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Hiring contest in Cameroon: factors of failure and success

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Abstract

As one of the most corrupt countries in the world, Cameroon is experiencing a lot of controversy over success in the various hiring contests. The criterion of the most deserving does not seem to be the most important. The corruption of politicians is much more often pointed out as the main determinant of success in these competitions, especially since they are generally used for recruitment into the civil service. This study has therefore set itself the objective of determining the profiles of those who most often pass recruitment competitions in Cameroon. It uses data from the fourth Cameroonian household survey and logit. It shows that candidates from middle-class families are more likely to succeed than the poor. It also shows that university education hardly increases the chances of success for the poor and rich. Women are less likely to succeed than men, while for the rich, the probability of success seems evenly distributed across various aspects of the analysis. Chances of success that also increase if the applicant live in one of the country's capitals or in an urban area. However, assuming a constant level of education, the chances of success no longer differ between urban and rural areas. While women's chances of success surpass those of men.

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Introduction

Cameroon has experienced high unemployment in recent years. This situation is more alarming because it concerns graduates. Indeed, the data from the International Labour Organization (2022) show that less than 70% of the population have a job. These jobs are dominated by the informal sector. Nguepi Tsafack et al. (2022) explain that 86.4% of jobs in the country in 2016 were in the informal sector and 90% in 2020. Of the few jobs in the formal sector, public employment has an important share (Djoumessi, 2021). Nkam (2021) explains in this sense that Cameroonian public enterprises employed about 45,000 people in 2017, but that overall public employment are six times higher. This difficult employment also affects graduates. Data from the World Bank (2024) show that more than 13% of university graduates were unemployed in 2014 in Cameroon. This figure rises to over 20% for women. Secondary school graduates are not spared either, with more than 7% unemployed and more than 11% for women.

The weakness of the country's labour demand, given the abundant supply, often leads to issues in the few remaining recruitment opportunities. The work of Che (2007) and Ngono (2022) explain that recruitment in the country is riddled with corruption and nepotism. To avoid this, some recruiters, primarily the government, prefer to recruit through competitive examinations. But unfortunately, these competitions are also accused of not being based on meritocracy. This has been a problem for years, but few studies have investigated it. In other countries, such as France and the United States, there is some work. This is the case, for example, with the work of Siwek-Pouydesseau (2013), who shows that women have less chance of succeeding in category A hiring contest, i.e. in design and management functions, or Gautier (2018), who is interested in the recruitment of women into the police force. In the case of African countries and Cameroon in particular, the literature is still scarce. That is why this study proposes to determine the profiles of those who succeed in general (public and non-public sector) hiring contest in Cameroon. To do so, it mobilizes data from the fourth Cameroonian Household Survey (ECAM 4) of the National Institute of Statistics (NIS, 2014) and uses the logit model. The remainder of this article is structured as follows. The first section reviews the literature, the second presents the methodology of the empirical analysis, the third section presents the discussion of the results, and the last point is the conclusion of this study.

1. Literature review

The first point of this section focuses on the search for elements that could explain a difference in success between women and men, and the second point on the difference between the rich and the poor.

1.1. A difference between men and women

As far as women are concerned, studies such as those by Siwek-Pouydesseau (2013) and Gautier (2018) have shown that women are less likely to succeed in hiring contest than men. There are several possible reasons for these results. First, Marry et al. (2015) explain that women may have less of a competitive culture than men. This idea is also found in the work of Greenan et al. (2016) and in the work of Niederle and Vesterlund (2007). These authors explain that since childhood, men are subjected to competition in games, in the culture that tells them that they must be the best to get by, that they have no choice but to succeed. On the other hand, as far as women are concerned, the spirit of competition would not be cultivated enough, the need to succeed would not be felt so much, since they are taught that the most important thing

is to find husbands who will take care of them. But this argument alone is not enough to explain the low chances of success. Especially since, if this was once true, it is much less so today. Today, in society, women and men are subject to the same demands in terms of success and have the same competitive spirit.

We need to look at other elements such as the difference in confidence between women and men. Indeed, as Niederle and Vesterlund (2007) explain, women are often less confident than men. This low self-esteem can lead to poor performance and low application rates. Furthermore, in some developing countries such as those in Africa, women often have lower human capital than men. When competitions go through an oral phase, the work of Greenan et al. (2016) or Siwek-Pouydesseau (2013) explain that the composition of the jury can influence success according to gender. Thus, women would do better with female juries. They are, however, favoured by men in positions where female candidates are rare. Another argument that seeks to explain the difference in the success of hiring contest between women and men is that of corruption. Corruption in competitive examinations, particularly in developing countries, is often pointed out. The work of Ngono (2022), for example, has argued that a privileged few bribe politicians to get civil service jobs in Africa. Yet the main mode of recruitment into the civil service is through competitive examinations (Fougère and Pouget, 2003; Greenan et al. 2016; Petit et al. 2020). The work of Rivas (2012) explains that women are less corrupt than men and therefore less successful in hiring contest. But, Debski et al. (2018) find that, by considering the culture of each region, that the difference in propensity to corruption between women and men disappears. Rivas (2012) further states that this difference that can be found in some studies can be explained by the recent entry of women into the labour market. They are less corrupt simply because they have had fewer opportunities for corruption than men.

1.2. Wealthy families and success

In terms of rich and poor, it should be considered that the poor do not have the same access to education as the rich (Yang and Bansak, 2020). Even in countries where education in public schools is free or at a significantly low cost. Since, in developing countries, these public institutions receive high enrolment demands. The supply of universities in terms of teaching, infrastructure, and student support, becomes rather quickly weaker than the demand, which affects the quality of the education. The rich can afford expensive private institutions. The follow-up of learners is better ensured since the offers of these universities face a moderate demand (Kumar and Choudhury, 2021). Thus, children from wealthy families are better equipped to face competitive examinations. They should then be more likely to succeed in competitive examinations. Moreover, in the case where bribing is required to be admitted, the rich are more likely to know the person to be bribed, and they have more means if they must outbid him (Bouzid, 2016). Finally, the cost of competition fees can be addressed. Many families do not have sufficient means to pay the competition fees and the costs of compiling competition files. These families therefore compete less often and therefore have less chance of success than the rich. These elements remain relatively unexplored in the literature, both internationally and in Cameroon. To better understand what is really going on, more studies are needed on the subject.

2. Methodology

This section presents, first the data and variables and then the model for this study.

2.1. Data and variables

This study mobilizes six variables, namely the survey region (Region), the survey area (Area), the respondent's sex (Sex), the respondent's highest degree of education (Diploma), the wealth of the respondent's household (Wealth), and whether the respondent obtained a job through a competitive examination (Hiring contest). The data on these variables come from the ECAM 4 database of the NIS of Cameroon in 2014. The competition variable is the answer to question through which channel did the respondent obtain this job (or undertake this activity)? We are talking here about hiring contest in both the public and private sectors. The diploma variable is the answer to question what is the respondent's highest degree? This ranges from no degree to doctorate holders. The wealth variable is the answer to question, is the household in which the respondent lives very poor, poor, neither poor nor rich, rich, or very rich? According to the NIS (2024), a poor person is one who lives on less than 813 FCFA per day, or 1.36 US dollars. A middle-class person lives on an income ranging from 4 to 20 dollars a day (Mintoogue, 2017).

For there is a floating class between the poverty line and 4 dollars. The rich live on an income above the middle-class bracket. The region is noted by the interviewers. However, the ten regions of the country are considered, excluding the capital cities, which are considered as regions. To obtain the region variable, we considered the ten regions on the one hand and the two capitals on the other. Thus, it is a two-mode variable. It takes the value 1 if the survey is conducted in one of the two capitals and 0 otherwise. As for the zone, it is also noted by the interviewers. Depending on the area where they are conducting the survey. It can be a rural, semi-urban or urban area.

Table 1. Descriptive statistics

Areas	% of hiring contest	% population		Regions	% of hiring contest	% population		Diplomas	% of hiring contest	% population
Rural	13.69	37.64		Adamawa	8.62	7.92		Without a diploma	0.31	45.7
Semi-urban	15.54	12.36		Center	11.23	8.18		CEP/CEPE/FSLC	6.74	31.71
Urban	70.77	50		Duala	8.15	9.42		BEPC/CAP/GCEOL	18.97	10.8
Sex	% of hiring contest	% population		East	10.15	6.52		PROBATOIRE/BP	10.97	2.55
Female	38.46	51.09		Far North	7.69	12.24		BAC/GCEAL/BEP/BT	24.76	5.02
Male	61.54	48.91		Littoral	3.54	5.72		BTS/DUT/DEUG	3.76	0.92
Wealth	% of hiring contest	% population		North	6.15	11.83		Bachelor's degree	18.03	1.96
Very poor	2.77	13.76		Northwest	5.08	8.4		MASTER/MASTER/DEA	14.89	1.24
Poor	19.54	41.45		West	9.08	8.8		DOCTORATE/PHD	1.57	0.09
Neither poor nor rich	73.54	42.13		South	9.69	5.23				
Rich	3.69	2.02		Southwest	4.62	6.06				
Very rich	0.46	0.63		Yaoundé	16	9.68				

***Source**: Author with data from ECAM IV..*

An initial descriptive analysis reveals, we observe that those who consider themselves to be living in a household that is neither poor nor rich are those who succeed most in competitive examinations in Cameroon. More than 73% of those who succeeded in these competitions came from these households. This is a significant number since respondents from these households represent less than 43% of the population. It is also observed that although only 3.69% of those who succeed in the competitive recruitment exams in Cameroon come from wealthy households, this is already a significant figure since less than 3% of respondents come from such households. The same is true for respondents from very rich households, who represent

only 0.63% of respondents but account for 0.46% of those who pass the competitive examination. The poor and the very poor come second and third in terms of success rates, at 19.54% and 2.77% respectively, but there are more of them and the ratio of the number of respondents to the number of successes is lower among these candidates.

2.2. Model

The competition variable is the dependent variable of this job. It is a binary variable which takes the value 1 if the respondent declares to have obtained his job via a competition and 0 otherwise. The use of certain methods such as ordinary least squares are no longer appropriate in this case since the dependent variable is not continuous. Other models are more appropriate in this case, notably logistic regression. The choice of this model, however, must be confirmed by the Variance Inflation Factor (VIF) tests. In general, a VIF value greater than 10 is considered evidence of multicollinearity. However, for models such as the logit model, a value of 2.5 is more often retained (Senaviratna and Cooley, 2019). Thus, with results below 2.5, this test reveal that there is no multicollinearity problem. The results of this test, whenever more than one variable is used, will be transferred to the corresponding estimation tables. Let us consider the following specification:

$$P(Hiring\ contest_i = 1) = \beta_0 + \beta_1 Region_i + \beta_2 Area_i + \beta_3 Sex_i + \beta_4 Weath_i + \beta_5 Diploma_i + \varepsilon_i \quad (1)$$

With β_j, $j = 0, \dots, 5$, the parameters to be estimated and ε_i the error term. This type of modelling makes it possible to determine which group has a better chance of success than the other(s).

In the case of this work, an analysis is made of the whole population, followed by an analysis by gender and by wealth. In the case of the wealth analysis, we group the poor and very poor as poor, and the rich and very rich as rich. This leaves three groups, the poor, the middle class and the rich.

3. Discussion of the results

There are three main points in this discussion. Firstly, education, which represents the ability of candidates to handle the tests they are given. Secondly, the place of residence, as most of the tests in the competitions are held in urban areas. Finally, it relates to the wealth of the candidates' families.

3.1. What is the role of education?

The results in Table 2 show that people without diplomas are less likely to succeed in hiring contests than those with a secondary school diploma. This is justified by the fact that most hiring contests require the possession of a diploma. This result was already reflected in Table 1, since only 0.31% of the population without diplomas, declared that they had obtained their job through a competition. This result is true for the population, as well as for women, men, the poor, the middle class and the rich. This result is also shared by primary school leavers. This can also be explained by the fact that for the past decade or two, the primary school leaving certificate is no longer required for hiring contests. Once present in many hiring contests, they have now been replaced by diplomas from the end of the first cycle of secondary school.

The results in Table 2 show that for respondents from wealthy households, there is no significant difference between the chances of success of graduates from different levels of schooling, from secondary school onwards, except for doctorates. The rich have stable success rates in competitive examinations. This can be explained by the fact that the rich are not very interested in competitive examinations and prefer to use other recruitment channels. But it can also be explained by the fact that the rich use their means and connections to succeed in hiring contest, to such an extent that their diplomas are no longer significant in this sense. For the others, it can be observed that university graduates are more likely to succeed in hiring contest than those with a high school diploma. At first glance, these results on education seem to show that the higher one's qualifications, the more likely one is to succeed in hiring contest. However, on closer analysis, it becomes clear that this is not the case. In fact, university education does not significantly increase the chances of success in hiring contest for either the poor or the rich, except for the second cycle diploma for the poor and the third cycle for the rich. This may mean that the level of study or academic excellence is not a determining factor in success. Longer studies do not add value to the success in hiring contest for the poor and the rich.

Table 2. Results of estimates for diplomas

	All the population	Female	Male	Poor	Middle class	Rich
Diplomas						
Without a diploma	-6.101*** (0.713)	-6.872*** (1.421)	-5.369*** (0.716)	-6.546*** (1.425)	-5.176*** (0.715)	-3.806** (1.482)
CEP/CEPE/FSLC	-3.268*** (0.176)	-3.554*** (0.284)	-3.053*** (0.222)	-3.159*** (0.310)	-3.154*** (0.222)	-2.538*** (0.770)
BEPC/CAP/GCEOL	-1.066*** (0.128)	-0.768*** (0.190)	-1.339*** (0.177)	-0.852*** (0.239)	-1.089*** (0.156)	-0.852 (0.706)
Probatoire/BP	-0.00111 (0.156)	0.00813 (0.270)	0.0119 (0.192)	0.174 (0.294)	-0.0518 (0.191)	0.447 (0.753)
BAC/GCEAL/BEP/BT (reference)						
BTS/DUT/DEUG	-0.310 (0.234)	-0.200 (0.361)	-0.360 (0.304)	-0.430 (0.581)	-0.277 (0.258)	-1.499 (1.511)
Bachelor's degree	0.564*** (0.138)	0.602*** (0.229)	0.551*** (0.173)	0.366 (0.333)	0.547*** (0.157)	-0.456 (0.800)
Master/DEA	0.820*** (0.150)	0.831*** (0.266)	0.833*** (0.182)	0.972*** (0.366)	0.659*** (0.172)	0.757 (0.617)
Doctorate/PHD	1.095*** (0.404)	0.501 (0.953)	1.286*** (0.441)	-0.179 (1.488)	0.667 (0.504)	3.743** (1.552)
C	-1.683*** (0.0866)	-1.600*** (0.140)	-1.728*** (0.110)	-2.219*** (0.177)	-1.440*** (0.103)	-1.546*** (0.432)
Observations	15,403	6,850	8,553	8,243	6,758	402

***Source**: Author, from Stata. *** p<0. 01; ** p<0. 05; * p<0. 1.*

3.2. Is the area of residence important?

Table 3 shows that people living in semi-urban and urban areas are more likely to have obtained their jobs through competitive examination than those in rural areas. This result holds for women, men, and the middle class. Indeed, people living in rural areas are most often employed in small-scale agricultural activities, for which no competitive recruitment is required. In urban and semi-urban areas, however, there are civil service and business premises. However, this result is not shared by the rich and poor in semi-urban areas and by the rich in urban areas. For the poor, it is assumed here that in semi-urban areas there is still a proportion of the population working in small-scale agricultural activities and that these come from poor households. There is therefore no significant difference between their success in hiring contests and that of those living in rural areas.

For the rich, being in urban, semi-urban or rural areas does not significantly affect their chances of success, perhaps because it does not prevent them from educating themselves, being informed about job applications or using their means and connections to succeed. It is this lack

of a significant difference in the probability of success in hiring contest for the rich that we obtain between urban and rural areas and between women and men. The only significant difference in the probability of success in hiring contests for candidates from rich households is between those who are in capital cities and those who are not.

Table 3. Results of estimates for areas and regions

Variables		All the population	Female	Male	Poor	Middle class	Rich
Areas (References: rural)	Semi-Urban	1.483***	1.352***	1.545***	0.0808	0.369***	0.0386
		(0.148)	(0.249)	(0.184)	(0.169)	(0.0987)	(0.400)
	Urban	1.567***	1.777***	1.427***	1.776***	1.236***	-0.952
		(0.117)	(0.188)	(0.149)	(0.276)	(0.184)	(1.066)
Sex (Reference: female)	Male	0.316***			1.627***	1.228***	0.431
		(0.0825)			(0.231)	(0.146)	(0.424)
	C	-4.658***	-4.787***	-4.254***	-5.475***	-3.905***	-3.022***
		(0.116)	(0.172)	(0.136)	(0.221)	(0.148)	(0.404)
	Observations	19,022	9,053	9,969	10,896	7,644	482
	VIF	1.00			1.00	1.00	1.00
Variables		All the population	Female	Male	Poor	Middle class	Rich
Regions (Reference: the 10 regions of the country deprived of capitals)	Capitals	0.318***	0.489***	0.214*	0.427**	-0.00978	1.248***
		(0.0937)	(0.149)	(0.120)	(0.205)	(0.111)	(0.412)
Sex (Reference: female)	Male	0.376***			0.145	0.402***	0.0216
		(0.0821)			(0.168)	(0.0982)	(0.403)
	C	-3.623***	-3.662***	-3.222***	-4.459***	-2.943***	-3.179***
		(0.0673)	(0.0739)	(0.0584)	(0.130)	(0.0821)	(0.338)
	Observations	19,022	9,053	9,969	10,896	7,644	482
	VIF	1.00			1.00	1.00	1.00

***Source**: Author, from Stata. *** p<0. 01; ** p<0. 05; * p<0. 1.*

Table 3 also shows that men are more likely to succeed in hiring contest than women, except in the case of the rich, but also in the case of the poor. In the case of the poor in particular, the result is not the same when controlling for areas or regions. When controlling for regions, this difference is not significant, but when controlling for areas it is. This can be justified by the fact that women are more often in rural areas than men. In some households, the man may work in an urban or semi-urban area during the week and return to his family at the weekend in a rural area. The woman who remains in the rural area works in agricultural activities that do not require her to pass a competition. This result is probably evenly distributed in the different regions in such a way that controlling for them does not make a significant difference.

3.3. Does wealth matter?

As mentioned above, we observe that controlling the model by the wealth of respondents' households makes the capital variable insignificant. This shows that the pattern of success between the poor and the rich does not depend very much on the region in which one is located. Table 4 shows that the poor and very poor are less likely to succeed in hiring contest than candidates from middle-class households, i.e., households that are neither rich nor poor. For the rich and the very rich, however, there is no significant difference in the probability of success in hiring contest compared to candidates from middle-class households. Overall, these results showed that the probability of success in hiring contests is evenly distributed between the poor and the rich. This is not always the case between women and men, between rural, urban, and semi-urban areas, between capital cities and other regions of the country, while middle class candidates are more likely to succeed than others. As for the poor and the very poor, they are less likely to succeed in these examinations because they participate less, either because they do not have the required diploma or because they cannot afford the expenses surrounding the examination. Indeed, the poor have less income than others to finance the education of members of their households, which limits the number of diplomas in their possession. In addition, when the call for applications goes out, they may be discouraged by the costs involved in responding

to the call. Whereas applicants from wealthy or middleclass households may be better able to invest in this.

Table 4. Results of estimates for wealth

Variables		All the population	Female	Male	All the population	Female	Male
Areas (References: rural)	Semi-urban	1.308*** (0.149)	1.206*** (0.250)	1.353*** (0.186)			
	Urban	1.275*** (0.118)	1.501*** (0.191)	1.129*** (0.151)			
Regions (Reference: The 10 regions of the country without the two capitals)	Capitals				0.121 (0.0949)	0.278* (0.151)	0.0265 (0.122)
Sex (Reference: female)	Male	0.282*** (0.0832)			0.320*** (0.0828)		
Wealth (Reference: neither rich nor poor)	Very poor	-2.041*** (0.242)	-1.704*** (0.329)	-2.331*** (0.361)	-2.320*** (0.242)	-2.026*** (0.328)	-2.583*** (0.360)
	Poor	-1.249*** (0.102)	-1.062*** (0.157)	-1.371*** (0.135)	-1.404*** (0.101)	-1.255*** (0.156)	-1.504*** (0.134)
	Rich	0.167 (0.219)	0.416 (0.325)	-0.0110 (0.295)	0.0701 (0.217)	0.320 (0.322)	-0.105 (0.293)
	Very rich	-0.905 (0.588)	-0.955 (1.015)	-0.893 (0.723)	-0.946 (0.587)	-0.983 (1.013)	-0.934 (0.721)
	C	-3.895*** (0.123)	-4.103*** (0.185)	-3.481*** (0.143)	-2.925*** (0.0735)	-3.015*** (0.0885)	-2.550*** (0.0670)
	Observations	19,022	9,053	9,969	19,022	9,053	9,969
	VIF	1.03	1.04	1.04	1.01	1.01	1.01

***Source**: Author, from Stata. *** p<0. 01; ** p<0. 05; * p<0. 1.*

Moreover, the country, like most countries in Africa, suffers from corruption in the recruitment process as Ngono (2022) explains. The poor have fewer opportunities to use corruption. They do not have the financial capacity and are unlikely to have the connections with politicians who need to be bribed. However, the rich and very rich do. But they do not have the highest success rates because the rich can get jobs directly without going through competitive examinations through their connections. In addition, they often have family businesses and members of the household can work there and not need to be recruited elsewhere. They also often send their children to study at the best schools in the world and their children are easily recruited in the countries where they studied. Finally, they are generally quite well known and the appearance of their family members' names on the lists of those admitted to these competitions always attracts attention. This is not the case for the middle class. Candidates from neither rich nor poor household are anonymous. They are generally not known, they blend in well, but at the same time they have enough means and connections to educate themselves and to bribe politicians.

Conclusion

The objective of this study was to determine which profiles are most likely to succeed in hiring contest in Cameroon. The literature review revealed that it is possible that men, who are more established in the labour market and more accustomed to this type of exercise, are more likely to compete, have more confidence, and therefore succeed more often than women. It then showed that the rich have more resources to prepare for and participate in hiring contest and therefore succeed. The empirical analysis used the logit model on the ECAM 4 data and found that applicants from middle class households are more likely to succeed in recruitment exams than poor ones. While there is no significant difference with the rich. It should be noted, however, that the rich do not even reach 5% of the population, whereas the middle class represents almost half. It also appears that women, especially from the middle class, are less likely than men to succeed in hiring contest in Cameroon. Moreover, candidates living in semi-urban and urban areas or in one of the two capitals have a greater chance of succeeding in these competitions than others. Finally, secondary school graduates are the most likely to succeed.

While the poor and the rich do not benefit from university education in this sense. Multivariate regression with all variables, in table 5, confirms all these results except for sex and area. Indeed, when the diploma variable is held constant, men are less likely to succeed than women. This result can be explained by the low access of women to education. There is fewer female than male graduates, and therefore fewer female than male applicants. As a result, women can achieve higher success rates than men. In terms of area, by keeping education constant, there is no longer any significant difference between rural and urban areas. Thus, the difference in access to education is one of the relevant explanations for the greater probability of success in urban areas. These results are only verified in these cases. These results tend to show the low importance of long studies in the success of competitive examinations in the country. More transparency is needed in recruitment processes, especially in the civil service. The Cameroonian authorities should give candidates the opportunity to consult their corrected papers and to verify that the corrections were well done and that the final average they obtained is the one they deserve, but even more, they must be able to access the summary of the results of other candidates to ensure that those who were admitted deserved it more than the others. In the oral phases, the competition should be transcribed live on national television channels or at least on appropriate platforms. This should prevent juries from using too much discretion, as the public can ensure the integrity of the oral. Gender parity on the jury would also be an important element in avoiding gender-based discrimination. While this will not put an end to discriminatory and unfair practices, it will probably reduce them.

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Appendices

Table 5. Regression with all variables

References	Variables	Hiring Contest	Hiring Contest	Hiring Contest	Hiring Contest	Hiring Contest
BAC/GCEAL/BEP/BT	Without diploma	-6.086*** (0.715)		-6.290*** (0.715)	-6.016*** (0.716)	-6.155*** (0.714)
	CEP/CEPE/FSLC	-3.310*** (0.181)		-3.424*** (0.180)	-3.242*** (0.181)	-3.343*** (0.179)
	BEPC/CAP/GCEOL	-1.082*** (0.130)		-1.137*** (0.129)	-1.057*** (0.129)	-1.084*** (0.130)
	Probatoire/BP	-0.00284 (0.160)		-0.0252 (0.159)	-0.00515 (0.159)	0.00676 (0.160)
	BTS/DUT/DEUG	-0.291 (0.239)		-0.220 (0.237)	-0.363 (0.236)	-0.299 (0.239)
	Bachelor's degree	0.545*** (0.142)		0.615*** (0.141)	0.510*** (0.140)	0.552*** (0.142)
	Master/DEA	0.896*** (0.157)		1.004*** (0.155)	0.772*** (0.153)	0.893*** (0.156)
	Doctorate/PHD	1.271*** (0.416)		1.353*** (0.415)	1.097*** (0.410)	1.266*** (0.416)
Neither rich nor poor	Poor	-0.625*** (0.110)	-1.253*** (0.102)		-0.653*** (0.110)	-0.638*** (0.110)
	Rich	-0.0881 (0.241)	0.163 (0.219)		-0.0791 (0.239)	-0.116 (0.241)
	Very poor	-1.174*** (0.265)	-2.048*** (0.242)		-1.174*** (0.264)	-1.193*** (0.264)
	Very rich	-0.684 (0.629)	-0.936 (0.589)		-0.513 (0.623)	-0.689 (0.628)
Female	Male	-0.207** (0.0922)	0.285*** (0.0832)	-0.229** (0.0917)	-0.206** (0.0912)	-0.210** (0.0918)
The 10 regions of the country without the two capitals	Capitals	-0.949*** (0.110)	-0.310*** (0.102)	-0.964*** (0.110)		-0.955*** (0.103)
Rural	Semi-urban	0.391** (0.165)	1.308*** (0.149)	0.461*** (0.164)	0.396** (0.165)	
	Urban	0.171 (0.136)	1.391*** (0.123)	0.246* (0.134)	-0.224* (0.131)	
	C	-1.203*** (0.161)	-3.895*** (0.123)	-1.466*** (0.155)	-1.203*** (0.160)	-1.019*** (0.112)
	Observations	15,403	19,022	15,403	15,403	15,403
	Multicollinearity tests (VIF)	1.15	1.15	1.16	1.05	1.03

***Source**: Author, from Stata. *** p<0. 01; ** p<0. 05; * p<0. 1.*