1 Governance in socio-economic pathways and its role for

future adaptive capacity

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Weak governance is one of the key obstacles for sustainable development. Undoubtedly, improvement of governance comes with a broad range of co-benefits including countries' abilities to respond to pressing global challenges such as climate change. However, beyond the qualitative acknowledgement of its

11 projections of future governance in line with the Shared Socio-economic Pathways (SSPs). We find that

importance, quantifications of future pathways of governance are still lacking. This study provides

under a "rocky road" scenario, 30% of the global population would still live in countries characterized by

weak governance in 2050, while under a "green road" scenario weak governance would almost be entirely

overcome over the same time frame. Based on pathways for governance, we estimate the adaptive capacity

of countries to climate change. Limits to adaptive capacity exist even under optimistic pathways beyond mid-century. Our findings underscore the importance of accounting for governance in assessments of

climate change impacts.

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Future societies' resilience against global challenges such as climate change hinges upon successful implementation of policies, actions and development strategies¹. Those actions need to be facilitated by the quality and efficiency of governance, which makes governance an

essential ingredient for assessing countries future climate vulnerability and coping capacity ².

More broadly, institutions and governance are key determinants of long-term stability and

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sustainable growth of nations³. Advancing human and economic development requires active and effective governance capable of making relevant policy addressing present day challenges and providing quality welfare and services⁴. This is also the focus of Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 16 (*Peace, Justice and Strong Institutions*), which aims at promoting the rule of law; substantially reducing corruption, developing effective, accountable and transparent institutions and building of institutional capacity at all levels⁵. Likewise, strengthening institutions to achieve beneficial social outcomes is central to the fulfilment of other SDGs, such as ending poverty in all its forms everywhere (SDG 1), achieving gender equality (SDG 5) and reducing inequality within and among countries (SDG 10)⁵.

With respect to countries' capacity to adapt to climate change, good governance and institutions have been identified as key conditions for the successful deployment of adaptation options^{2,6}. The IPCC's Fifth Assessment Report (AR5) characterizes adaptation barriers (or constraints) as "factors that make it harder to plan and implement adaptation actions or that restrict options". Lack of institutional capacity is identified as the most pertinent constraint to adaptation across many sectors (e.g. water, urban areas, human health, human security) and in all world regions². The numerous interventions that may enable or hinder adaptation – such as prioritizing policies, mobilizing resources, coordination of efforts, decision-making – are processes often contingent on the efficacy of institutional mechanisms². A recent review of economic literature on adoption of environmental policy, for instance, finds a positive relationship between policy adoption and various indicators of institutional quality⁷. Inept governance can even hinder a country's ability to realize adaptation goals and targets set according to the country's level of vulnerability⁸.

Countries with better governance are also found to be more likely to receive adaptation aid from donors since it is assumed that adaptation funding will be used more effectively⁹.

In particular, the level of corruption within institutions, which is one of the main determinants of the quality of governance, is highly relevant for climate change adaptation^{10,11}. In a country with weak governance, investments in adaptation measures can potentially pose corruption risks¹².

There is evidence that the level of corruption such as bribery and misuse of resources can be more severe in post-disaster operations as compared to the pre-disaster¹². Corruption weakens institutions, damages public trust and the strength of social contract, diverts funds from budgets and investments, interferes with the flow of development aid and hinders human capital formation^{13,14}. Improving governance and strengthening anti-corruption measures thus is critical for implementation of adaptation actions.

Understanding current and future evolution of governance is necessary for assessments of adaptive capacity and thereby the impacts of future climate change. Insights into the temporal evolution of adaptive capacity can also indicate the existence of limits to adaptation at a given point in time. Quantification of adaptive capacity also has practical application in climate impact models. Understanding governance outlook hence can reveal future challenges in climate change adaptation.

Governance in the Shared Socio-economic Pathways

To operationalize and facilitate future climate impact assessments, the Shared-Socioeconomic Pathways (SSP) scenarios have been developed. The pathways are categorized along the assessed challenges to climate mitigation and adaptation. The five qualitative storylines describe different characteristics of and interactions between natural resources, economy, demography, lifestyle, human development, technology and institutions¹⁵. The SSPs provide a framework to assess a wide range of possible futures and societal changes both between and within countries, and the extent to which these conditions create challenges to mitigation and adaptation to climate change. Some adaptation-relevant dimensions including population and education¹⁶, urbanization¹⁷ and income^{18–20} human development²¹ and inequality²² have already been quantified in the SSP framework. A quantification of the SSPs in terms of future governance trajectories, however, has not yet been realized.

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The departure point for the quantification of an indicator of governance along the five SSPs is the qualitative description in the scenarios' narratives¹⁵, captured by the characterization of institutions and their effectiveness as outlined in Table 1. SSP1 is the "green road" scenario, which envisages a rapid shift to sustainable development, increases in education and health investments, declining inequality both within and between countries, and de-emphasis on economic growth and reduction of resource intensity in favor of improving environmental conditions. Institutions are expected to become increasingly effective and international cooperation becomes persistent. Such features make the SSP1 world characterized by low challenges to both climate mitigation and adaptation as a result of inclusive economic growth and sustainable welfare. The "middle of the road" scenario SSP2 is characterized by uneven and sluggish economic growth and development with slower progress towards achieving the SDGs. SSP2 does not differ substantially from the present-day trends. SSP2 is largely consistent with historical dynamics, but it takes into account dynamic relationships among socioeconomic determinants and convergence between countries. Institutions in SSP2 are modestly effective and uneven. SSP3, also termed the "rocky road" scenario, expects regional and global conflicts to result from international fragmentation and inter-country rivalry. Countries are preoccupied with national goals, which weakens international cooperation. Governance in SSP3 is rather ineffective and support for international and development institutions is reduced. "A road divided" or SSP4 presents low challenges to mitigation thanks to global technological advancement but high challenges to adaptation due to the unequal distribution of resources both within and across countries. Governance is assumed to be stronger in high-income regions whilst in low-income regions, basic human development is neglected and policy implementation is likely to be unsuccessful due to weak governance. Higher inequalities result in weak representation of the vulnerable groups and persistence of low levels of development. The SSP3 and SSP4 scenarios present the highest challenges to adaptation, caused by the combination of slow development, low education, high inequality and weak institutions. Finally, SSP5 is characterized by development driven by fossil fuel-intensive economies which enable countries to become richer

and more equitable at the price of substantial environmental degradation. Similar to SSP1, the SSP5 scenario also assumes improved institutions and rapid human development, particularly for the currently disadvantaged populations. However, unlike in SSP1, the nature of the underlying growth in SSP5 relies heavily on fossil fuel use and results in high challenges to climate change mitigation¹⁵.

	SSP1	SSP2	SSP3	SSP4	SSP5
Governance	Effective	Modestly effective	Ineffective	Unequal within countries	Increasingly effective
Income	High	Medium	Very unequal between countries	Very unequal within and between countries	High
Higher education	High	Medium	Low	Unequal	High
Gender equality education	High	Medium	Low	Unequal within regions	High

Table 1: Overview of representation of governance and its correlates in the five SSP scenarios.

Future pathways of governance

In order to quantify and project governance trajectories along the SSPs scenarios, we rely on theoretical insights on the determinants of good governance for an empirical specification.

Subsequently, an econometric model is employed to establish a relationship between governance and countries' socio-economic indicators of which projections along the five SSP scenarios are already available. Future projections of governance evolution within the SSP framework are then derived and can be used to evaluate the challenges to adaptation together with an internally consistent set of socioeconomic variables in the SSPs.

Given its breath and depth, governance (a dependent variable in our econometric model) and its dimensions can be conceptualized in many ways. Here we use the well-established Worldwide Governance Indicators (WGI) that provide a composite index for governance with six subcategories: voice and accountability, political stability, government effectiveness, regulatory

quality, rule of law and control of corruption. The indicators presented in this database aggregate perceptions of governance of a large number of enterprise, citizen and expert survey respondents from 31 different data sources provided by 25 different organizations, and provide a broad country coverage²³. The strength of the WGIs in capturing an inherently complex concept lays in its many different data sources that summarize information on the various dimensions of governance, and through averaging the data on the country level control for the possible idiosyncrasies between sources²⁴.

The choice of the determinants of good governance (our explanatory variables) is based on modernization theory which posits that economic and educational development are central determinants of improvements in the rule of law^{25,26}. There is, in addition, ample empirical evidence of a causal relationship between female representation in government and reduced levels of corruption²⁷, as well as a strong connection between gender empowerment and democracy⁴. Within the SSP framework, economic as well as education trajectories are readily available^{18,16}. For gender equality, we use the difference in mean years of schooling between men and women a proxy variable. This measure of gender equality arguably represents only one dimension of it, but gender gaps in education can be credibly taken as indicative of more widespread gender inequality issues in a society.

The model (see Methods) is estimated using a panel data for 173 countries for the time period from 1995 to 2015. Although governance indicators at the subnational level are available for a few countries, the most granular SSP projections with global coverage for other socioeconomic variables are only available at the country level, which also defines our unit of cross-sectional variation.

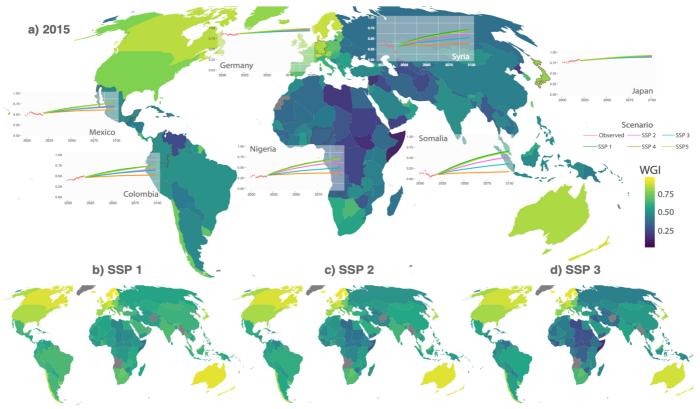


Figure 1: Evolution of governance over the 21⁻ century

The 2015 values of the normalized composite world governance indicator (WGI) in 2015 are shown in **a**, overlaid with the scenario dependent evolution of governance for selected countries over the 21- century. The governance indicator is normalized to a range from 0 to 1, with higher values indicating better governance. The global distribution of future governance in 2050 is depicted for different SSPs ranging from a 'sustainable future' (SSP1, **b**) to a 'middle of the road' scenario (SSP2, **c**) and a 'rocky road' scenario characterized by unequal development and regional rivalry (SSP3, **d**).

Our econometric analysis shows that the aggregate governance indicator from the WGI database²³ can be well predicted using GDP per capita, the share of population with higher education and the gender gap in mean years of schooling (see Table 1 in Supplementary Information). The estimated elasticities linking the variables in the specification to changes in governance indicators appear robust to changes in the modelling strategy. The estimates obtained from the model are then combined with the available country-level indicators of socioeconomic performance within the SSP framework to calculate projections of the governance indicators over the 21st century.

In line with the SSP narratives, future projections of governance show distinct differences between the scenarios (Figure 1). For developed countries such as Germany or Japan, whether the country follows the most or the least progressive scenario makes only a minor difference for

the dynamics of the projected governance indicator since their score remains very high in all scenarios. For less well-off countries, however, the path of the socio-economic development is decisive for how governance is expected to evolve (Figure 1 b,c,d): for countries like Somalia or Nigeria, the difference between following the SSP1 ("green road") and SSP3 ("rocky road") could result in anything from stagnation to trifold improvement.

Under the SSP3 scenario, little improvement in governance is projected globally over the 21st century. In contrast, substantial progress already by mid-century is evident under the SSP1 scenario which envisages a sustainable future. Similarities between SSP1 and SSP5 arise as a result of the almost identical representation of governance in the original storylines, which is reproduced in our projections. Although the development narrative and resulting climate mitigation challenges in SSP1 and SSP5 differ fundamentally, their socio-economic development trajectories are remarkably similar. SSP4 on the other hand, yields results that are in between SSP2 and SSP3. Because of these similarities, in two of the figures we report results for only for SSP1, SSP2 and SSP3.



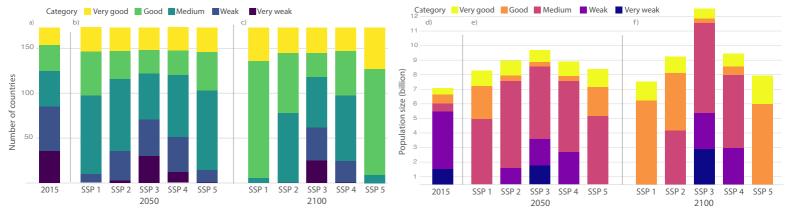


Figure 2: Country groups and population-weighted projections

a-c, The number of countries per SSP in different governance categories for 2015, 2050 and 2100, respectively. The governance indicator is normalized with 0 indicating very low levels of governance across all indicators and 1 indicating very high levels. For illustration purposes, we introduce the following percentile-based categorization based on the 2015 governance scores: very good (>90° percentile), good (75 - 90), medium (50 - 74), weak (25 - 49), very weak (<25° percentile). **d-f**, Estimated population living in countries with different governance levels for 2015, 2050 and 2100. Total population size differ as a result of the diverging projections of future population under different SSPs.

There is no rule of thumb for which levels of this indicator represent 'good' governance. In fact, any such categorization arguably also includes value judgement. For the sake of illustrating the changes over the 21st century, however, we introduce percentile categories based on the 2015 distribution of the governance scores (see Figure 2). A clear scenario dependence for projected governance is apparent at a country level (Figure 2a-c). The differences are even more striking when we consider the implications for future populations in countries with different governance regimes (Figure 2d-f). Many countries whose populations are projected to grow substantially are expected to undergo transition and improve their governance over the coming decades, i.e. from "weak" to "medium", or further. Under the rapid development scenarios such as SSP1 and SSP5, this implies that only a small number of countries will be characterized by very weak or weak governance (defined as the state of a country below the median of the governance indicator today) and almost all countries may reach states of good governance by the end of the century. In contrast, countries that are home to around 3 (5) billion people in 2050 (2100), will continue to be characterized by weak governance under the SSP3 scenario (Figure 2). Even under a middle-ofthe-road SSP2 scenario, about 1.5 billion people will be living in about 40 countries characterized by weak governance by mid-century.

The projection exercise combines short to medium-term dynamic adjustments based on the estimated relationships (and thus extrapolated using the correlation structures found in historical data) with assumption-driven long term developments that ensure the internal consistency of the trajectories with respect to the SSP narratives. Throughout the paper we report results solely for the aggregate governance indicator. However, the projections of the individual dimensions of the indicator can also be used if found to be particularly relevant for the socio-economic issue or a policy objective in focus. Based on our compositional analysis of the governance indicator, adjusted estimates of the effects of socioeconomic developments on particular components of the governance indicator are calculated to provide projections of specific subcomponents such as corruption or governance effectiveness (see Methods and Supplementary Information). This

makes our results applicable to a wide range of issues under consideration in policy agendas related to sustainable development and climate actions.

It is important to highlight that our approach does not imply a direction of causal linkages. Improvements in governance in the context of sustainable development can lead to a virtuous cycle between governance and development, rather than showing a cause-and-effect relationship²⁸. Since the focus of our model is not to unveil the causal effects, but rather to consistently extend the SSPs, such potential mutually re-enforcing dynamics only further underscore the need for an integration of governance into the SSP framework.

Importance of near-term improvements in governance

In a world with near-term sustainable development targets and ongoing climate change, the temporal evolution of our governance indicators is of particular interest. We find that countries characterized by very weak governance, albeit starting from a low level, have an up to five times

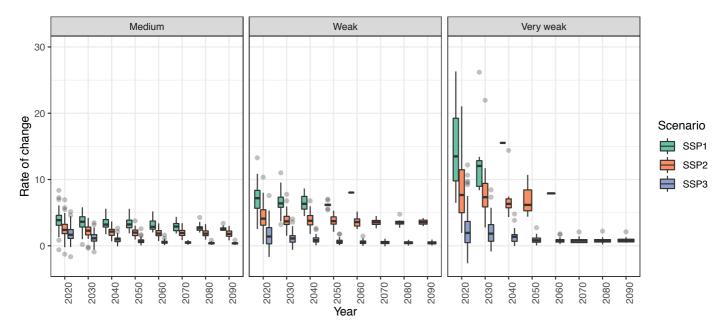


Figure 3: Rates of change of governance

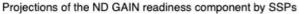
Box-Whisker diagram of the five-year rates of change in governance for different SSPs over the 21- century. The lower and upper hinges correspond to the first and third quartiles (the 25th and 75th percentiles). The upper whisker extends from the hinge to the highest value that is within 1.5 * interquartile range of the hinge. Data beyond the end of the whiskers are outliers and plotted as points. Panels separate out the evolution for country groupings classified by their state of governance (time-dependent). For SSP 1, no countries will be in the 'very weak' category after 2030 (2050) following high rates of improvement in governance in the preceding decades. SSP 4 and 5 are omitted from the figure for clarity.

higher rate of improvement in scenarios of rapid socio-economic development under SSP1 and SSP5 compared to SSP3. The absolute values for countries in the 'medium' category is considerably smaller, although differences between the scenarios are still evident (up to a factor of four between SSP1 and SSP3). Over time, countries move out of the lower categories, and their rates of change reduce as they improve governance. Our analysis suggests a window of opportunity to eradicate lowest levels of governance in the near term. This highlights the importance of achieving the goals under the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development to facilitate long-term sustainable development, particularly for the countries characterized by the lowest levels of development to date.

Governance and adaptation to climate change

Adaptation is multi-faceted and sector-dependent. As both the integral part of sustainable development and a stand-alone mechanism in coping with climate change, adaptive capacity is difficult to measure because of the volatile nature of its many determinants. Successful adaptation will depend in part on the timescales of improvement of socio-economic factors many of which are now available in the SSP framework. The existing projections including that of governance can subsequently be used for designing an overarching framework to evaluate more granular and sector-specific measurements of adaptive capacity.

Across all scales, however, a key determinant is the ability to effectively leverage private and public sector investment for adaptation actions. This is coined "adaptation readiness" in the Notre Dame Global Adaptation Index (ND-GAIN)²⁹, a summary indicator of countries' vulnerability to climate change. The concept of adaptation readiness can also be seen as an indication for countries' absorptive capacities of international climate finance channeled, for instance, through the Green Climate Fund³⁰. If the readiness is low, successful adaptation financing and implementation is questionable. Governance is indeed a key ingredient in the ND-GAIN readiness score. Given the high correlation of the readiness score with our governance indicator (0.93, p = 0.000), our projections thereby allow us to deduce the future trajectories of the ND-GAIN readiness score in line with the different SSP scenarios.



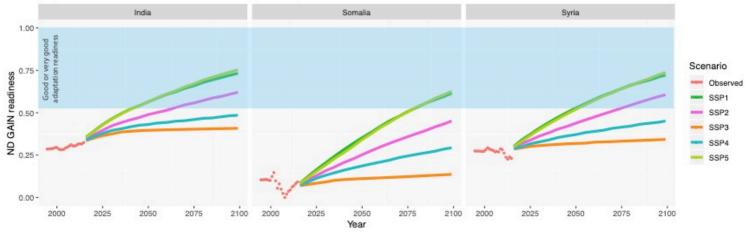


Figure 4: **Projections of the ND GAIN Adaptation Readiness score.** Trajectories for India, Somalia and Syria are shown for different SSPs. The projections of the Adaptation Readiness score are based on our projections of future governance. The shaded region marks the range of the readiness indicator for categories 'good' and 'very good' in 2015 (0.52-0.80). For global projections see Figures S6 and S7.

The range of adaptation readiness spanned by the member states of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) today match well with our 'good' and 'very good' categories. Most developing countries, however, will barely, if at all, reach levels of 'good' adaptation readiness by mid-century, even under the optimistic scenarios SSP1 and SSP5 (Figure 4). Under SSP3 and SSP4, little to no improvement in adaptation readiness is apparent, with an ever increasing number of people living in countries with low adaptive capacity (see Figures 6 and 7 in Supplementary Information). Our results are fully in line with the qualitative classification of adaptation challenges in the SSP scenarios: low challenges in SSP1 and SSP5; and high challenges in SSP 3 and SSP4¹⁵. However, we also show that 'low challenges' are not equivalent to 'no challenges'. Even under SSP 1, adaptive capacity will only increase gradually over the next decades while an adaptation deficit to present day climate is already apparent³¹. To that end, our results also illustrate what could be considered an 'upper limit' of the future evolution of adaptive capacity.

Timescales of governance and climate change

The recent IPCC Special Report on Global Warming of 1.5°C¹ has underscored the substantial differences in climate impacts between 1.5°C and 2°C that could materialize already before midcentury. Tropical regions will be bearing the brunt of these differences³2-34 and will also be the regions where the anthropogenic climate change is emerging the fastest against the background of natural variability³5. Thereby, while vulnerable countries will be striving for sustainable development and improving their adaptive capacity, climate impacts will continue to intensify. Our results show that even under scenarios of rapid and sustainable development (SSP1 and SSP5), improvements of adaptive capacity will take on average at least three decades. This indicates that (temporal) limits to improvements in adaptive capacity may persist during the 21st century leading to elevated risks and impacts of climate change in countries with low socio-economic development. Climate impacts that exceed the limits to adaptation will result in climate-related loss and damage³6-38. Given that negative climate impacts can hamper countries' abilities to achieve sustainable development, and thereby improving adaptive capacity, our results indicate that adequate responses and support schemes for loss and damage will be crucial policy instruments to support vulnerable countries³9.

Country-level representation of governance does have several limitations. The methodological framework used for the projection exercise presented in this study can be complemented with methods to downscale global assumptions and estimates. Scenario narratives and local interpretations of the SSPs can be derived from qualitative methods. The analytical methods employed to provide inference on the drivers of institutional change rely on the assumption of a common response of the governance indicators to their determinants across countries.

Combining the advantages of a global analytical model of governance dynamics such as the one presented here with those of a narrative based on a qualitative context-specific assessment of future governance changes can improve the quality of our projections further. Such an extension of our analysis appears particularly important for countries for which the existing data are missing or not reliable, as well as for countries where disruptive changes in the current institutional setting are likely in the future. To address the issue of internal inequalities and sub-national specificities,

we here have to rely on our indicator's multiple sources and dimensions. An analysis incorporating sub-national information is a promising research avenue. Further unobserved differences between countries are controlled for in our model by using country-specific fixed effects, and global trends by yearly fixed effects.

The SSP narrative framework by design does not incorporate feedbacks of climate impacts. This is important to keep in mind, particularly in the context of high warming scenarios or in scenarios with persistently low levels of development in some regions of the world. Even under the SSP3 scenario, no country is projected to see a decline in socio-economic development. This 'scenario optimism' can stand in stark contrast to the observed dynamics, where in reality some countries such as Syria have experienced rapid decline in stability over the past recent years (Figure 1a). The dynamics behind such deteriorations are difficult to incorporate in deterministic modelling approaches underlying the SSPs, which represents a limitation of scenario frameworks in general. While conflicts are context-dependent and not deterministic, some key determinants of conflict risks can be linked to the SSP pathways and indicate increasing globally increasing conflict risks for SSP3 and SSP4 centered in Central and South Asia as well as Africa⁴⁰. Considering such risks would lead to considerably higher probabilities for a deterioration of governance under those scenarios, thereby painting a more accurate, but even bleaker picture compared to the sustainable development scenarios.

Uncertainties related to trajectories of future vulnerability have been found to dominate climate impacts in the near term⁴¹, but will also shape the end-of-century climate impacts⁴². Climate-related natural disasters displace millions⁴³ already today, cause multi-billion dollar damages⁴⁴ and may even contribute to increased risks of armed conflict oubreaks⁴⁵ and exacerbate forced migration⁴⁶. Projections of future economic impacts of climate change indicate non-linear increases in damages, which are most pronounced for tropical countries⁴⁷. Thereby, integrating climate change impacts into SSP trajectories would affect the global trajectories of socioeconomic development, in particular for high emission scenarios. To do so, however, requires an

improved understanding of the prospects of future adaptation. The projections of governance and adaptive capacity provided here contribute to closing this gap. Our study thus presents a step forward towards a more integrated scenario perspective to inform global policies aimed at achieving sustainable development.

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Methods

455 Data

We use the Worldwide Governance Indicators (WGI) database, that provides a composite governance index based six categories: voice and accountability, political stability, government effectiveness, regulatory quality, rule of law and control of corruption. After standardizing the indicator from its original -2.5 to 2.5 range to the range from 0 to 1, our main response variable was the arithmetic average of the six components, referred to as the governance indicator throughout the paper. Historical GDP per capita is taken from the Penn World Table 7.0¹ and SSP projections from Crespo Cuaresma². Measures of education (share of population with post-secondary education) and gender equality in education (difference in mean years of schooling between men and women) come from the Wittgenstein Centre for Demography and Global Human Capital³.

Model

The estimation of the effects of the covariates mentioned above on the governance indicator was carried out using a yearly country-level panel data spanning the period between 1995 and 2015. Our main specification is as follows:

 $governance_{i,t} = \beta_1 \ln(GDPpc)_{i,t} + \beta_2 education_{i,t} + \beta_3 gendergap_{i,t} + \alpha_i + \gamma_t + \varepsilon_{i,t}$ (1)

where α_i controls for time-invariant country-specific characteristics, and γ_t accounts for common shocks in the sample in the form of year-fixed effects. Including fixed effects allows for the presence of omitted factors and long term trends that might affect both sides of the equation, therefore eliminating bias that might arise from cross-sectional analyses. We provide additional specifications in the Supplementary Information (Table 1), and show that our results are robust for within and between-country regressions underscoring the robustness of our findings also in the light of cross-national differences.

We project the data forward to the year 2100 by using the coefficient estimates of the model given by equation (1) and imposing them over the internally consistent projections of GDP, education and gender gap in education which is given by the set of existing SSP projections. To remain consistent with the narratives, we account for the unobserved characteristics captured by the country fixed effects, which go beyond what can be explained with changes in governance and are likely to capture further intangible characteristics such as culture, by assuming that they will change over the long course of the projection period. In other words, we calculate rates of convergence between countries in line with the narratives which assume different degrees of reduction of inequality in various socio-economic characteristics: in SSP 1, all countries converge in 2130 to the 75th percentile of the present-day distribution, for SSP2 in 2250, SSP3 assumes no convergence at all, for SSP4 in 2250, and SSP5 in 2180.

Compositional analysis

The composite nature of our dependent variable (voice and accountability, political stability, government effectiveness, regulatory quality, rule of law, control of corruption) allows for the investigation of whether some of the dimensions stand out in their relationship with the covariates. We treated our governance variable with an isometric-log transformation⁴, and subsequently regressed it against our covariates. This process yields weights within each covariate that relate to each of the dimensions of the governance index, thereby disentangling the extent to which each of the covariates relates to the components of the governance indicator.

In our analysis of the composite Worldwide Governance Index (comprising six dimension of governance), we find a distinct relationship between post-secondary education and two dimensions of the dependent variable: control of corruption and government effectiveness (see Figure 1 in Supplementary Material). This effect is not surprising and presents additional evidence concerning the importance of education (post-secondary education) for better institutions and demand for eradication of corruption⁵. Based on this finding, we separately project indicators of corruption and government effectiveness, thereby capturing the effect of different rate of change of educational expansion across the scenarios (see Figures 2-5 in Supplementary Information).

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- 519 created the display items. All authors contributed to the writing of the manuscript.
- **Competing interests** The authors declare no competing interests.
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- 522 Code availability: Code underlying the results is available at https://github.com/marina-
- 523 andrijevic/governance2019
- 524 Data availability: Governance data is available on the Worldwide Governance Indicators website
- 525 (https://info.worldbank.org/governance/wgi/#home) . Historical GDP was obtained from the Penn World
- Tables 7.0 (https://www.rug.nl/ggdc/productivity/pwt/pwt-releases/pwt-7.0) and projected values through
- the IIASA SSP database (https://tntcat.iiasa.ac.at/SspDb/). Data on educational attainment and gender
- 528 equality in education is accessible through the Data Explorer of the Wittgenstein Centre for Demography
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