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Abstract	<p>In this paper, we consider whether certain countries are particularly adept (or particularly poor) at getting children from disadvantaged homes to study for a bachelor's degree. A series of university access models are estimated for four English-speaking countries (England, Canada, Australia and the USA), which include controls for comparable measures of academic achievement at age 15. Our results suggest that socioeconomic differences in university access are more pronounced in England and Canada than Australia and the USA and that cross-national variation in the socioeconomic gap remains even once we take account of differences in academic achievement. We discuss the implications of our findings for the creation of more socially mobile societies.</p>	
Keywords (separated by '-')	University access - Educational inequality - Social mobility - PISA	
Footnote Information		



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## 3 University access for disadvantaged children: 4 a comparison across countries

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6  
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8 **Abstract** In this paper, we consider whether certain countries are particularly adept (or  
9 particularly poor) at getting children from disadvantaged homes to study for a bachelor's  
10 degree. A series of university access models are estimated for four English-speaking  
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16 of our findings for the creation of more socially mobile societies.

17 **Keywords** University access · Educational inequality · Social mobility · PISA  
18

## 19 Introduction

20 Within a number of countries, higher education offers substantial monetary and non-  
21 monetary rewards (Black 2006; Chevalier and Conlon 2003). For instance, young people  
22 who obtain a tertiary qualification tend to have higher pay, hold more prestigious occu-  
23 **AQ1** pations and have better health than those who do not (Groot and van den Brink 2006).  
24 However, individuals from low income and low parental education backgrounds are dis-  
25 proportionately underrepresented within the undergraduate population, particularly within  
26 elite higher education institutions. Previous research (Carneiro and Heckman 2002) has

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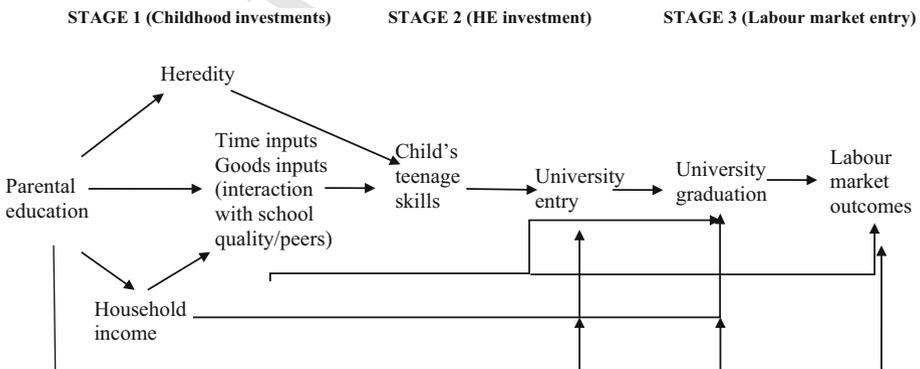
27 shown that the substantial gaps in university attendance by parental income observed in the  
 28 USA can be largely explained by differences in the prior academic achievement of rich and  
 29 poor young people in high school. Gaps in university participation by parental education  
 30 level in contrast are only partly attenuated by allowing for differences in the prior  
 31 achievement of students. We ask whether this striking finding holds in other institutional  
 32 contexts, where university tuition costs, financial support packages and application pro-  
 33 cesses are rather different. We attempt to answer this question by examining the link  
 34 between parental education, household income, academic achievement and university at-  
 35 tendance across Australia, Canada, England and the USA ('Appendix 1' provides key  
 36 information about these countries).

37 Haveman and Wolfe (1995) illustrate how parental education and household income  
 38 influence university entry—see Fig. 1. In stage 1, parental education has a direct influence  
 39 on the investments made in children; more educated parents are, for instance, more likely  
 40 to read to their children. Parental education also has an indirect influence on children's  
 41 development through household income (e.g. educated parents earn more and provide their  
 42 children with more educational resources). These parental investments create large so-  
 43 cioeconomic differences in cognitive ability on entry into school. Parental education di-  
 44 rectly, and indirectly via family income, interacts with school quality and peers, widening  
 45 socioeconomic differences in achievement by the mid-teenage years. Young people then  
 46 decide whether to enter university (stage 2). Socioeconomic gaps in university access will  
 47 emerge due to (1) disadvantaged children's weaker academic preparation and (2) other  
 48 non-academic constraints (e.g. credit constraints, risk aversion, lack of information or  
 49 aspiration). Both these factors will be affected by parents' education and income. Young  
 50 people then enter the labour market in stage 3.

51 Access to university thus differs across parental education and income groups due to:

- 52 1. Differences in school achievement;
- 53 2. Constraints upon choices (e.g. credit constraints, financial support, risk aversion);
- 54 3. Other non-academic factors (e.g. students' aspirations, a lack of information about the  
 55 costs and benefits of higher education).

56 Yet the extent to which (1) can explain socioeconomic differences in university ad-  
 57 mission is controversial. Leading economists (Cunha et al. 2006) have recently argued that  
 58 inequality in university access largely reflects differences in high school achievement



**Fig. 1** Framework of intergenerational persistence. *Notes* one source: adapted from (Haveman and Wolfe 1995, Figure 1)



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59 (Cameron and Heckman 2001; Chowdry et al. 2012; Ermisch and Del Bono 2012) and that  
60 other factors are less important. However, much sociological work continues to stress the  
61 importance of factors other than scholastic attainment in university access, including ex-  
62 pectations and aspirations, family and social norms, and subjective beliefs regarding  
63 chances of successful graduation (Jackson 2013). The resolution of this debate seems to  
64 hinge upon one key question—to what extent can family background differences in uni-  
65 versity access be explained by differences in prior achievement?

66 Evidence on this matter is mixed. Ermisch and Del Bono (2012) state there is ‘virtually  
67 no relationship’ between parental education and university access in England once age 16  
68 academic achievement is controlled. This is supported by Chowdry et al. (2012) who, albeit  
69 with a relatively crude measure of socioeconomic background (eligibility for state benefits  
70 that provide Free School Meals), similarly find little relationship between socioeconomic  
71 background and university participation conditional on prior achievement. In contrast,  
72 Jackson et al. (2007) suggest that up to half the socioeconomic gap in teenagers’ educational  
73 decisions in England is due to factors other than academic ability. In the USA, Cameron and  
74 Heckman (2001) and Carneiro and Heckman (2002) find prior academic achievement to be  
75 a greater barrier to disadvantaged children’s prospects of entering university than parental  
76 income. However, Belley and Lochner (2007) argue that family income has become a much  
77 more important factor in recent years. Using Canadian data, Finnie and Mueller (2008) find  
78 that high school grades can account for half of the association observed between parental  
79 education and university participation—yet the ‘effect’ of family income on participation  
80 remains unchanged even after allowing for prior achievement. In Australia, Le and Miller  
81 (2005) argue that ‘equity-based scholarships or university fee rebates [need] to be provided  
82 to year 12 graduates’ to address socioeconomic differences in university education, im-  
83 plying a role for family income in explaining university participation. By contrast, Cardak  
84 and Ryan (2009) show that, conditional upon school achievement, disadvantaged Australian  
85 students are just as likely to attend university as their more fortunate peers.

86 The aim of this paper is to thus provide comparable evidence on the link between  
87 parental education, household income, academic achievement and university entrance for  
88 Australia, Canada, England and the USA. These countries have been chosen because,  
89 although they share a number of similarities (e.g. language, level of economic development  
90 and political systems), they differ in a number of important ways with regard to their  
91 higher education system (e.g. level of tuition fees, application process and the role of the  
92 private sector). We begin by investigating the ‘raw’ parental education gap in university  
93 access, before investigating the extent to which these gaps can be explained by prior  
94 academic achievement [point (1) above]. This enables us to establish whether parental  
95 education is still associated with university entry, even amongst young people who are  
96 equally well qualified to attend.

97 ‘University systems’ section summarises the higher education systems across the  
98 countries considered. ‘Data and methods’ are described in third section, with ‘Results’ in  
99 **AQ2** fourth section and ‘Conclusions’ in last section.

## 100 University systems

101 The cohorts we consider in this paper were first eligible to enter university in 2003 in  
102 Canada, 2004 in the USA, 2006 in Australia and 2008 in England. Key indicators of the  
103 university systems are presented in Table 1. Young people in the different countries face  
104 different non-academic constraints to entry. One obvious example is cost. Partly due to its



**Table 1** Higher education across Anglophone countries

	Source	USA	England	Canada	Australia
<b>Educational expenditure</b>					
% of GDP spent on tertiary education	OECD (EAG 2012)	1.3	0.8	1.8	1.1
<b>Bachelor's degree Enrolment</b>					
% of population starting bachelor's degree by age 20	Youth panel	45	37	43	39
% of population obtaining bachelor's degree (all ages)	OECD (EAG 2012)	50	48	36	38
Non-completion rate (% of entrants)	OECD (EAG 2008)	44	21	25 <sup>b</sup>	28
% of enrolments by foreign students	OECD (EAG 2012)	3	18	7	22
% tertiary students rolled in private universities	OECD (EAG 2012)	32	0	0	3
<b>University tuition fees</b>					
Average annual tuition fees <i>public</i> institutions (\$US)	OECD (EAG 2012)	6312	4731 <sup>a</sup>	3774	4222
Average annual tuition fees <i>private</i> institutions (\$US)	OECD (EAG 2012)	22,852	–	–	9112
Average tuition fee all students (\$US)	Author calculation	11,605	4731 <sup>a</sup>	3774	4369
Average length of bachelor's degree course (years)		4	3	3–4 <sup>c</sup>	3–4 <sup>c</sup>
Tuition cost of a bachelor's degree (\$US)	Author calculation	46,419	14,193	15,096	17,475
<b>University scholarships</b>					
% of pupils receiving grant/scholarship	OECD (EAG 2012)	65	58	–	8
% of pupils receiving public loans	OECD (EAG 2012)	50	87	–	81
% NOT receiving loan, scholarship or grant	OECD (EAG 2012)	24	6	–	19

'Youth panel' refers to estimates based upon the data sets analysed in this paper. 'Author calculation' refers to our own calculations using information from Education at a Glance data

EAG stands for Education at a Glance and is followed by the relevant publication year

Tuition costs have been converted into US dollars by the OECD using purchasing power parity

<sup>a</sup> Figures refer to pre September 2012

<sup>b</sup> Refers to Québec only

<sup>c</sup> Degree length varies by subject in Canada and honours degrees are 4 years in Australia

105 large private sector, during this period, annual tuition costs were almost three times higher  
 106 in the USA (\$11,605) than England (\$4,731), Canada (\$3,774) and Australia (\$4,369).<sup>1</sup>  
 107 Moreover, bachelor's degrees take longer to complete in the USA (typically 4 years) than  
 108 in some other countries (e.g. 3 years in England), increasing total tuition fees and

<sup>1</sup> Note that figures for England refer to the period *before* the 2012 reforms—with tuition fees now substantially higher.



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109 opportunity costs. The countries also differ in the level of state financial support and thus  
110 their ability to limit the role of credit constraints and risk aversion for poorer students. A  
111 complex system of financial aid operates in Canada, where there is an ‘intricate web of  
112 both Federal and provincial/territorial programs’ offering student support, with universities  
113 and colleges also involved (Berger et al. 2008). There is also a system of non-need-based  
114 aid, where the Canadian government provides students with educational tax credits and  
115 saving plans (Berger et al. provide further information). The proportion of the population  
116 receiving (non-repayable) scholarships and grants is greatest in the USA (65 %—see  
117 Table 1). But public loans that are repaid on an income-contingent basis are provided in  
118 England and Australia, which offsets risks associated with human capital investment  
119 (Chapman and Ryan 2005). For instance, in Australia, the public loan covers upfront costs,  
120 with graduates paying back a percentage of their earnings over a certain threshold (this was  
121 somewhere between 4 and 8 % on earnings over approximately \$US 47,000 in 2010).  
122 Scholarships, means-tested bursaries and grants also have a significant role in each country,  
123 with more than half of students receiving such aid in England and the USA (see Table 1).

124 School-to-university transitions also differ. In England, compulsory education for the  
125 cohort we consider ended at age 16. Those aiming for university continue full-time  
126 education for a further 2 years, with university offers based largely upon *predicted* grades  
127 in national examinations. The supply of university places for the English cohort that we  
128 consider in this paper was constrained, with a limited number of places available in dif-  
129 ferent higher education institutions. There is, in contrast, a single educational transition  
130 point in Canada and the USA (at age 18), with a well-developed two-tier tertiary education  
131 system (made up of 2- and 4-year degrees). In Australia, the compulsory school leaving age  
132 varies by state/territory and the university admission process is also generally centralised at  
133 state or territory level, with entry determined by school grades (‘ENTER’ scores).

## 134 Data

135 Four nationally representative longitudinal data sets are analysed:

- 136 The Longitudinal Study of Australian Youth (LSAY 2003—Australia)
- 137 The Youth in Transition Study Cohort A (YITS 2000—Canada).
- 138 The Longitudinal Study of Young People in England (LSYPE 2004—England)
- 139 The Educational Longitudinal Study (ELS 2002—USA)

140 These data have a high degree of cross-national comparability. In particular, each study  
141 has been designed to be nationally representative and all follow children from the mid-  
142 teenage years (around age 15) through to at least early adulthood (age 20). All four data  
143 sets also contain detailed information on parental education and measures of the student’s  
144 educational attainment, the latter being based upon tests taken at similar ages. Finally, each  
145 has captured information on young people’s university entrance, including data on the  
146 precise institution they attend. These four studies thus represent the best data available to  
147 compare higher education access across countries.

## 148 Sample design

149 The Canadian and Australian data sets are longitudinal follow-ups of the Programme for  
150 International Student Assessment (PISA) 2000 or 2003 cohort. ELS (USA) began by



151 interviewing a cohort of 16 year olds in 2002, with longitudinal follow-ups at ages 18 and  
152 20. The LSYPE (England) surveyed 14 year olds in 2004 with annual follow-ups until age  
153 20. (Note that the data for England refer to a cohort of young people entering university  
154 before the widespread changes to the higher education finance system in 2012). In each  
155 study, schools were the primary sampling unit and pupils randomly chosen within them.<sup>2</sup>  
156 78 % (USA), 64 % (Australia), 55 % (Canada) and 55 % (England) of respondents remain  
157 in the study at age 20. Response weights are applied to account for non-response. Sample  
158 sizes are 12,575 (USA), 9,446 (Canada), 7,715 (England) and 6,536 (Australia).

## 159 Family background

160 Our preferred family background measure is the highest level of parental education. This is  
161 a key determinant of household financial resources, and the time and goods parents invest  
162 in their offspring—see Fig. 1. It is also widely used in other cross-national comparative  
163 studies of social inequality (Smeeding et al. 2011; Ermisch et al. 2012). International  
164 Standard Classification of Education (ISCED) categories are used to define parental  
165 education groups. Although these have been designed to enhance cross-national compar-  
166 ability, national qualifications do not always fit easily into this framework. We thus  
167 aggregate ISCED levels into three broad groups (see ‘Appendix 2’) as previously used in  
168 academic and public policy research (e.g. Ermisch and Del Bono 2012, OECD 2012):

- 169 ‘Low’ education = ISCED 0–2 (e.g. less than high school)
- 170 ‘Medium’ education = ISCED 3–5b (e.g. high school to associate degree)
- 171 ‘High’ education = ISCED 5a/6 (e.g. bachelor’s degree and higher)

172 Descriptive statistics are presented in Table 2, including the distribution of parental  
173 education. The spread of respondents across ISCED levels is quite similar across countries,  
174 though with fewer individuals in the top category in England and Canada than Australia  
175 and the USA.

## 176 Academic achievement

177 Each data set contains information on respondents’ academic achievement at age 18. The  
178 measures available for each country are reported in Table 3. In England, A-Level grades (and  
179 vocational equivalent qualifications) and Key Stage 5 total points are used. Grade point  
180 average (GPA), the number of Carnegie units taken and SAT quintile are used in the USA,  
181 along with performance on a maths test ELS cohort members sat at age 18. GPA in reading,  
182 maths and an average for other subjects is used for Canada, while Tertiary Entry Rank (a  
183 percentile ranking of individuals) and high school graduation status are available in Australia.

184 Controlling for these age 18 academic attainment measures would eliminate prior  
185 achievement as an explanation as to why university access differs between parental  
186 education groups. However, these variables are also potentially endogenous; attainment  
187 measured at age 18 may be influenced by decisions regarding likely higher education partic-  
188 ipation made at an earlier age. Alternatively, one could control for children’s test scores at  
189 a younger age (e.g. age 15) before young people are making decisions about university.<sup>3</sup> This  
190 may reduce concerns over possible endogeneity, but comes at the cost of family background

2FL01 <sup>2</sup> Huber-White adjustments or school fixed effects are used to account for clustering.

3FL01 <sup>3</sup> Of course one might argue that students will apply effort differentially even before age 16 depending on  
3FL02 whether they intend to go to university. We cannot overcome this problem.



**Table 2** Descriptive statistics

	USA	England	Canada	Australia
% Male	50	49	50	51
% Non-native language	4	6	8	9
% Low education (ISCED 0–2)	7	12	7	13
% Medium education (ISCED 3–5b)	56	68	64	47
% High education (ISCED 5a+)	38	20	29	40
% University	45	37	43	39
% Low parental education entering university	20	20	12	26
% Middle parental education entering university	36	31	32	33
% High parental education entering university	69	69	64	60
<i>n</i>	12,575	7715	9446	6536

1 Figures refer to column percentages

2 ISCED 0–2 = Below high school; ISCED 3–5B = High school to associates degree; ISCED 5A/6 = Bachelor's degree or higher

**Table 3** School achievement grades within the longitudinal data sets

England	USA	Australia	Canada
Completed age 18 schooling	High school graduate	High school graduate	High school graduate
A*–C GCSE maths	GPA in grade 12	Tertiary entry rank quintile	GPA high school
A*–C GCSE English	Carnegie units taken		GPA maths
Key stage 4 total points	SAT quintile (or equivalent ACT)		GPA reading
Key stage 5 total points	Age 18 maths test quintile		
A-Level grades and equivalents			

191 potentially having an (unmeasured) additional influence upon achievement beyond age 15.  
 192 As both approaches have strengths and weaknesses, we estimate a series of university access  
 193 models controlling for prior achievement measured at (1) just age 15 and (2) measured at  
 194 both age 15 and age 18 (see 'Model specification' section).

195 We attempt to measure test scores at age 15 in a consistent way by using measures  
 196 based upon the OECD's PISA framework.<sup>4</sup> All Canadian and Australian respondents  
 197 completed the PISA test. American children sat reading and maths tests which, critically,  
 198 included some PISA questions. The survey organisers have thus estimated PISA test scores  
 199 for the ELS cohort using equipercetile equating (Ingels et al. 2005: 37–41). English and  
 200 maths test scores are also available in the LSYPE (England), but refer to performance on  
 201 tests taken by this cohort at age 14 (key stage 3 tests). However, Micklewright and Schnepf  
 202 (2006) and (Micklewright et al. 2010/Micklewright et al. 2012) show that the correlation  
 203 between these key stage 3 national exam and PISA test scores in England is high (e.g. 0.70

<sup>4</sup> Of course, PISA scores also have limitations, including less than perfect reliability, as discussed by Jerrim (2013).



204 for reading and almost 0.85 for maths) and provide detailed regression models illustrating  
205 how they map on to one another. We use results from Micklewright and Schnepf (2006)  
206 and Micklewright et al. (2012) to produce PISA achievement measures for England  
207 comparable to those from other countries (full details are available from the authors upon  
208 request).<sup>5</sup> Unfortunately, this is only possible for state school pupils (93 % of the LSYPE  
209 sample).<sup>6</sup> However, robustness tests suggest this is unlikely to have a major influence upon  
210 our substantive conclusions.<sup>7</sup>

## 211 Bachelor's degree

212 Anyone enrolled in a bachelor's degree up to age 20 is defined as a university entrant (this  
213 excludes associate degrees in the USA and foundation degrees in England).<sup>8</sup> We are  
214 conscious that participation at older ages and graduation rates vary across countries, which  
215 we cannot allow for in our work. In 'Appendix 3', we provide additional analysis focusing  
216 on entry into 'selective' universities only, with little substantive change to our results.

## 217 Model specification

218 We estimate a series of logistic regression models for entry into university:<sup>9</sup>

$$\log\left(\frac{\pi(E_{ij})}{1 - \pi(E_{ij})}\right) = \alpha + \beta \cdot S_i + \gamma \cdot P_i + \delta \cdot G_i + \varphi \cdot C_i + \mu_j \quad \forall k$$

220 where  $\pi(E_{ij})$  = Probability of enrolment  $j$  ( $E = 1$  enrol,  $E = 0$  otherwise).  $S$  parental  
221 education dummy variables (reference: ISCED level 3–5b).  $P$  age 15 (PISA or equivalent)  
222 test scores.  $C$  control variables (gender and language spoken at home).  $G$  age 18 academic  
223 achievement.  $\mu_j$  school fixed effects.  $i$  Child  $i$ .  $j$  school  $j$ .  $k$  country  $k$ .

224 Four specifications are estimated. Only parental education and basic controls are in-  
225 cluded in specification 1. Estimates of  $\beta$  will thus capture all channels by which parental  
226 education influences university attendance. PISA scores are added in specification 2, with  $\beta$   
227 now reflecting differences by parental education group in university participation that  
228 remain after allowing for differences in age 15 test scores. Specification 3 includes school  
229 fixed effects, revealing whether school-level factors explain any of the remaining parental  
230 education gap in university attendance, above and beyond schools' possible influence upon  
231 young people's test scores. This might include differences across schools in information

5FL01 <sup>5</sup> Substantive findings remain intact if (observed) Key Stage 3 scores are used in place of (estimated) PISA  
5FL02 scores. As PISA scores for England are estimated, we have investigated the sensitivity of the estimated  
5FL03 standard errors using (1) analytic methods; (2) bootstrapping (3) observed key stage 3 test scores in place of  
5FL04 the PISA estimates, and find little change to our results.

6FL01 <sup>6</sup> Canada, Australia and the USA include state and private school pupils.

7FL01 <sup>7</sup> Specifically, we estimate test scores for private school children via imputation. The high SES parameter  
7FL02 estimates increase by approximately 0.10 standard deviations.

8FL01 <sup>8</sup> Some two-year college students may complete a 4-year degree, though upgrade rates remain low (Long  
8FL02 and Kurlaender 2009). Exclusion of these students means we may be slightly understating low SES HE  
8FL03 participation rates in the USA (as this group is the most likely to enrol in an associate degree).

9FL01 <sup>9</sup> We have experimented with models including controls for respondents' month and year of birth and found  
9FL02 very little change to the results presented (and substantive conclusions drawn). Similarly, we have also re-  
9FL03 estimated models including controls for family structure and number of siblings. In the baseline (uncon-  
9FL04 ditional) estimates, this reduces the SES gap in university access by about 10 percent in England and the  
9FL05 USA, with little change in Australia (data not available for Canada).



232 provided about post-secondary education and peer effects. Finally, specification 4 restricts  
233 the sample to only young people still in education at age 18 and includes all academic  
234 achievement controls.<sup>10</sup>

235 All estimates are presented as differences in log-odds. This is a linear metric which can  
236 take any value along the real number line, with larger absolute values indicating a stronger  
237 association. Negative values indicate the outcome is *less* likely to occur relative to the  
238 reference group, while positive values suggest the outcome is *more* likely to occur. Log-  
239 odds are more attractive than alternatives like marginal effects (predicted probabilities) as  
240 they are not sensitive to the point on the logistic distribution at which they are estimated,  
241 and are not influenced by differences between countries in the absolute proportion of  
242 children who enter university. However, appreciating this metric is cumbersome to in-  
243 terpret, and we also present predicted probabilities in the text to aid interpretation. These  
244 are based upon estimates from linear probability models following the same specification  
245 as presented above.

## 246 Results

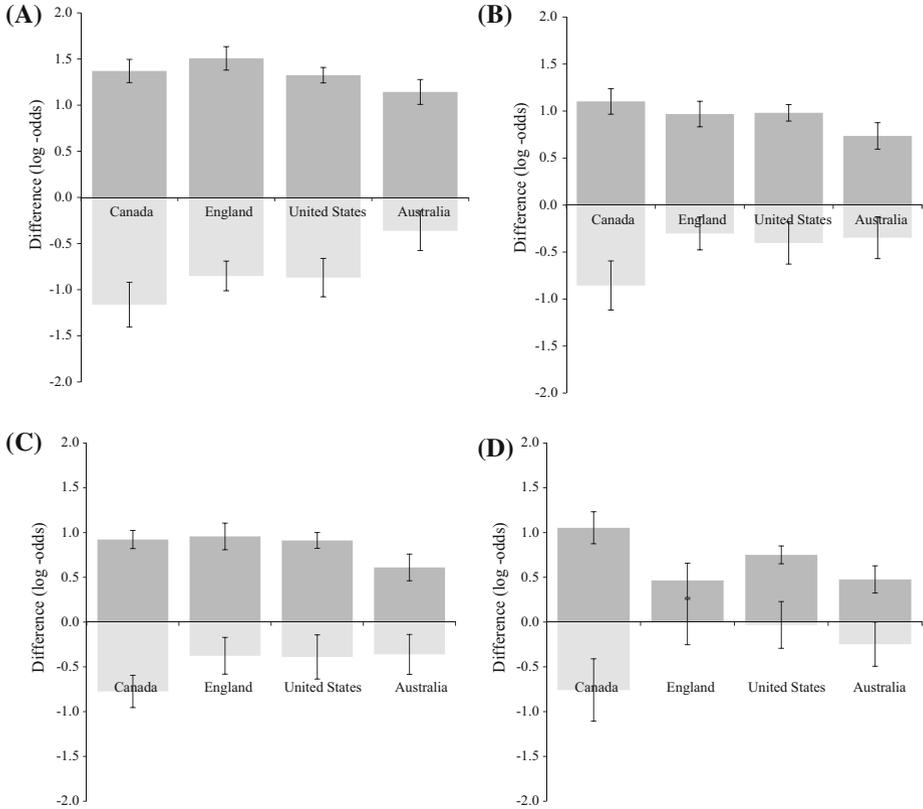
247 This section summarises our main findings, with full parameter estimates available from  
248 the authors upon request. Figure 2 illustrates the parental education gap in university  
249 access. The light grey segments of the bars illustrate differences between the low (ISCED  
250 0–2) and middle (ISCED 3–5b) parental education groups. The dark grey segments refer to  
251 the middle parental education—high parental education (ISCED 5A/6) comparison.

252 Figure 2 Panel A includes only gender and immigrant status as controls. The difference  
253 in university participation between the low and middle parental education groups is sub-  
254 stantial and statistically significant in Canada (1.16 log-odds or 20 % points), England and  
255 the USA (approximately 0.85 log-odds or 15 % points). Interestingly, the gap is sig-  
256 nificantly smaller (at the 1 % level) in Australia (0.36 log-odds or 7 % points).

257 Turning to the middle–high parental education comparison, differences are substantial  
258 (always more than 1.0 log-odd) and significantly different from 0 at the 1 % level. The gap  
259 is particularly big in England (1.50 log-odds), meaning children with highly educated  
260 parents are approximately four and a half times more likely to enter university than their  
261 peers whose parents have an average education level. The analogous figures are ap-  
262 proximately 1.3 log-odds in Canada and the USA, and 1.14 log-odds in Australia (which is  
263 significantly different at the 5 % level to England and the USA). Bringing these results  
264 together, the overall difference between the high and low parental education groups is  
265 notably bigger in Canada (2.53 log-odds) and England (2.36 log-odds) than the USA (2.19  
266 log-odds) and, particularly, Australia (1.51 log-odds).

267 Panel B controls for PISA test scores. The previous substantial difference between the  
268 low and middle parental education groups has been greatly reduced in England and the  
269 USA (from approximately 0.85 log-odds to 0.30 and 0.41 respectively), modestly in  
270 Canada (from 1.16 to 0.86 log-odds), but with virtually no change in Australia (0.36 log-  
271 odds in specification 1–0.35 in specification 2). Although the difference between the low  
272 and middle groups always remains statistically significant, the magnitude becomes small  
273 (roughly 5 % points) except in Canada (where the gap remains around 20 % points). Thus,  
274 the reason why children with uneducated parents are less likely to go to university than a  
275 child with averagely educated parents is largely due to differences in prior attainment

10FL01 <sup>10</sup> PISA scores at age 15 are included, but school fixed effects are removed.



**Fig. 2** Socioeconomic gap in college participation across Anglophone countries. *Notes* figures for England refer to state school pupils only. The *light grey* segment of the *bars* illustrates the difference between ISCED 0–2 and ISCED 3–5B groups. *Dark grey* segments refer to the difference between ISCED 3–5B and ISCED 5A/6 groups. *Thin black* lines running through the centre are the estimated 90 % confidence intervals. **a** Basic control only, **b** PISA source at age 15, **c** school fixed effects, **d** school grades age 18

276 (before age 15). Moreover, differences in age 15 test scores explain most of the cross-  
 277 national variation observed in previous estimates. Thus, university participation amongst  
 278 the low and middle parental education groups is more equal in Australia than in England  
 279 and the USA due to factors taking hold before age 15 and *not* differences in how tertiary  
 280 education systems are designed. This has important implications for public policy; en-  
 281 hancing academic achievement in school is vital if we are to raise university participation  
 282 rates amongst disadvantaged children. Redesigning the higher education system alone (e.g.  
 283 tuition fees, financial support) is unlikely to be enough.

284 The middle–high parental education gap also declines once PISA scores are added,  
 285 falling from 1.51 to 0.96 log-odds in England, 1.37 to 1.10 in Canada, 1.33 to 1.00 in the  
 286 USA and 1.14 to 0.75 in Australia. Age 15 achievement thus accounts for one-third of the  
 287 difference in university participation between these groups in England and Australia, and  
 288 around a quarter in Canada and the USA. Yet large parental education gaps (and cross-  
 289 national variation) remain. For instance, the high parental education group in England,  
 290 Canada and the USA is still two and a half to three times as likely to enter university as the



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291 middle group (and roughly twice as likely in Australia). Again, this has important impli-  
292 cations. First, high rates of university access amongst children with highly educated par-  
293 ents cannot solely be attributed to their superior test scores at age 15, as measured by PISA  
294 style assessments. Second, those with highly educated parents are significantly more likely  
295 to enter university than both the middle and low groups. This implies policies should aim  
296 to increase university participation amongst both low and middle SES children, rather than  
297 focusing upon the most disadvantaged group alone.

298 School fixed effects are included in Fig. 2 Panel C. Interestingly, the key parameters  
299 hardly change. The middle–high parental education gap declines by just 0.04 log-odds in  
300 England, 0.08 in the USA, and only slightly more in Canada (0.18 log-odds) and Australia  
301 (0.13 log-odds). This suggests that schools currently play a minor role in explaining  
302 parental education differences in university access (net of their influence upon age 15 test  
303 scores). This is a powerful result. It suggests that even when children attend the same  
304 school and have similar levels of achievement at age 15, those from the middle parental  
305 education group are still less likely to go to university than those from a high parental  
306 education background. Hence, the parental education gap in degree enrolment is not simply  
307 caused by poorer students attending lower-quality schools or schools that do not help their  
308 students apply to go to university. The implication of this finding is also, for example, that  
309 school peer effects do not seem to be an important factor in university access beyond their  
310 possible influence upon age 15 achievement.

311 In specification 4, the sample is restricted to those eligible to enter university, with a  
312 wide range of academic achievement scores up to age 18 added to the model. The dif-  
313 ference between the bottom and middle groups is no longer statistically significant at  
314 conventional thresholds (in any country other than Canada). This supports our claim that,  
315 in three of the countries, low school achievement is the primary reason why children from  
316 low parental education backgrounds are relatively unlikely to enter university. The middle–  
317 high parental education gap is also smaller once we allow for age 18 achievement mea-  
318 sures, and it is reduced by more in some countries than in others. For instance, compared to  
319 panel B, the high parental education parameter estimate is reduced by roughly 5 % in  
320 Canada, 35 % in Australia, 25 % in the USA and by approximately 50 % in England (from  
321 0.96 to 0.46 log-odds). This is perhaps unsurprising given that, for this cohort, compulsory  
322 education in England ended at age 16 (and that we have now restricted the sample to only  
323 those individuals still in education at age 18). Therefore, the raw parental education gaps in  
324 university participation are larger in England initially, but once we allow for entry  
325 qualification at age 18, they are reduced to a more modest level. One could argue that the  
326 English system is more meritocratic since one's achievement and qualification level at age  
327 18 is the main driver of university participation. Alternatively, one could make the point  
328 that parental education differences in university participation are larger in England because  
329 the education system gets increasingly selective even before university entry.

### 330 **The role of family income**

331 In Fig. 1, we suggested that parental education and family income have independent  
332 influences on children's development and chances of entering university. Ideally, both  
333 parental education and family income would therefore have been included in our empirical  
334 model. Unfortunately, the parental income data available in each data set are of variable  
335 quality, and not necessarily comparable across countries. We have therefore estimated a  
336 reduced-form of the theoretical model presented in Fig. 1, with parental education



337 capturing both the direct effect of a child having a more educated parent and the indirect  
338 effect of being raised in a higher income household.

339 However, in a set of additional analyses, we have investigated whether household  
340 income mediates the relationship between parental education and university participation  
341 once academic attainment has been controlled. The intention of this additional analysis was  
342 to establish whether family income (and *low* family income in particular) had an inde-  
343 pendent association with university participation, and whether broadly similar results in  
344 this regard were found for all four countries. Specifically, following Cunha et al. (2006),  
345 we hypothesised that there would be a strong unconditional association between low  
346 income and university access, but that this would weaken substantially once parental  
347 education and cognitive test scores were controlled. All these additional analyses, and a  
348 full description of the income data available, are available from the authors upon request.

349 Our results can be summarised as follows. In all four countries, we found a strong  
350 unconditional association between household income and access to university. However,  
351 this association was substantially reduced as controls for parental education and PISA  
352 scores were added, with the impact of low family income falling in all four countries by at  
353 least 70 %. Moreover, once grades at age 18 were added, the impact of low household  
354 income was statistically indistinguishable from 0 in each of the four countries at con-  
355 ventional thresholds.

356 We therefore found striking similarities across countries (despite the different income  
357 measures used). Low family resources may be associated with university attendance—but  
358 generally via its influence upon test scores and academic achievement up to age 15. We  
359 are, however, mindful that the income measure is not high quality in all cases, and this may  
360 depress its apparent effect upon university participation. In contrast, parental education still  
361 had a strong independent association with university participation, even after parental  
362 income and prior school achievement were controlled.

## 363 Conclusions

364 This paper has considered how the link between parental education, household income,  
365 secondary school achievement and access to university compares across Australia, Canada,  
366 England and the USA. Our evidence can inform the debate about whether improving the  
367 achievement of more disadvantaged children in the school system should be a priority,  
368 rather than admission reform at the point of entry into tertiary education. A key strength of  
369 the paper is that we have used surveys and measures of prior achievement that have a high  
370 degree of comparability across countries.

371 Parental education gaps in university participation are large, and of broadly similar  
372 magnitude, in each of the four countries. This may be somewhat surprising, given their rather  
373 different institutional arrangements for access to and funding of tertiary education. We also  
374 find little evidence that family background differences in university entry are substantially  
375 larger in the particular countries with high private costs of university, such as the USA. These  
376 findings hint at factors outside the university system being responsible for these findings.

377 We also find strong evidence that secondary school achievement is a key mediator  
378 linking parental education, family income and access to university in all four countries. In  
379 particular, our results indicate that the influence of low parental income is statistically  
380 insignificant once academic achievement in secondary school is controlled. This is in-line  
381 with previous evidence from Australia (e.g. Cardak and Ryan 2009), Canada (e.g. Finnie  
382 and Mueller 2008) and the USA (e.g. Carneiro and Heckman 2002). This is also consistent



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383 with UK evidence from Chowdry et al. (2012), who examine this issue using adminis-  
384 trative (population) data from the education system and an income-based measure of  
385 socioeconomic status.<sup>11</sup> Specifically, they too find only a very small socioeconomic gap  
386 remains after controlling for pupil achievement at age 16 (GCSE test scores).

387 Our work does, however, also indicate a sizeable and statistically significant difference  
388 in university participation by parental education group, which remains even after con-  
389 trolling for test scores at age 14/15. This implies that, even if parental income mediates  
390 through pupil achievement, there appears to be an independent role of parental education in  
391 influencing university participation (including the other family attributes that this may  
392 **AQ3** proxy, such as parental attitudes and aspirations). This finding is not necessarily incon-  
393 sistent with previous UK studies which have suggested little role for family background in  
394 explaining university participation after controlling for student achievement at 16 and 18  
395 (e.g. Marcenaro-Gutierrez et al. 2007; Chowdry et al. 2012). In fact, we too find a very  
396 strong unconditional association between family background and university access (1.23  
397 log-odds), which becomes small and statistically insignificant once age 18 attainment has  
398 been controlled (0.14 log-odds). This is as per the work by Chowdry et al. (whose study has  
399 **AQ4** the advantage of an extremely large sample size). Hence, our study suggests that parental  
400 education has a particular role to play in explaining students' progression between age  
401 14/15 and high school graduation or equivalent at age 18: the socioeconomic gap appears  
402 to widen during this critical period.

403 In any case, some caution should be exercised in comparing our analysis with this  
404 previous evidence from the UK. These previous studies either refer to a much earlier  
405 cohort of young people (those entering university in the mid-1990s in Marcenaro-Gutierrez  
406 et al. 2007) or only include limited measures of family background and specifically no  
407 information on parental education. Additionally, with respect to Marcenaro-Gutierrez et al.  
408 2007, the stronger residual impact of parental education that we find could be due not just  
409 to the different age of test score data, but also to an increasing influence of family  
410 background over time. This in turn could be linked to major changes in the higher  
411 education system in England between the 1990s (the cohort they studied) and late 2000s  
412 (the cohort we have studied); between these time-points, university tuition fees were  
413 introduced (and subsequently increased) along with the system of financial support (e.g.  
414 less use of non-repayable student grants and a greater reliance upon income-contingent  
415 loans).<sup>12</sup> Given that our data do not go back far enough, we are unable to say more about  
416 this issue.

417 We therefore conclude that conditional on achievement in early secondary school,  
418 parental education, as a long run indicator of socioeconomic differences between families,  
419 strongly predicts university participation. In contrast, the correlation between university  
420 access and shorter run indicators of family circumstances, such as parental income, is  
421 notably weaker. This finding, which holds across different national settings, suggests that,  
422 at current levels of cost, it is not directly financial barriers that drive the low university  
423 participation rates of students from poorer backgrounds. This is consistent with the seminal  
424 work of Cunha et al. (2006), who argue that inadequate investments made throughout  
425 childhood, rather than costs and credit constraints at the point of entry, are primarily

11FL01 <sup>11</sup> Chowdry et al. use an income-based measure that is an amalgam of pupil's eligibility for Free School  
11FL02 Meals (which in turn is linked to their family being in receipt of different types of welfare) and the affluence  
11FL03 of the neighbourhood in which the child lives.

12FL01 <sup>12</sup> This is under the assumption that parental education is a better measure of family background than those  
12FL02 used in the study by Chowdry et al.



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426 responsible for disadvantaged children’s low levels of university participation. We do have  
 427 to acknowledge, however, the potential problem that income is measured poorly in some  
 428 studies, thus potentially depressing its effect in the model.

429 More generally, it is important to make clear the limitations of this work and the need  
 430 for future research. First, the higher education systems in some of the countries considered  
 431 have seen significant change since the time these data were collected. For instance, all  
 432 results for England refer to a cohort of young people who entered university before the  
 433 tripling of tuition fees from £3,000 to £9,000 per annum (along with a number of other  
 434 changes to student finance and support). An interesting question is therefore whether the  
 435 patterns found will continue to be observed in future studies. Second, although we have  
 436 harmonised the data analysed across these four countries, this was done *ex-post* (i.e. after  
 437 data collection). A systematic attempt to collect rich, comparable data across a large  
 438 number of higher education systems is the next important step in this line of research—a  
 439 gap that we hope the OECD’s forthcoming Assessment of Higher Education Learning  
 440 Outcomes (AHELO) study will be able to fill. Finally, although we have attempted to  
 441 measure how the socioeconomic gradient in university access differs across four countries,  
 442 our ability to link this to particular features of the higher education systems has been  
 443 limited. This is due to the small number of countries with such high quality, longitudinal  
 444 data available. Nevertheless, establishing the link between the socioeconomic gradient in  
 445 university access and macro-level factors such as the level of tuition fees and financial  
 446 support available to students is an important direction for future work.

447 So, in conclusion, these findings have two important implications for public policy.  
 448 First, as we find substantial differences between the high and middle/low parental  
 449 education groups, interventions should seek to increase university participation rates  
 450 amongst young people from both low and middle socioeconomic backgrounds, rather than  
 451 focusing exclusively upon those from the most disadvantaged homes. Second, the key role  
 452 of prior achievement suggests that initiatives designed to boost school performance (rather  
 453 than lowering higher education tuition fees) will be pivotal in reducing socioeconomic  
 454 inequality in university participation, particularly in England and the USA.

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 459 seminars at the Institute of Education and Michigan State University. Particular thanks go to Stephen Childs  
 460 for research assistance with the YITS data and to Barbara Schneider for facilitating Jerrim’s visit to MSU.

## 461 Appendix 1

462 See Tables 4.

**Table 4** Key economic statistics across Anglophone countries

	Source	USA	England	Canada	Australia
Economy					
GDP per capita (\$US 000)	OECD 2011	46.5	35.8	39.1	40.8
Population size (million)	OECD 2011	307	53	34.1	22.3
% of 20–24 year olds NEET	OECD (EAG)	16	16	14	12
Poverty, inequality and social mobility					
Intergenerational income elasticity	Blanden (2013)	0.41	0.37	0.23	0.25



**Table 4** continued

	Source	USA	England	Canada	Australia
Income inequality (Gini coefficient)	OECD 2011	0.38	0.34	0.32	0.30
% of children living in poverty	OECD 2011	22	13	15	14
Educational achievement (PISA test scores)					
PISA reading rank in 2009	PISA 2009	17th	25th	6th	9th
Mean PISA reading test score in 2009	PISA 2009	500	494	524	515
Standard deviation of PISA reading test score	PISA 2009	97	95	90	99
SES gap in reading ability at 15 (years of schooling)	Jerrim (Jerrim 2013)	2.6	2.3	1.7	2.3
% private school children	Author	4.0	7.0	7.0	17.0

Figures are taken from various sources. EAG stands for Education at a Glance. Jerrim (Jerrim 2013) uses PISA 2009 data. Blanden (2013) uses data from different years across the different countries

Countries with a high figure for the intergeneration income elasticity are the least socially mobile  
 3 Tuition costs have been converted into US dollars by the OECD using purchasing power parity

463 **Appendix 2**

464 See Tables 5

**Table 5** Mapping of national qualifications into three broad education groups

	Australia	England	USA	
Low	Not complete primary school	No qualification		
	Completed primary school only	youth training, skill seekers	Did not finish high school	
Medium	Did not complete beyond year 10	City and Guilds part 1		
		GCSE's		
		City and Guilds part 2		
		Apprenticeship		
		AS levels		
	Completed year 10/11 and TAFE training certificate	Scottish higher grades	Graduated from high school	
	Completed year 12	CSYS	GED	
	TAFE training certificate	City and Guilds part 3	Attended 2-year school, no degree	
	TAFE diploma		ONC/OND	Graduated from 2-year school
			A-Levels	Attended college, no 4-year degree
		Nursing qualification (no degree)		
		Teaching qualification (no degree)		
		HNC/HND		
	HE diploma			

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**Table 5** continued

Australia	England	USA
High	First degree	Graduated from 4 year college
University degree	Higher degree	Completed masters Completed PhD or MD

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465 **Appendix 3: Socioeconomic differences in access to ‘selective’ universities**

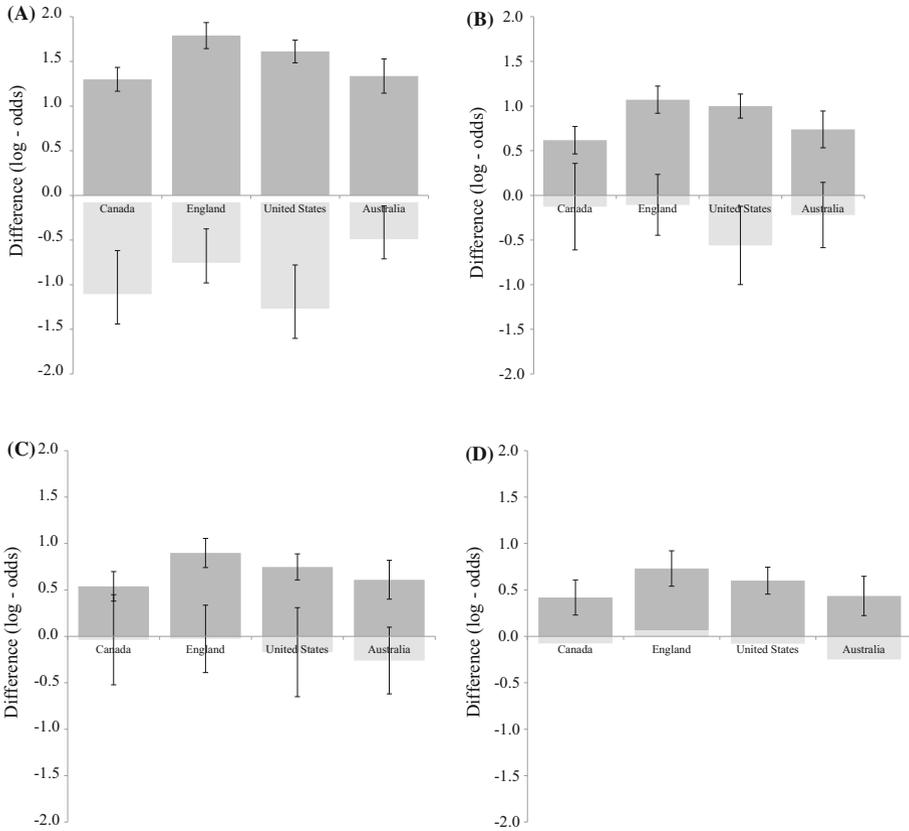
466 Selective institutions are a route to prestigious occupations and high earnings, but defining  
 467 this group is not a trivial task. We take a pragmatic approach and use the following pre-  
 468 defined categories:

- 469 England = ‘Russell Group’ ([www.russellgroup.ac.uk/our-universities.aspx](http://www.russellgroup.ac.uk/our-universities.aspx)).
- 470 Australia = ‘Group of Eight’ ([www.go8.edu.au/go8-members/go8-member-profiles](http://www.go8.edu.au/go8-members/go8-member-profiles)).
- 471 Canada = ‘U15’ ([://rd-review.ca/eic/site/033.nsf/vwapj/sub198.pdf/\\$file/sub198.pdf](http://rd-review.ca/eic/site/033.nsf/vwapj/sub198.pdf/$file/sub198.pdf)).
- 472 USA = ‘Highly selective’ (Carnegie classification).

473 In England, Australia and Canada, these are self-selected alliances of research intensive  
 474 institutions, whilst the USA categorisation is based upon SAT scores of entrants. Around  
 475 one in eight young people attend a selective university using these definitions (16 %  
 476 Canada, 13 % USA, 12 % Australia and 10 % England) with substantive conclusions  
 477 largely unchanged when we have experimented with alternatives (e.g. those based upon  
 478 entrants test scores). We note that there is some debate as to whether simple categorisations  
 479 such as the Russell Group are indeed a valid and reliable indicator of university ‘quality’.  
 480 Nevertheless, we proceed using such groupings in our analysis for consistency and com-  
 481 parability with the existing literature (e.g. Chowdry et al. 2012; Anders 2012; Boliver  
 482 2013).

483 Append Fig. 3 Panel A presents estimates where all young people are included in the  
 484 sample, and gender and immigrant status are the only controls. We find a strong association  
 485 between parental education and access to selective institutions in all four countries, with a  
 486 particularly big difference between the middle and high parental education groups. As  
 487 qualifications from selective universities are thought to offer higher economic rewards than  
 488 a ‘typical’ bachelor’s degree (Chevalier and Conlon Chevalier and Conlon 2003, Hoekstra  
 489 Hoekstra 2009), it is a concern that young people with poorly educated parents are under-  
 490 represented in such institutions.

491 Appendix Fig. 3 panels B–D consider the parental education– selective university gap  
 492 amongst young people who enrol in higher education (i.e. estimates are *conditional upon*  
 493 university attendance). The difference between the low and middle parental education  
 494 groups is now small and statistically insignificant in England, Canada and Australia;  
 495 conditional upon going to university, children from low-educated households are just as  
 496 likely to enter a selective institution as a young person from an average background. This  
 497 gap is larger, and statistically different from 0 at the 5 % level, in the USA (0.56 log-odds  
 498 or 7 % points). Yet confidence intervals are wide, partly due to relatively few children  
 499 from low parental education backgrounds remaining in the sample now it includes uni-  
 500 versity attendees only. This suggests that the major issue facing the low parental education  
 501 group is access to university in general and not specifically about admission to selective



**Fig. 3** The socio-economic gap in entry to a *selective* higher education institution. *Notes* figures for England refer to state school pupils only. The *light grey* segment of the bars illustrates the difference between ISCED 0–2 and ISCED 3–5B groups. *Dark grey* segments refer to the difference between ISCED 3–5B and ISCED 5A/6 groups. *Thin black* lines running through the centre are the estimated 90 % confidence intervals. Estimates in *Panel A* are based upon the full sample and include only basic controls (gender and language spoken at home). In *panel B*, the data sets have been restricted to university graduates only. PISA test scores are then controlled for in *panel C*, with achievement scores at age 18 also included in *panel D*. **a** Raw socioeconomic gap, **b** conditional upon university entry (basic controls), **c** PISA test scores, **d** school grades

502 institutions. Indeed, the low–middle parental education gap does not reach statistical  
 503 significance in almost all remaining model specifications for any country (panels B to D).<sup>13</sup>

504 The middle–high parental education gap in Appendix Fig. 3 Panel B is significantly  
 505 larger in England (1.07 log-odds) and the USA (1.0 log-odd) than in Australia (0.74 log-  
 506 odds) and Canada (0.62 log-odds) at the 10 % threshold. Nevertheless, in all four countries,  
 507 the middle–high parental education gap is substantial (15 % points in Australia and Canada  
 508 and 20 % points in England and the USA). Hence, not only are children with highly

13FL01 <sup>13</sup> The low–middle parental education gap for the USA just reaches significance at the 10 percent threshold  
 13FL02 in Panel B.



509 educated parents more likely to go to university, but they are also more likely enter a  
510 selective institution conditional upon their higher rate of attendance.

511 Is this parental education gap in selective university access simply a reflection of  
512 differences in cognitive ability and school grades? Appendix Fig. 3 Panel C (PISA con-  
513 trols) and Panel D (PISA controls plus age 18 school grades) suggest this is only part of the  
514 explanation.<sup>14</sup> For instance, in the USA, estimates decline from 1.0 (panel B) to 0.74 in  
515 Panel C (PISA test scores controlled) and to 0.61 in Panel D (age 18 grades controlled). A  
516 similar pattern occurs in England and Australia. But a non-trivial difference between young  
517 people from high parental education backgrounds and the other two groups remains. In the  
518 previous section, we demonstrated how children from high parental education backgrounds  
519 in England are 6 % points more likely to enter university than their peers from ‘average’  
520 parental education backgrounds, even once school achievement measures were controlled.  
521 Appendix Fig. 3 Panel D illustrates that, conditional upon this already greater likelihood of  
522 going to university, children from high parental education backgrounds are a further 8 %  
523 points more likely to attend a selective institution (having controlled for academic  
524 achievement). Moreover, in additional analysis available upon request, we continue to find  
525 the link between parental education and selective university entry remains, even after  
526 conditioning upon family income, high school graduation, school grades and multiple  
527 cognitive test scores.  
528

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14FL01 <sup>14</sup> These estimates are still conditional upon university participation.



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