# African Youth, Education and Economic Development

Edward Miguel
University of California, Berkeley
Director, Center for Effective Global Action (CEGA)

World Bank Africa Impact Evaluation Conference Dakar, Senegal – October 2013

#### **Motivation**

• By 2000, Africa was coming off a terrible quarter century

- -- African per capita incomes <u>fell</u> 20% during 1975-2000
- -- HIV/AIDS, civil war, genocide, dictatorship ...
- In the 1970s, Sub-Saharan Africa, China, and India had similar income levels

#### **Motivation**

 African economic growth was at historical highs during 2000-2012, education levels soared, and democracy took root in many countries

→ Is Africa (or parts of it) on track to join China and India as the next economic development "miracle"?

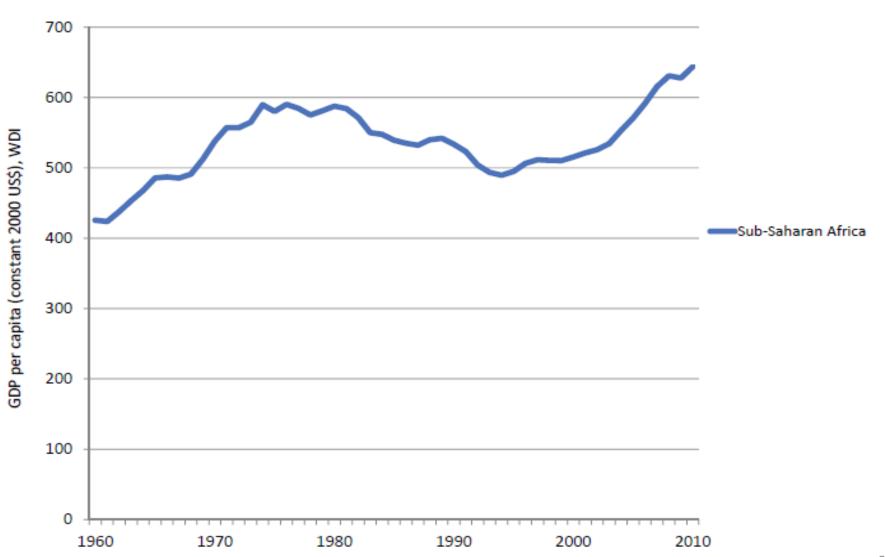
### The view from Kenya

- Kenya illustrates the turnaround: since 2000 it has experienced its fastest economic growth since the 1970s
  - -- Stable macroeconomic policy, growing foreign investment, rising real estate prices in Nairobi
  - -- Successful sectors: tea, coffee, tourism, flowers (sameday exports to Europe), telecommunications, call centers, regional manufacturing hub (textiles)

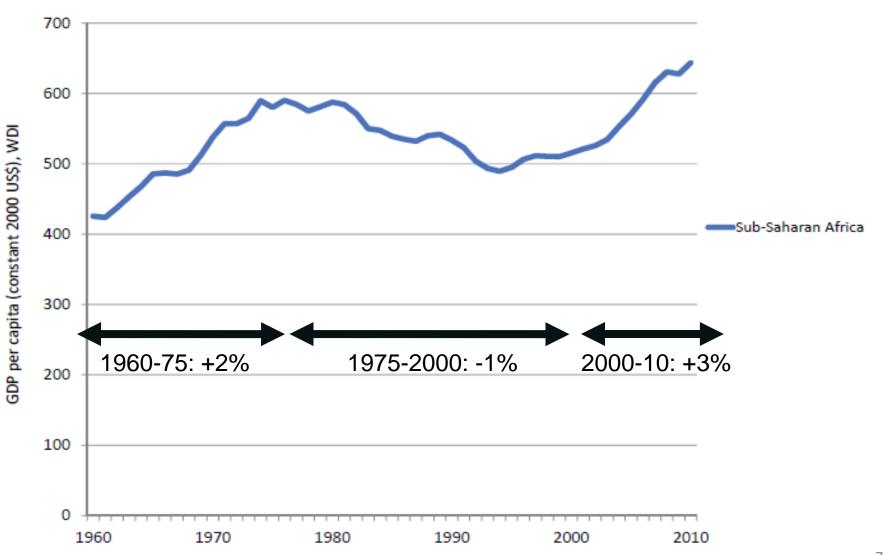
### The view from Kenya

- Economic progress was not restricted to Nairobi.
- Busia is a small district capital town I have visited each year since 1997 for research and NGO consulting
  - -- The contrast between 1997 and 2013 is striking, e.g., universal primary schooling, cell phones, electricity, access to banks / ATMs, freight traffic, political openness

## African per capita income, 1960-2010



## African per capita income, 1960-2010



#### The seeds of success: education

- Most African countries made great strides in education during the otherwise "lost" decades of the 1970s and 1980s, including for women
- Elected leaders, ministers, and technocrats are much better educated today than in the 1970s and 1980s, and they have pursued better public policies (e.g., education, telecommunications, macroeconomics).
- Education also creates a foundation for democracy

#### Africa's democratic era

- By 2013, most African countries have held competitive elections and had free private media outlets
  - -- From 1990 to 2010, the average African "Freedom House" score increased a lot, from 6 to 4 (on a 7 point scale, 1=best)
- Steve Radelet (Georgetown) finds that African democracies have had much faster economic growth since the early 1990s

## Ex. 1: Impact evaluation of girls scholarships



### Ex. 1: Impact evaluation of girls scholarships

- We studied the impact of improved school learning on political and social attitudes five years later, using a randomized evaluation of a girls merit scholarship program in Kenya (Friedman et al. 2012).
  - → Research design like those explored in this workshop: half of the schools randomized into treatment (a scholarship competition), half into the control group.

## Ex. 1: Impact evaluation of girls scholarships

- Girls in the incentive schools showed sustained human capital gains, as captured in test scores, 5 years later.
- Perhaps more surprisingly, they read more newspapers, have better political knowledge, and are more critical of – and dissatisfied with – Kenyan politicians.
  - → Education creates more critical and engaged citizens.
- <u>Implication 1:</u> with appropriate design of surveys and other data, impact evaluations of education programs can shed light on issues of broader social importance

## Recent gains in health and mortality

- The unprecedented tragedy of the HIV/AIDS epidemic has taken millions of lives, ravaged health systems, and shortened life expectancy
- Aside from this scourge, there has been dramatic progress in many dimensions of health over the past few decades, e.g., infant mortality in Senegal has fallen from 92 (1980) to 45 (2012) per 1000 live births WDI
  - → Critical implications for economic development and for future population growth.



- We studied the impact of deworming drugs on short-run educational outcomes and long-run (10 -year) labor market outcomes using a randomized experiment in Kenya (Miguel and Kremer 2004; Baird et al 2013).
  - → Research design like those explored in this workshop: the order in which schools were "phased into" treatment was randomized over three years (1998-2001)

- Deworming reduces school absenteeism by one quarter, and increases both work hours and labor earnings by 20% ten years later
- Very high rates of return on deworming investments: treatment costs < 1USD per year per child</li>
  - → the future tax revenue generated outweighs costs
- <u>Implication 2:</u> panel (longitudinal) surveys that track sample respondents over multiple years may yield unique insights into the sustained economic and public finance impacts of a program

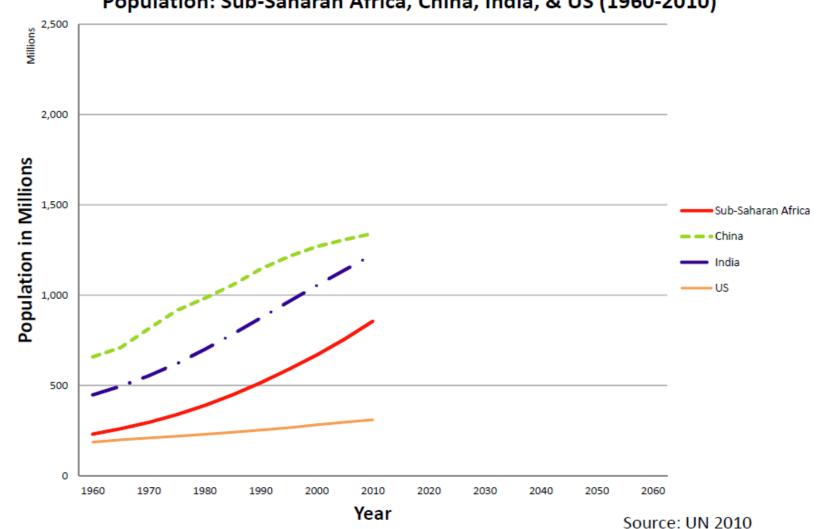
- Results of this study have helped to shift schoolbased health policy in Kenya and beyond
- Kenya launched national school-based deworming in 2009, and recently extended it for five years. Over 5 million children treated per year at < US\$0.36 per child.
- School-based programs in India: **30 million children** treated in Bihar, New Delhi, Rajasthan in 2011-12
  - → Well-designed impact evaluations can have a significant impact on public policy in Africa and beyond.

## African population is growing rapidly

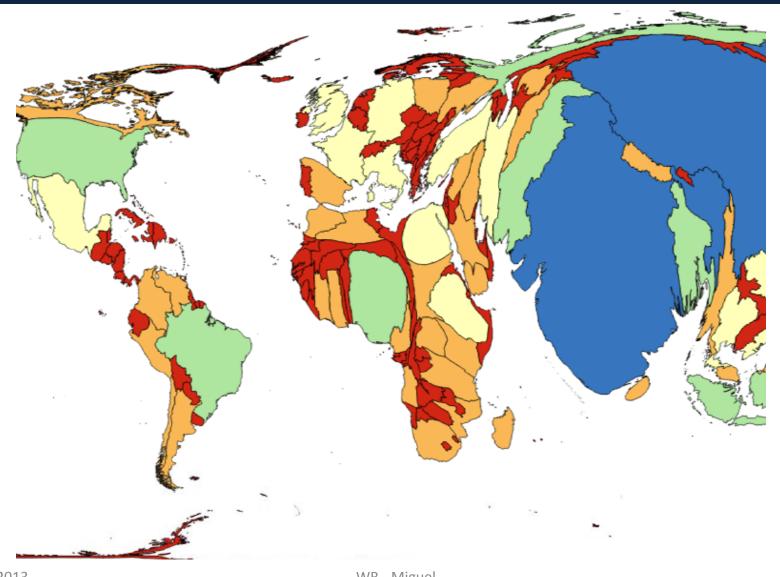
- Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) is the world's poorest and least developed continent along many dimensions, with the greatest "potential" for future economic growth.
- Perhaps less well-known: it is also poised to become the world's most populous region, rising to nearly a quarter of humanity in the next half century.

## African population is growing rapidly

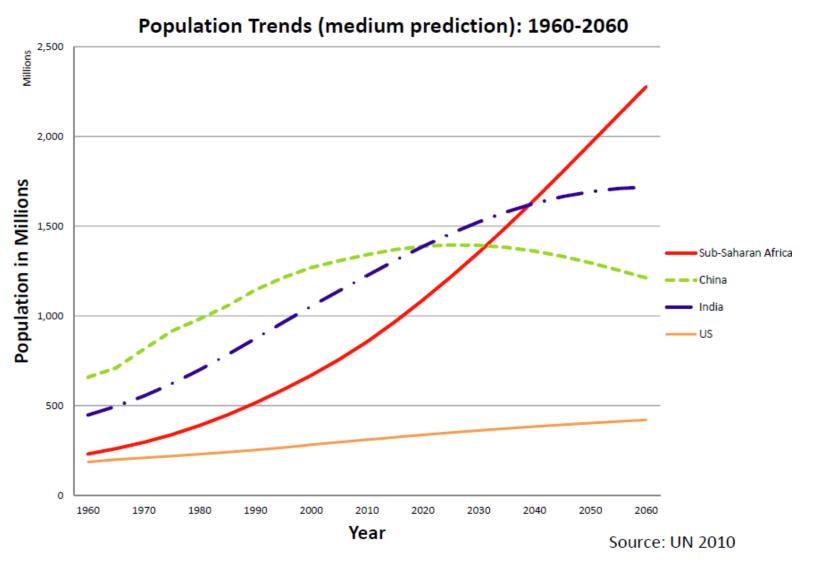
#### Population: Sub-Saharan Africa, China, India, & US (1960-2010)



## World map, area weighted by 2010 population

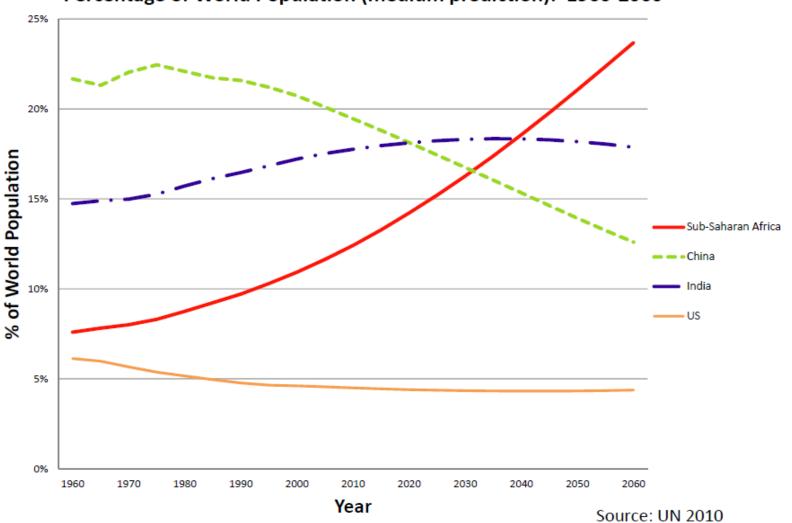


## African population is growing rapidly

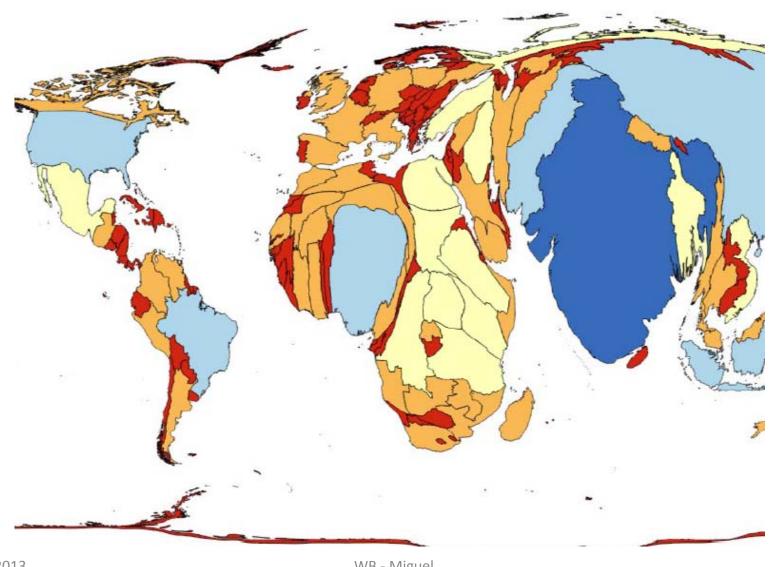


## African population is growing rapidly

#### Percentage of World Population (medium prediction): 1960-2060



## World map, area weighted by 2060 population



## The coming African century

- A large share, roughly one third, of the world's working age population will be African by 2060.
- How can public policy equip today's African children and youth with the tools they need to be productive tomorrow?
- This matters just as much for the world economy as for particular African economies.
- Investments in both human capital and physical capital may be critical







- We are studying the impact of vouchers for vocational training (in public or private institutions) on human capital and labor market outcomes using a randomized experiment in Kenya (Hicks et al. 2013).
  - → A more complicated research design: a "cross-cutting" experiment is also currently providing start-up capital for a random subset of participants in the training study.

- Initial impact evaluation results are mixed
- Take-up of the vocational vouchers was 70%, indicating high demand, and recipients had 0.60 years (s.e. 0.10) more vocational training relative to the control group.
- Significant gains in test performance: average gain across math and English tests was 0.107 (s.e. 0.050)
- 1-2 years later, assignment to a vocational education voucher did **not** significantly increase total earnings, consumption, self-employment, assets, urban migration
- But evidence of increased earnings for those working for wages, 26 log points (s.e. 11 log points), see next figure

Figure 1: Distribution of log wage earnings, voucher treatment versus control



- Caveats: results are new, relatively short-term, and more importantly, only use half of the final dataset (N=1,043).
- Many open questions: Why didn't more voucher winners leave agriculture, and/or start businesses?
- One possibility: are both human capital **and** financial capital necessary for small business success? Does this more intensive intervention lead to larger impacts? We will examine this in our next survey round (2015-16).
- <u>Implication 3:</u> complex programs with multiple components may be needed to overcome the main constraints facing African youth.

## African youth and development: looking forward

- Some **key issues** to keep in mind going forward:
  - (1) Complicated multi-arm programs demand correspondingly complex research designs
  - (2) Panel data over long periods is indispensible
  - (3) New data enables the study of broader social impacts
- There is still much to learn about critical issues, including how to most effectively **improve student learning**, and ultimately **productivity and earnings**.

## African youth and development: looking forward

- The human development of African youth is of critical importance to the global economy, but there remain many unanswered questions.
- The "answers" will likely differ across countries.
- Rigorous impact evaluation methods, tailored to the problem, can help us get where we need to go.

## **EXTRA SLIDES**

## Title [Content slide]

- Content.
- Content.

## Title [Table / Figure slide]