender pay gap. Hitherto, this work has primarily focussed on individuals with graduate qualifications. I extend this analysis to the full range of qualifications in the UK labour market, separately identifying different levels of vocational and academic qualifications. This draws on a recent innovation in the UK Quarterly Labour Force Survey, which contains a social class variable from 2014 onwards. This analysis shows that an average class wage gap masks heterogeneity in the severity of wage penalties across different social classes and educational routes. For individuals in the most disadvantaged group findings are mixed. Overall, the wage gaps observed for those with vocational qualifications are modest in magnitude (around 5%) and weakly statistically significant. For most academic qualifications the gap is strongly significant and ranges from 8% to 13%. A notable exception is undergraduate qualifications, for which interaction terms with class are not significant.

Key words: Returns to Education; Social Class; Wage Gap; Vocational Qualifications; Academic Qualifications.

JEL-Codes: C21; I24; J24; J31.

1 Introduction

A range of empirical work over the last decade has cast doubt on the notion that average wage premia associated with particular qualifications can be interpreted as representative of the anticipated labour market benefit of an individual pursuing that qualification. For instance, there is evidence that the dispersion of wage premia around the average has been increasing (Walker & Zhu 2008, 2011). More recently evidence has emerged demonstrating an explicit social class wage gap, for the US, UK and Scandinavia (Masketas 2011; Hallsten 2013; Hersbein & Bartik 2016; Britton et al, 2016; Fridman et al, 2016). This raises the question whether class wage penalties are simply "fixed at birth" and remain the same irrespective of what educational pathway is taken, or whether the severity of these penalties depends on the educational pathway taken?

To examine this issue I exploit a recent innovation in the UK Labour Force Survey (QLFS), where data on the social origin of respondents has been collected since 2014. Mincer-style wage equations are estimated based on pooled sample of cross-sectional labour market data from 2014-2016. The results indicate that the combination of low social class and low qualifications is particularly punitive and that the social class wage gap can be less severe for those that have attained advanced vocational and academic qualifications. Given the cross-sectional nature of the data, a challenge remains for future research, to scrutinise whether these effects are driven by selection or the varying effectiveness of treatment. Nevertheless, the identification of these effects has important policy implications. If interpreted as causal effects, these findings suggest that some educational routes are more effective than others in ameliorating the disadvantage associated with social class. Conversely, if this is purely driven by selection effects, it weakens the case for using formal education as a means for improving the livelihoods of those from disadvantaged backgrounds.

2 Previous research

There is a long tradition following Mincer (1974) of analysing the wage premia associated with different levels of education (e.g. Psacharopoulos & Patrinos, 2004; Walker & Zhu, 2008; Montenegro & Patrinos, 2014). Policy makers regularly commission analyses of this type, which have repeatedly shown that, on average, there are significant labour market benefits that accrue to an individual with each successive level of education attained (Walker & Zhu, 2007, 2013; Conlon & Patrignani 2013). For this reason investing in education has been seen as a way to improve economic competitiveness (Krueger & Lindahl 2001, Hermannsson et al 2014, LSE Growth Commission, 2013; OECD, 2012) and government policy emphasises the role of education in social mobility.

Previous research suggests that a range of factors could influence an individual's ranking in the distribution of wage premia, such as cognitive and non-cognitive ability, gender, subject choice, institutional choice, degree class and geographic mobility (Britton et al, 2016; Chevalier, 2011 2014; Crawford & Vignoles 2014; Brynin & Güveli, 2012; Rafferty, 2012; Walker & Zhu, 2011).

It has long been understood that educational choices are correlated with social class (typically proxied by the occupational status of one's parents). Typically individuals from higher status backgrounds study for longer and at more prestigious institutions. Sociologists refer to this as vertical and horizontal differentiation (Shavit, 2007) whilst economists talk about sorting into education. More recently, however, evidence has emerged that social class influences graduate earnings, even when education and experience has been controlled for. This effect has been picked up in a graduate follow up survey (Crawford & Vignoles 2014), a cohort study (Crawford & van der Erve, 2015), large scale administrative data (Britton et al, 2016) and the Labour Force Survey (Laurison & Friedman, 2016). However, this work has mainly focussed on graduate outcomes and not separately identified those with vocational and academic qualifications.

Similar effects have been observed for Scandinavian countries and the US (Masketasa 2011, Hallsten 2013, Hersbein & Bartik 2016). Similarly, Capsada-Munsech (2015) found overeducation to be correlated with social class, but to a varying degree according to the subject studied. As recent studies are premised on the availability of improved data, it is not clear when the class ceiling emerged. Findings are mixed for the British

1970 birth cohort (Bratti et al, 2008; Crawford & van der Verve, 2015). Bukodi & Goldthorpe (2011) looked at access to high status occupations and found social class to be a strong predictor for access for the British 1946, 1958 and 1970 cohorts, suggesting that social stratification is a long standing feature of the labour market, but the wage benefits of belonging to particular strata could have changed.

The education-earnings literature is often centred on higher education and analysis of other stages of the education system is much less common. Re-examining the evidence base on the labour market benefits of education, focussing also on vocational routes and different levels, is given further impetus by scepticism about the prevailing emphasis on higher education in the UK, which is expressed in popular media, by think tanks (e.g. Kemp-King 2016) and academics (e.g. Wolf 2015). A recent survey found a third of UK graduates regretting their educational choice¹. Real wages have fallen since the 2008 financial crisis and whilst this has had similar effects across all skill-levels (Blundell et al, 2016) it contributes to an overall perception that things are not what they were made out to be.

3 Data and methods

I follow established practice in international labour market research and estimate earnings functions based on cross sectional data, following Mincer (1974). This identifies the wage premium associated with each successive stage of qualifications attained by regressing the logarithm of hourly wages on the level of qualification and a range of controls as appropriate (see e.g. Heckman et al (2006) for an overview). Whilst the cross-sectional approach is not without problems, in particular with regard to the endogeneity of schooling, it has been benchmarked against a range of alternative specifications (see Gunderson & Oreopolous 2010 for an overview); is widely used as an approximation of the impact of education on wages (Card 2001, Harmon et al 2003, Oreopoulos & Petronijevic 2013); and is compatible to an extensive international evidence base.

The first model is an extended cross-sectional wage equation set out in equation 1, where the dependent variable is the log of hourly wages. This is regressed on the category of highest qualification obtained ($\beta_i Q_i$), a

¹ A recent survey found third of UK graduates regretting their educational choice: <https://www.theguardian.com/education/2016/aug/10/more-than-a-third-of-uk-graduates-regret-attending-university>

quadratic term for age ($\gamma_1 X + \gamma_2 X^2$), social class ($\delta_j S_j$) and a range of controls ($\theta_k C_k$).

Equation 1: $\ln(w) = \alpha + \beta_i Q_i + \gamma_1 X + \gamma_2 X^2 + \delta_j S_j + \theta_k C_k + \varepsilon$

Subsequently, Equation 1 is augmented to include an interaction term between a subset of qualifications and social class ($\vartheta_l(Q_m * S_j)$). This model is set out in Equation 2.

Equation 2: $\ln(w) = \alpha + \beta_i Q_i + \gamma_1 X + \gamma_2 X^2 + \delta_j S_j + \theta_k C_k + \vartheta_l(Q_i * S_j) + \varepsilon$

The sample is obtained by pooling three waves of the UK Quarterly Labour Force Survey (QLFS) for July-September, 2014, 2015 and 2016. Qualifications dummies are coded based on the highest qualification attained. The QLFS records over 80 specific qualifications in the variables HIQUL11 (2014) and HIQUL15 (2015, 2016). This wide range of qualifications represents the diversity of academic and vocational qualifications that have proliferated over a long time period in the (to a varying degree) separate educational systems of England, Northern-Ireland, Scotland and Wales. Many of these qualifications are arcane and infrequently encountered in the sample. To make sense of these qualifications I aggregate to broad categories, in line with UK and international qualifications frameworks, separately identifying vocational and academic qualifications, grouped at similar levels. Table 2 below lists the qualifications categories and their approximate relation to established qualification frameworks.

Since 2014, the QLFS provides a variable for social class based on the National Statistics Socio-Economic Classification (NS-SEC), which in turn draws on classifications established in academic research by sociologists (see QLFS User Guide, Vol. 5, Section 5.1 for details). This is an occupational based classification, based on the occupational status of the household's main earner when the respondent was age 14. These categories are listed in Table 1, which also shows the class composition of the achieved sample. The sample includes everyone over 23 and under 69 that has recorded an hourly wage and for which information on social class is available. This results in a sample of 47,705 individuals.

Table 1 Achieved sample broken down by the National Statistics Socio-economic Classification

NS-SEC	Occupation of main wage earner when respondent was age 14	n	%	
1	Higher managerial and professional occupations	5,800	12%	12%
2	Lower managerial and professional occupations	7,586	16%	28%
3	Intermediate occupations	4,158	9%	37%
4	Small employers and own account workers	2,488	5%	42%
5	Lower supervisory and technical occupations	10,777	23%	65%
6	Semi-routine occupations	1,302	3%	67%
7	Routine occupations	1,690	4%	71%
8	Never worked and long-term unemployed	5,664	12%	83%
	Not classified and no answer	8,240	17%	100%
Total		47,705	100	

Table 2 Qualifications from the Labour Force Survey

Academic		Vocational		England/Wales RQF Levels	SCQF Levels ²	UNESCO ISCED level
Level	Example	Level	Example			
Post-graduate (QualAca3+)	Masters degree, doctorate			8	12	8 Doctoral or Equivalent
				7	11	7 Master or equivalent level
Graduate (QualAca3)	Undergraduate degree	Graduate level vocational qualifications (QualVoc3)	NVQ level 5	6	10 and 9	6 Bachelor or equivalent
Sub-degree academic qualifications (QualAca<3)	Diploma in higher education, Other higher education below degree	Sub-degree equivalent vocational qualifications (QualVoc<3)	HNC/HND/BTEC higher etc	5	8	5 Short Cycle tertiary
				4	7	4 Post-secondary non-tertiary education
Upper secondary academic	A-level or equivalent, AS-level or equivalent, Advanced Welsh Baccalaureate, International Baccalaureate, Scottish Baccalaureate,	Upper secondary vocational	NVQ level 3, Level 3 Diploma, GNVQ/GSVQ advanced, RSA advanced diploma, OND/ONC/BTEC/SCOTVEC National etc, City & Guilds Advanced Craft/Part 1, Trade apprenticeship.	3	6	3 Upper secondary
Lower secondary academic	O-level, GCSE grade A*-C or equivalent	Lower secondary vocational		2		2 Lower Secondary
Other qualifications e.g. CSE below grade 1, GCSE below grade C, NVQ level 1 or equivalent, GNVQ/GSVQ foundation level, Foundation (14-19) Diploma, Level 1 Diploma, Scottish National Level 4, BTEC/SCOTVEC First or General certificate, SCOTVEC modules, RSA other, Scottish National Level 3, Scottish National below level 3, City & Guilds foundation/Part 1, Level 1 Certificate, Level 2 Award, YT/YTP certificate, Key skills qualification.				1		1 Primary Education
No qualifications						

² SCQF stands for Scottish Credit and Qualifications Framework. For details see: <http://scqf.org.uk/interactive-framework/>

4 Results

Table 3 shows estimates of several variants of the model presented in equation 1. The first column presents a model with social class terms but omitting the education term, which are introduced in model 2. Model 3 onwards introduces progressively more extensive controls. The reference category for the social class terms is SEC-1, i.e. those whose primary earning parent was in a higher managerial or professional occupation when the respondent was age 14. These terms are all significant in Model 1. There is a gradually increasing wage gap, around 3% for SEC's 3, between 16% and 19% for SECs 4-7 and then big jump to approximately 27% percent for those of SEC 8 social class and for those who do not report social class. Comparing Model 1 and Model 2 we can see that the magnitude of the social origin terms drops sharply and is in some cases more than halved. This shows the importance of education for explaining social origin pay gaps. An effect which is more marked for lower status social origins than higher ones (e.g. 53% reduction for NS-SEC 7 but only 5% for NS-SEC 4).

The results for Model 2 are consistent with past work, signs are as one would expect and coefficients are significant. There is a hierarchy of qualifications with wage premia increasing consistently with each additional level of qualifications, as can be glanced from Figure 1. Against a reference category of those with no qualifications or primary qualifications, a labour market participant with a post-graduate academic qualification can expect an approximately 73% wage premium on hourly wages. Comparing the coefficients for academic and vocational qualifications reveals a generally weaker wage premium for a given level of a vocational qualification, vis-à-vis equivalent academic qualifications. This is consistent with previous work (e.g. Walker & Zhu, 2007). There is a gap to hourly wages for being female (21%), being disabled or belonging to a visible minority (around 9% in each case). Age is a proxy for experience and the two terms (positive and negative) interact so that hourly wages rise with age, then reach a peak and start declining again ahead of retirement.

Models 3-8 introduce controls for country of birth, region of workplace, firm size, sector and occupational status. The introduction of these additional controls does not change the results qualitatively. All terms remain significant and signs do not change. However, the magnitude of wage premia is reduced, suggesting a part of the labour market benefit of education is driven by sorting effects into sectors and large firms and occupations. This is also the case for social origin effects.

Table 3 Mincer models. Omitted categories: Primary and no qualifications; higher managerial and professional classes

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Age	0.066***	0.062***	0.062***	0.062***	0.060***	0.058***	0.056***	0.046***
Age ²	-0.001***	-0.001***	-0.001***	-0.001***	-0.001***	-0.001***	-0.001***	-0.000***
Sex	-0.197***	-0.212***	-0.213***	-0.209***	-0.155***	-0.157***	-0.135***	-0.120***
Disability	-0.122***	-0.095***	-0.095***	-0.092***	-0.082***	-0.083***	-0.080***	-0.062***
Non-white ethnicity	-0.065***	-0.088***	-0.086***	-0.132***	-0.123***	-0.123***	-0.112***	-0.080***
NS-SEC 2 Lower managerial and professional	0.081***	0.002	0.001	-0.000	-0.000	-0.003	-0.004	-0.005
NS-SEC 3 Intermediate occupations	-0.025**	-0.030***	-0.031***	-0.031***	-0.031***	-0.032***	-0.032***	-0.025***
NS-SEC 4 Small employers and own account workers	-0.043***	-0.031***	-0.030***	-0.035***	-0.037***	-0.040***	-0.039***	-0.024**
NS-SEC 5 Lower supervisory and technical	-0.164***	-0.069***	-0.069***	-0.064***	-0.064***	-0.064***	-0.060***	-0.036***
NS-SEC 6 Semi-routine occupations	-0.196***	-0.080***	-0.079***	-0.078***	-0.072***	-0.070***	-0.065***	-0.030**
NS-SEC 7 Routine occupations	-0.178***	-0.083***	-0.083***	-0.082***	-0.078***	-0.080***	-0.073***	-0.043***
NS-SEC 8 Never worked and long-term unemployed	-0.268***	-0.120***	-0.120***	-0.107***	-0.108***	-0.107***	-0.102***	-0.060***
NS-SEC information not reported	-0.276***	-0.125***	-0.124***	-0.118***	-0.115***	-0.114***	-0.108***	-0.061***
Post-graduate qualification		0.735***	0.711***	0.696***	0.676***	0.634***	0.627***	0.323***
Graduate qualification		0.593***	0.562***	0.547***	0.527***	0.499***	0.480***	0.237***
Sub-degree qualification		0.374***	0.375***	0.366***	0.355***	0.323***	0.323***	0.133***
Upper secondary academic qualification		0.381***	0.383***	0.368***	0.356***	0.338***	0.318***	0.167***
Lower secondary academic qualification		0.189***	0.190***	0.184***	0.174***	0.163***	0.151***	0.074***
Graduate level vocational qualifications		0.451***	0.447***	0.449***	0.412***	0.395***	0.388***	0.167***
Sub-degree equivalent vocational qualifications		0.410***	0.411***	0.408***	0.388***	0.367***	0.351***	0.176***
Upper secondary vocational qualification		0.201***	0.203***	0.206***	0.193***	0.184***	0.175***	0.093***
Lower secondary vocational qualification		0.071***	0.073***	0.077***	0.075***	0.063***	0.059***	0.031**
Other qualifications		0.076***	0.075***	0.073***	0.064***	0.056***	0.049***	0.025**
Country of birth			√	√	√	√	√	√
Regional controls (location of workplace)				√	√	√	√	√
Part-time					√	√	√	√
Firm size						√	√	√
Sector of employment							√	√
Occupational status								√
Constant	1.549***	1.152***	1.137***	1.089***	1.091***	1.074***	1.108***	1.688***
Observations	47,834	47,834	47,834	47,834	47,834	47,834	47,834	47,834
R-squared	0.126	0.278	0.279	0.297	0.309	0.331	0.350	0.440

Standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Figure 1 Wage premia for academic and vocational qualifications, based on Model 5 (omitted categories: no or primary qualifications).

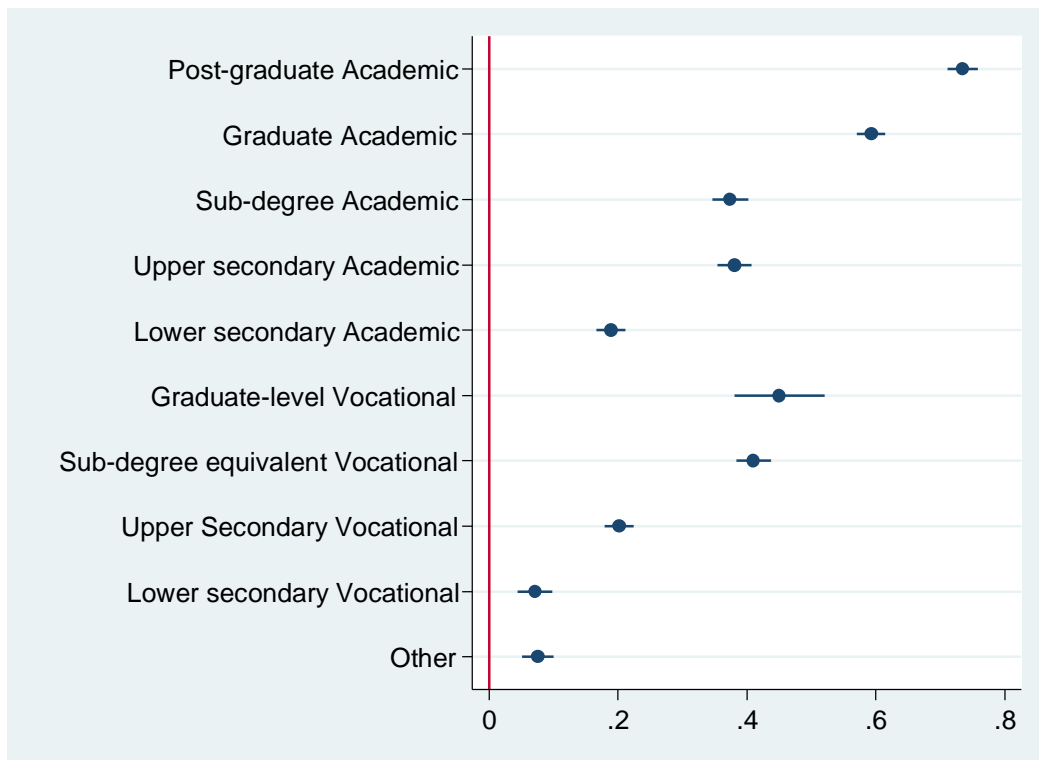
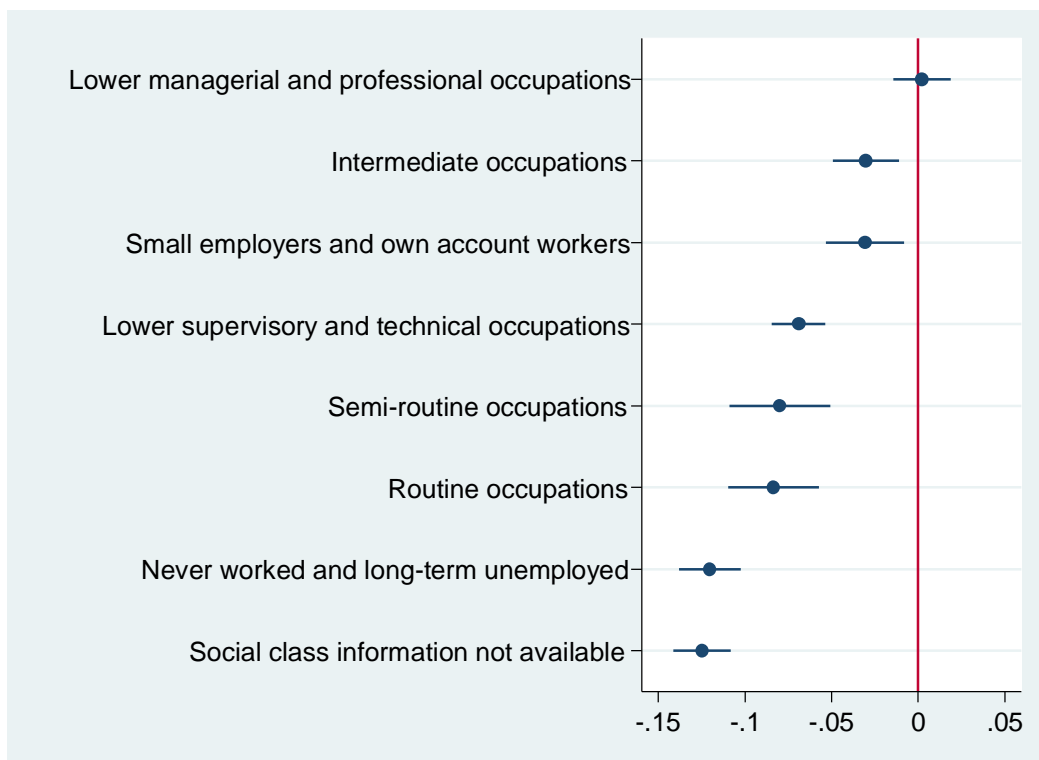


Figure 2 Wage gap by social class, based on Model 5 (omitted category SEC 1).



4.1 Class wage-gaps and education

A limitation of the results presented in Table 3 is that the class coefficients represent an average effect for everyone within the same social class, irrespective of their education. A priori it is plausible that class wage gaps may vary in severity, depending on a person's level and type of education. In order to disaggregate these effects I estimate models based on Equation 2, interacting social class and education. Given the number of qualifications and social classes analysed, instead of interacting every qualification with every social class, which would result in 70 interaction terms, steps are taken to simplify the analysis. To demonstrate these effects I reproduce here only the results for SEC 8.

Table 4 Mincer models with interaction terms

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Age	0.066***	0.062***	0.062***	0.063***	0.062***	0.060***	0.058***	0.056***	0.046***
Age ²	-0.001***	-0.001***	-0.001***	-0.001***	-0.001***	-0.001***	-0.001***	-0.001***	-0.000***
Gender	-0.197***	-0.213***	-0.212***	-0.213***	-0.209***	-0.155***	-0.157***	-0.135***	-0.120***
Disability	-0.122***	-0.092***	-0.095***	-0.095***	-0.092***	-0.082***	-0.083***	-0.080***	-0.062***
Non-white ethnicity	-0.065***	-0.106***	-0.088***	-0.085***	-0.131***	-0.123***	-0.122***	-0.112***	-0.080***
NS-SEC 8	-0.268***	-0.061**	-0.063**	-0.063**	-0.054**	-0.057**	-0.058**	-0.055**	-0.009
NS-SEC 8 × Post-graduate qualification		-0.123***	-0.112***	-0.111***	-0.099***	-0.094***	-0.088**	-0.078**	-0.096***
NS-SEC 8 × Graduate qualification		-0.040	-0.036	-0.033	-0.027	-0.024	-0.023	-0.016	-0.037
NS-SEC 8 × Sub-degree qualification		-0.120***	-0.115***	-0.115***	-0.113***	-0.113***	-0.108***	-0.105***	-0.107***
NS-SEC 8 × Upper secondary academic qualification		-0.133***	-0.125***	-0.126***	-0.115***	-0.109***	-0.110***	-0.103***	-0.089***
NS-SEC 8 × Lower secondary academic qualification		-0.078***	-0.074**	-0.075**	-0.071**	-0.065**	-0.064**	-0.063**	-0.054**
NS-SEC 8 × Graduate level vocational qualifications		-0.062	-0.067	-0.070	-0.073	-0.067	-0.065	-0.034	-0.092
NS-SEC 8 × Sub-degree equivalent vocational qualifications		-0.053	-0.049	-0.050	-0.046	-0.048	-0.046	-0.048	-0.058*
NS-SEC 8 × Upper secondary vocational qualification		-0.050*	-0.045	-0.046	-0.043	-0.044	-0.044	-0.044	-0.052**
NS-SEC 8 × Lower secondary vocational qualification		-0.028	-0.023	-0.024	-0.020	-0.019	-0.016	-0.016	-0.012
NS-SEC 8 × Other qualifications		-0.054*	-0.052*	-0.052*	-0.051	-0.050	-0.050*	-0.046	-0.048*
Education		√	√	√	√	√	√	√	
Country of birth			√	√	√	√	√	√	√
Degree class				√	√	√	√	√	√
Regional controls (location of workplace)					√	√	√	√	√
Part-time						√	√	√	√
Firm size							√	√	√
Sector of employment								√	√
Occupational status									√
	1.549***	1.156***	1.140***	1.125***	1.079***	1.082***	1.064***	1.099***	1.678***
	47,834	47,834	47,834	47,834	47,834	47,834	47,834	47,834	47,834
	0.126	0.274	0.278	0.280	0.297	0.309	0.331	0.350	0.440

Standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 4 presents the results for the interaction models. Model 1 is the simplest, containing only the aggregate class effect, whereas Model 2 introduces interaction of class and education. In Models 3 to 9 I progressively add controls for country of birth, degree class, region of workplace, working part-time, firm size, sector of employment and occupational status.

The results for SEC 8 individuals show that there is sub-group heterogeneity depending on type of qualification. Broadly speaking, social origin wage gaps are much more pronounced for those with academic qualifications. Of those with vocational qualifications, the only significant effects are a 5% wage gap for those with upper secondary and other vocational qualifications. However, this is only mildly significant. Conversely, there are strongly significant wage gaps for those with academic qualifications of around 12-13% for upper secondary and post-graduate qualifications and 7% for lower secondary. An exception to this pattern is however those with undergraduate qualifications, for which there are no significant effects.

For graduate qualifications these results are robust when additional controls are added, but for vocational qualifications these are no longer significant when additional controls are added.

5 Conclusions

In this paper I have exploited a recent innovation in the UK Labour Force Survey, to estimate social class wage penalties. This extends previous work on this topic by analysing these alongside wage premia for academic and vocational qualifications across different levels and identifying the interaction between different qualifications and social classes.

Broadly speaking, the findings reveal, that whilst educational attainment is the single most powerful explanatory variable for hourly wages and

This analysis reinforces previous findings, that class wage penalties are non-trivial and robust when a range of controls are applied. In line with previous literature the results clearly show that education is the single most important explanatory variable for hourly wages. Likewise, introducing education reduces the observed magnitude of the "raw" social origin wage gap, thereby suggesting that educational attainment plays an important role in mediating social origin pay gaps. However, even when education has been accounted for, non-trivial and significant

pay gaps remain. Controlling for ethnicity, region and nature of workplaces only modestly affects results. However, when occupation is added, wage gap effects nearly halve, suggesting that after education, jobs are the most important explanation for social origin wages gaps. However, even when controlling for education and occupation, social origin wage gaps of between 2% and 6% remain, suggesting that social origin conveys a disadvantage at different stages of life and even individuals who can overcome disadvantage in education and secure a good job will be disadvantaged vis-a-vis individuals in similar roles from other backgrounds.

By applying interaction models, this paper has demonstrated that the average class wage gap masks heterogeneity in the effects of social class on labour market outcomes, depending on qualifications. Whilst some qualifications appear robust against class wage penalties, others appear to offer no benefit.

These findings are consistent with at least two explanations. If we interpret these results as causal effects of education, it is clear that the education system should steer pupils from the lowest SEC category into certain vocational qualifications and graduate-level academic qualifications. Furthermore, it should be made clear that the benefits of post-graduate qualifications are less certain and students should factor this into their investment decisions. For this group, school leaver qualifications and mid-range vocational qualifications are of reduced value in the labour market. Conversely, if these results are indicative of sorting on ability within the lowest SEC group, it suggests that supporting the development of the ability of individuals from these backgrounds with the aim of boosting attainment, towards advanced vocational and academic qualifications, could bring substantial lifetime benefits. Conversely, if such comprehensive interventions are deemed infeasible, society should acknowledge the substantial earnings disadvantage these groups face over their lifetime and plan the provision of public services and transfers in such a way that these groups can maintain a decent life, despite their reduced earnings capacity.

This analysis raises several issues for further work. First of all, by only focussing on formal labour market earnings, this study only examines the relatively privileged group that is active in the labour market. It would be useful to complement this analysis with a study of the effects of social class and education on the likelihood of being active in the labour

market. Secondly, this analysis raises well known issues regarding the appropriateness of inferring from cross-sectional labour market data. Whilst, previous work has suggested such studies are a reasonable approximation of the treatment effects of education, this cannot be verified beyond doubt. Therefore, it would be useful to revisit these issues, using a wider range of data and approaches.

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