The Apprenticeship-to-Work Transition: Experimental Evidence from Ghana

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High Youth Unemployment

- Youth unemployment major economic & social problem in Africa
 - Official unemployment estimates range from 12% (ILO) to 25% (AfDB)
 - Often masks high levels of vulnerable employment
- In Ghana, youth ages 15–24 are much less likely (52%) to be working than adults 25–65 (89%)
 - Large gaps persist even after accounting for schooling
 - Gender dimension is important: Female unemployment rate is 50% higher than male rate (World Bank, 2018)

- Apprentices work in firm of training provider
- Obtain skills through learning by doing in unstructured environment
- Pay an entry and exit fee
- No toolkit provided
- Average duration of 3 years
- Duration ultimately determined by trainer
- Typically receive small wages or "chop money"

Apprenticeships Promising Avenue?

Apprenticeships use existing firms to provide training

- Potentially relevant training, especially for informal sector
 - In Ghana, 88% of males and 95% of females in (low-productivity) informal sector (World Bank Development Indicators, 2017)
 - Frazer (2006) argues apprentices basically replicate firms' business
- Yet, concerns about quality of training relies on informal sector firms with traditional (outdated) technology (Darvas and Palmer, 2014)
 - Quality of training limited by firm owner's knowledge and skill
 - Firms may focus on "firm-specific" rather than "general" training
 - Firm owners may not devote enough time/effort to training
 - Lack of standards and quality assurance

Apprenticeships Promising Avenue? Not Clear.

- Common pathway for training in developed countries (e.g. Germany, Switzerland)
- Common in West Africa (Teal, 2016)
 - In urban Ghana, 40% of self-employed and 25% of wage employed workers had undertaken an apprenticeship (World Bank, 2016)
 - Apprenticeship training in Ghana responsible for training almost 4x as many individuals as all other (formal) alternatives (Darvas and Palmer, 2014)
- Despite their importance, limited evidence on effectiveness of apprenticeships in African contexts
 - Observational studies: Frazer (2006); Monk, Sandefur and Teal (2008)
 - RCTs: Cho et al. (2013); Alfonsi et al. (2017); Crepon and Premand (2019)
 - Larger literature in developed countries, especially from Germany (e.g. Acemoglu and Pischke, 1998, 1999)

This Evaluation

Examines effects of apprenticeship training program in Ghana

- Nationwide, government-sponsored program
- Designed to address high youth unemployment
- Alleviates credit constraint barriers to accessing training
- Main outcomes: short-run labor market outcomes
 - \rightarrow Exploit randomized access to apprenticeship program
- Mechanism of interest: training quality
 - \rightarrow Exploit randomized matching with trainer

The National Apprenticeship Program (NAP) in Ghana

- National-scale, government training program with decentralized implementation (urban & rural)
- Essentially abolished entrance and exit fee
 - NAP and traditional apprenticeships are similar
- Intended to target low-income unemployed young people (age 15–30)
- Needed to complete application form and attend in-person interview
- Selected applicants:
 - 75% female; 22 years (median); 7.4 years of schooling; 31% married
 - ▶ 45% working (mostly unpaid family work and self-employment)
 - ▶ Conditional on working: 22h/week; 46 GhC/month (~ 11 USD today)

The National Apprenticeship Program (NAP) in Ghana

- Youth applicants placed into small informal sector firms
 - Average number of workers (paid or unpaid): 0.7 (median: 0)
 - Average number of apprentices: 2.8 (median: 2)
 - Average number of customers last month: 20.6 (median: 15)

More summary statistics

- Construction (Masonry, Welding, Carpentry), Garment-making, Cosmetology → Sorting by gender
- Trades chosen by Council for Technical and Vocational Education and Training (COTVET); NOT in response to market demand

Overview of Evaluation Design

- RCT of National Apprenticeship Program in Ghana
 - Uses existing infrastructure, unlike often-evaluated NGO programs
- \sim 4,000 study participants from 32 districts across all regions
- Unique design: two sources of apprentice-level random variation
 - 1. Randomized access to apprenticeship program
 - 2. Randomized match between apprentices and training providers (conditional on distance) • Details
- Successful randomization: balanced baseline characteristics

Full Sample Males in Construction

Females in Cosmetology
Females in Garments

High follow-up rates: 91% after 5 years and balanced attrition Table

Evaluation Design: Match Meetings

- Selected applicants and potential training providers come together
- Trade-specific meetings within each district
- Trainers briefly introduce themselves and their firms
 - Location, training experience, trade, and summary of firm
- Apprentice applicants list trainers they are interested in training with (conditional on walking distance) → preference set
- Given preference set, trainer randomly assigned

Number of trainers ranked by apprentices
 How often were trainers ranked

Timeline



Apprenticeships lead to occupational shift and lower earnings

Apprenticeship offer leads to:

- More training Regression table
 - 35% more likely to start apprenticeship
 - 97% more likely to complete (conditional on starting)
 - 52% longer duration (conditional on starting)

Apprenticeships lead to occupational shift and lower earnings

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 Regression table
 - 35% more likely to start apprenticeship
 - 97% more likely to complete (conditional on starting)
 - 52% longer duration (conditional on starting)
- Less employment and shift out of wage work Regression table
 - 4% less likely to work (3 ppt)
 - 4% less likely to be in wage employment (4 ppt)
 - Limited (and insignificant) increase in self-employment

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 Regression table
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 - 4% less likely to be in wage employment (4 ppt)
 - Limited (and insignificant) increase in self-employment

Lower earnings as loss of wage income is not offset • Regression table

- 12% reduction in total earnings (11 GhC)
- 35% decline in earnings from wage employment (15 GhC)

Apprenticeships lead to lower earnings for all trade subgroups

Occupational shift most pronounced for females in cosmetology Regression table

- No significant change in probability of working
- 34% less likely to be in wage employment (5 ppt)
- Offset by 22% increase in self-employment (7ppt)

Apprenticeships lead to lower earnings for all trade subgroups

Occupational shift most pronounced for females in cosmetology Regression table

- No significant change in probability of working
- 34% less likely to be in wage employment (5 ppt)
- Offset by 22% increase in self-employment (7ppt)

However, no increase in business profits

- 33% reduction in earnings from wage employment (11 GhC)
- Statistically insignificant increase in business profits of 7 GhC

• Earnings reduction most pronounced for construction • Earnings also fall for garment-making

Quality of Training Provider Seems to Matter

Higher earnings when training with most profitable or most experienced trainers

Characteristics of training provider matter:

- Assigned to most profitable firms [business performance]:
 - 24% more likely to work (16 ppt) Regression table
 - In part driven by 88% increase in wage employment (10 ppt)
 - Leads to 78% increase in total earnings (63 GhC) Regression table
 - Appears to be in part driven by wage earnings (but insignificant)

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 - In part driven by 88% increase in wage employment (10 ppt)
 - Leads to 78% increase in total earnings (63 GhC) Regression table
 - Appears to be in part driven by wage earnings (but insignificant)
- Assigned to firms that trained most apprentices [training experience]:
 - Limited effects on labor supply Regression table
 - 76% increase in total earnings (65 GhC) Regression table
 - Primarily driven by 127% increase in wage earnings (43 GhC)

Is popularity a revealed measure of trainer quality? No.

Characteristics of trainer appear to matter for apprentices' outcomes

- But how can "good" trainers be identified in practice?
- Is popularity a revealed measure of trainer quality?

• Details on trainer popularity

- No, trainer popularity has no impact on labor outcome Regression table
 - No change in working, wage employment, or self-employment
 - No change in earning outcomes
 - Similar for trainer of first choice Evidence

Conclusion

- Overall, limited evidence that apprenticeships improved average labor market outcomes in the short run (1 year after apprenticeship)
- Characteristics of trainer matter for apprentices' outcomes
- Suggests training programs can be made more effective through better recruitment of trainers
- However, scale-up might be limited by availability of good trainers

Apprentices do not seem to be able to identify good trainers

APPENDIX

Main Difference NAP Apprenticeships: Lower Fees

After January 2013	Entrance fee (GhC)	Exit fee (GhC)	Firm size (#)	Satis- faction (0/1)	Travel time (min)
Treatment (0/1)	-91.542*** (14.907)	-60.503*** (23.026)	0.194 (0.254)	-0.021 (0.025)	-0.571 (1.475)
Adjusted p-value Mean Control Observations	0.000 207.767 978	0.072 117.121 629	0.845 3.193 992	0.845 0.887 994	0.845 24.992 987
	Toolkit	Practice materials	Written materials	Testimonial	Exam
Treatment (0/1)	-0.032	0.053	0.034	-0.082	0.166**
Adjusted p-value Mean Control	(0.037) 0.845 0.463	(0.036) 0.628 0.551	(0.026) 0.659 0.135	(0.071) 0.738 0.516	(0.079) 0.223 0.440

Robust standard errors in parantheses. *** p<0.01; ** p<0.05; * p<0.1. P-values adjusted for multiple hypothesis testing provided. Method: Westfall and Young 1993. Controls: Yes. Strata FE: Yes. Wave FE: Yes.

Summary Statistics of Trainers

• Back	All Trades	Construction	Cosmetology	Garments
Workers (#)	3.48	4.50	3.26	3.06
Paid workers $(\#)$	0.53	1.44	0.22	0.24
Current apprentices $(\#)$	2.78	2.72	2.93	2.70
Apprentices ever trained $(#)$	10.47	5.37	12.86	11.61
Profits (GhC)	336.96	656.52	262.90	207.42
Wage bill (GhC)	184.84	501.82	60.16	79.93
Ν	1,074	268	353	453

Full	Full Sample Back		Mean	Treatment
			Control	
Dom	ographics			
(1)	Age (vrs)	3.468	23.14	0.045
(2)	Years of schooling	3.387	7.25	0.092
(3)	HH size (adults+children)	3.299	6.70	0.083
(4)	Mother: years of schooling	2.900	3.83	-0.339*
(5)	Father: years of schooling	2,596	6.23	-0.216
Labo	r			
(6)	Started an apprenticeship (0/1)	3,600	0.25	-0.002
(7)	Working (0/1)	3,600	0.43	0.011
(8)	Wage empl. (0/1)	3,600	0.05	-0.003
(9)	Self-empl. (0/1)	3,600	0.18	0.019
(10)	Total hours (hrs)	3,600	8.97	0.625
(11)	Wage empl. (hrs)	3,600	2.29	-0.082
(12)	Self-empl. (hrs)	3,600	6.68	0.707
(13)	Total earnings (GhC)	3,600	14.92	3.249
(14)	Wage empl. (GhC)	3,600	2.39	-0.443
(15)	Self-empl. (GhC)	3,600	8.52	-0.254
Abili	ty			
(16)	Vocabulary score (z-score)	2,556	0.00	0.080*
(17)	Math score (z-score)	3,346	0.00	0.018
(18)	Digits score (z-score)	3,490	0.00	0.034
(19)	Ravens score (z-score)	3,486	0.00	0.018
Othe	r			
(20)	Asset score (z-score)	3,345	0.00	0.028
(21)	Married (0/1)	3,600	0.31	-0.006
(22)	Children (0/1)	3,600	0.45	-0.013
(23)	Close family works in Govt/GES/DA (0/1)	3,600	0.30	-0.009
(24)	Urban (0/1)	3,326	0.77	0.002
(25)	Top $10 + \text{District Capitals } (0/1)$	3,473	0.53	0.021
	F-test statistic	1,457		0.600

Male	s in Construction • Back	Ν	Mean Control	Treatment
Demo	ographics	701	04.46	0.000
(1)	Age (yrs)	721	24.40	-0.006
(2)	Years of schooling	/13	7.95	0.377
(3)	HH size (adults+children)	688	7.96	0.296
(4)	Mother: years of schooling	612	2.80	0.495
(5)	Father: years of schooling	599	5.95	-0.867
Labo				
(6)	Started an apprenticeship (0/1)	727	0.42	-0.051
(7)	Working (0/1)	727	0.61	-0.113**
(8)	Wage empl. (0/1)	727	0.13	-0.012
(9)	Self-empl. (0/1)	727	0.23	0.031
(10)	Total hours (hrs)	727	13.49	1.431
(11)	Wage empl. (hrs)	727	5.13	0.424
(12)	Self-empl. (hrs)	727	8.36	1.007
(13)	Total earnings (GhC)	727	47.05	13.940
(14)	Wage empl. (GhC)	727	9.43	-2.647
(15)	Self-empl. (GhC)	727	19.09	-6.015
Abilit	v			
(16)	Vocabulary score (z-score)	567	0.00	0.008
(17)	Math score (z-score)	713	0.00	0.031
(18)	Digits score (z-score)	727	0.00	-0.005
(19)	Ravens score (z-score)	727	0.00	-0.087
Othe	, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,			
(20)	Asset score (z-score)	705	0.00	-0.032
(21)	Married (0/1)	727	0.34	-0.008
(22)	Children (0/1)	727	0.32	-0.064
(23)	Close family works in Govt/GES/DA (0/1)	727	0.31	0.029
(24)	Urban (0/1)	689	0.68	-0.010
(25)	Top $10 \pm \text{District Capitals}(0/1)$	720	0.52	-0.028
(-)	F-test statistic	362		1.188

Fema	les in Cosmetology • Back	Ν	Mean	Treatment
			Control	
Dem	ogranhics			
(1)	Age (vrs)	1.194	23.05	-0.165
(2)	Years of schooling	1,158	7.47	-0.219
(3)	HH size (adults+children)	1,119	6.01	0.322
(4)	Mother: years of schooling	969	4.87	-0.891***
(5)	Father: years of schooling	820	7.42	-0.513
Labo	r g			
(6)	Started an apprenticeship $(0/1)$	1,203	0.24	0.014
(7)	Working (0/1)	1,203	0.41	-0.012
(8)	Wage empl. (0/1)	1.203	0.05	-0.003
(9)	Self-empl. (0/1)	1,203	0.18	-0.004
(ÌÓ)	Total hours (hrs)	1,203	9.55	-1.317
(11)	Wage empl. (hrs)	1,203	2.58	-0.609
(12)	Self-empl. (hrs)	1,203	6.96	-0.708
(13)	Total earnings (GhC)	1,203	10.94	-2.069
(14)	Wage empl. (GhC)	1,203	1.42	-0.328
(15)	Self-empl. (GhC)	1,203	7.68	-1.070
Abilit	y			
(16)	Vocabulary score (z-score)	872	0.00	0.093
(17)	Math score (z-score)	1,148	0.00	0.041
(18)	Digits score (z-score)	1,200	0.00	-0.004
(19)	Ravens score (z-score)	1,198	0.00	0.018
Othe	r			
(20)	Asset score (z-score)	1,145	0.00	0.005
(21)	Married (0/1)	1,203	0.27	-0.004
(22)	Children (0/1)	1,203	0.51	-0.043
(23)	Close family works in Govt/GES/DA (0/1)	1,203	0.31	-0.038
(24)	Urban (0/1)	1,144	0.80	0.018
(25)	Top 10 + District Capitals (0/1)	1,199	0.50	0.032
	F-test statistic	453		0.877

Females in Garment-making • Back		Ν	Mean Control	Treatment
			Control	
Dem	ographics			
(1)	Age (vrs)	1.400	22.94	-0.010
(2)	Years of schooling	1.364	6.90	0.111
(3)	HH size (adults+children)	1,348	6.90	-0.164
(4)	Mother: years of schooling	1,184	3.35	-0.138
(5)	Father: years of schooling	1,052	5.68	-0.151
Labo	r			
(6)	Started an apprenticeship (0/1)	1,410	0.22	-0.003
(7)	Working (0/1)	1,410	0.42	0.069***
(8)	Wage empl. (0/1)	1,410	0.04	-0.008
(9)	Self-empl. (0/1)	1,410	0.18	0.036*
(10)	Total hours (hrs)	1,410	7.50	1.999*
(11)	Wage empl. (hrs)	1,410	1.46	-0.014
(12)	Self-empl. (hrs)	1,410	6.04	2.013**
(13)	Total earnings (GhC)	1,410	9.36	2.915
(14)	Wage empl. (GhC)	1,410	1.65	-0.636
(15)	Self-empl. (GhC)	1,410	6.44	1.413
Abilit	у			
(16)	Vocabulary score (z-score)	1,001	0.00	0.073
(17)	Math score (z-score)	1,340	0.00	-0.016
(18)	Digits score (z-score)	1,409	0.00	0.089*
(19)	Ravens score (z-score)	1,407	0.00	0.059
Othe	r			
(20)	Asset score (z-score)	1,351	0.00	0.075*
(21)	Married (0/1)	1,410	0.36	-0.003
(22)	Children (0/1)	1,410	0.50	0.023
(23)	Close family works in Govt/GES/DA (0/1)	1,410	0.29	0.007
(24)	Urban (0/1)	1,347	0.78	-0.001
(25)	Top 10 + District Capitals (0/1)	1,401	0.57	0.017
	F-test statistic	573		0.601

High Follow-Up Rates and Balanced Attrition

Outcome: Completed Endline Survey (0/1)

• Back	Full	Males	Females	Females
	Sample	Construction	Cosmetology	Garment-making
Treatment $(0/1)$	0.002	0.006	0.022	-0.024*
	(0.010)	(0.030)	(0.017)	(0.014)
Mean Completion Rate	0.909	0.926	0.907	0.918
Mean Completion Control	0.906	0.914	0.897	0.930
Mean Completion Treatment	0.911	0.929	0.917	0.906
Observations	3,600	740	1,240	1,438
Controls	No	No	No	No
Strata FE	No	No	No	No

Robust standard errors in parantheses. *** p<0.01; ** p<0.05; * p<0.1

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How Many Trainers Did Apprentices Rank on Average?

• Back	Unconditional		Condit	ional (≥2 Trainers)
-	N	Number of Trainers Ranked (#)	N	Number of Trainers Ranked (#)
All Trades	1,002	2.06	567	3.03
Males in Construction	282	1.93	164	2.78
Females in Cosmetology	304	2.12	169	3.12
Females in Garment-making	373	2.13	213	3.15

Sample of apprentices who received an apprenticeship offer (treatment), showed up at match meeting and were surveyed at endline. Unconditional = any number of trainers ranked. Conditional = ranked at least 2 trainers.

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The Apprenticeship-to-Work Transition

By How Many Apprentices Were Trainers Ranked?

Back	All	Trainers	Not Most Popular		Most Popular	
	N	Rankings (#)	N	Rankings (#)	N	Rankings (#)
All Trades	1,074	2.52	648	1.82	426	3.59
Construction	268	2.44	77	1.57	191	2.79
Cosmetology	353	2.55	245	1.71	108	4.46
Garment-making	453	2.55	326	1.97	127	4.04

Average number of times that trainers were ranked by apprentices who had been offered an apprenticeship. Most popular trainers = trainers ranked by the most apprentices within a district x trade.

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The Apprenticeship-to-Work Transition

Apprenticeship Offer Leads to More Training (First Stage)

After January 2013

	Started apprenticeship? (0/1)	Completed apprenticeship? (0/1)	Apprenticeship duration (months)
Treatment (0/1)	0.088*** (0.017)	0.062*** (0.011)	3.230*** (0.544)
Adjusted p-value	0.000	0.000	0.000
Mean Control	0.255	0.064	6.263
Observations	3,270	3,270	3,270
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes
Strata FE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Wave FE	Yes	Yes	Yes

Robust standard errors in parantheses. *** p < 0.01; ** p < 0.05; * p < 0.1

P-values adjusted for multiple hypothesis testing provided. Method: Westfall and Young 1993.

Back
 Ever
 First stage: Heterogeneity
 Compliance rates by trade

The Apprenticeship-to-Work Transition

Apprenticeship Offer Leads to More Training (First Stage)

• Back	Started apprenticeship? (0/1)	Completed apprenticeship? (0/1)	Apprenticeship duration (months)
Treatment (0/1)	0.133***	0.099***	4.088***
	(0.017)	(0.017)	(0.742)
Adjusted p-value	0.000	0.000	0.000
Mean Control	0.626	0.249	18.608
Observations	3,270	3,270	3,270
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes
Strata FE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Wave FE	Yes	Yes	Yes

Robust standard errors in parantheses. *** p<0.01; ** p<0.05; * p<0.1

P-values adjusted for multiple hypothesis testing provided. Method: Westfall and Young 1993.

Barriers to Training Lowered for Poorer Applicants

After January 2013	Started apprenticeship? (0/1)	Completed apprenticeship? (0/1)	Apprenticeship duration (months)
		Assets	
Treatment $(0/1)$	0.091***	0.036**	0.756
Poor (z-score)	(0.017) 0.013 (0.014)	(0.015) -0.037*** (0.012)	(0.738) -2.796*** (0.599)
Treatment × Poor	0.037** (0.017)	0.009´ (0.014)	1.356* (0.712)
		Ability	
Treatment $(0/1)$	0.090***	0.037**	0.833
Ability (z-score)	-0.015	0.024**	1.073**
Treatment × Ability	0.012 (0.012)	-0.009 (0.011)	-0.413 (0.524)
		Network	
Treatment $(0/1)$	0.095*** (0.020)	0.026 (0.017)	0.835 (0.849)
Network $(0/1)$	0.032	-0.018 (0.023)	0.293 (1.202)
Treatment × Network	-0.016 (0.036)	0.038 (0.031)	-0.096 (1.607)
Mean Control Observations	0.255 3,270	0.064 3,270	6.263 3,270

Robust standard errors in parantheses. *** p<0.01; ** p<0.05; * p<0.1. Controls: Yes. Strata FE: Yes. Wave FE: Yes.

Heterogeneity in Compliance Rates by Trade

After January 2013	Started apprenticeship? (0/1)	Completed apprenticeship? (0/1)	Apprenticeship duration (months)
		Males in Construction	
Treatment $(0/1)$	0.181*** (0.047)	0.035 (0.024)	6.283*** (1.685)
Mean Control Observations	0.157 685	0.025 685	4.788 685
	F	emales in Cosmetolog	y
Treatment $(0/1)$	0.079***	0.060***	0 442***
Treatment (0/1)	(0.028)	(0.020)	(0.824)
	. ,		
Mean Control	0.249	0.088	5.851
Observations	1,129	1,129	1,129
	Fe	males in Garment-maki	ing
Treatment $(0/1)$	0.098*** (0.026)	0.069*** (0.016)	4.012*** (0.817)
Mean Control	0.282	0.057	6.642
Observations	1,327	1,327	1,327

Robust standard errors in parantheses. *** p < 0.01; ** p < 0.05; * p < 0.1. Controls: Yes. Strata FE: Yes. Wave FE: Yes.

Shift Out of Wage Work

• Back	Working (0/1)	Wage empl. (0/1)	Self empl. (0/1)	Own farm (0/1)	App' ship (0/1)	Unpaid work (0/1)
Treatment (0/1)	-0.030* (0.017)	-0.040*** (0.013)	0.027 (0.017)	-0.023** (0.010)	0.019 (0.012)	-0.005 (0.011)
	. ,	. ,	. ,	. ,	. ,	, <i>,</i>
Adjusted p-value	0.079	0.006	0.315	0.076	0.315	0.629
Mean Control	0.713	0.158	0.297	0.089	0.118	0.094
Observations	3,270	3,270	3,270	3,270	3,270	3,270
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Strata FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Wave FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Robust standard errors in parantheses. *** p<0.01; ** p<0.05; * p<0.1

P-values adjusted for multiple hypothesis testing provided. Method: Westfall and Young 1993. Hours Worked

Shift Out Of Wage Work

• Back	Working (hrs)	Wage empl. (hrs)	Self empl. (hrs)	Own farm (hrs)	App' ship (hrs)	Unpaid work (hrs)
Treatment $(0/1)$	-1.243	-6.783***	5.241	-2.734**	2.840	0.098
	(3.820)	(2.593)	(3.207)	(1.228)	(2.506)	(1.784)
Adjusted p-value	0.755	0.038	0.301	0.098	0.356	0.943
Mean Control	117.247	28.241	44.759	9.476	23.191	11.965
Observations	3,270	3,270	3,270	3,270	3,270	3,270
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Strata FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Wave FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Robust standard errors in parantheses. *** p<0.01; ** p<0.05; * p<0.1

P-values adjusted for multiple hypothesis testing provided. Method: Westfall and Young 1993.

Loss of Wage Income Not Offset

• Back	Total (GhC)	Wage empl. (GhC)	Self empl. (GhC)	Own farm (GhC)	App' ship (GhC)
Treatment (0/1)	-10.998* (5.727)	-14.950*** (4.842)	-0.680 (4.315)	2.201 (2.045)	0.721 (0.955)
Adjusted p-value	0.055	0.010	0.861	0.617	0.669
Mean Control	89.19	42.17	41.52	3.21	3.97
Observations	3,270	3,270	3,270	3,270	3,270
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Strata FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Wave FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Robust standard errors in parantheses. *** p<0.01; ** p<0.05; * p<0.1

P-values adjusted for multiple hypothesis testing provided. Method: Westfall and Young 1993.

Shift Into Self-Employment for Females in Cosmetology

• Back	Working	Wage empl.	Self empl.	Own farm	App' ship	Unpaid work
		Outo	come: Labo	r Supply (0,	/1)	
Treatment (0/1)	-0.015 (0.029)	-0.053*** (0.020)	0.069** (0.029)	-0.021* (0.013)	-0.002 (0.017)	0.006 (0.017)
Mean Control	0.670	0.156	0.317	0.057	0.082	0.075
		Outco	ome: Labor	Earnings (G	ihC)	
Treatment (0/1)	-2.253 (7.687)	-11.233** (5.303)	7.430 (6.103)	1.766 (2.082)	-0.396 (0.630)	
Mean Control	73.205	33.623	36,141	1.777	1.866	
Observations	1,129	1,129	1,129	1,129	1,129	1,129
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Strata FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Wave FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Earnings Reduction Most Pronounced for Construction

Back	Working	Wage empl.	Self empl.	Own farm	App' ship	Unpaid work
		Out	come: Labo	or Supply ((0/1)	
Treatment $(0/1)$	-0.056 (0.041)	-0.059 (0.048)	-0.044 (0.038)	-0.091** (0.043)	0.131*** (0.042)	-0.012 (0.030)
Mean Control	0.849	0.296	0.189	0.220	0.132	0.094
		Outc	ome: Laboi	r Earnings (GhC)	
Treatment $(0/1)$	-47.354* (28.558)	-59.362** (27.387)	-16.396 (21.858)	11.115 (10.314)	5.691 (5.532)	
Mean Control	197.648	126.969	67.7736	0.182	11.755	
Observations	685	685	685	685	685	685
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Strata FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Wave FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Earnings Also Fall for Females in Garment-making

• Back	Working	Wage empl.	Self empl.	Own farm	App' ship	Unpaid work
		Out	come: Lab	or Supply ((0/1)	
Treatment (0/1)	-0.032 (0.026)	-0.024 (0.017)	-0.005 (0.026)	-0.003 (0.014)	0.025 (0.019)	-0.009 (0.016)
Mean Control	0.706	0.121	0.313	0.072	0.135	0.111
		Outo	ome: Labo	[,] Earnings (GhC)	
Treatment $(0/1)$	-10.951 (6.695)	-8.089* (4.244)	-5.188 (5.375)	0.666 (2.829)	0.821 (0.787)	
Mean Control	71.886	25.250	39.837	4.864	2.048	
Observations	1,327	1,327	1,327	1,327	1,327	1,327
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Strata FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Wave FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Effect of Training Quality/Trainer Characteristics

- Four attributes hypothesized to influence quality of training:
 - 1. Math test score: proxy for cognitive ability & education of trainer
 - 2. Profits: proxy for business performance of firm
 - 3. Apprentices trained: proxy for training experience
 - 4. Wage bill: proxy for firm size and skill of wage workforce
- Trainers ranked on each attribute within their district and trade
 - "Treatment" Matched with first or second top ranked trainer

▶ Apprentice characteristics balanced ▶ No additional impact on compliance

Back

Match: Balance of Apprentice Baseline Characteristics

		MCP	Math	MCP	Profits
		Mean	Match	Mean	Match
		"Control"	"Treatment"	"Control"	"Treatment"
Dem	ographics				
(1)	Age (vrs)	22.90	0.856	23.31	0.140
(2)	Years of schooling	7.30	0.273	7.84	0.050
(3)	HH size (adults+children)	8.02	-1.101	7.87	0.273
(4)	Mother: years of schooling	3.14	-1.187*	3.07	-1.041*
(5)	Father: years of schooling	5.10	-0.207	5.17	-0.663
Labo	r				
(6)	Started an apprenticeship $(0/1)$	0.29	0.004	0.27	-0.091
(7)	Working (0/1)	0.49	0.002	0.50	0.009
(8)	Wage empl. (0/1)	0.05	0.038	0.06	-0.001
(9)	Self-empl. (0/1)	0.23	0.014	0.23	0.016
(10)	Total hours (hrs)	10.13	1.340	10.71	1.568
(11)	Wage empl. (hrs)	1.46	2.719	2.41	1.354
(12)	Self-empl. (hrs)	8.67	-1.379	8.31	0.215
(13)	Total earnings (GhC)	19.45	2.265	19.98	-0.640
(14)	Wage empl. (GhC)	2.28	1.546	2.06	1.494
(15)	Self-empl. (GhC)	11.55	1.982	10.89	3.089
Abili	ty				
(16)	Vocabulary score (z-score)	0.00	0.171	0.00	0.054
(17)	Math score (z-score)	0.00	-0.206	0.00	-0.014
(18)	Digits score (z-score)	0.00	-0.010	0.00	0.121
(19)	Ravens score (z-score)	0.00	0.135	0.00	-0.108
Othe	r				
(20)	Asset score (z-score)	0.00	-0.077	0.00	-0.027
(21)	Married (0/1)	0.34	0.128**	0.36	0.067
(22)	Children (0/1)	0.48	0.000	0.46	0.123*
(23)	Close family works in Govt/GES/DA (0/1)	0.29	0.015	0.33	-0.103
(24)	Urban (0/1)	0.70	0.023	0.71	0.024
(25)	Top 10 + District Capitals (0/1)	0.53	0.037	0.52	0.056
	F-test statistic	258	2.774	258	2.104
	Observations	567		567	

Match: Balance of Apprentice Baseline Characteristics

		Apprentic	ces Trained	Wage Bill	
	Back	Mean	Match	Mean	Match
		"Control"	"Treatment"	"Control"	"Treatment"
Dem	ographics				
(1)	Age (vrs)	23.25	-0.036	23.31	0.194
(2)	Years of schooling	7.65	0.539	7.82	-0.435
(3)	HH size (adults+children)	7.89	-0.409	7.96	-0.411
(4)	Mother: years of schooling	3.01	-0.671	3.34	-2.385***
(5)	Father: years of schooling	5.07	0.299	5.35	-1.213
Labo	r				
(6)	Started an apprenticeship $(0/1)$	0.25	0.105*	0.28	-0.002
(7)	Working (0/1)	0.52	-0.137*	0.52	-0.096
(8)	Wage empl. (0/1)	0.06	-0.023	0.06	0.006
(9)	Self-empl. (0/1)	0.23	-0.044	0.24	-0.078
(ÌÓ)	Total hours (hrs)	10.73	-3.475	11.28	-2.235
(11)	Wage empl. (hrs)	2.37	-1.180	2.87	-0.018
(12)	Self-empl. (hrs)	8.36	-2.295	8.41	-2.217
(13)	Total earnings (GhC)	17.77	4.511	19.87	0.202
(14)	Wage empl. (GhC)	2.03	1.087	2.31	2.539
(15)	Self-empl. (GhC)	12.04	-1.178	9.39	9.702
Abilit	ty .				
(16)	Vocabulary score (z-score)	0.00	0.022	0.00	0.176
(17)	Math score (z-score)	0.00	-0.095	0.00	0.435***
(18)	Digits score (z-score)	0.00	-0.053	0.00	0.088
(19)	Ravens score (z-score)	0.00	0.003	0.00	-0.025
Othe	r				
(20)	Asset score (z-score)	0.00	-0.086	0.00	0.062
(21)	Married (0/1)	0.35	0.067	0.35	0.049
(22)	Children (0/1)	0.46	-0.050	0.47	0.066
(23)	Close family works in Govt/GES/DA (0/1)	0.34	-0.160**	0.32	0.016
(24)	Urban (0/1)	0.71	0.037	0.73	0.030
(25)	Top 10 + District Capitals (0/1)	0.54	-0.055	0.54	-0.005
	F-test statistic	258	0.766	258	0.739
	Observations	567		567	

Trainer Attributes No Additional Impact on Compliance

Trainer Attributes	Math Score	Profits	Apprentices Trained	Wage Bill			
• Back	(z-score)	(GhC)	(#)	(GhC)			
	Outcome: Started Apprenticeship (0/1)						
Matched with 1st or 2nd ranked trainer $(0/1)$	0.025 (0.069)	0.134** (0.067)	-0.027 (0.072)	-0.036 (0.066)			
Adjusted p-value	0.957	0.097	0.698	0.740			
-	Outc	ome: Complete	d Apprenticeship (()/1)			
Matched with 1st or 2nd ranked trainer $(0/1)$	0.020 (0.051)	0.050 (0.046)	-0.062 (0.049)	-0.066 (0.043)			
Adjusted p-value	0.957	0.277	0.426	0.288			
-	Outco	me: Apprentice	ship Duration (mor	nths)			
Matched with 1st or 2nd ranked trainer (0/1)	-0.920 (2.297)	3.782 (2.392)	-2.452 (2.359)	0.228 (2.299)			
Adjusted p-value	0.957	0.192	0.426	0.912			
Observations	567	567	567	567			

Robust standard errors in parantheses. *** p<0.01; ** p<0.15; * p<0.1. P-values adjusted for multiple hypothesis testing provided. Method: Westfall and Young 1993. Controls: Yes. Strata FE: Yes. Wave FE: Yes.

Trainer Characteristics and Labor Supply

Trainer Attributes	Math	Profits	Apprentices	Wage			
• Back	(z-score)	(GhC)	(#)	(GhC)			
		Outcome: \	Norking (0/1)				
Matched with 1st or 2nd ranked trainer $(0/1)$	-0.064 (0.061)	0.164*** (0.060)	0.015 (0.065)	0.043 (0.062)			
Adjusted p-value	0.302	0.007	0.816	0.490			
	(Outcome: Wage	Employment (0/1)				
Matched with 1st or 2nd ranked trainer $(0/1)$	-0.010 (0.044)	0.099* (0.052)	0.080 (0.050)	0.007 (0.053)			
Adjusted p-value	0.957	0.095	0.209	0.887			
		Outcome: Self-Employment (0/1)					
Matched with 1st or 2nd ranked trainer $(0/1)$	-0.008 (0.060)	0.072 (0.058)	0.075 (0.063)	0.061 (0.061)			
Adjusted p-value	0.957	0.200	0.217	0.529			
Observations	567	567	567	567			

provided. Method: Westfall and Young 1993. Controls: Yes. Strata FE: Yes. Wave FE: Yes.

Trainer Characteristics Matter for Labor Earnings

Trainer Attributes	Math	Profits	Apprentices	Wage
• Back	(z-score)	(GhC)	(#)	(GhC)
		Outcome: Tota	l Earnings (GhC)	
Matched with 1st or 2nd ranked trainer $(0/1)$	-13.101 (21.411)	62.738** (25.270)	65.106*** (22.080)	45.553* (26.680)
Adjusted p-value	0.541	0.013	0.003	0.089
		Outcome: Wag	e Earnings (GhC)	
Matched with 1st or 2nd ranked trainer $(0/1)$	-8.978 (19.906)	38.237 (25.986)	42.521** (17.517)	14.131 (25.163)
Adjusted p-value	0.867	0.287	0.037	0.598
		Outcome: Busin	ess Profits (GhC)	
Matched with 1st or 2nd ranked trainer $(0/1)$	7.098 (15.147)	18.523 (15.008)	13.830 (15.347)	25.306 (17.012)
Adjusted p-value	0.867	0.287	0.349	0.291
Observations	567	567	567	567

provided. Method: Westfall and Young 1993. Controls: Yes. Strata FE: Yes. Wave FE: Yes.

Popular trainer: ranked by most apprentices within district x trade

- Popular trainers differ on observable characteristics Evidence
- Experienced trainers are popular trainers Evidence
- Successful apprentice-level random variation
 Balance table
- No difference in compliance rates of apprentices (first stage)
 Evidence

Back

Experienced Trainers are Popular Trainers

Predictors of: 1st or 2nd Most Popular Trainer (0/1)

Top ranked on math score $(0/1)$	0.047 (0.031)			
Top ranked on profits $(0/1)$	0.042 (0.036)			
Top ranked on apprentices trained $(0/1)$	0.108*** (0.037)			
Top ranked on wage bill $(0/1)$	0.047 (0.038)			
Observations	1,074			
Controls	No			
Strata FE	Yes			
Robust standard errors in parantheses. *** $p < 0.01$: ** $p < 0.05$: * $p < 0.1$.				

Back

Popular Trainers Differ on Observable Characteristics

	Back	All Trainers	Mean	Match			
		(#)	Popular"	Trainers"			
Dem	ographics and Ability						
(1)	Age (yrs)	1,067	35.70	0.481			
(2)	Years of schooling	1,071	8.65	0.622**			
(3)	Digits score (z-score)	1,073	0.00	0.076			
(4)	Math score (z-score)	1,070	0.00	0.140*			
Trair	ing Experience						
(5)	Current apprentices (#)	1,074	2.62	0.895***			
(6)	Apprentices trained (#)	1,070	9.81	5.741***			
Busi	ness Performance						
(7)	Sales (GHC)	1,065	489	170.839*			
(8)	Profits (GHC)	1,066	256	38.108			
Busi	Business Size						
(9)	Total assets (GHC)	1,074	6,220	1,969**			
(10)	Workers (#)	1,071	3.11	0.929***			
(11)	Wage bill (GHC)	950	95.47	35.160*			
(12)	Paid workers (#)	1,071	0.32	0.090			
Othe	r						
(13)	Firm age (years)	1,072	11.01	1.013*			

Robust standard errors in parantheses. *** p<0.01; ** p<0.05; * p<0.1. Each row represents a separate regression (trainer-level).

Match "Treatment": being first or second most popular trainer within district x trade.

	Back	Ν	Mean	Match
			"Control"	"Treatment"
Dem	ographics			
(1)	Age (vrs)	553	23.37	-0.034
(2)	Years of schooling	545	7.64	0.131
(3)	HH size (adults+children)	526	7.83	-1.029
(4)	Mother: years of schooling	485	3.10	-0.369
(5)	Father: years of schooling	419	5.09	1.000
Labo	r			
(6)	Started an apprenticeship $(0/1)$	559	0.27	0.040
(7)	Working (0/1)	567	0.49	0.021
(8)	Wage empl. (0/1)	560	0.06	-0.020
(9)	Self-empl. (0/1)	560	0.21	0.025
(10)	Total hours (hrs)	567	10.84	-1.980
(11)	Wage empl. (hrs)	567	2.93	-1.603
(12)	Self-empl. (hrs)	567	7.91	-0.378
(13)	Total earnings (GhC)	567	20.43	-5.748
(14)	Wage empl. (GhC)	567	2.94	-2.721
(15)	Self-empl. (GhC)	567	12.64	-5.899
Abili	ty			
(16)	Vocabulary score (z-score)	428	0.00	0.204
(17)	Math score (z-score)	545	0.00	-0.120
(18)	Digits score (z-score)	560	0.00	0.024
(19)	Ravens score (z-score)	560	0.00	-0.192
Othe	r			
(20)	Asset score (z-score)	537	0.00	0.089
(21)	Married (0/1)	557	0.37	0.029
(22)	Children (0/1)	567	0.49	-0.004
(23)	Close family works in Govt/GES/DA (0/1)	567	0.38	-0.123*
(24)	Urban (0/1)	539	0.72	0.011
(25)	Top 10 + District Capitals (0/1)	550	0.53	0.048
	F-test	258		1.152

No Differences in Compliance Rates (First Stage)

After January 2013 • Back	Started apprenticeship? (0/1)	Completed apprenticeship? (0/1)	Apprenticeship duration (months)
Matched with 1st or 2nd	0.047	-0.003	-0.141
most popular trainer (0/1)	(0.065)	(0.045)	(2.217)
Adjusted p-value	0.763	0.998	0.998
Mean "Control"	0.449	0.146	13.805
Observations	567	567	567
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes
Strata FE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Wave FE	Yes	Yes	Yes

Robust standard errors in parantheses. *** p<0.01; ** p<0.05; * p<0.1

P-values adjusted for multiple hypothesis testing provided. Method: Westfall and Young 1993.

Trainer Popularity No Impact on Labor Outcomes

> Back	Working	Wage empl.	Self empl.
_	Outcome: Labor Supply (0/1)		
Matched with 1st or 2nd most popular trainer (0/1)	0.057 (0.056)	-0.063 (0.044)	0.048 (0.059)
Adjusted p-value Mean Control	0.310 0.261 0.690 0.129		0.407 0.307
-	Outcome: Labor Earnings (GhC)		
Matched with 1st or 2nd most popular trainer (0/1)	5.347 (24.295)	5.375 (18.282)	-7.542 (17.867)
Adjusted p-value Mean Control	0.826 80.157	0.886 31.115	0.886 44.289
Observations	567	567	567
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes
Strata FE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Wave FE	Yes	Yes	Yes

Robust standard errors in parantheses. *** p<0.01; ** p<0.05; * p<0.1

Controlling for choice set size and average characteristics of choice set (math, profits, apps trained, wage bill).

Trainer Choice No/Negative Impact on Labor Outcomes

> Back	Working	Wage empl.	Self empl.
	Outcome: Labor Supply (0/1)		
Matched with 1st trainer choice $(0/1)$	0.061 (0.043)	-0.065** (0.032)	-0.015 (0.045)
Adjusted p-value Mean "Control"	0.151 0.690 Outcom	0.084 0.162 ne: Labor Earnings	0.719 0.294
- Matched with 1st trainer choice (0/1)	-12.440 (16.010)	-9.917 (14.326)	-11.192 (11.372)
Adjusted p-value Mean "Control"	0.438 97.134	0.593 46.269	0.593 44.891
Observations	567	567	567
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes
Strata FE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Wave FE	Yes	Yes	Yes

Robust standard errors in parantheses. *** p<0.01; ** p<0.05; * p<0.1 • First Stage

Controlling for choice set size and average characteristics of choice set (math, profits, apps trained, wage bill).

With Choice Trainer More Likely to Start Apprenticeship

After January 2013 • Back	Started apprenticeship? (0/1)	Completed apprenticeship? (0/1)	Apprenticeship duration (months)
Matched with 1st trainer choice (0/1)	0.114** (0.048)	-0.022 (0.034)	1.693 (1.676)
Adjusted p-value Mean "Control" Observations	0.049 0.405 567	0.520 0.148 567	0.491 12.187 567
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes
Strata FE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Wave FE	Yes	Yes	Yes

Robust standard errors in parantheses. *** p<0.01; ** p<0.05; * p<0.1

P-values adjusted for multiple hypothesis testing provided. Method: Westfall and Young 1993.

Controlling for number of trainers ranked and average characteristics of choice set (math, profits, apps trained, wage bill).