

Inequality and Poverty: Analysis and Policy

13th lecture: Inequalities in education and education policy

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Course web page: <http://rszarf.ips.uw.edu.pl/inequality/>

Lecture content

- Importance of education equality for long and healthy life for all
- Education and inequality: general models and mechanisms
- Education policy and schooling systems impact on inequality with the case for early childhood interventions
- Tertiary education expansion and two theses about reproduction of inequality with confirming case of Poland
- Summary
- Appendix about complexity of education and school systems

Importance of education in explaining health inequalities

WHAT is health?

'a state of complete **physical, mental and social well-being** and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity' (WHO definition)

Class inequalities in health: Black Report (UK, 1980) and the new paradigm

SOCIAL CLASSES

I. **Professional** (for example accountant, doctor, lawyer) (5 per cent)*

II. **Intermediate** (for example manager, nurse, schoolteacher) (18 per cent)

III. **Skilled non-manual** (for example clerical worker, secretary, shop assistant) (12 per cent)

IIIM. **Skilled manual** (for example bus driver, butcher, carpenter, coal face worker) (38 per cent)

IV. **Partly skilled** (for example agricultural worker, bus conductor, postman) (18 per cent)

V. **Unskilled** (for example cleaner, dock worker, labourer) (9 per cent).

This graph from Black Report highlights the significant health inequalities that existed across social classes in Britain during the 1970s, **with lower social classes experiencing disproportionately higher rates of infant mortality compared to higher social classes.**

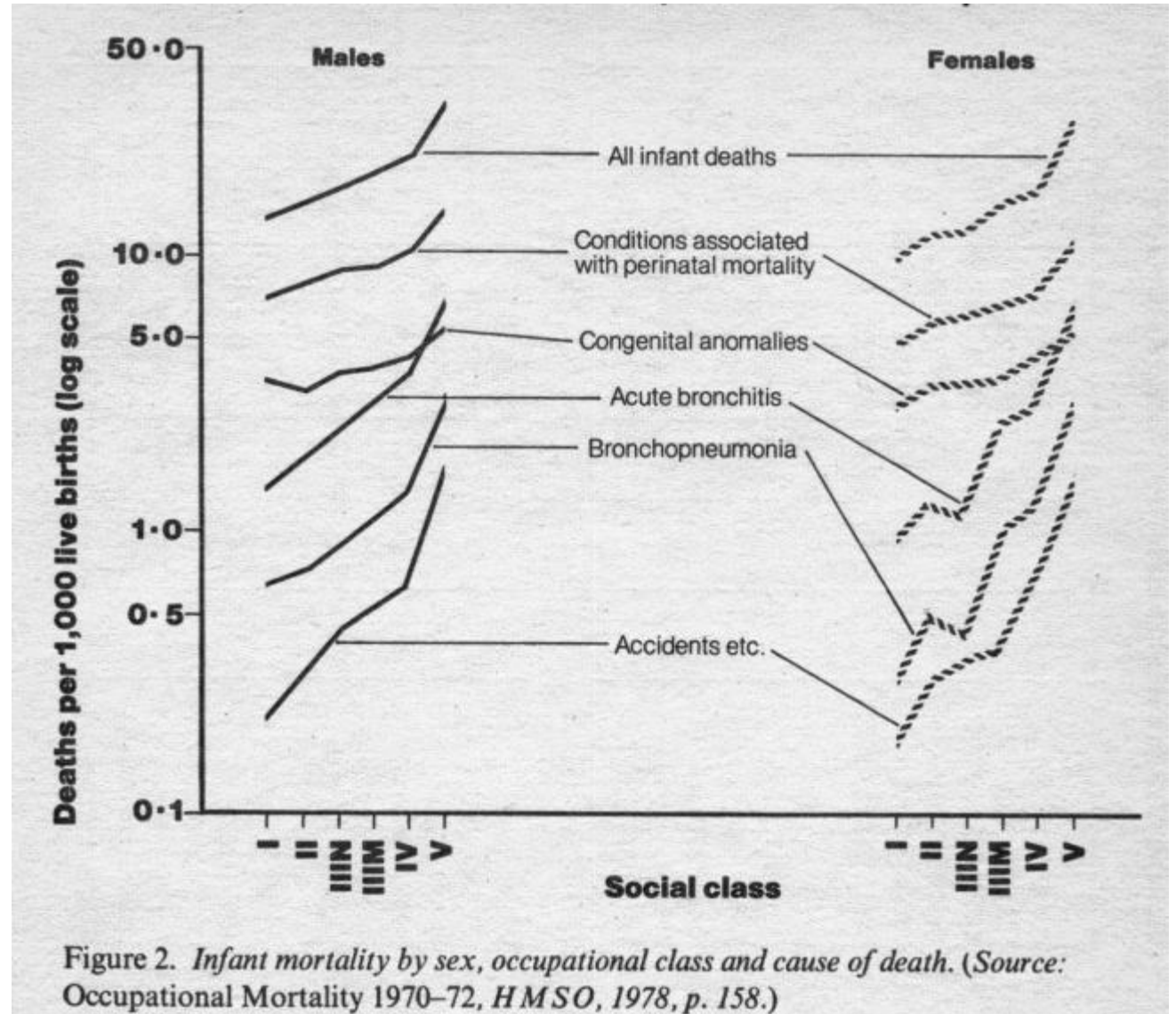


Figure 2. *Infant mortality by sex, occupational class and cause of death.* (Source: Occupational Mortality 1970-72, HMSO, 1978, p. 158.)

Education in the rainbow model of health causation

- **Education is causally linked to work environment and unemployment.** Higher educational attainment often leads to better employment opportunities, more stable jobs, and healthier work environments. Conversely, lower education levels may result in unemployment or poor working conditions, which can negatively impact health.
- **Education can influence the formation and quality of social and community networks.** Higher education may provide access to more supportive and health-promoting social connections.

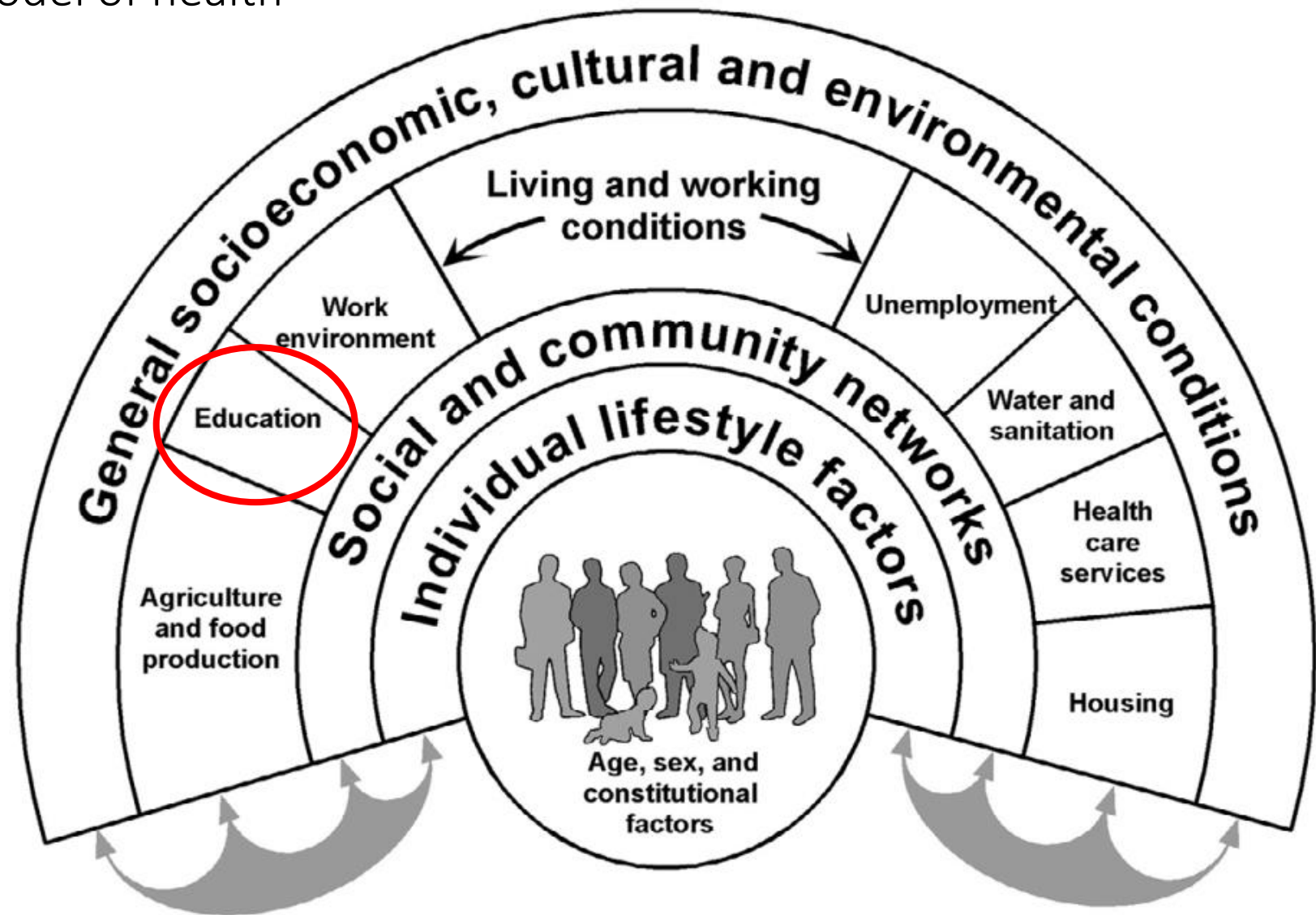
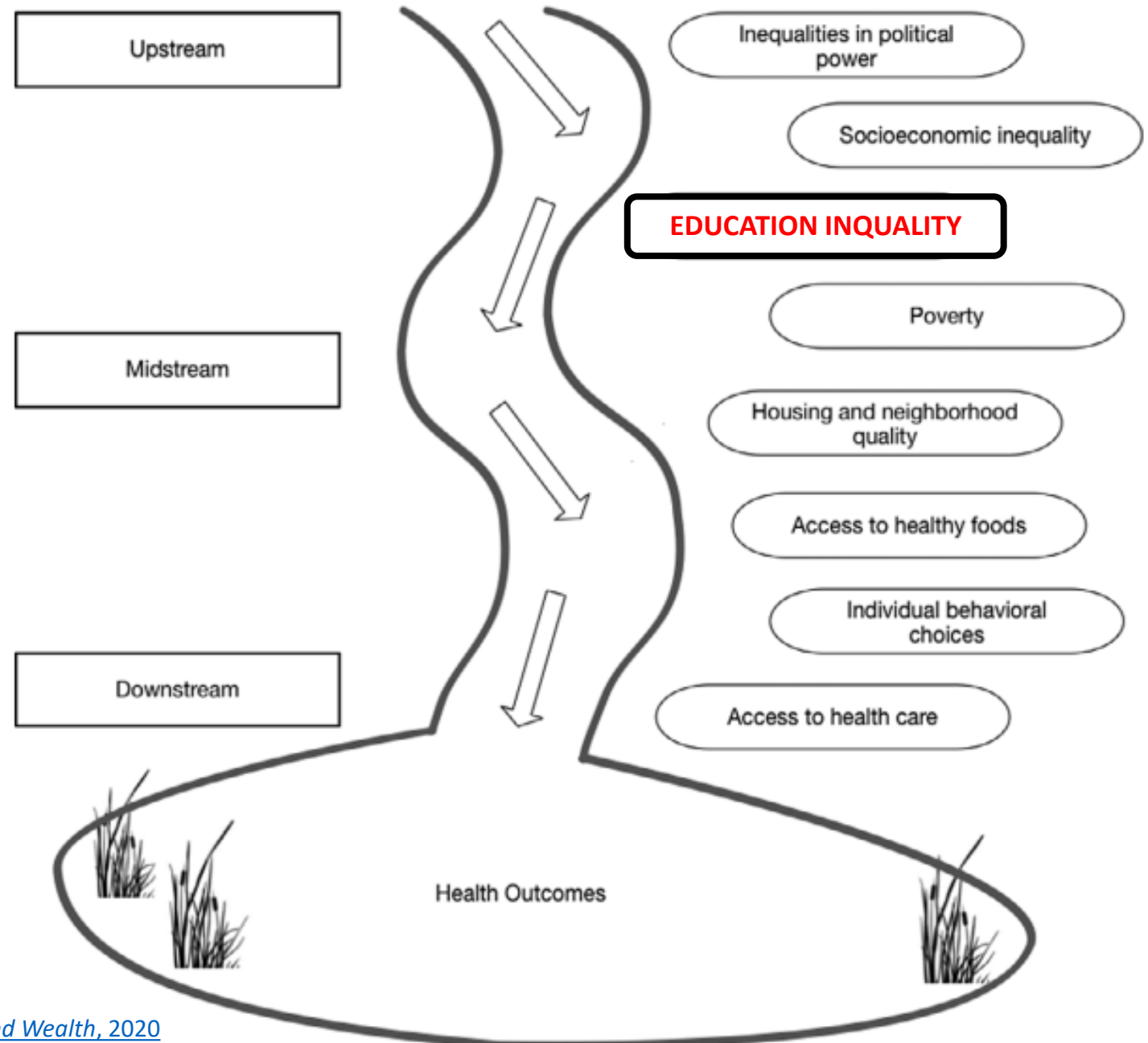


FIGURE 3.2 The Dahlgren–Whitehead rainbow model of health causation. Reproduced with permission from Dahlgren and Whitehead (1993).

Education inequality in upstream and downstream social determinants of health

Determinants of health in the metaphor of the beginning of a river (towards the spring - upstream), i.e. **from the causes of health problems (upstream) to the problems of those already ill with access to health care (downstream)**

Health outcomes mean physical, psychological and social well-being and its distribution in society i.e. average level, distribution by e.g. education level, SES (**inequality in health**)

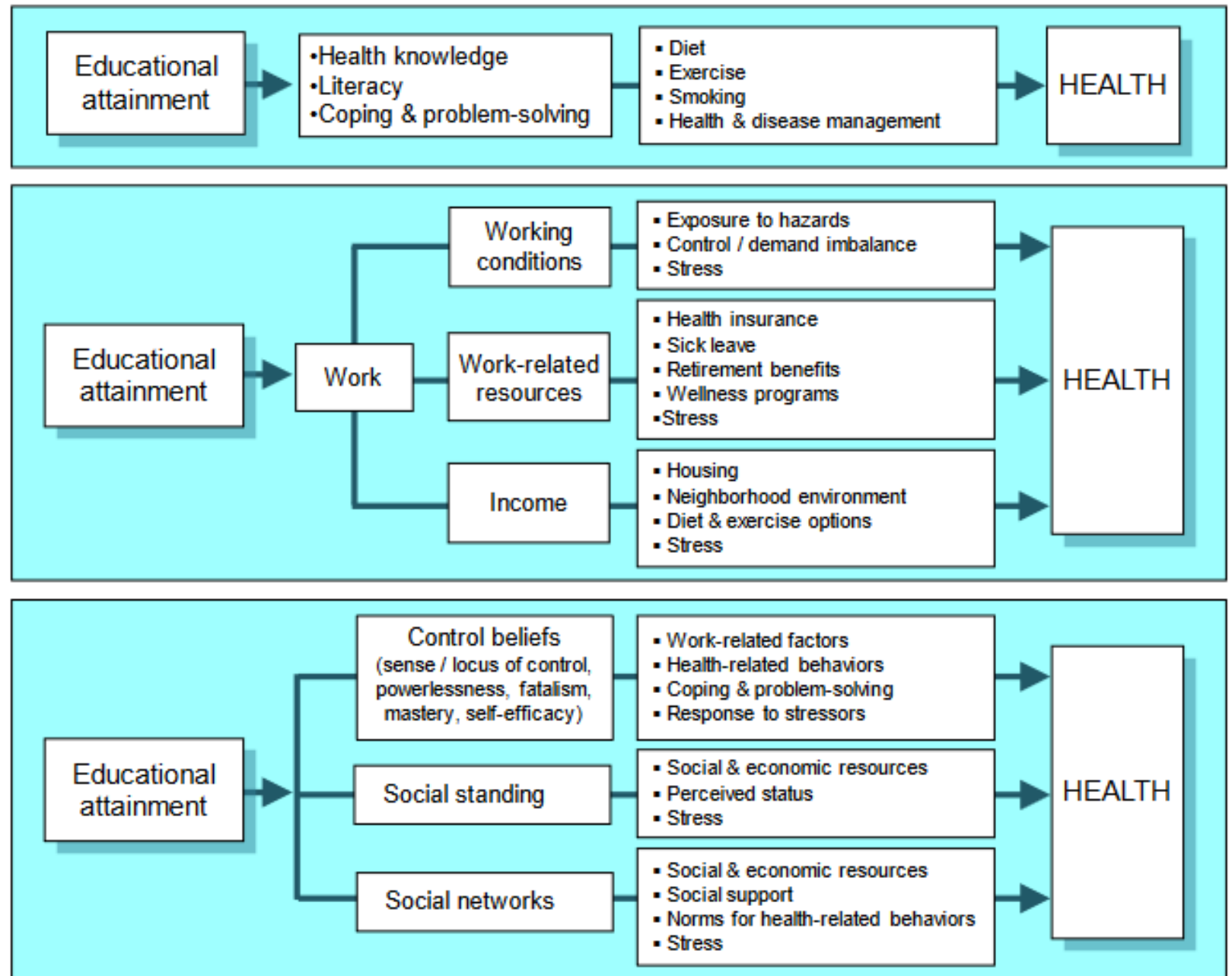


If health is one of the key conditions for a long life of good quality, **then education is important because of its multidimensional impact on health**

Educational attainment (in terms of knowledge, skills and attitudes as measured by number of years of school and degree attainment) **can influence health through a number of different pathways:**

- health knowledge and coping efficacy,
- working conditions, employment rights and income from work,
- sense of control over one's own life, social position and social ties

Conclusion: what influences education, by increasing the quantity and quality of it, also improves health, and thus the length and quality of life



Education as mediator in relationship between health and socio-economic position (SEP) in the life course

„The association between socioeconomic position (SEP) and health may occur in two competing directions:

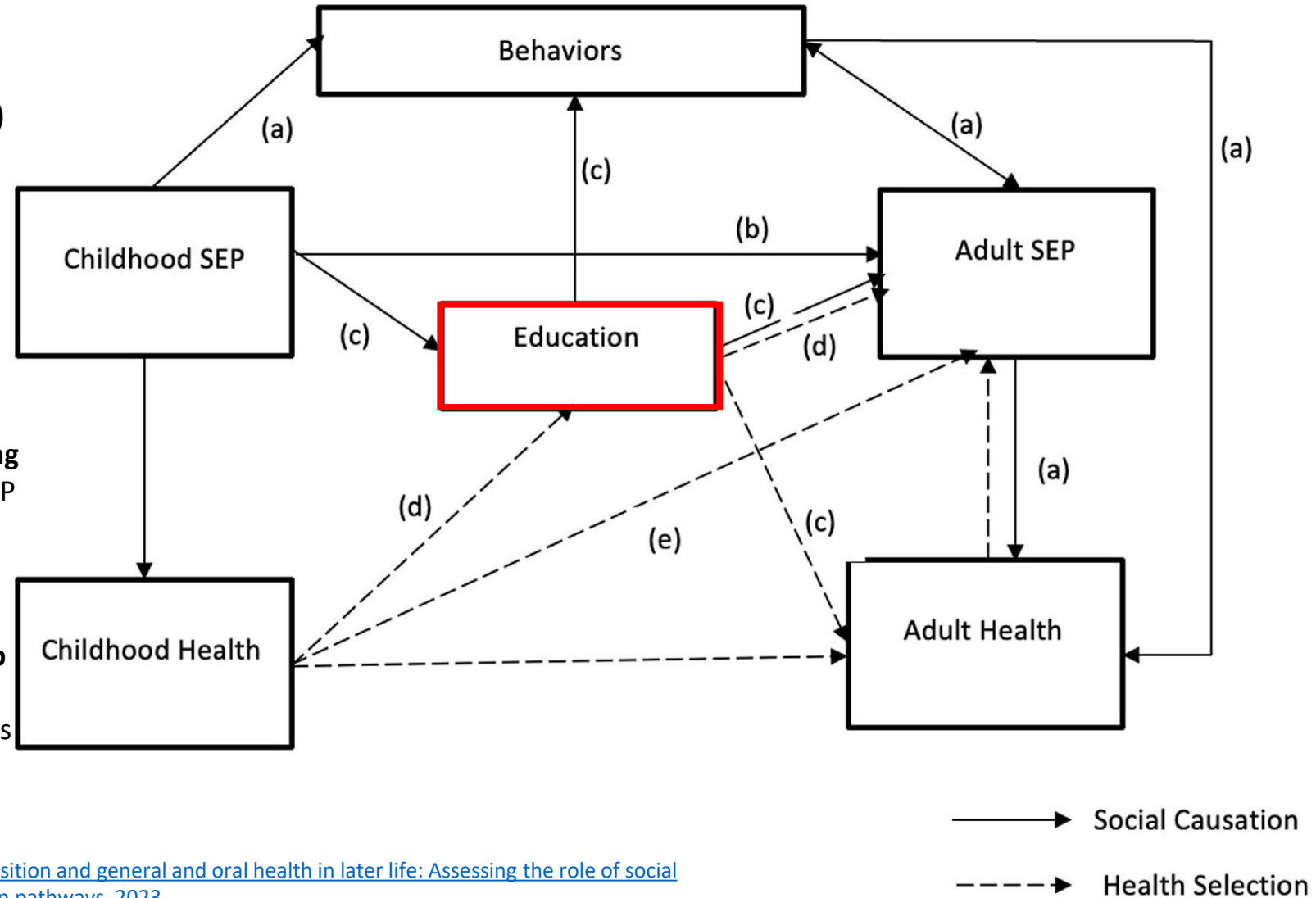
- SEP may influence health, known as the **social causation theory**,
- health may influence SEP, known as the **health selection theory**.

THE SOCIAL CAUSATION THEORY

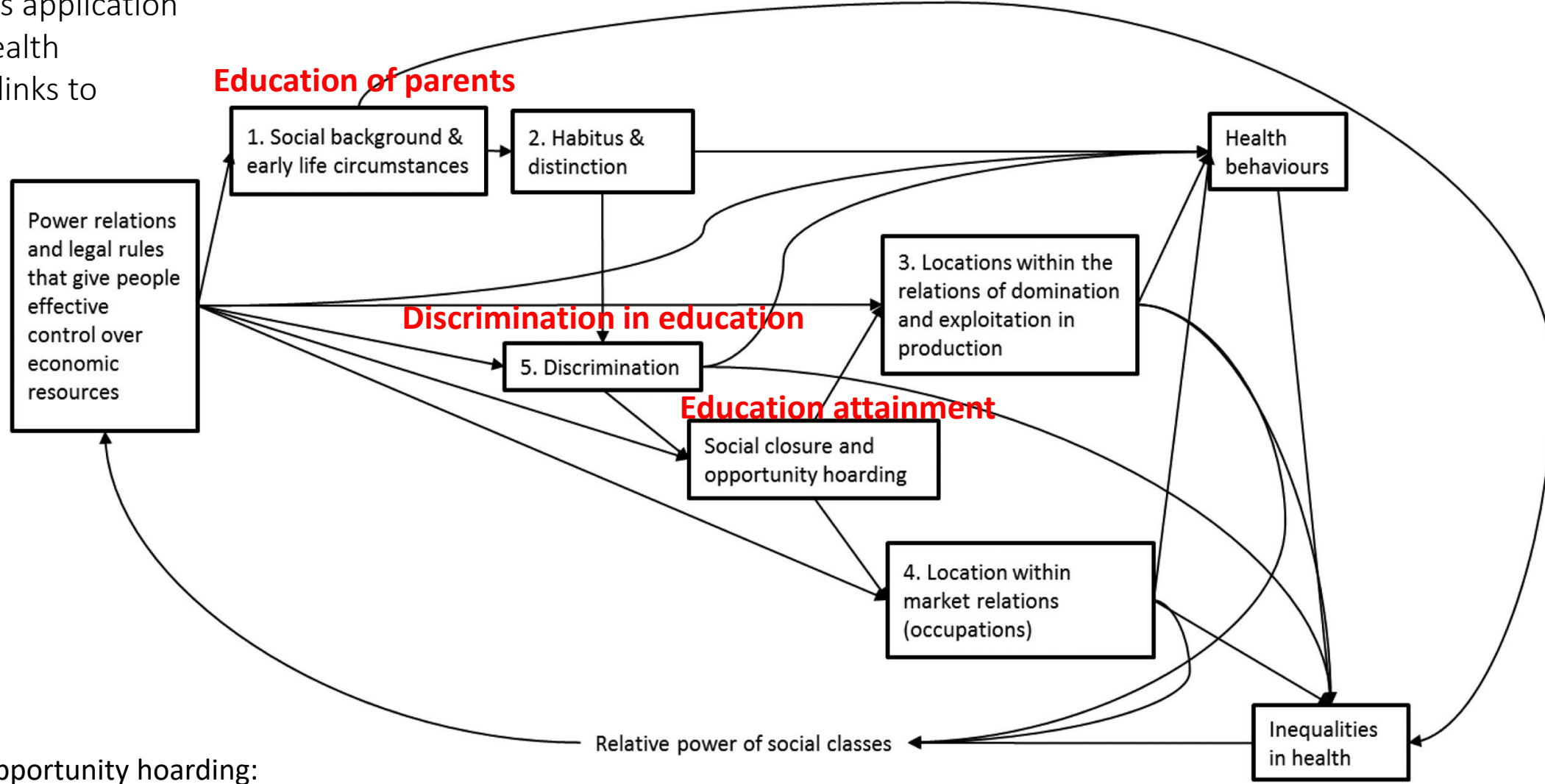
states that people from higher SEP groups are exposed to more favorable social determinants of health, leading to **better adult health**; conversely people from lower SEP groups are exposed to more disadvantaged conditions increasing the disease risk in adulthood.

THE HEALTH SELECTION THEORY

states that health determines whether people move up or down through the socioeconomic hierarchy. The theory purports that healthier individuals move upwards while those less healthy move downwards”



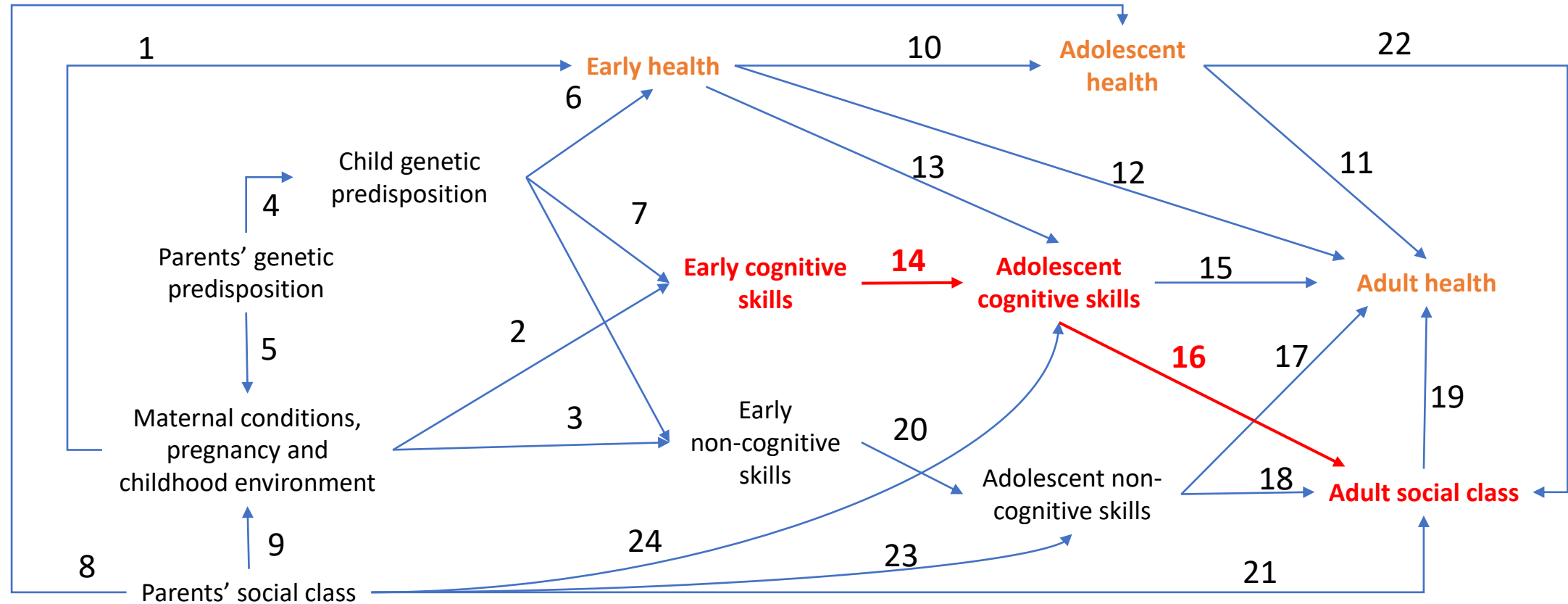
Social class and its application to the study of health inequalities with links to education



Social closure and opportunity hoarding:

- „how social groups can maintain their advantageous economic position over others. This can be through the **attainment of credentials (often education certificates)**, discrimination (e.g. colour, gender bars for some jobs) or cultural indicators (i.e. habitus and distinction) to limit entry into different economic positions.”
- „processes of social closure in this model **pertain particularly to the processes of credentialing and education which determine how people come to occupy different occupational positions and receive different income streams from employment**”

Life course causal model of health disparities and education determined paths



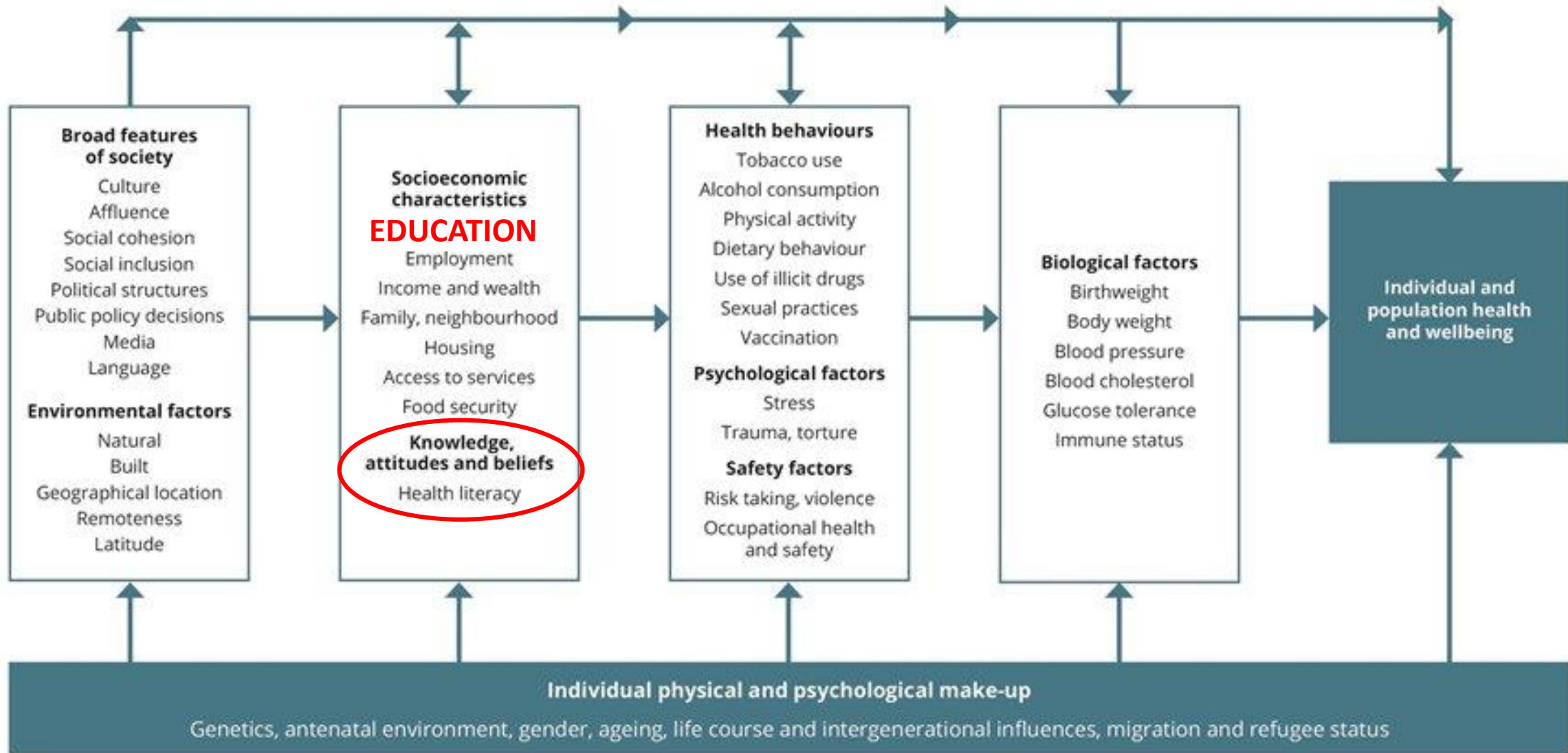
Direct Pathways that Originate in Early Conditions

„There is abundant empirical evidence showing that adverse environments during the fetal period, infancy, and early childhood increase the adult risk of chronic illnesses such as cancers, and metabolic and cardiovascular diseases (see pathway 1)“

Indirect Pathways that Originate in Early Conditions

„Early conditions may influence the acquisition of early skills and capabilities (paths 2, 3). Maternal behaviors right before and during pregnancy, fetal environments, conditions in infancy and early childhood, can affect processes of cell growth and specialization and, through them, have an impact on connectivity of brain tissue, on which the development of cognitive and non-cognitive capabilities depends. As a result, these early experiences may have a long reach. First... **educational attainment strongly affects the allocation of individuals in social classes**. It happens to be the case that early cognitive (and some non-cognitive) skills will partially determine adolescent cognitive skills (path 14), **adult education** and, through it, an individual's social class (path 16)....“

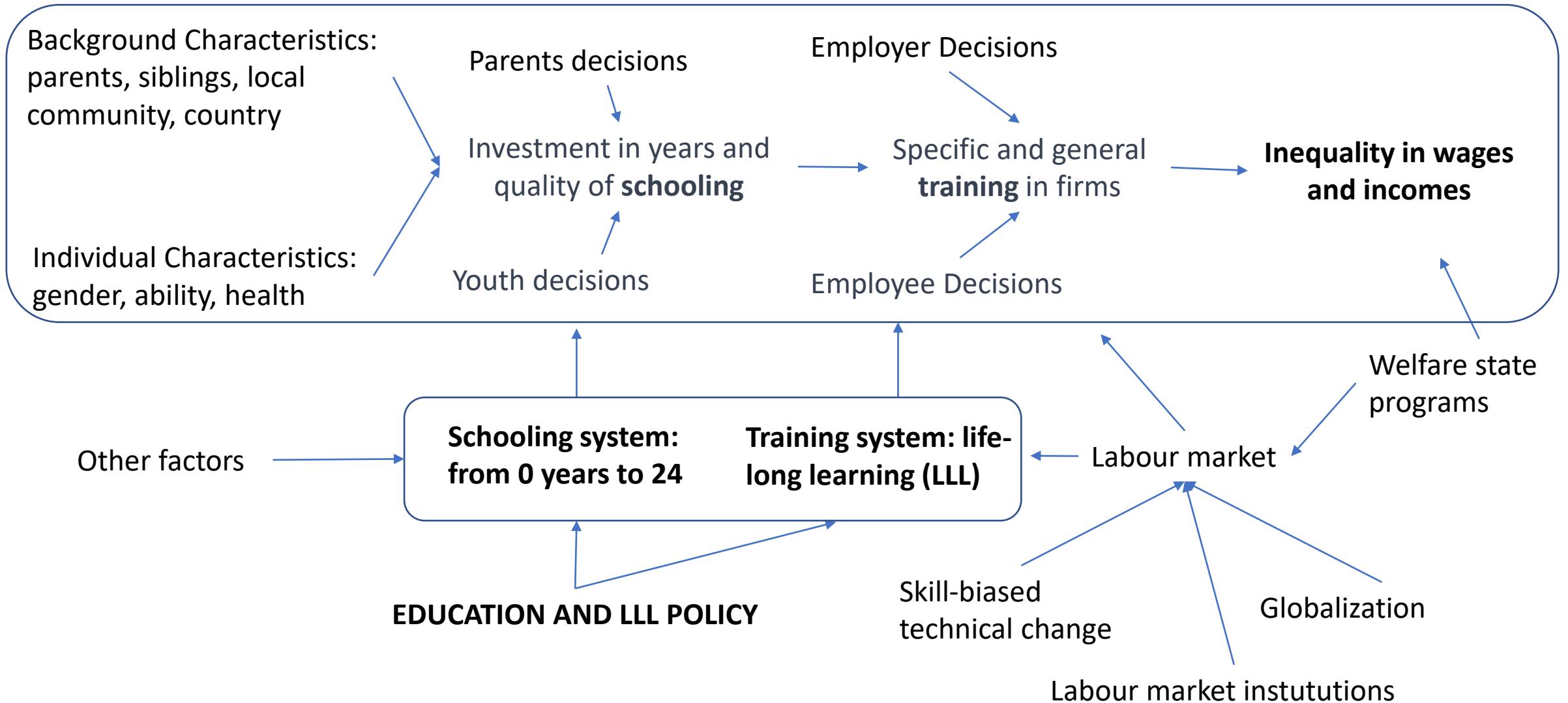
Full model of social determinants of health and health inequalities



Education and economic inequality: general models and mechanisms

Education in the explanation of economic inequality

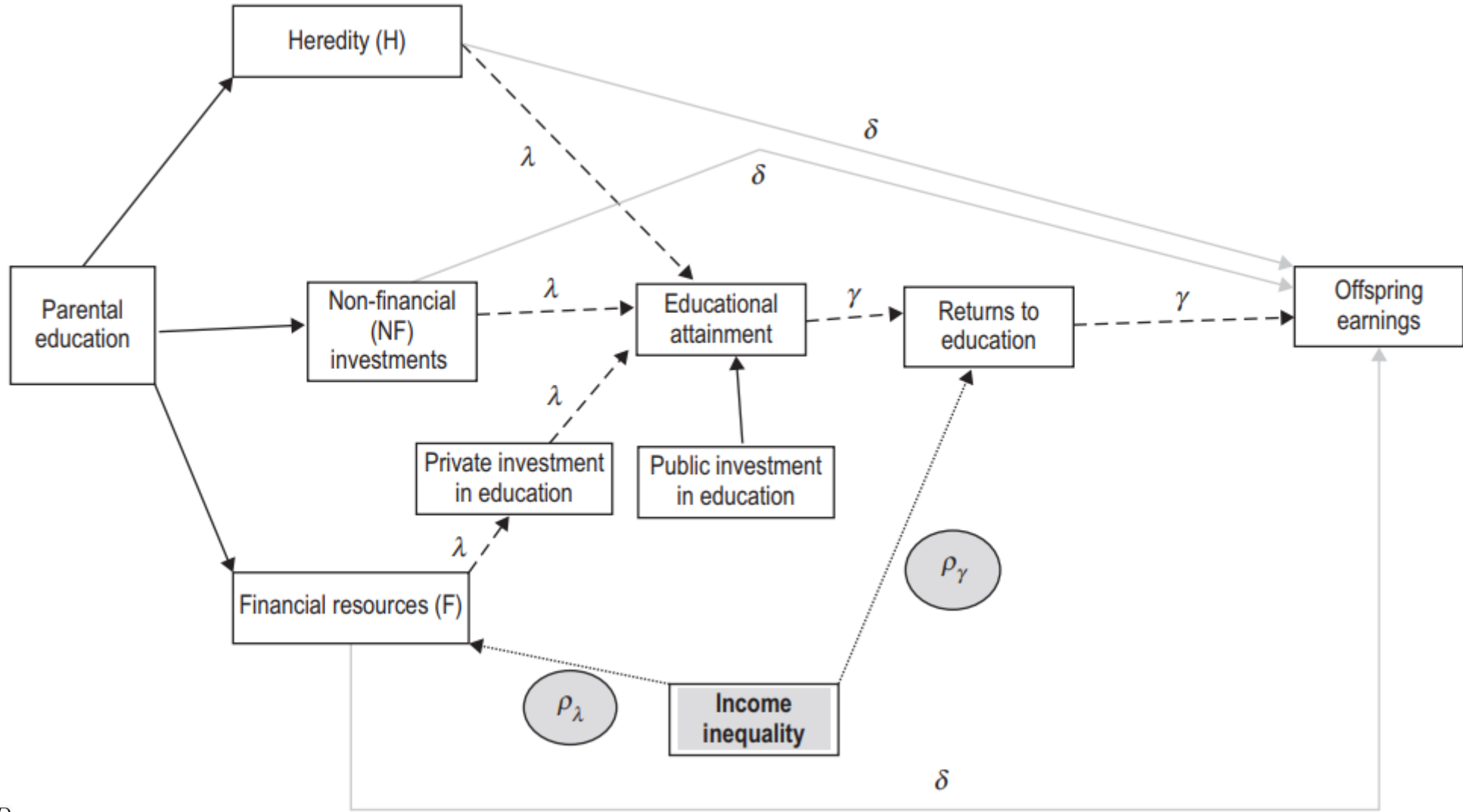
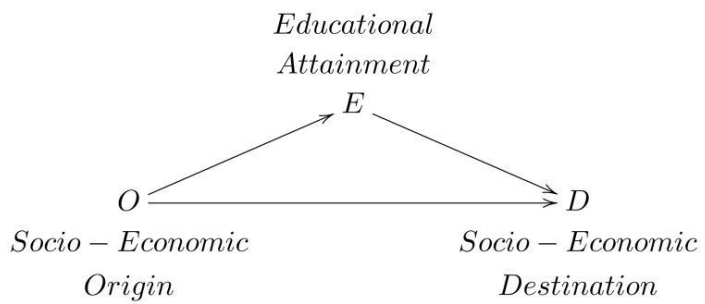
Education and skill formation process in schooling system and in the job training



„The link between parental education and offspring’s earnings can be separated into two components:

- the part working through offspring’s educational attainment (dashed arrows)
- the part that is not (solid gray arrows)”

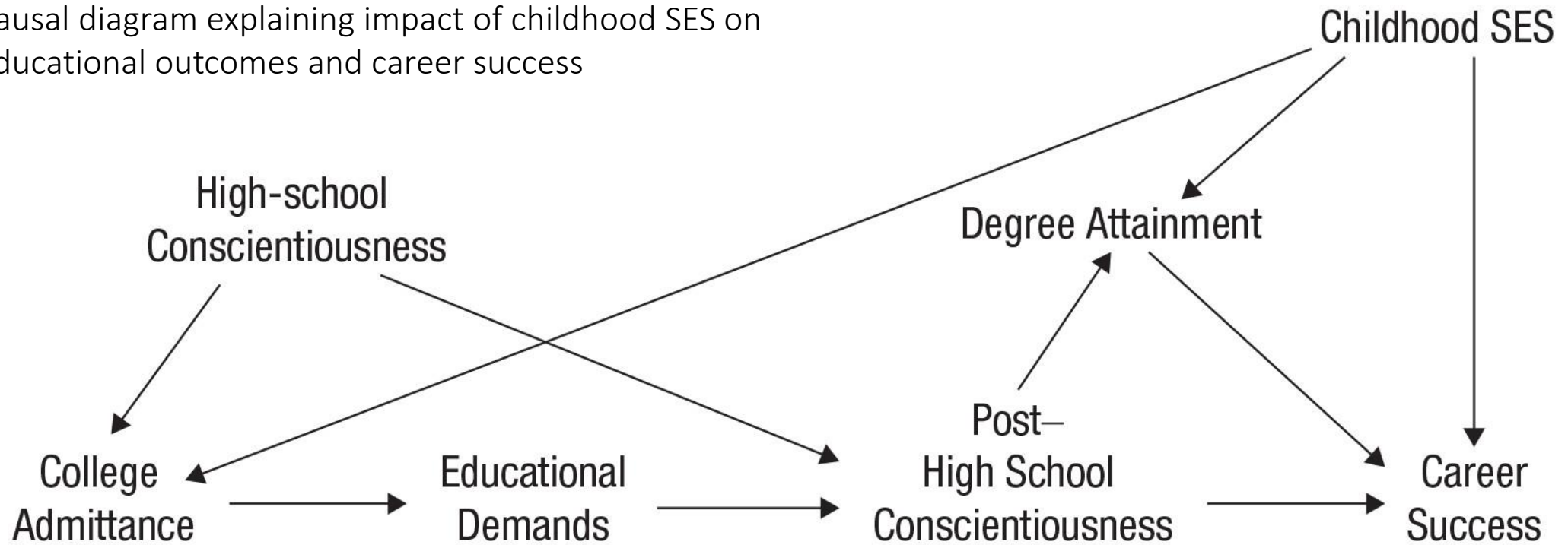
One may view this as an extension of the **Origin – Education – Destination (OED) triangle** that has a long tradition in social stratification research”



„H indicates a **heredity pathway**. NF indicates a **nonfinancial pathway**. F indicates a **financial pathway**. λ is the estimated link between parental education and offspring’s educational attainment. γ is the estimated link between offspring’s educational attainment and the returns to education. ρ_λ and ρ_γ refer to the correlation between these factors and income inequality”

[John Jerrim Lindsey Macmillan, Income Inequality, Intergenerational Mobility, and the Great Gatsby Curve: Is Education the Key?, Social Forces, 2015](#)

Causal diagram explaining impact of childhood SES on educational outcomes and career success



[Source for the chart](#)

HIGH SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS (SES) impact

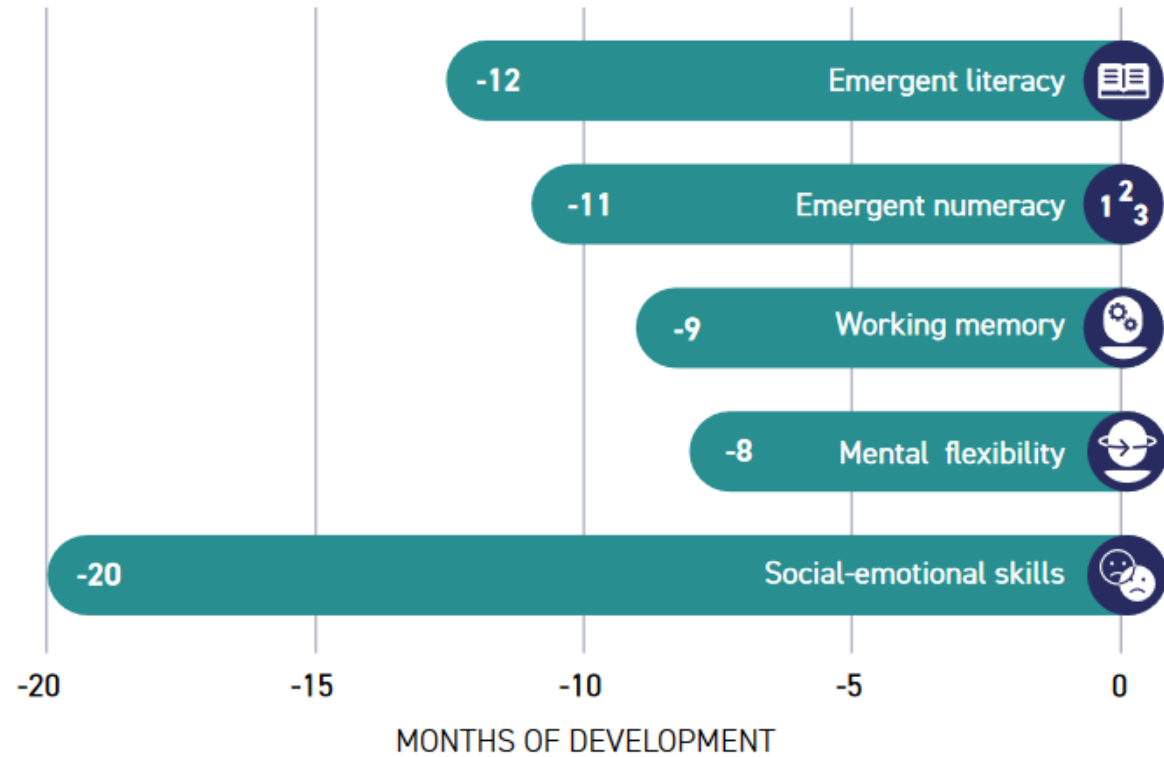
- Children from high SES backgrounds may **have better access to resources such as quality education, tutoring, and extra-curricular activities that can enhance their development**. This could increase their chances of attending college and successfully meeting educational demands.
- These children may **be more likely to develop conscientiousness earlier due to a supportive environment that values such traits** e.g. early conscientiousness positively influences college admittance and success.
- Having high SES could **provide a safety net, enabling children to take risks and pursue opportunities that could ultimately lead to career success**. For instance, they might afford **unpaid internships in competitive fields**, something less accessible for those from lower SES backgrounds.
- High SES might **buffer against certain stressors that could otherwise negatively impact educational attainment and career success**.

Disadvantaged children face significant development gaps at age 5

As children get older, inequities generally become more intractable (Stiles and Jernigan, 2010^[7]). Thus, achieving a level playing field between disadvantaged and advantaged children requires education leaders and policy makers to adjust their systems to cater to the needs of disadvantaged children before they arrive at school as well as in the first few years of schooling.



Figure 1.1. Development differences between disadvantaged and advantaged children

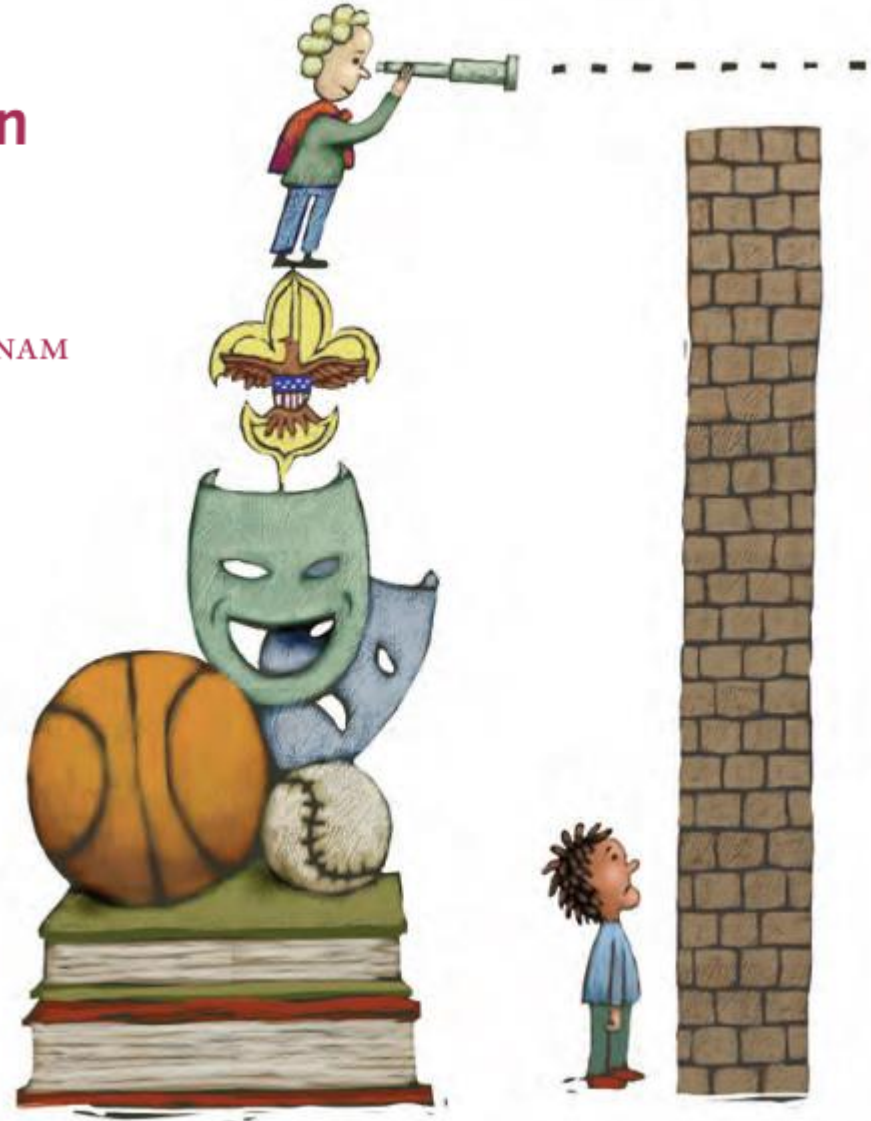


The magnitude of learning gaps between disadvantaged and advantaged five-year-olds and between disadvantaged and advantaged 15-year-old students in the same countries are strikingly similar.

Inequity Outside the Classroom: Growing Class Differences in Participation in Extracurricular Activities

KAISA SNELLMAN, JENNIFER M. SILVA, AND ROBERT D. PUTNAM

This article discusses the **growing class differences in participation in extracurricular activities among American youth**. Research shows that extracurricular activities help cultivate skills, connections, and knowledge that prepare children for lifelong success. However, **while upper-middle-class students have become more active in school clubs and sports teams since the 1970s, working-class students have become increasingly disengaged, with participation rates plummeting in the 1990s and remaining low**. This is largely due to rising costs, budget cuts, and the shift towards "pay-to-play" policies which put the burden of participation fees on families. The authors argue that **cutting extracurricular activities or making them too costly robs disadvantaged children of opportunities for mentorship, developing important life skills, and avoiding risky behaviors, further exacerbating inequalities**.



Education policy, schooling systems and its impact on education and economic inequality

OXFAM high hopes from 2019 report

THE POWER OF EDUCATION TO FIGHT INEQUALITY

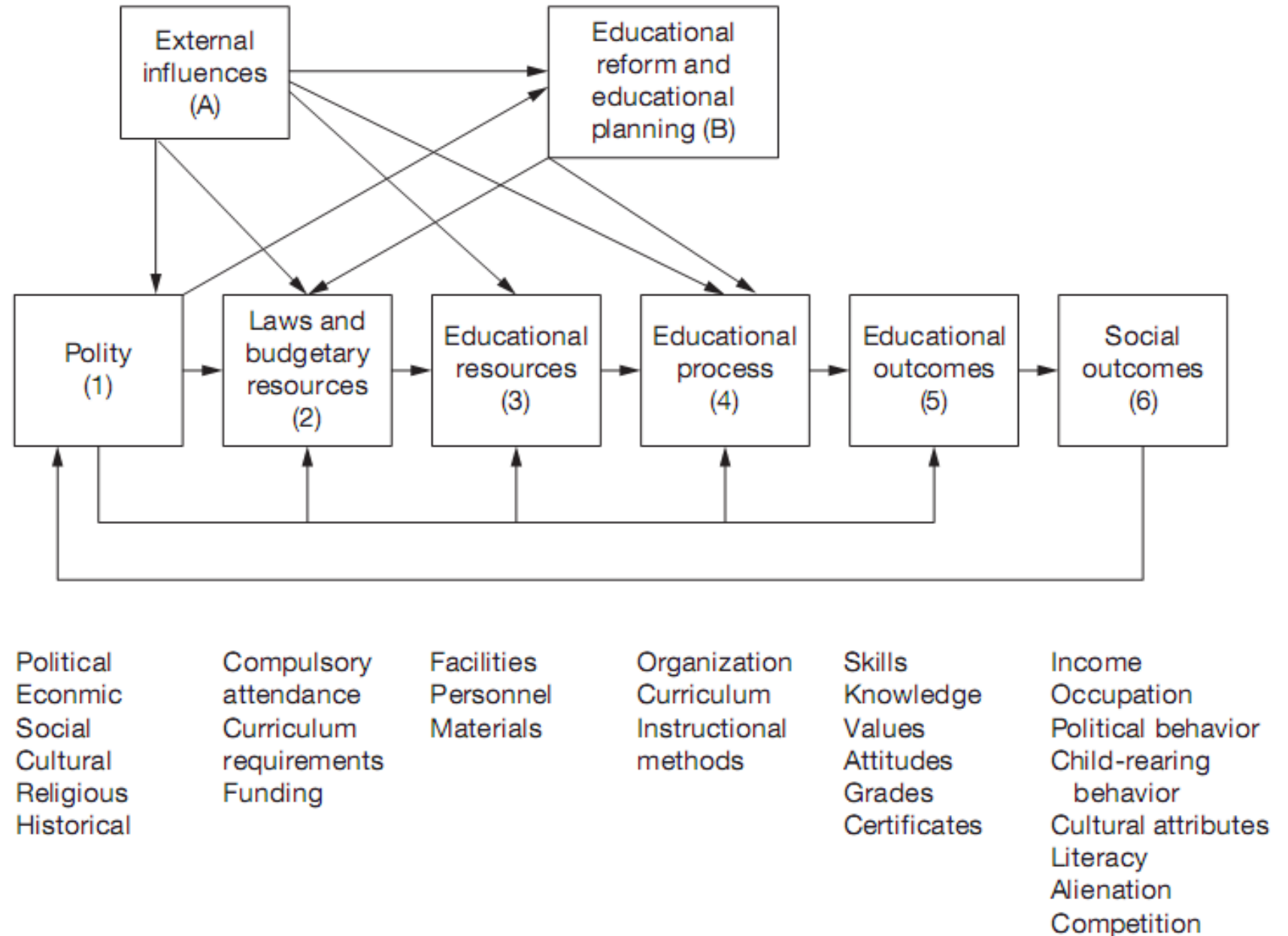
How increasing educational equality and quality is crucial to fighting economic and gender inequality



A good-quality public education is liberating for individuals. It can also be an equalizer within society. This report shows the unparalleled power of public education to tackle growing inequality and bring us closer together. To achieve this, education must be both of good quality and equitable; it should be free, universal, adequately funded, with well-supported teachers, and accountable public oversight. Fairer taxation of the wealthiest can help pay for it.

Education policy phases model with external factors and context and pessimistic view about potential of schools

OXFAM high hopes vs expert pesimistic view:
 „it is hardly a surprise to find that **the schools have not represented a dominant force for reducing inequality in society**, since the **degree of inequality in a society is a direct consequence of the functioning of its economic and political institutions rather than its schools**” [Henry Levin, 1980](#)



Henry Levin cited in: *RoutledgeFalmer reader of sociology of education*, 2004, p. 170

Three types of strategies to reduce educational inequality

EQUAL OPPORTUNITY STRATEGIES aim to ensure more equal access to education by addressing obstacles on the "demand side" that are exogenous to the education system itself. These strategies are typically multidimensional and multidisciplinary, given the various causes of unequal opportunities, such as material, cultural, or social factors. Key examples include extending compulsory education to ensure a minimum level of participation, providing financial assistance to low-income families to overcome economic barriers, and offering integrated services (psychological, social, medical, etc.) to support disadvantaged pupils.

EQUAL TREATMENT STRATEGIES, on the other hand, focus on eliminating discriminatory behavior within the education system itself, on the "supply side." These strategies concentrate on what happens within the school or classroom, emphasizing the role of communication in addressing prejudices and discrimination. Examples include curricular reforms to make education more comprehensive and less selective, teacher training to help recognize and respond to exclusion, and improving communication between schools and parents/communities.

EQUAL OUTCOMES STRATEGIES go beyond equal treatment to proactively favor disadvantaged groups to compensate for inequality. They combine elements of the first two approaches but focus on outcomes rather than just access or treatment. These strategies are more targeted and remedial, aiming to equalize results. Key examples include educational priority policies that provide extra funds for schools with a high concentration of at-risk students and alternative curricula or second chance schools to help disadvantaged students gain qualifications.

More equal opportunities: examples from European countries

MORE EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES

Type of strategy	Macro-level	Meso-level	Examples at micro-level
Compulsory education	<p>B: 1983: school leaving age raised to 18</p> <p>IRL: School leaving age raised to 15 in 1972, to 16 in 1997; School attendance officers</p> <p>NL: Compulsory Education Act (1969, amended 1994)</p> <p>NL: 'A well prepared start' (EGVS)</p> <p>P: 1986: school leaving age raised to 15 (if 'basic school' finished)</p> <p>P: Education for All Programme</p> <p>ES: 1990: school leaving age raised to 16 (LOGSE)</p> <p>Sc: 1980: Education (Scotland) Act – as amended 1981: Special Educational Needs</p> <p>Sc: Exclusion and non-attendance – Scottish initiative on attendance and absence</p> <p>Sc: Early years provision</p>	<p>B: Dropout prevention projects at regional level</p> <p>NL: Regional reporting and co-ordination function (RMC)</p> <p>Sc: Youth Strategies Lothian Region/Edinburgh City Council</p>	
Financial and material assistance	<p>B: Free education at primary and secondary levels</p> <p>IRL: Free education at all levels</p> <p>B: Study grants at secondary and tertiary level</p> <p>IRL: Book Grant and Rental Scheme, Back to School Clothing Allowance, Local Authority Higher Education Grants, ESF Training Grants</p> <p>NL: Study grants and loans at tertiary level</p> <p>P: Financial aid via School Social Assistance</p> <p>P: Free milk, subsidised school canteens, accommodation for students</p> <p>Sc: Free school meals/clothing allowances</p>	<p>IRL: Free school meals</p> <p>IRL: Local initiatives including financial aid (BITE, LCBEI, TAP)</p> <p>ES: Grants for lunches and books (Compensatory programmes)</p>	

More equal opportunities: examples from European countries cont.

MORE EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES

Type of strategy	Macro-level	Meso-level	Examples at micro-level
Integrated services for disadvantaged pupils in main-stream education	B: 'School guidance centres' for psychological, medical and social assistance	B: King Baudouin Foundation's network of projects in primary education	IRL: Jobstown Education and Training Strategy (JETS)
	NL: Schools advisory service	B: Magnet schools (Antwerp)	P: Local school transport initiatives
	NL: Guidance bureaus	IRL: Locally integrated projects (Galway, Limerick)	Sc: Pilton Early Intervention Programme
	NL: Support structure	IRL: Cultural and financial intervention projects (BITE, LCBEI, TAP, Peter Pan)	
	P: School social assistance	NL: Homework projects	
	P: Pedagogical support	NL: Extended Schoolday	
	ES: Multidisciplinary Service Teams	P: Educational animators	
	Sc: 1995 Children (Scotland) Act	Sc: Local authority children's service plans	
	Sc: Extended support within Further Education	Sc: Home-School-Employment Partnership (Paisley)	
Early intervention	B: Extended care (see equal outcomes strategies)	ES: Maternity Centres	B: Poverty projects for toddlers (Kind & Gezin)
	IRL: Early Start Programme	ES: Casas de los niños	IRL: Rutland Street Project, Kilkenny Project
	Sc: Early Intervention Programmes (see equal outcomes strategies)	ES: Travelling pre-school	NL: De Koffiepot Sc: Pilton Early Intervention Programme

More equal treatment: examples from European countries

MORE EQUAL TREATMENT

Type of strategy	Macro-level	Meso-level	Examples at micro-level
Curricular reform and certification strategies	B: Renewed Primary Education (1980s) B: Renewed Secondary Education (1970s)/ Unified structure (1990s) B: Renewed Vocational Education IRL: Junior Certificate IRL: Foundation Levels IRL: Leaving Certificate Vocational Programme NL: Basic Education NL: 'Programmes' in secondary education NL: National Qualification Structure P: Framework law on educational system ES: Comprehensive stage in secondary education (Educational Reform Act – LOGSE) Sc: Standard Grade Sc: 5-14 curriculum Sc: Higher Still	B: Middle schools	IRL: Jobstown Education and Training Strategy (JETS)
Pedagogical innovations		B: Experience-based Nursery Education	B: De Buurt (Gent) ES: Communities of learning
Teacher training			

More equal treatment: examples from European countries cont.

MORE EQUAL TREATMENT

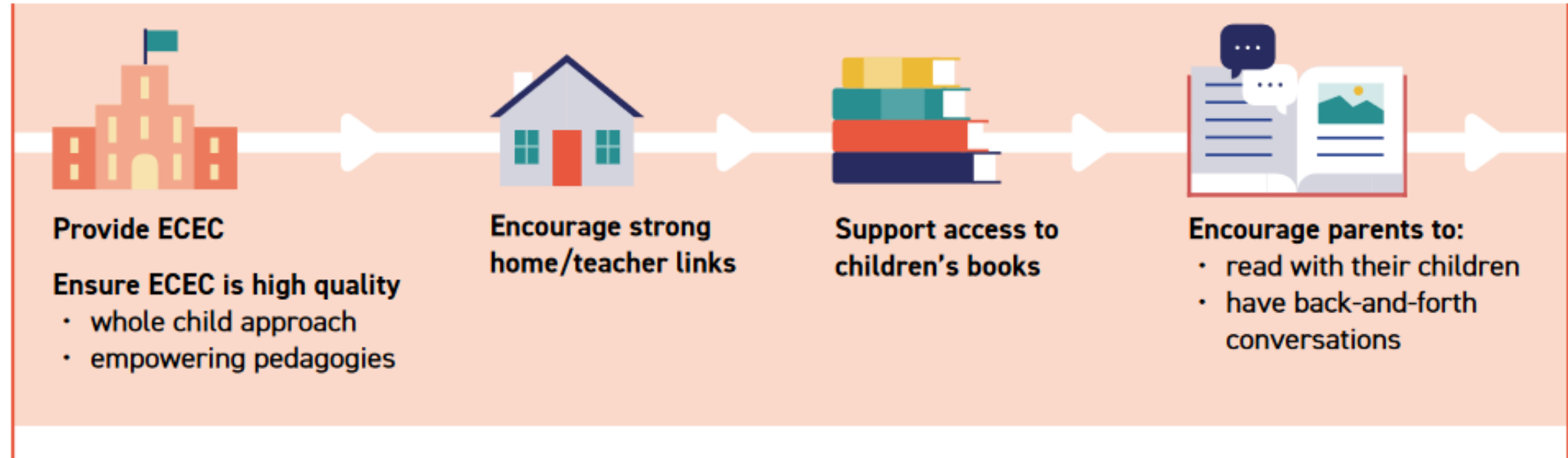
Type of strategy	Macro-level	Meso-level	Examples at micro-level
Parent-school-community relationships	IRL: Home-School-Community Liaison Scheme IRL: Visiting Teacher Service for Traveller children	See 'integrated services' (often with active participation of parents) B: Tapori campaign Limburg B: School Community Action P: School-Environment Link Project Sc: Partnership in Education Project (Strathclyde) Sc: Home-School-Employment Partnership (Paisley)	B: Renovation Project Kortrijk IRL: Clondalkin Area Parents in Education (CAPE) Sc: Home-School-Parent Project (North Ayrshire PPA)
Categorical measures	B: Integrated education for disabled pupils B: Intercultural education IRL: Visiting teacher service for traveller children; pre-schools for traveller children; special schools/classes and Junior Training Centres for traveller children NL: Going to School Together Again (WSNS) for disabled pupils NL: NT2 (Dutch as 2nd language) for immigrants P: Entreculturas P: Travelling nursery school ES: Support teachers / therapeutic pedagogy teachers Sc: Ensuring education for Travellers' children in Scotland	B: Non-discrimination charters P: Gipsy mediators (Go to School Project); Nómada Project P: Isolated Schools Project Sc: Scottish Travellers' Education Project	B: Pilot project for gypsy children (sponsored by King Baudouin Foundation) Sc: Positive Action Project for Traveller Children (Armadale Academy)

More equal outcomes: examples from European countries

MORE EQUAL OUTCOMES

Type of strategy	Macro-level	Meso-level	Examples at micro-level
Educational priority in school funding	B: Educational Priority Policy (EPP) B: Extended Care (EC) IRL: Assistance to Disadvantaged Schools IRL: Breaking the cycle NL: Educational Priority Policy (weighting rule) Sc: Early Intervention Programme	B: Educational Priority Areas (EPA) Limburg IRL: Demonstration Programme on Educational Disadvantage NL: Educational Priority Policy (regions) P: Educational Priority Areas (TEIP) Sc: Educational components of Priority Partnership Programmes/Regeneration Programmes	NL: Educational Priority Policy (projects)
Differentiation within schools/ classes	NL: Pupil counselling IRL: Remedial teachers ES: Curriculum Diversification Programme IRL: Teacher counsellors Sc: Extended support in Further Education (cf integrated services) Sc: Learning Support/educational psychologist support	B: Learning Support Project Sc: SuccessMaker Project (North Ayrshire PPA) Sc: East Dunbartonshire Council Network Support	B: Differentiation projects within the classroom IRL: Basin Street Project
Alternative curricula and second chance provision for at-risk groups	B: Part-time vocational education (PTVE) IRL: Junior Certificate Schools Programme IRL: Leaving Certificate Applied Programme IRL: Youth Reach NL: KMBO (short secondary vocational education) P: Alternative Curricula P: Apprenticeship ES: Social Guarantee Programme ES: Apprenticeship (abolished); Workshop Schools	IRL: Youth Encounter Projects NL: Free Port Rotterdam NL: Practical schools NL: Remedial projects NL: Educational-work projects	

How to close the education gap? The role of early childhood education



MEAN FOR
DISADVANTAGED

„Early equity is a lever that can transform overall equity within education systems. **Achieving early equity, however, requires deliberate, at-scale action, before children arrive at school**”

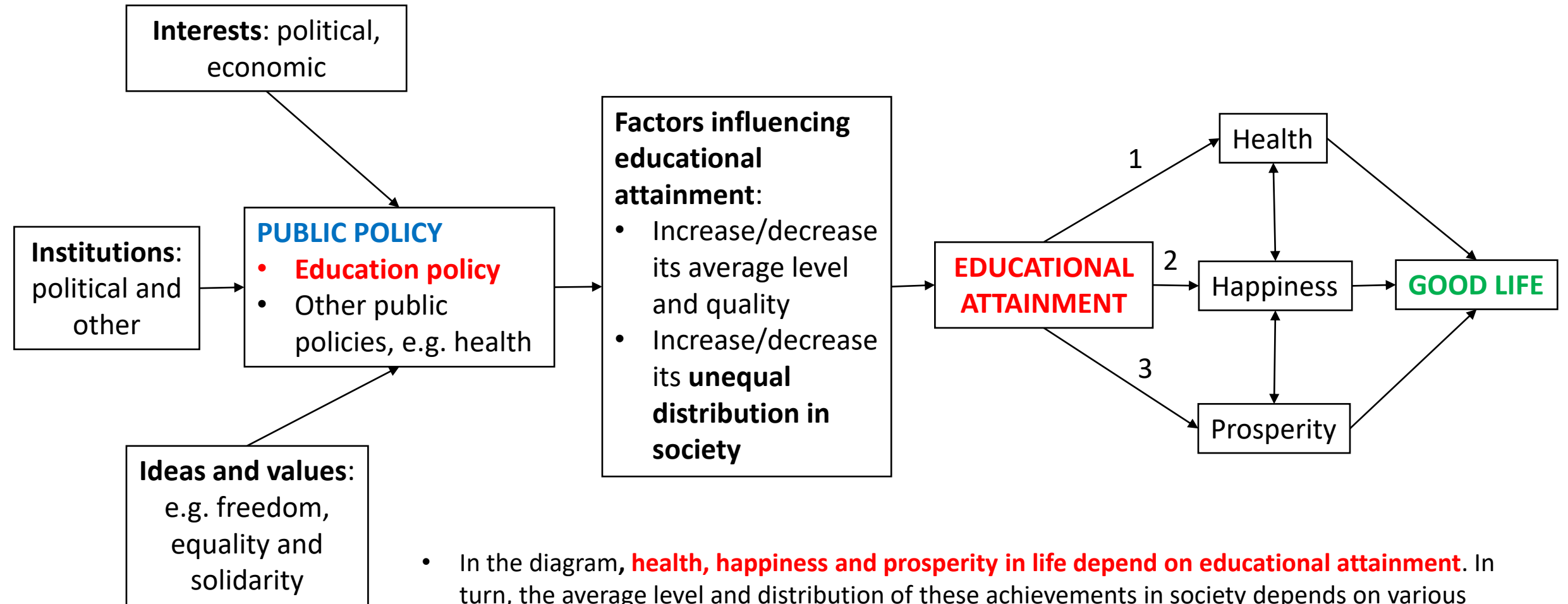
OVERALL MEAN

„Action on early equity requires a **focus on children's learning trajectories**. In some education systems, this will mean **acting beyond traditional institutional arrangements, such as schools**. The role of families, for example, is a critical but often untapped resource for improving early equity”

MEAN FOR
ADVANTAGED

„...this contribution highlights **the importance of public childcare policies as an equalizer in society**, especially in contexts in which an intervention is most needed, because expanding childcare fosters mothers' labour market participation” [Stefani Scherer et al. Equalizing or not? Public childcare and women's labour market participation, 2023.](#)

Public policy impact on good life and its distribution through educational attainment

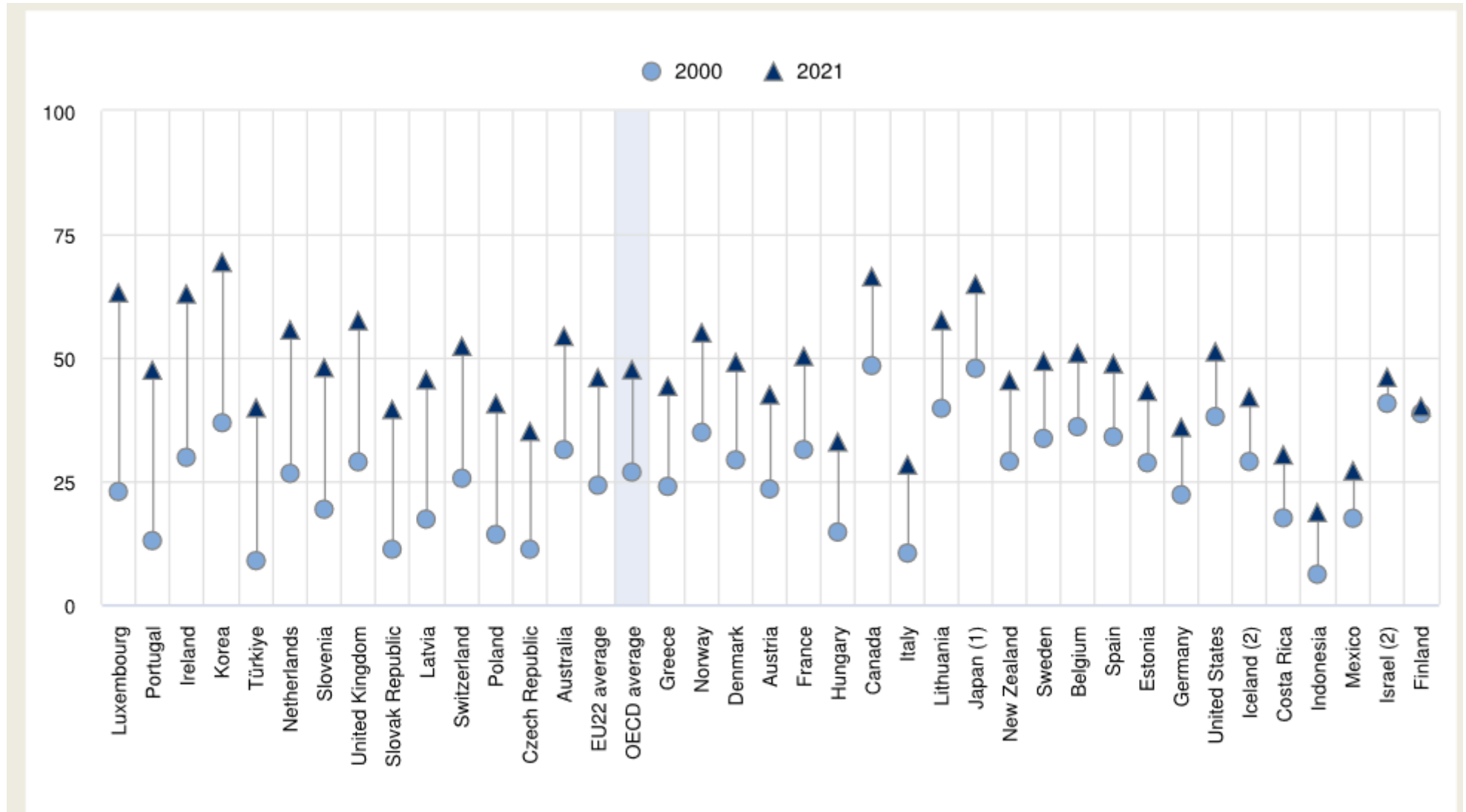


- In the diagram, **health, happiness and prosperity in life depend on educational attainment**. In turn, the average level and distribution of these achievements in society depends on various factors. Some of these are influenced by public policy
- When the concept of health includes physical, mental and social well-being, then **the dimensions of a good life from the diagram belong to health in a broad sense**

Tertiary education expansion and reproduction of inequality

„Higher education is often considered the ‘**Great Equalizer**’ in that economic origins matter less for adult outcomes among the subpopulation that finishes university; however, **access to higher education is strongly stratified, and especially in contexts where the cost of attending university is high**” [Source](#)

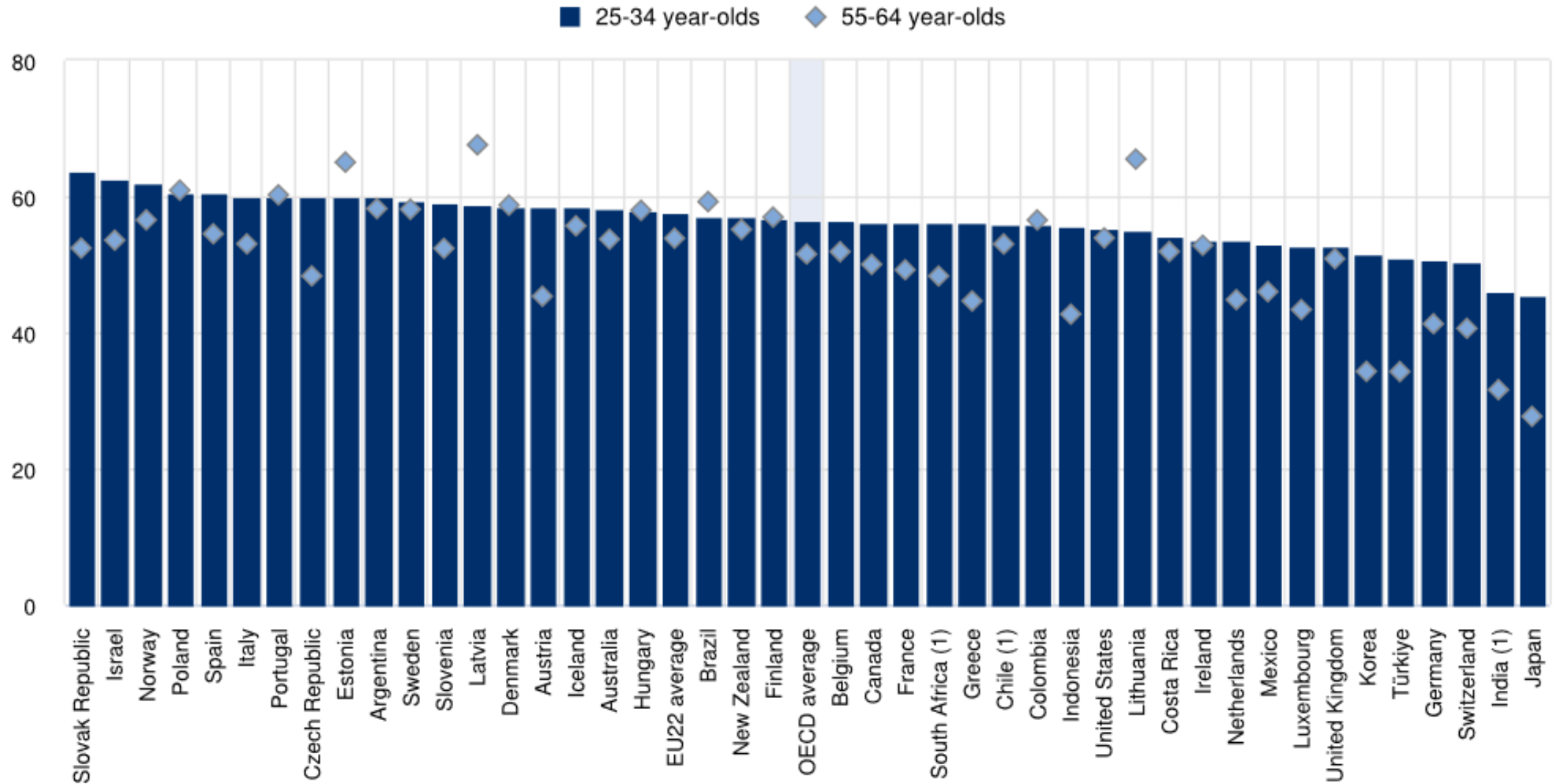
Trends in the share of tertiary-educated 25-34 year-olds (2000 and 2021) In per cent



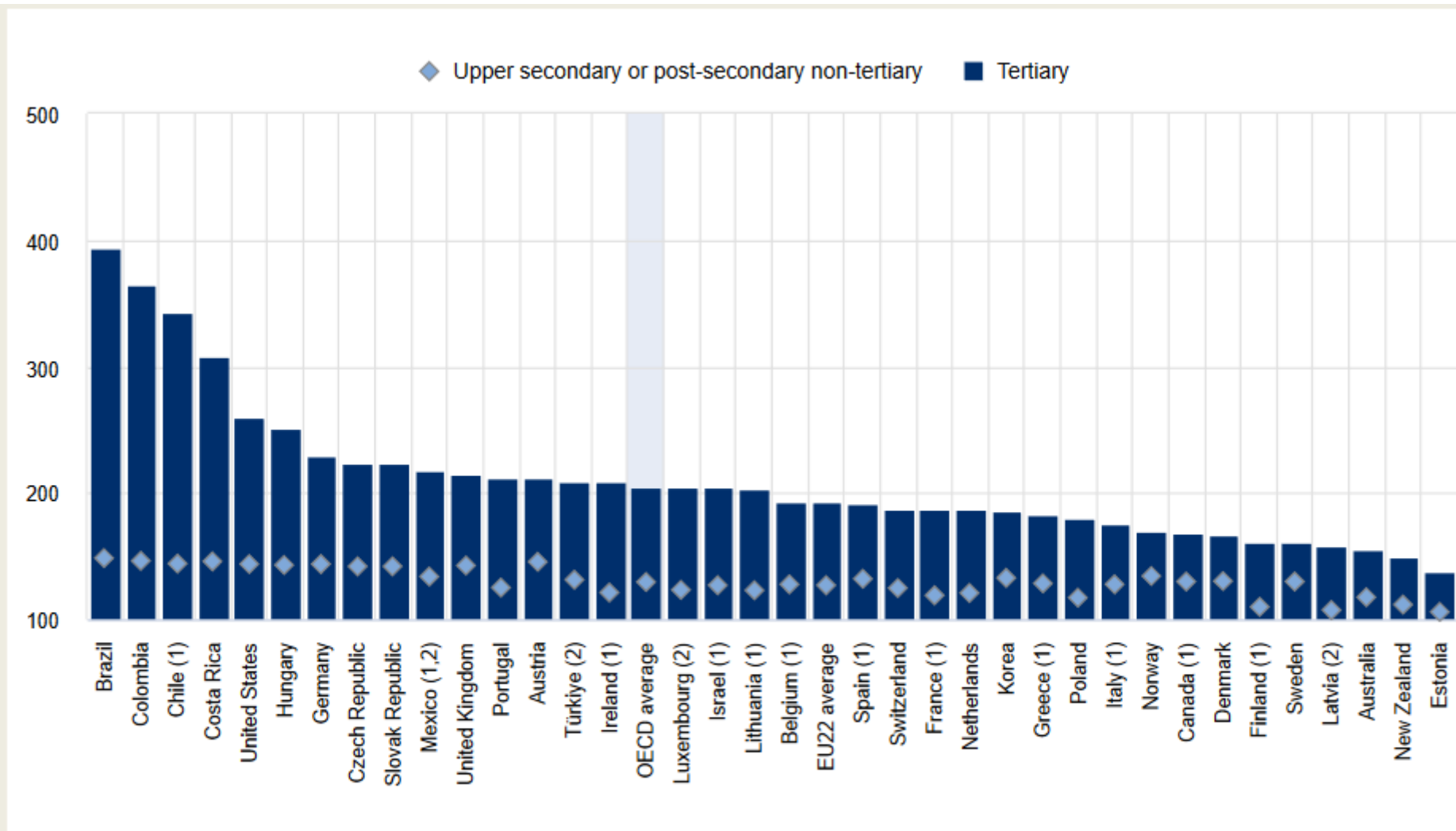
„Although some countries have achieved near universal upper secondary education among 25-34 year-olds, **across the OECD 14% of younger adults have still left school without an upper secondary qualification.** Across OECD countries, this rate is especially high in Costa Rica and Mexico (about 45%) but also in Colombia (25%), Italy (23%), Spain (28%) and the Republic of Türkiye (36%)”

1. Data for tertiary education include upper secondary or post-secondary non-tertiary programmes (less than 5% of adults are in this group).
2. Year of reference differs from 2000: 2002 for Israel and 2003 for Iceland.

Share of women among adults with a bachelor's, master's, doctoral or equivalent degree, by age group (2021)
In per cent



Relative earnings of 25-64 year-old adults, by educational attainment (2020)
 In per cent; full- and part-time workers; below upper secondary = 100



Note: There are cross-country differences in the inclusion/exclusion of zero and negative earners. See *Definitions* and *Methodology* sections for more information
 1. Year of reference differs from 2020. Refer to the source table for more details.
 2. Earnings net of income tax.

Two theses about how inequality is reproduced with expansion of education

MAXIMALLY MAINTAINED INEQUALITY (MMI)

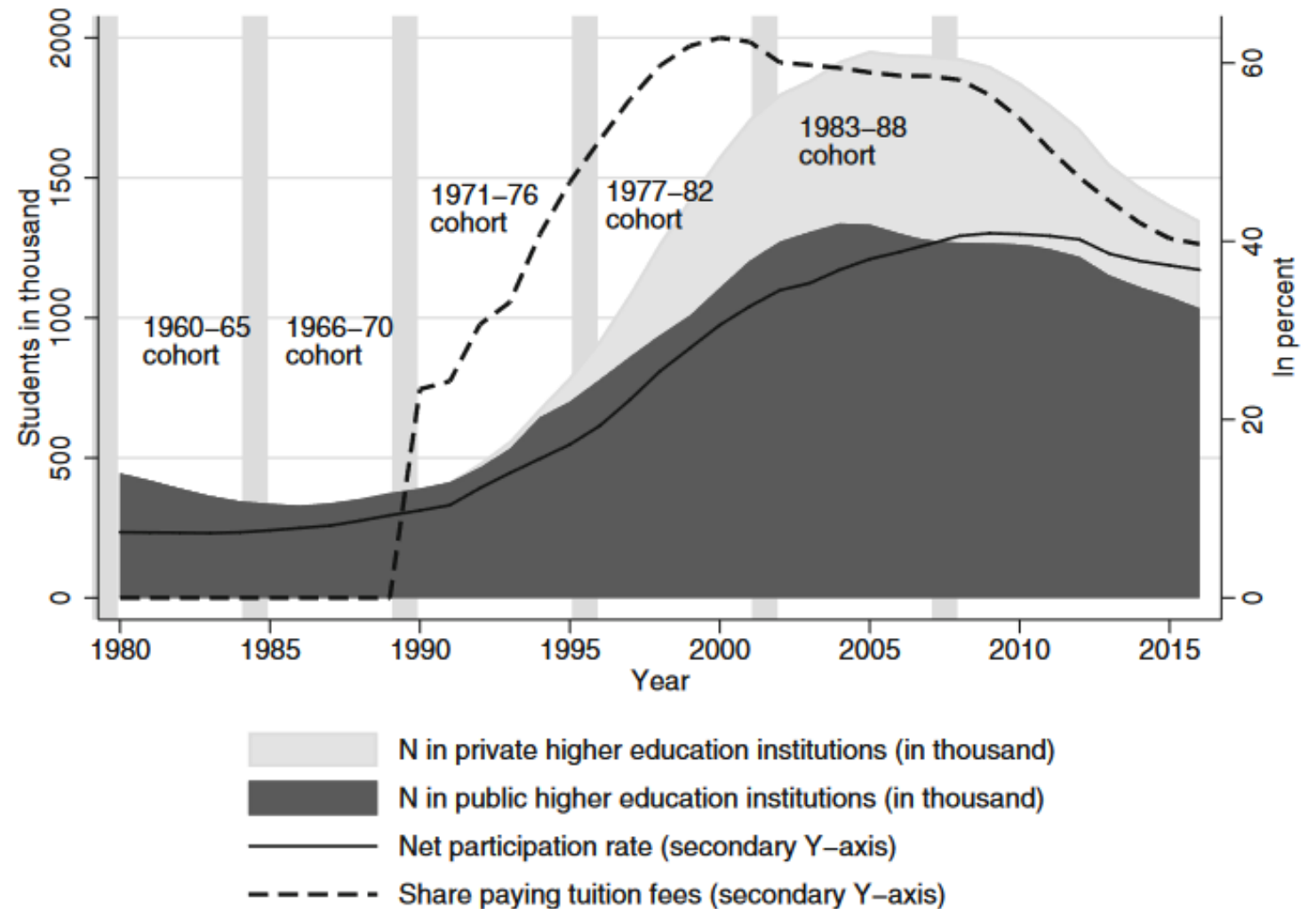
- When a certain level of education (like high school or college graduation) **becomes nearly universal in society, advantaged groups will then start to differentiate themselves by moving to the next higher level of education.**
- **INEQUALITY MAINTENANCE:** inequality is maintained as advantaged groups **move to higher levels of education when lower levels become universal.**
- **POLICY IMPLICATION:** expansion in education does not necessarily lead to educational equality among different social groups.

EFFECTIVELY MAINTAINED INEQUALITY (EMI)

- **Even when educational attainment becomes nearly universal at a given level, educational inequality can still be maintained effectively by qualitative differences.**
- **INEQUALITY MAINTENANCE:** inequality is maintained **not just by higher levels of attainment but also through differential access to quality within the same level of education** e.g. attending better universities, taking more profitable university degrees.
- **POLICY IMPLICATION:** addressing educational inequality requires **not only expanding access but also improving the quality of education for disadvantaged groups.**

The case of Poland and testing two theses in post-communist expansion of higher education

- „According to the analysis presented in this paper, **the Polish case corroborates the EMI thesis.**
- There is indeed evidence of a diversion of **lower social origin students into less prestigious and lower quality educational programs offered mostly by the private tertiary education sector,** which emerged and grew rapidly from the early 1990s”



[Katarzyna Kopycka, Higher education expansion, system transformation, and social inequality. Social origin effects on tertiary education attainment in Poland for birth cohorts 1960 to 1988, Higher Education, 2020](#)

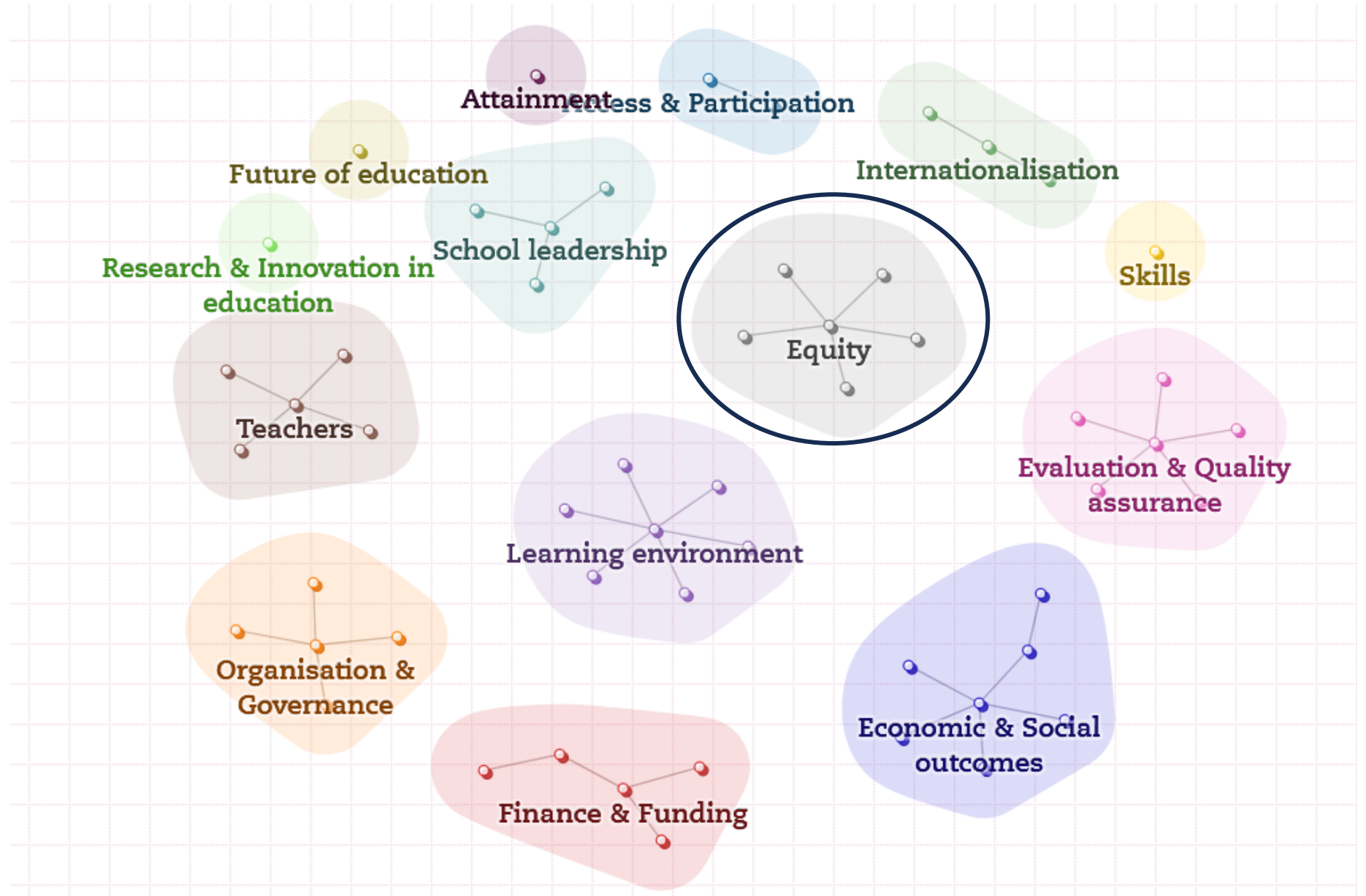
Summary

1. The main goal of all policies is to bring people good life on average and with upward convergence (those with less good life catch up) i.e. reduction of inequality in good life
2. If multidimensional health is an essence of good life, it is important to understand what is critical for average health and inequalities in health. One of the factors is educational attainment
3. There are several models of mechanisms leading from education to good life with inequality of socio-economic status as one of the key factors i.e. advantaged and disadvantaged children with different educational paths and outcomes
4. Education policy and its main product i.e. schooling and training system is a focus of public discussions as an inequality and poverty reduction strategy
5. There are three types of strategies to reduce educational inequality: more equal opportunities, treatment and outcomes, with many examples
6. Expansion of tertiary education in the world is a fact, but its reducing impact on inequality may be less than expected, which is explained by two theses: Maximally Maintained Inequality and Effective Maintained Inequality (e.g. with some confirming evidence from Poland)

Appendix about education complexity and schooling systems

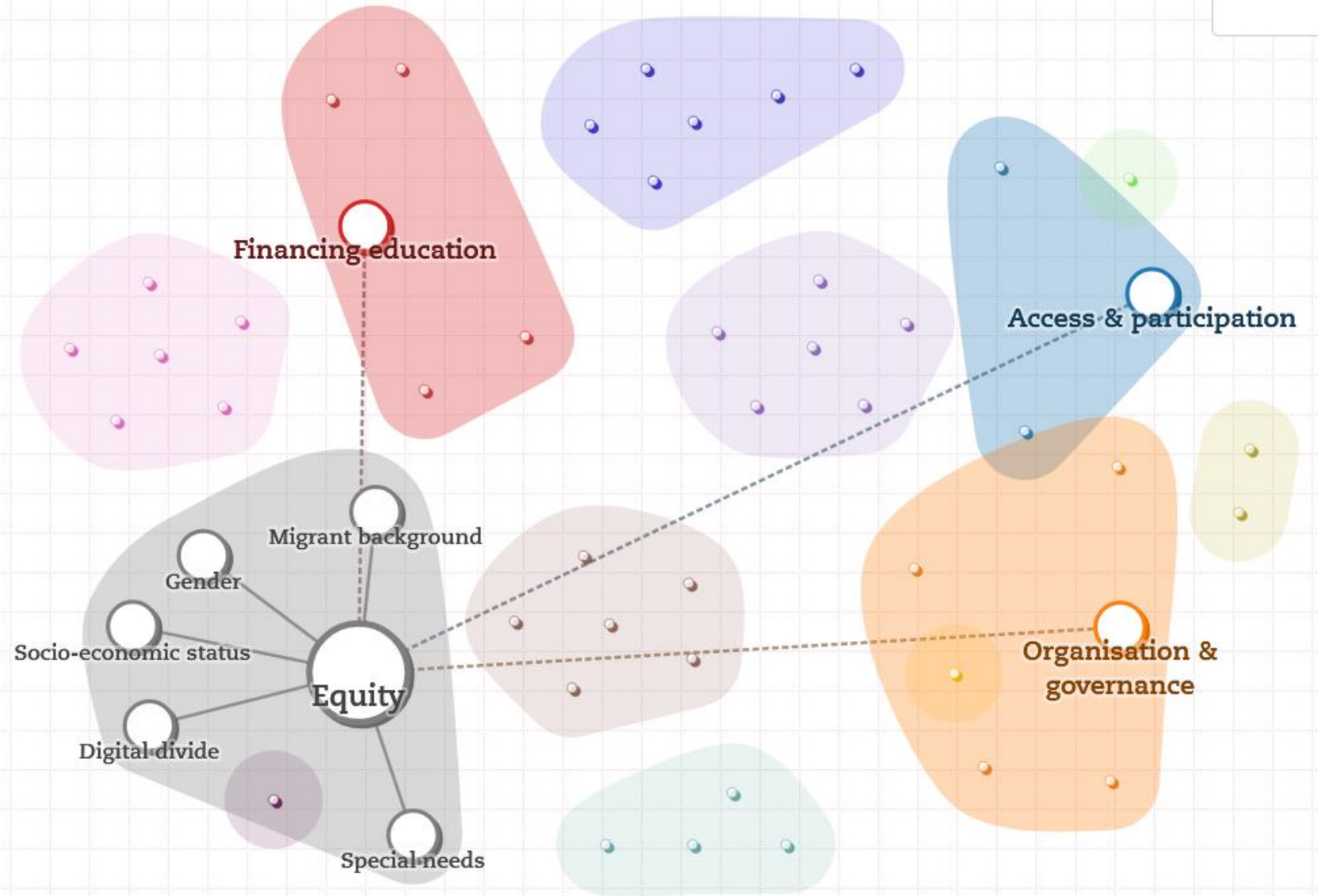
Education GPS Review education policies

„**EDUCATION IS COMPLEX.** Policies and practices, as well as inputs, processes and outcomes, stand in a dynamic relationship with each other. Explore how different topics can be related through a visual network of education policy”


























„Equity in education means that personal or social circumstances such as gender, [socio-economic status](#), [migrant background](#), age, special needs, or place of residence, do not hinder the achievement of one's educational potential (fairness) and that all individuals reach at least a minimum level of [skills](#) (inclusion). Equity, defined in this way, does not imply that everyone should have the same results, nor does it imply teaching the same material or providing the same [resources](#) to all students.”

Equity

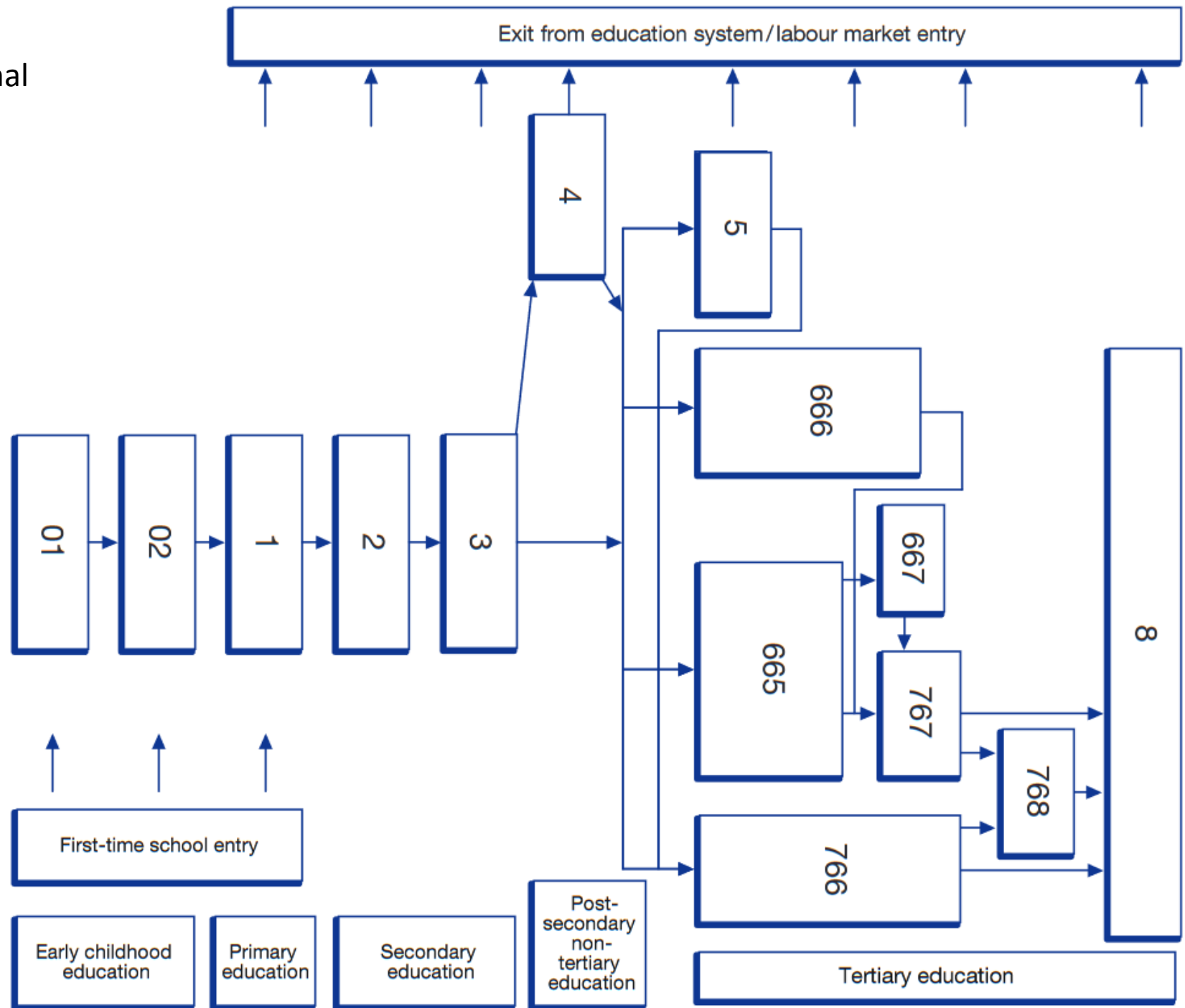


Schooling systems are complex: components for its comparative description

Levels and types of education			
	Early childhood education and care (for which public education authorities are not responsible)		
	Early childhood education and care (for which public education authorities are responsible)		
	Primary education		
	Single structure		
	Secondary general education		
	Secondary vocational education		
	Post-secondary non-tertiary education		
	Tertiary education (full-time)		
Allocation to the ISCED 2011 levels (see definitions below)			
 ISCED 0	 ISCED 2	 ISCED 4	 ISCED 6
 ISCED 1	 ISCED 3	 ISCED 5	 ISCED 7
Other keys			
	Full-time compulsory education/training		
	Part-time compulsory education/training		
	Combined school based and workplace courses		
	Possible additional year		Study abroad
 year	Programme being phased out in (year)		
 / n / -	Compulsory work experience + its duration (in years)		

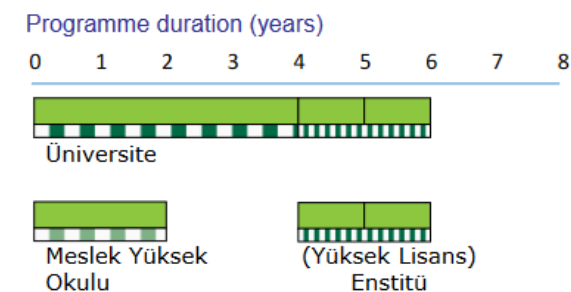
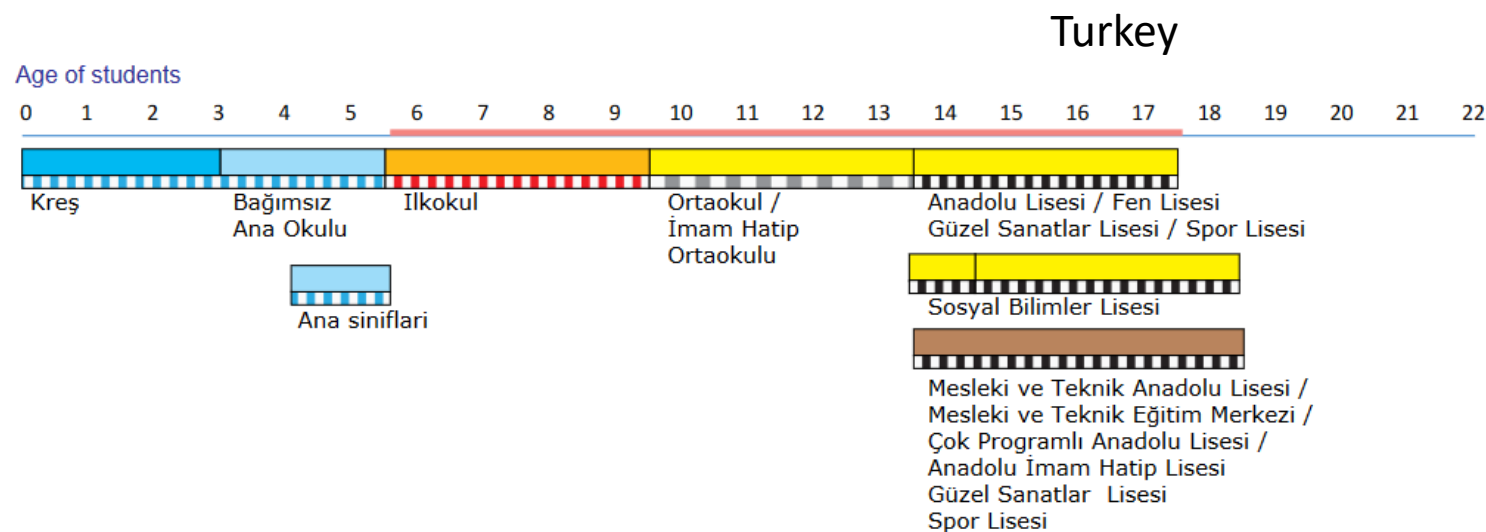
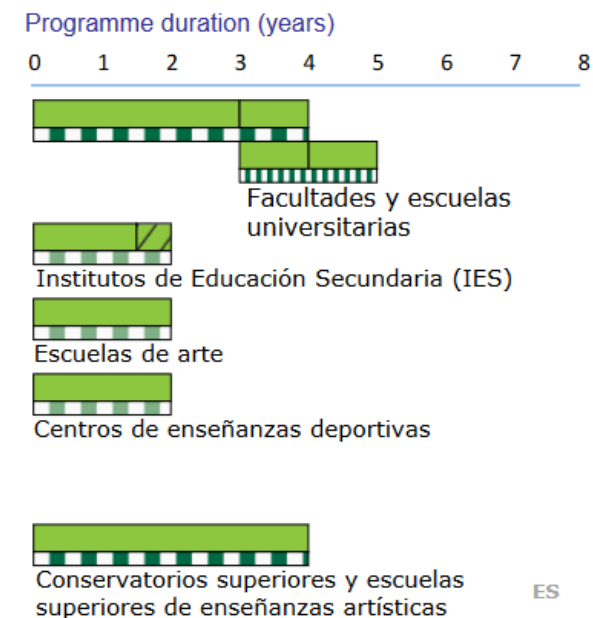
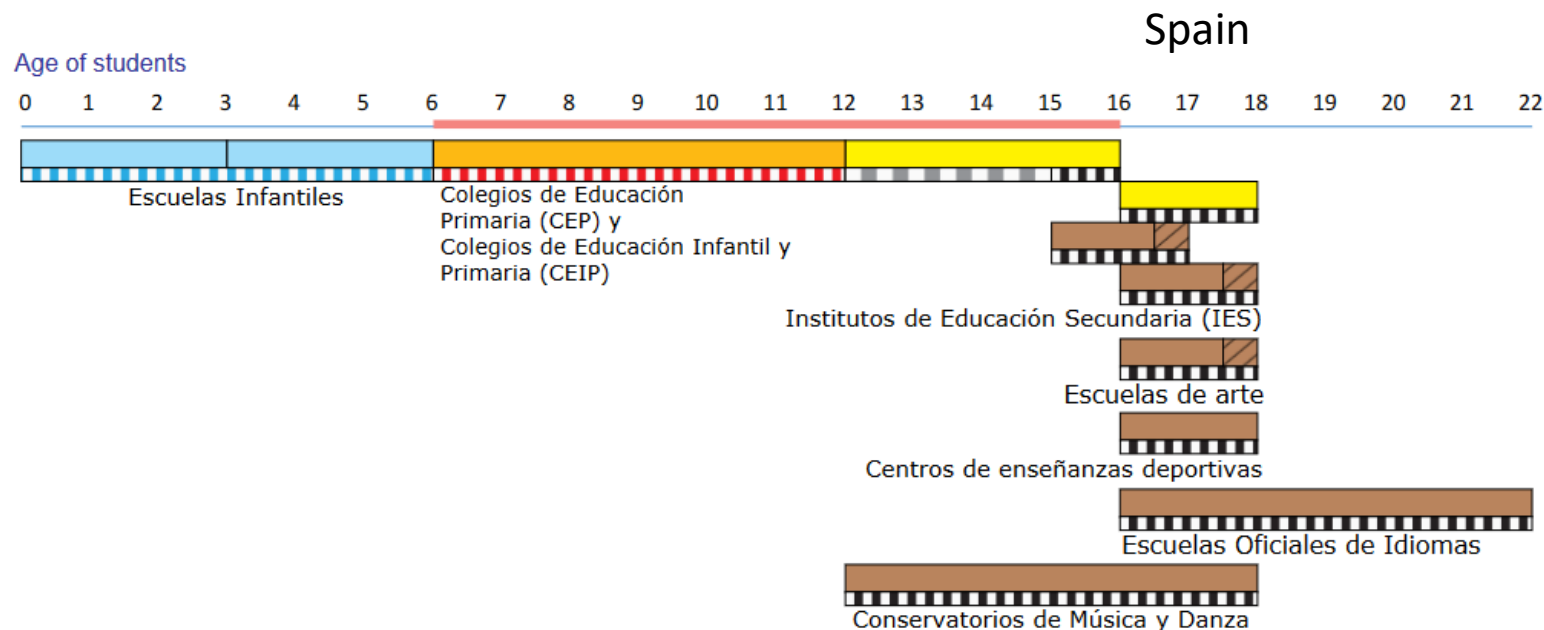
ISCED level	Education level
0	Early childhood education
1	Primary education
2	Lower secondary education
3	Upper secondary education
4	Post-secondary non-tertiary education
	Tertiary education
5	Short-cycle tertiary education
6	Bachelor's or equivalent level
7	Master's or equivalent level
8	Doctoral or equivalent level

ISCED 2011 potential educational pathways



Numbers on this figure are from ISCED classification with more detailed picture for tertiary education, e.g. 666 means Bachelor's or equivalent level, orientation unspecified, Long first degree (more than 4 years) see [source](#)

Schooling systems differ between countries: two examples



Source