**WORLD BANK EDUCATION GLOBAL PRACTICE**

**Russian Federation: Analytical Services and Advisory Activity: P170978**

**Skills and Returns to Education in the Russian**

**Federation: Policy Note**

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| **Audience:** Policy makers at the Federal and regional level are the main audience of this note. Advisors of  the policy makers and academic researchers in the Russian Federation are an audience for the supporting  working papers. One of the products of this study is of interest to potential students as well as college and  university administrators.  • **Credibility:** Under the guidance of one of the most well-known and cited international education economists  who has studied the returns to education in over one hundred countries, this study uses internationally comparable methods to closely investigate Russia’s performance regarding returns to education and arrive at  policy diagnoses and recommendations.  • **Findings:** (a) Returns to Education increased in the beginning of the 2000s but then started to decline  to reach about 8% now, below the EU average of 10%; Part of this tendency can be explained by after  schooling depreciation of human capital; (b) Returns to education vary widely across regions, with policy  implications for economic development, especially for ten high priority depressed regions; (c) Matching  data about graduate earnings and college and university costs is currently viable and can be very useful for  potential students and to incentivize quality improvements for tertiary education institutions.  • **Recommendations:**  **– Education quality and innovation policy:** The Russian Federation needs to make investments in the quality  of education and enhance youth entrepreneurship to stem the tide of falling returns to education.  **– Policy needs to work harder for gender parity:** Gender earning gaps remain wide and can be solved  through policies to retain women’s interest in university education and learning opportunities at work.  **– Lifelong learning for vocational education:** Supporting continuous investment in human capital through  the career is more important now the base level of education in Russia is amongst the highest in the  world; this will reduce depreciation, especially for vocational education.  **– Strategy for priority regions:** A policy diagnostic based even on rough measures of labor market demand  and supply is shown to capture regional diversity; refine the measures further for high priority regions to  arrive at customized policy solutions, for example for three pilot regions of Pskov Oblast, Altai Krai, and  the Adygea Republic.  **– Government transparency for citizen benefit:**. Revitalize the graduate.edu.ru website which has not been  updated since 2016; Deepen the financial information collected from bus.gov.ru and annually update  resulting data on institution level education returns to improve student choice and system efficiency |

# | MOTIVATION

The motivation of this study is to provide inputs to the development strategy of the Russian Federation as set out in the May decree of 2018. Russia’s development goal is to becoming one of the top five economies in the world and to reduce poverty by half. The importance of human capital to reach this goal is recognized in the government’s policy pronouncements and the World Bank analytical work in support of government policy. A recently published World Bank study reported that Human capital only accounts for 46% of total wealth in Russia, as compared to the OECD average of 70% (Naikal et al. 2019). The report showed that even as growth rates of per capita wealth was ten times higher in Russia as compared to OECD, the gap in levels with OECD is still very wide. The per capita human capital wealth level at average for the OECD in 2014 was about USD 500,000 - five times that of Russia’s 95,000 (measured in 2014 dollars). In order to catch up faster with the OECD, returns to education in Russia will need to be increased. This requires an understanding of the trends regarding the returns to education across time and across the considerable spatial diversity of the Russian Federation.

This study is based on four working papers. Working Paper 1 and Working Paper 3 of the study seek to meet the analytical need to understand the temporal and spatial patterns in the returns to education. The time trend described for the period 1994-2018 in Working Paper 1 requires an explanation. Moving beyond the traditional explanation of higher educational attainment of the population resulting in declining returns, Working Paper 2 explores the role played by depreciation of human capital. Working Paper 1 also indicates that individuals are responsive to changes in the returns of education, and that the proportion of women choosing university education has slightly declined in recent years. Working Paper 4 investigates more closely the institutional level returns to education, albeit with a limited short-term horizon of three years for which data was available. Institutional returns, i.e., the prospective returns for graduates from a particular college or university are important for a number of reasons. Choice regarding college of university is one aspect; equally important is the prospect for systemic efficiency through informed competition for students. Student response to the dissemination of the institutional returns would help determine a future course of action.

# | KEY FINDINGS

## Trends regarding returns to education: 1994:2018

The study examined the trends in returns to education in the Russian Federation using a common methodology

that has been used for over 100 countries (Montenegro and Patrinos 2014; Psacharopoulos and Patrinos 2018). Figure 3.3 summarizes the results, showing rates of overall and gender-wise returns to education in Russia for the period 1994-2018: the percentage increment in a person’s earnings due to one additional year of schooling. Overall, one can notice a moderate curved growth in returns to education in Russia, achieving its peak in the early 2000s (returns of 9.8%), which is followed by a downward pattern (returns of 5.6% by 2018). The values of returns to schooling in recent years in Russia seem to lag far behind the global average of 9.5% (Psacharopoulos and Patrinos 2018). Education payoffs for women are higher than those of men, but the difference appears to have narrowed in recent years.

## Regional variation in the returns to education

The mere existence of regional variations in the returns to education is interesting but not helpful by itself to derive policy implications. Computing regional returns and then treating them as a dependent variable in a second stage regression introduces methodological problems of interpretation. This study used a random effects regression model where the earnings function was expanded to include random regional effects. This results in a more robust computation of the marginal effect of education in each region. It is quite interesting to note that the regions with low returns include both the developed St. Petersburg with a highly educated population, and the not so developed Chechen Republic. Working Paper 3 provides a detailed list of the regions with their returns to university education and to vocational education.

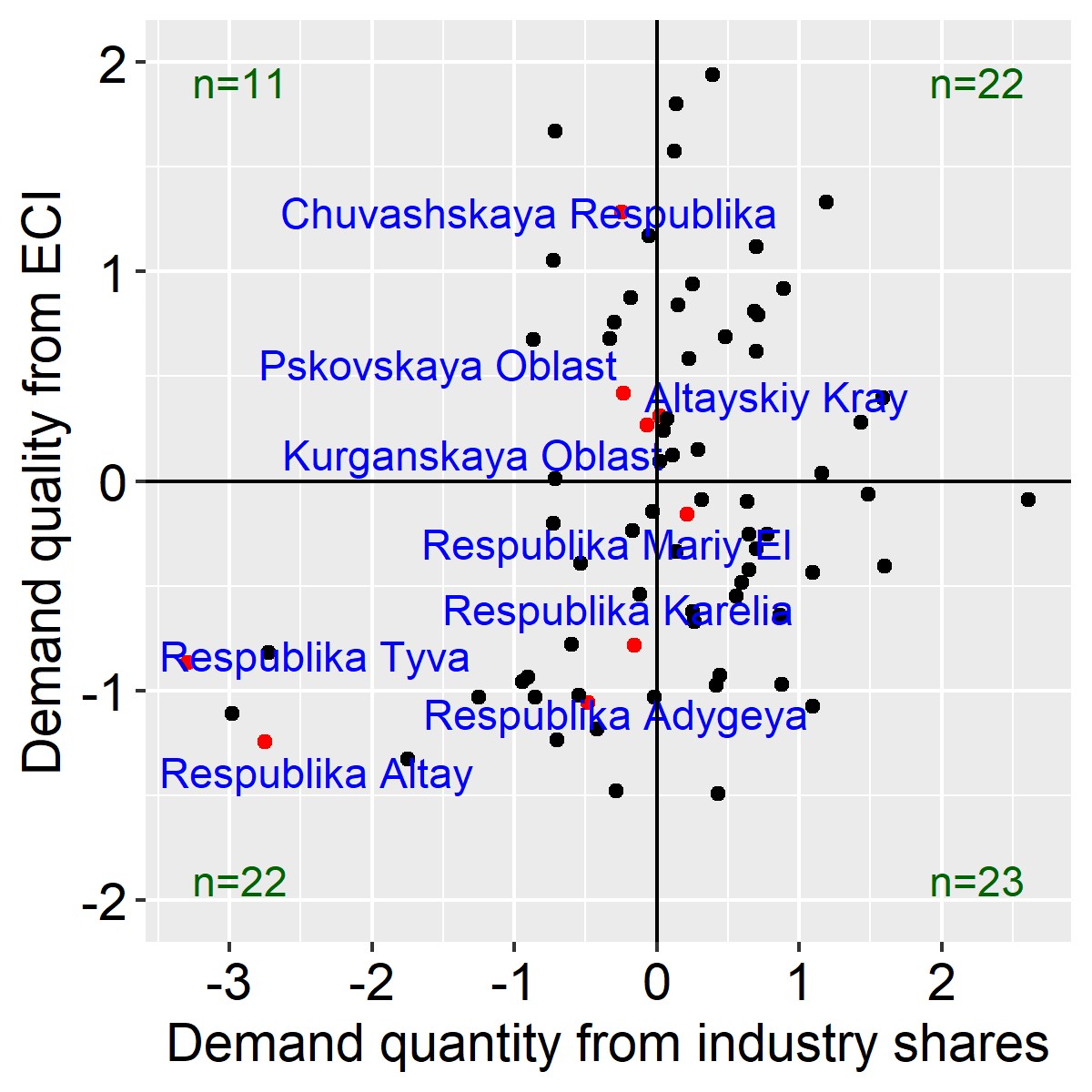
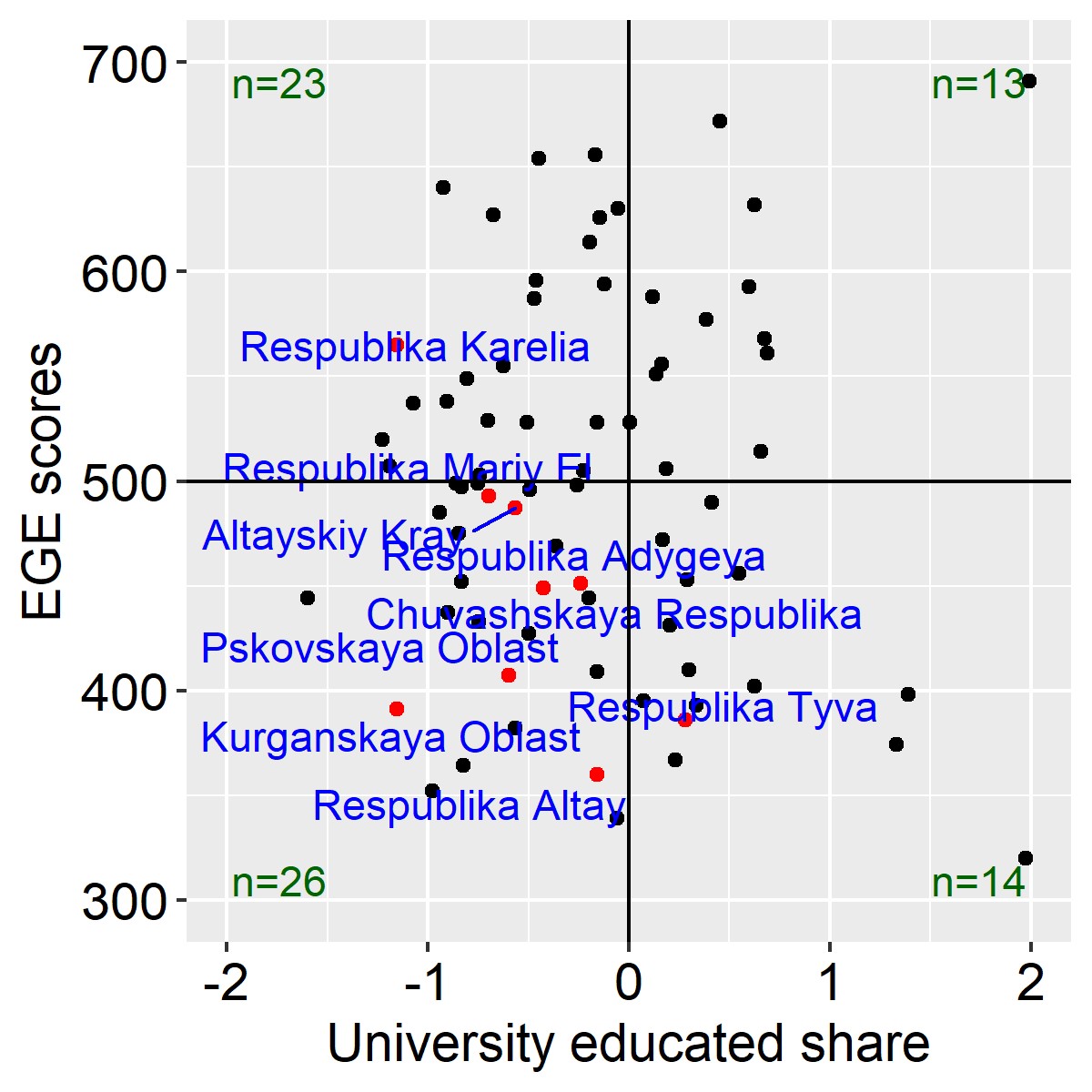


**FIGURE 3.1** Rates of Returns to Education in Russia, RLMS 1994-2018

## Development policy typology from variations in regional context and returns to education

A recent World Bank report described the three main factors that explain the wide scale of diversities in Russia’s regions, so that some regions have income levels that match Singapore or New Zealand, and others match Bolivia or Honduras: (i) the persistent Soviet legacy; (ii) diverse physical geography; and (iii) dominance of oil and gas in some regions (World Bank 2018). The report analyzed the determinants of Economic Potential Index (EPI) of Russian regions.

An important finding from the analysis of the EPI: the four factors of urbanization; the presence of high-tech industries; advanced human capital; and connectivity (access to markets) –explain 60% of the variation in EPI. In this study we create a typology of regions using various measures for the quantity and quality of labor demand and supply. As a measure of quality of labor demand we utilize an indicator of product complexity computed by Lyubimov, Gvozdeva, and Lysyuk 2018. This paper is based on a methodology that was initially proposed and implemented by the economists Ricardo Hausmann and Ceesar Hidalgo to capture the productive potential of an economy on the basis of the diversity of its products and exports (Hausmann and Hidalgo 2011; Hausmann et al. 2014). Lyubimov, Gvozdeva, and Lysyuk 2018 develop an “Economic Complexity Index” (ECI) utilizing production as well as export data. With a focus on high priority regions - depicted with red dots and their name shown in Figure 3.2

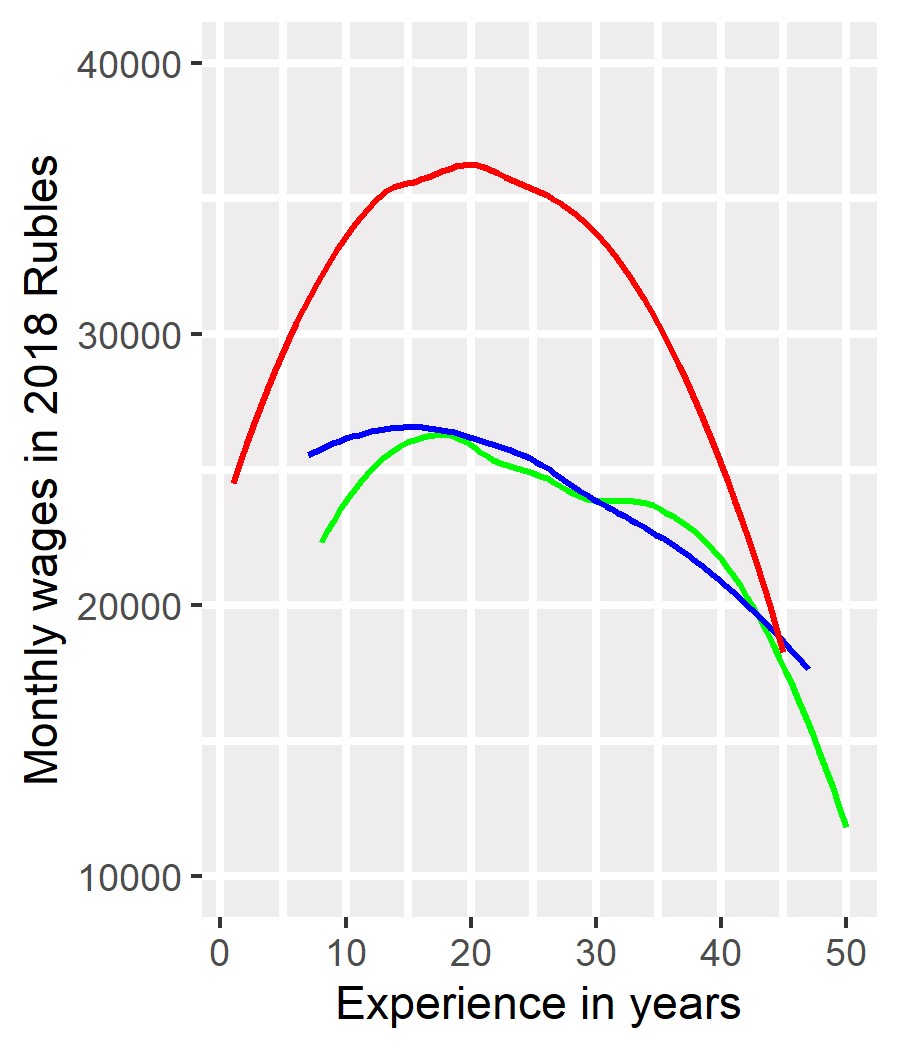
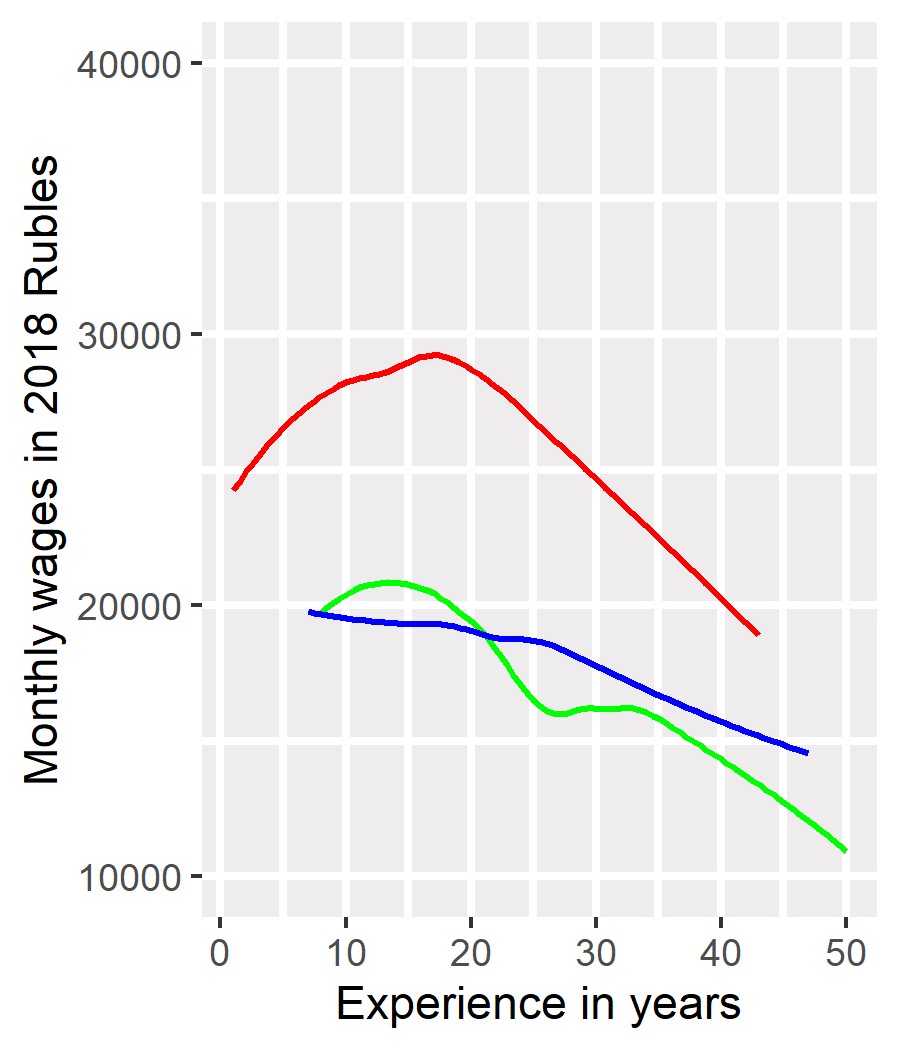
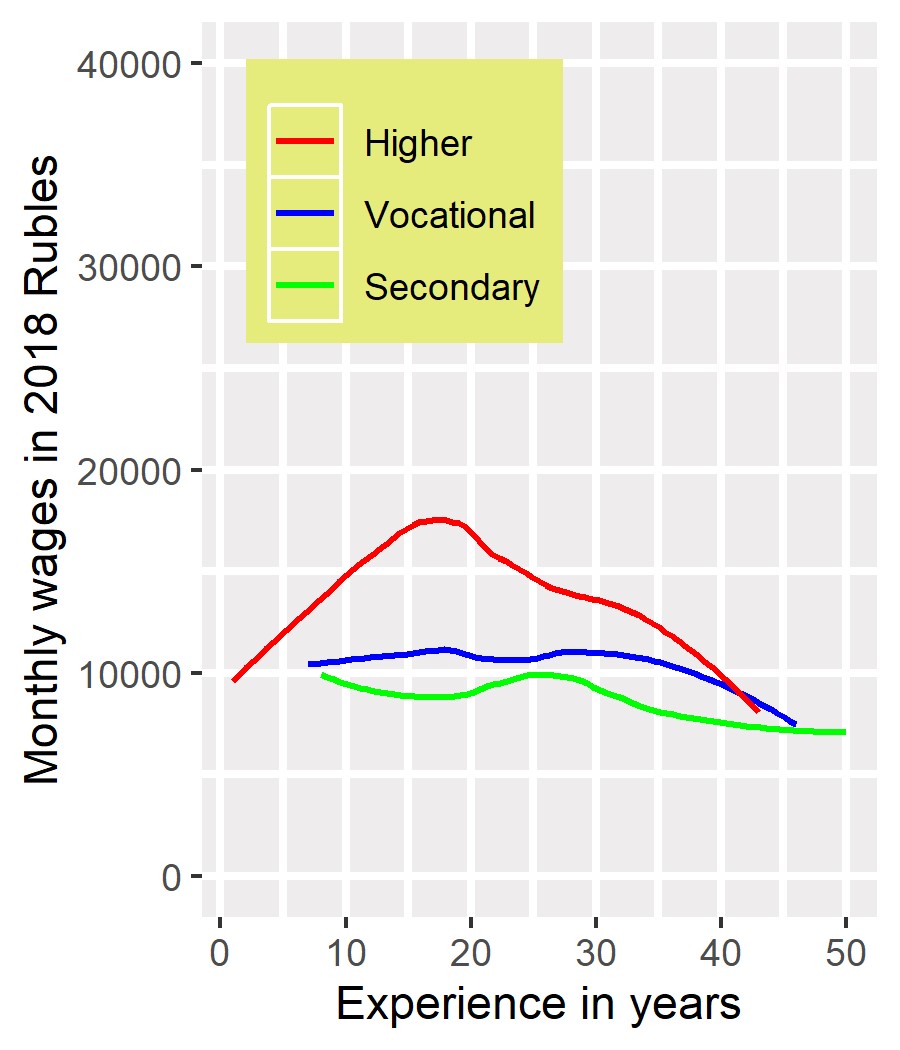
 **(a)** Labor Supply **(b)** Labor Demand

**FIGURE 3.2** Ranking of Regions on Quantity and Quality dimensions

## Depreciation detrimentally affects the returns to education

Working Paper 2 is the most technical of all four working papers as it is very difficult to extract the effect of depreciation from earnings data. A relatively non-technical or intuitive understanding of depreciation can be obtained from 3.3. The trajectory of earnings shows the usual concave profile for Higher Education. But the profiles for those with Secondary Education or Vocational education has a very early peak. Algebraically, it can be shown that the timing

of the earnings peak is related to the amount of depreciation.



**(a)** 1998 **(b)** 2006 **(c)** 2018

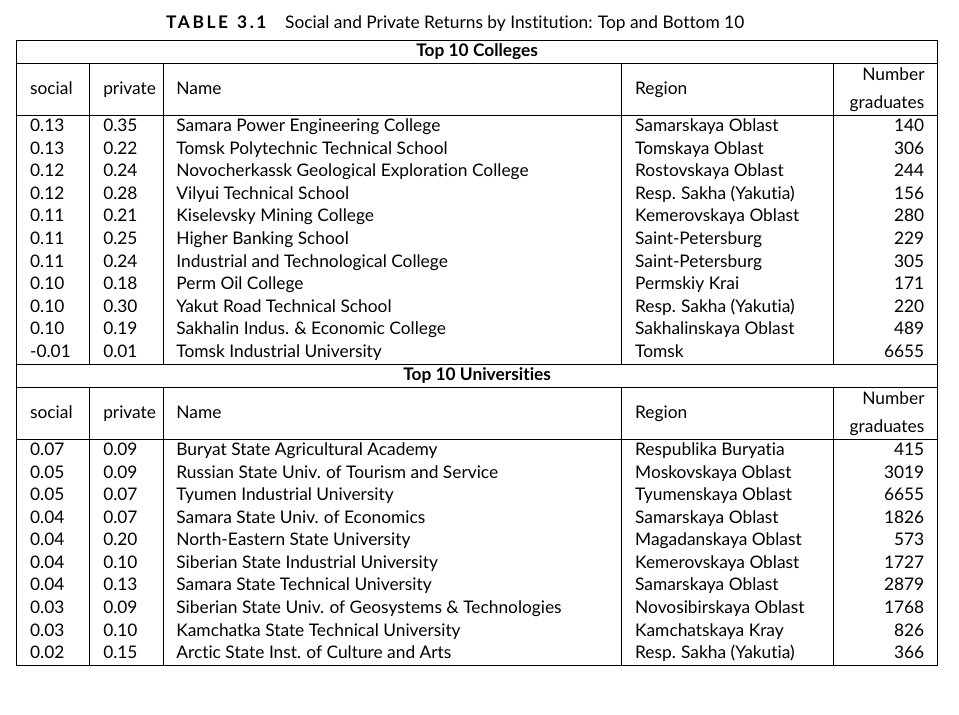
**FIGURE 3.3** RLMS Rounds 1998, 2006 and 2018

Depreciation can be stemmed through repeated or regular human capital investment through a worker’s lifetime. Depreciation would also be lower depending on the quality and nature of education - the more the student learns to learn and to adapt, for example through pedagogies that better impart critical-thinking and problem-solving skills, the lower will be the impact of depreciation.

## Institutional Level Social and Private Returns to Education

Graduate.edu.ru is the official graduate employment monitoring portal created and maintained by the Ministry of Education of the Russian Federation. The website was launched in 2015 to provide information targeted mainly to prospective graduates about the employment record of graduates from tertiary education institutions - including universities and vocational education colleges. The bus.gov.ru website is the official website of the Russian Federation for provision of information by public institutions. The objective as stated on the website is “to increase the openness and accessibility of information about state (municipal) institutions, as well as about their activities and property”.

In Working Paper 4 of this study, the information from the two websites is merged to provide early stage social and private returns to education. Information is available for the total annual revenue from different sources including government transfers and grants, as well as revenue from service payments made by private individuals. For education institutions (colleges and universities) we assume that the revenues from service payments are tuition fee payments. The very short period of earnings information available (only 3 years) limits the usefulness of the study, but even the limited information is insightful. Table 3.1 shows that the most profitable educational investments, albeit with a three year horizon, may not always be the most famous ones!



Combining the costs and benefits side of investment in education will be useful not just for individual students but

also for overall system efficacy and efficiency. Though multi-dimensional rankings are popular in some policy circles, transparent and simple social and private returns would spur healthy competition between institutes and regions to attract the best students.

# | FUTURE AREAS OF INQUIRY

Empirical research to inform policy is necessarily tightly bound by time constraints. Some of the lines of inquiry that can be explored further are mentioned here. Particularly useful would be support to regional development strategies and their implementation, for instance with regard to the priority regions whose development is directly tied to the attainment of ambitious national development goals. The following future areas of inquiry are suggested:

* **Causal Effects of Educational Investments** Causal marginal effects of education on earnings can be computed (Carneiro, Heckman, and Vytlacil 2011; Heckman, Humphries, and Veramendi 2018). This has been done recently for the Russian Federation, in an academic study that explored the marginal effect of the expansion of university education in the 2000s (Belskaya, Sabirianova Peter, and Posso 2020). In an upcoming seminar where this study will be presented in June, 2020 another researcher will present a paper on the causal effect of the shift in Russian universities to the Bologna accord (Avdeev 2020). More recently developed machine learning techniques hold great promise and can be applied to regional returns in the Russian Federation (Kim et al. 2019).
* **Detailed Institutional Returns** In a competitive higher education global environment, countries have set up de-

tailed databases regarding the cost of education, for example <https://www.hesa.ac.uk/data-and-analysis>in the UK and [https://nces.ed.gov/ipeds](https://nces.ed.gov/ipeds/) in the USA. The bus.gov.ru database, while not established for that purpose, has provided a useful starting point as demonstrated in this study. A staged research study that collects further information from the institutes themselves would be very useful. Also, with adequate safeguards to protect privacy, household surveys conducted by Rosstat could begin to record the identity of the institution where an individual study. An online platform can be created with a feedback system to ensure data accuracy and transparency.

* **Entrepreneurship and Returns** There is a very interesting variable in the graduate.edu.ru website that was not exploited in the study - this is information about graduates who are registered with the Pension Fund as entrepreneurs, together with information about their earnings. Traditionally, entrepreneurs may not have been well represented in studies of returns to education because of their often sporadic income. However, Russia’s future prosperity hinges on the creation of new jobs and through innovation - it would be extremely useful to study how entrepreneurs fare in terms of earnings, and the causal effect of their education.
* **Regional Efficiency** Social returns to education by region have been provided in this study as a first approximation based on data that is available regarding costs for a six year period from 2013 to 2018. The effective subsidization of college and university education can be evaluated very well by examining the divergence between private and social returns. The analysis can also be disaggregated by specialization, spatial categories or by administrative arrangements. With regions seeking to accelerate their development, fiscal efficiency is particularly important and studies building further on the demonstrated example of this study can be deployed for that purpose.
* **Effect of Covid-19** Four kinds of studies regarding the impact of the Covid-19 related shutdowns with the purpose of mitigation and to develop resilience to future pandemics: (a) Impact of lost time in education on learning or cognitive achievement of children and youth; (b) Impact of truncation of schooling year on eventual educational attainment; (c) Positive deviance studies regarding digital or distance education that worked or other factors that provided resilience to learning loss (Pascale and Monique 2010); (d) Simulation studies of potential impacts of learning loss on economic output in the future.

# | FIVE MAIN RECOMMENDATIONS

**Education quality and innovation policy:**The Russian Federation needs to make investments in the quality of education and enhance youth entrepreneurship to stem the tide of falling returns to education. It appears very difficult for state owned enterprises or the public sector to generate bigger streams of job openings and also become more efficient. Quality improvements in education, geared to providing students with ‘learning to learn skills’ as well as practical skills such as financial literacy, with continued improvements in ‘Doing Business’ indicators will lead to productivity improvement.

**Policy needs to work harder for gender parity:** Gender segregation of jobs and gender earning gaps remain wide in the Russian Federation, with women earning lower than men at all levels of education. Returns to education have been higher for women which would help to reduce the gap, but recent data indicates that women may have stopped going to university in the numbers they were doing before, which does not bode well for the earnings gap. Policies to retain women’s interest in university education and provision of learning opportunities at work will help to resume the path towards gender parity in earnings.

**Lifelong learning for vocational education:**Supporting continuous investment in human capital through the career is more important now the base level of education in Russia is amongst the highest in the world; this will reduce depreciation, especially for vocational education. Reduction in the depreciation of human capital will help to improve the returns to education. Depreciation can be reduced not only through learning while on the job, but also by the content and method of schooling so that students become proficient lifelong learners.

**Strategy for priority regions:**A policy diagnostic based even on rough measures of labor market demand and supply is shown to capture regional diversity. Refinement of the measures for the high priority regions will support the design of customized policy solutions, for example for three pilot regions of Pskov Oblast, Altai Krai, and the Adygea Republic. Human capital formation tends to have long historic roots and path dependence means that regions similar in terms of gross regional product may have vastly different human capital potential and challenges.

**Government transparency for citizen benefit:** Revitalize the graduate.edu.ru website which has not been updated

since 2016; Deepen the financial information collected from bus.gov.ru and annually update resulting data on institution level education returns to improve student choice and system efficiency. Collecting accurate information on graduate salaries and on college and university costs is itself a costly endeavor, but is amply justified by the gains in efficiency that would result. The transparency and digital government initiatives undertaken by the Government have been progressive, but are not yet instrumental in meeting strategic development goals. To be truly effective, a further set of steps need to be made, to close the feedback loop with citizens making decisions based on the information provided, and those decisions, in turn, influencing institutional and system management.

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