Descriptive analyses of youth transitions in Georgia

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Contents

List of abbreviations

BA	Bachelor
HEI	Higher Education Institution
MA	Master
n.a.	Data not available
PhD	Doctoral degree
TEW-CCA	Research project “Opportunities and Barriers at the Transition from Education to Work-A Comparative Youth Study in Azerbaijan, Georgia and Tajikistan“ (funded by VolkswagenStiftung)
VET	Vocational Education and Training

1. Introduction

This working paper provides univariate and bivariate descriptive statistics on youth transitions in Georgia. It is part of a series of working papers characterizing youth transitions of countries in the Caucasus and Central Asia. It is based on research conducted in the project "Opportunities and Barriers at the Transition from Education to Work – A Comparative Youth Study in Azerbaijan, Georgia and Tajikistan" (TEW-CCA) that was financed by the VolkswagenStiftung in the period 2015–2019; funding initiative "Between Europe and Orient", call "Institutional change and social practice. Research on the political system, the economy and society in Central Asia and the Caucasus". The focus is on youth transition from education to work but also the related youth transitions such as leaving parental home and family formation (marriage and childbirth) are considered.

As a prior or complementary reading to this descriptive report it is recommended to read the methodological report of the TEW-CCA Youth Transition Surveys (Gebel et al., 2019), which offers an overview of the general methodology, specifically the cross-national survey standards, a description of the target group and screening process as well as a detailed theory-driven and evidence based justification and explanation of the general logic and contents of the individual questionnaire. In addition, country-specific explanations of the methodology of the TEW-CCA Youth Transition Survey in Georgia can be found in the chapter of the methodological report of the TEW-CCA Youth Transition Survey on Georgia (Badurashvili et al., 2019b), with detailed information on the process of questionnaire adjustments and translation, pretesting, interviewer recruitment and training, sampling procedures, fieldwork management, monitoring and quality control, and response rates as well as the questionnaires (in English, Georgian, Russian and Azeri). Moreover, it is recommended to read the report on the institutional conditions that are seen as relevant for youth transition from education to work and related youth transitions such as family formation in Georgia (Badurashvili et al., 2019a). It contains an overview of the institutional setting of the education system, the labor market, and the family and welfare regime in Georgia. This knowledge of the country-specific institutional, structural and cultural setting is important to understand the logic of our analysis and operationalizations as well as to read the findings in the specific Georgian context.

This descriptive report is restricted to purely descriptive analyses. Next to investigating univariate descriptive statistics selected findings of bivariate relationships are studied. Bivariate analyses focus on key aspects of interest in the TEW-CCA project such as gender inequalities in education and work and other life course transitions, the relationship between education attainment and the job search process, the labor market entry and early career as well as other life course transitions.

Design weights were applied in all descriptive analyses. Specifically, each respondent in the household I in stratum s got the individual weight $W_{si}=P_{si}*N_s/n_s$, where N_s is the number of selected households in stratum s with at least one 18-35yo person and n_s is the number of selected households in stratum s and P_{si} is a number of eligible respondents in i-th selected household. For details on the sampling process see the chapter of the methodological report of the TEW-CCA Youth Transition Survey on Georgia (Badurashvili et al., 2019b). Whereas univariate analyses might be biased by gender-specific and education-specific unit non-response, the bivariate analyses can be expected to be less biased with respect to non-response patterns as we study the effects of gender and education.

In general, the bivariate analyses should only be interpreted as an associational analysis because no efforts have been made to account for confounding bias and/or endogenous selection bias when studying the relationship between the independent and dependent variable. Further working papers as well as book chapters and academic journal publications of the TEW-CCA project will become available that aim at a better causal understanding using techniques of multivariate data analyses according to the logic of modern causal analysis. Therefore, we also refrain from giving any policy recommendations based on the descriptive analyses because this requires at least evidence based on multivariate analyses that account for confounding bias and/or endogenous selection bias.

Although the aim of this report is purely to deliver a description, it has not been the aim to study each variable available in the data set. A conscious choice has been made on studying key aspects of youth transition from education to work but also the related youth transitions such as leaving parental home and family formation (marriage and childbirth). The TEW-CCA Youth Transition Survey in Georgia offers even more information than the information that is provided in the following. Future users of scientific use files are encouraged to investigate all this information.

Chapter 2 of this report provides descriptive studies on education in Georgia. After giving a general overview on the level of education enrolment when the respondents left the education system (Section 2.1), Section 2.2 addresses rates and reasons for completion and dropouts in the education career of the respondent. Section 2.3 highlights the types of education programs and institutional characteristics. Section 2.4 investigates various dimensions of social inequality (inequality according to gender, ethnic origin and social origin) in education attainment. In Section 2.5 we describe work activities that respondents performed before leaving education.

Chapter 3 investigates the transition process from education to work after leaving education. Section 3.1 is devoted to the topic of labor market inactivity in terms of its incidence and determinants. As a certain proportion of education leavers, especially, women neither have found a job nor engage in active job search this topic of “school-to-home transition” deserves a special attention. In Section 3.2 we report which kind of job search methods were used by active job seekers in Georgia. In Section 3.3 we study the time elapsed until finding a first job in a dynamic perspective with means of Kaplan-Meier estimates of survivor functions that take the right-censoring of the duration data into account. Section 3.4 highlights obstacles in finding a first job that were reported by the respondents based on their experiences.

Chapter 4 describes the characteristics of the first job after leaving education. In Section 4.1 we differentiate between different types of first jobs in terms of formal (registered) jobs, informal (unregistered) jobs outside the family business, being employee or helper in the family business or starting the working career as an own account worker, self-employed or employer. The quality of first employment is investigated in terms of the type of contract, existence of employer provided free health insurance coverage and the occupational level. In Section 4.2 we characterize the sectoral distribution of first job differentiating various industries as well as the private versus public ownership structure of the company/institution. In Section 4.3 we analyze the method of finding the first job.

Chapter 5 addresses the early career mobility by comparing the first job and the current activity status at the time of the interview (Section 5.1), measuring the occupational mobility between the first and current job (Section 5.3) as well as the sectoral mobility between the first and current job (Section 5.3).

In Chapter 6 we broaden the perspective on the transition from education to work by studying the timing of other life course transitions as well. Specifically, we consider the events of leaving education, leaving parental home, finding a first job, getting married and getting parent for the first time. In Section 6.1 we describe the incidence and average age of experiencing central events in the transition to adulthood. In the following sections we offer more in-depth studies of the various youth transition events. In Section 6.2 we complement our findings from Chapter 2 and 3 by giving information on the timing of leaving education and finding a first job. We study the timing of leaving parental home in Section 6.3, the timing and arrangement of first marriage in Section 6.4 and, finally, the timing of first parenthood in Section 6.5.

2. Education

2.1. Level of education enrolment when leaving education

Table 2.1 shows the level of education enrolment when the respondents left education. As explained in detail in the methodological report of the TEW-CCA Youth Transition Surveys (Gebel et al., 2019) the target group is defined as individuals living in Georgia at the time of the survey and aged 18–35 who finished or stopped formal education in the period from 1 January 2006 till 31 December 2015.[1] Thus, both persons who successfully completed their last education and those who failed/dropped out were included. In the following, we investigate the level of education enrolment when leaving education, i.e. the highest level of education the respondent was enrolled in, irrespectively of whether he or she successfully completed this level or not.

Education is mandatory for all children aged six to 14 in Georgia. The school system is divided into primary education (six years; ages six to 12), basic education (three years; ages 12 to 15) and secondary education (three years; ages 15 to 18). Alternatively, there exists a vocational education and training (VET) system (ETF, 2018). In Georgia, there is initial professional education (level I, II and III) that is mainly implemented in VET programs in vocational colleges or in in parallel with general education and/or liberal education programs in community colleges as well as secondary professional education (level IV and V) that is offered by community colleges and higher education institutions.[2] The university education system of Georgia is mainly organized in a three-cycle degree system with Bachelor (BA), Master (MA) and Doctoral degrees (PhD) (for a detailed description of the education system of Georgia, see Badurashvili et al. (2019a)). As the data indicate in Table 2.1, there is a bipolar education distribution. More than one third of all respondents leave education just from basic education (11.2%), which lasts until Grade 9, or upper secondary education (24.4%), which lasts until Grade 12. In contrast, almost one half of all respondents reach the tertiary education level. At the tertiary level, higher tertiary (MA) studies are relatively exclusive as just 11.6% of all respondents reach the MA programs compared to 34.1% of all respondents that were enrolled at the lower tertiary (BA) level. Among all education leavers doctorate students represent less than 1%.[3] The size of the vocational education and training (VET) system is below 20% of all education leavers. Table 2.1 shows that the share of education leavers from the newly established professional secondary education (level IV, V) just reaches 4.5%. There is a clear dominance of long-term established initial professional education (level I, II, III), at which 13.8% of all respondents were enrolled in. Additional analyses on the dynamics of education careers disclose that among the respondents that achieved the level of initial professional education 71% received upper secondary education (10th or 11th Grade) and 28% have attained basic education (9th Grade) before enrolling into initial professional education.

The gender-specific results in the first two columns of Table 2.1 reveal that women outperform their male peers. A larger proportion of men just reach a lower level of education, such as basic secondary education or upper secondary education. Around 46% of male education leavers were enrolled at this level compared to just 29% of female education leavers. Women are slightly overrepresented at professional education and particularly, at tertiary education. The gender gap is very pronounced at the higher tertiary level (MA/PhD) that is reached by 14% of women but only 9% of men.

[1] "Finishing education" has to be interpreted as "successful completion/graduation" of the *last* education program the respondent was enrolled into and "stopping education" has to be interpreted as "failing/dropping out" from the *last* education program the respondent was enrolled into (Gebel & Mandieva 2019).

[2] As students can only become enrolled in secondary professional education when holding a upper secondary school degree and passing a simplified version of the Unified National Examinations (since its introduction), we define secondary professional education in the following as part of "post-secondary education", which is not yet part of tertiary (BA, MA, doctoral studies) education.

[3] For this reason and in order to have a more clear presentation of results, this group is merged with the group of students from MA studies in the following analyses.

Table 2.1: Level of education enrollment when leaving education, by gender, column-%

	Men	Women	Total
Primary (grades 1-6)	0.0	0.1	0.1
Basic secondary (grades 7-9)	14.3	9.3	11.2
Upper secondary (grades 10-12)	31.6	19.7	24.4
Initial professional (level I,II, III)	11.7	15.1	13.8
Secondary professional (level IV,V)	3.1	5.4	4.5
Lower tertiary (BA)	30.3	36.6	34.1
Higher tertiary (MA)	8.8	13.5	11.6
Higher tertiary (Doctorate)	0.2	0.5	0.4

Source: TEW-CCA Youth Transition Survey in Georgia, own calculation.

In education research it is argued that education careers are sometimes not in a straight line because people change their field of studies, make several degrees, decide to do secondary professional education after tertiary education, or do secondary professional education first and then tertiary education. It has been shown that this phenomenon influences the later labor market chances in Germany, for example (Edeling & Pilz, 2017). However, this seems to be a very minor phenomenon in the case of Georgia. Among persons enrolled at secondary professional education, nobody attended tertiary education before. Thus, professional education is not seen as an alternative after completing or dropping out from tertiary education. Among those who were enrolled in undergraduate (BA) education 0.8% report that they completed another post-secondary education degree in terms of secondary professional degree before going to university. Just 1.1% mention that they attended another undergraduate (BA) study. Among persons from higher tertiary education (MA) a tiny share mention that they attended a secondary professional (0.5%), such that one can conclude that a secondary professional degree is a completely parallel education track that is not followed in preparation of a tertiary degree or attended afterwards. In terms of multiple tertiary education studies 1.5% attended another BA study and 0.5% attended another MA study before or in addition to their last university education. If respondents report such additional education participation the great majority of them said that they successfully completed the degree. [4]

2.2. Rates and reasons for completion and dropouts

Table 2.2. provides information on the completion and dropout rates by level of education enrollment for female and male education leavers. On average, across all education levels, 10.0% of men and 7.1% of women dropout from the last education level they were enrolled in when leaving education. For women, the dropout rate is highest at the lowest education level. For example, 16.3% of women enrolled at basic secondary education drop out. Dropout rates are also relatively high at the professional education level for women (9 to 11%). In contrast, only few women enrolled in tertiary education drop out (3 to 6%). This is different for men who have dropout rates of 15.9% from lower tertiary (BA) education and 11.3% from higher tertiary (MA/PhD) education. Men also dropout relatively often from basic secondary education (13.1%).

[4] Although the question and the answer categories explicitly ask to report unsuccessful further education enrollments as well (Gebel et al. 2019), there might be some underreporting of such unsuccessful previous attempts in the education system. Nevertheless, the figures speak in favor that the phenomenon of non-linear education careers as observed in Western European countries is not of great relevance in Georgia.

Table 2.2: Completion and dropout rate by level of education enrollment when leaving education, by gender, column-%

	Men		Women	
	Completion	**Dropout**	**Completion**	**Dropout**
Basic secondary	87.0	13.1	83.7	16.3
Upper secondary	96.6	3.4	95.2	4.8
Initial professional	90.7	9.3	89.0	11.0
Secondary professional	97.0	3.0	90.8	9.2
Lower tertiary (BA)	84.1	15.9	94.3	5.7
Higher tertiary (MA/PhD)	88.7	11.3	97.4	2.6
Total	90.0	10.0	92.9	7.1

Source: TEW-CCA Youth Transition Survey in Georgia, own calculation.
Remark: "Completion" includes the case that the respondent completed the respective education program and obtained a certificate as well the case that the respondent completed the respective education program and has not yet obtained the certificate. The latter case accounts for the phenomenon that the administrative process of handing over the certificate takes some time after graduation. "Dropout" just includes the respondents who attended the respective education level but did not complete it.

Table 2.3 displays reasons for leaving education after successfully completing the respective education level by the level of education enrollment and gender. The questionnaire allowed respondents to give multiple reasons. This analyses is restricted to lower levels of education because the graduates from secondary professional, undergraduate and graduate education were not asked this question because it not meaningful at higher education levels. Thus, the focus is here on early education leaving, i.e. after successfully completing lower education degrees.

In general, many secondary education graduates, specifically men, claimed that the reasons for not continuing at higher education levels were related to the education system. For example, 16% of male basic secondary graduates said they were tired of studying. Fewer female graduate mention being tired of studying. Among male basic secondary graduates 28% thought they cannot succeed in education anymore. This share declines the higher the education level is, e.g. just 13% of male upper secondary graduates reported this reason. Interestingly, almost no graduate blamed the low quality of education as a reason for not continuing to higher education. Similarly, not passing the exam that gives access to the next education level as well as proximity of education institutions of the next education level is rarely mentioned among graduates. However, 18 to 23% of male graduates from the lower education levels did not see a reason for further education. This share is much lower for women (3 to 9%). A major reason for not continuing education are the financial burdens of doing so. This applies especially to the upper secondary graduates, of which 40% of the men and 34% of the women said that their family and themselves were not able to pay for further studies. This applies also to almost one third of graduates from initial professional education. Obviously, there are financial hurdles in the Georgian education system that represent a barrier to students from economically disadvantages backgrounds.

Especially, men claim work-related reasons for dropping out of education. For example, the share of men who said that did not continue education because they wanted to work is 10–13% at the basic and upper secondary education level and even 31% at among graduates from initial professional education. 7 to 19% of male graduates from lower education level reported that they needed to work. The respective shares are much lower for low educated female graduates.

Family related factors are a reason for not continuing further education primarily for women. A major obstacle for not continuing education was marriage in view of the female respondents from lower education levels. 40 to 52% reported this reason of marriage for not continuing to higher education levels. In contrast, care for other household members does not play a big role for graduating with lower education degrees. Thus, it is the marriage that makes young women to leave the education

system with a lower education degree. Religious and cultural reasons of not continuing at higher education levels were almost never reported. Similarly, with the exception of basic secondary graduates, almost no one told that the family wanted them to stop education. Health and migration reasons were also almost not mentioned among men and women.

Table 2.3: Reasons for leaving education after successfully completing the respective education level, by level of education enrollment and gender, column-%

	Basic sec.		Upper sec.		Init. Prof.	
	M	W	M	W	M	W
You were tired of studying	16.1	5.7	6.5	4.9	12.8	2.3
You thought that you cannot succeed in education anymore	28.2	10.5	12.5	12.8	5.6	9.8
Because of the low quality of education	1.5	0.0	2.2	3.7	0.9	0.0
You did not pass the exam that gives access to the next education level	n.a.	n.a.	10.4	3.6	2.7	0.0
There was no school of the next education level nearby	4.6	1.6	2.2	1.9	1.0	1.4
You did not see a reason for further education	22.9	8.9	17.5	3.1	17.7	6.8
You/Your family was not able to pay for your further studies	19.8	11.3	40.1	33.9	26.9	29.3
You wanted to work	9.9	4.9	13.1	3.0	31.4	14.4
You needed to work	12.2	1.6	6.5	4.4	18.6	7.0
You got married	0.0	51.6	4.3	39.6	4.4	39.8
You had to care for other household members	2.3	3.2	3.9	3.8	3.7	5.5
Because of religious or cultural reasons	0.0	0.0	0.3	1.0	0.0	0.0
Your family wanted you to stop education	0.8	9.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.8
Due to health issues	1.5	0.0	0.7	0.7	1.0	0.5
You went abroad	n.a.	n.a.	0.3	0.0	1.9	0.0
Due to military service	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	0.0	0.0

Source: TEW-CCA Youth Transition Survey in Georgia, own calculation.
Remarks: Multiple answer categories were allowed, i.e. column-% do not add up to 100%. M – men, W – women, n.a. – answer option was not offered for this education level.

Table 2.4 displays reasons for leaving education among dropouts, i.e. those respondents who attended the respective education level but did not complete it. The questionnaire allowed respondents to give multiple reasons.

In general, only small proportions of dropouts claimed that the reasons were related to the school system. 8% of all male dropouts and less than 1% of all female dropouts state that they were simply tired of studying and 4% (men)/6% (women) explained that they thought that they could not succeed in education. Just 2% mention the low quality of education. 11% of male and just 3% of female dropouts mention barriers in the education system in terms of not passing the exam that gives access to the next level of education as a reason for not completing the education level they were enrolled in. 18% of male dropout but only 5% of female dropouts seemed not having had a long-term perspective in education because they say that they did not see a reason for further education. This reason is given more often among dropouts from lower levels of education. Similarly to graduates (see Table 2.3) many dropouts say that they and/or their families were not able to pay for further studies (see Table 2.4). While this is less relevant at the lower education levels, 52% of male dropouts and 39% of female dropouts form higher education levels refer to this financial barrier in the education system.

Surprisingly, especially women blame work-related reasons for dropping out of education. For example, 7% of all female dropouts answered that they wanted to work and 35% said that they needed

to work. The latter applies particularly to dropouts from post-secondary education. Just men at lower education level surpass women in their share of saying that they wanted to work.

Family related factors are also a reason for dropping out for women (see Table 2.4), although not as prominent as among the graduates (see Table 2.3). 20% of female dropout identify marriage as a reason for leaving education without completing the last education level they were enrolled in, whereas this is never the case for men. In comparison to marriage, care for other household members does not play an important additional role for dropping out. Religious and cultural reasons as well as pressures from the family were rarely mentioned. The only exception are female dropouts from lower education levels, among which 7% mention religious and cultural reasons and 10% family pressures. Men also sometimes mention health problems (7%), while this reason is reported less often by women.

Table 2.4: Reasons for leaving education among dropouts, by gender, column-%

	Total		Basic sec./ Upp. sec./ Init. prof.		Sec. Prof. Low. Tert. High. Tert.	
	M	W	M	W	M	W
You were tired of studying	8.4	0.0	6.9	0.0	9.5	0.0
You thought that you cannot succeed in education anymore	3.7	5.9	6.9	8.6	1.5	2.2
Because of the low quality of education	1.8	1.7	4.4	2.9	0.0	0.0
You did not pass the exam that gives access to the next education level	11.0	2.7	15.5	4.5	7.9	0.0
You did not see a reason for further education	17.7	5.1	25.1	5.7	12.6	4.3
You/Your family was not able to pay for your further studies	33.9	21.9	6.8	9.8	52.3	39.2
The school/institution was closed	6.4	3.4	6.7	2.9	6.3	4.1
You wanted to work	13.3	6.9	13.7	2.9	13.0	12.6
You needed to work	10.2	35.5	23.0	23.8	1.6	52.4
You got married	1.9	20.4	2.3	31.7	1.6	4.2
You had to care for other household members	3.8	0.9	7.0	1.5	1.6	0.0
Because of religious or cultural reasons	0.0	5.0	0.0	7.1	0.0	2.1
Your family wanted you to stop education	1.9	6.0	0.0	10.2	3.3	0.0
Due to health issues	6.6	4.3	0.0	7.2	11.1	0.0

Source: TEW-CCA Youth Transition Survey in Georgia, own calculation.
Remark: Multiple answer categories were allowed, i.e. column-% do not add up to 100%. Due to the overall small number of dropouts the analysis of reasons for dropping out of education were not differentiated by the last education level enrolled in.

2.3. Types of education programs and institutional characteristics

Table 2.5 offers information on the organization and duration of training by the level of professional education enrolment. Specifically, the organizational arrangement of the vocational training is seen as a policy-relevant factor that is expected to affect the transition from education to work (see Chapter 3 and 4) (Breen, 2005; Kogan et al., 2011; Noelke & Horn, 2014; Shavit & Müller, 2000; Wolbers, 2007). We find that at initial professional level the majority (58%) was enrolled in the dual system of vocational training (, i.e. the combination of school and work place based training), whereas 39% of the education leavers received solely/mainly school-based vocational training and just 2% mainly got trained at the work place. The shares are almost identical for the secondary professional level.

In 2005, the Georgian government initiated significant reforms to the VET system that were revised in the following years (Badurashvili et al., 2019a; ETF, 2018). According to the amended VET Law (2010) five levels of VET were defined in accordance with learning performance:

(1) Holders of level I qualification shall have the ability to fulfill their duties in uniform situations under supervision;
(2) Holders of level II qualification shall have the ability to fulfill their duties with a certain level of independence;
(3) Holders of level III qualification shall have the ability to fulfill their duties in different situations and to act adequately for solving the emerging problems;
(4) Holders of level IV qualification shall have the ability to apply their professional knowledge for solving the problems emerging in changing circumstances, to supervise others' work and to undertake certain responsibility for assessing and improving the work accomplished;
(5) Holders of level V qualification shall have the ability to fulfill work that requires planning and managing others' work, as well as assessing and improving the work accomplished.

Levels I, II, and III represent initial professional education and levels IV and V represent secondary professional education. While levels I, II and III existed with other labeling already before, levels IV and V represent a new kind of VET at post-secondary level. Table 2.5 shows that the great majority of persons from initial professional education report that they have reached level III. At secondary professional education the shares of level IV and level V seems rather equal. Both persons from initial professional (21%) and persons from secondary professional education (13%) were not able to assign their education to the new VET classification. This applies especially to respondents who left education in earlier years prior to the VET reform, who could not classify themselves on the new VET levels despite interviewer support.

Table 2.5: Organization and duration of training, by level of professional education enrollment

	Init. Prof.	**Sec. Prof.**
Organization of training		
Vocational education mainly (or solely) school based	39	38
Combination of school and work place	58	57
Vocational education mainly work place based	2	3
Level of VET		
Level I	26	
Level II	12	
Level III	41	
Level IV		47
Level V		41
Don't know/Refusal	21	13

Source: TEW-CCA Youth Transition Survey in Georgia, own calculation.

Besides the vertical level of education, the horizontal line of education differentiation across the field of study is important for those attending any post-secondary education. The field of study has been shown to be an important institutional dimension of horizontal differentiation in the post-secondary education system affecting the transition from education to work (Kogan et al., 2011; Noelke et al., 2012; Baranowska-Rataj & Unt, 2012). Table 2.6 shows the distribution of field of studies by the level of post-secondary education enrollment and gender. Among women the dominant field at all post-secondary education levels is education. At the secondary professional education level every second women was enrolled in the health and welfare field. Among their male counterparts the study fields

in services were chosen by every third one person. The field of study structure is much different at the tertiary education level. The preferred fields are social sciences, business and law both among men and women at both tertiary education levels. Humanities and arts is also popular among female lower tertiary (BA) and male higher tertiary (MA/PhD) students. Gender-specific differences are most pronounced in the education and health and welfare fields of studies that are clearly dominated by women. In contrast, men dominate in engineering, manufacturing and construction as well as services at the tertiary level.

Table 2.6: Field of study, by level of post-secondary education enrollment and gender, column-%

	Sec. Prof.		Low. Tert.		High. Tert.	
	M	W	M	W	M	W
Education	3	8	2	18	0	13
Humanities and arts	24	10	8	24	22	14
Social sciences, business and law	9	15	48	36	57	40
Science	6	7	10	6	7	9
Engineering, manufacturing and construction	18	1	19	3	5	3
Agriculture	0	3	2	1	0	0
Health and welfare	6	51	3	11	4	21
Services	33	5	8	2	4	0

Source: TEW-CCA Youth Transition Survey in Georgia, own calculation.

Table 2.7 gives insights into the sources of funding and ownership of education institutions at the post-secondary education level. Sources of funding and ownership of education institutions capture the privatization and marketization of education, which is seen as an additional line of differentiation in the education system (Gerber & Cheung, 2008; Shwed & Shavit, 2006; Gebel & Baranowska-Rataj, 2012). Regarding the marketization, both public and private HEI can obtain tuition grants to cover the tuition fees. The only difference lies in the tuition rate. Over time the system of grant allocation has been changing (for details, see, Badurashvili et al. (2019a)).

Table 2.7: Study arrangement, source of funding, by level of post-secondary education enrollment, column-%

	Sec. Prof.	Low. Tert.	High.Tert.
Fully state budgeted financing	12	18	29
Co-sharing: sate contribution 100% and additional private funding to supplement study fee	2	4	10
Co-sharing: sate contribution 70%	2	3	3
Co-sharing: sate contribution 50%	0	3	3
Co-sharing: sate contribution 30%	2	6	2
Fully paid by yourself or parents	83	64	52
Don't know/Refusal	0	1	1

Source: TEW-CCA Youth Transition Survey in Georgia, own calculation.

Table 2.7 provides an overview on the share of students who received different kinds of state grants. Sources of funding differ between the levels of post-secondary education enrolment. The share of fully state-budgeted students increases with the level of post-secondary education. Whereas just 12% of

persons from secondary professional education received state-budgeted financing of their studies, this applies to 18% of persons from lower tertiary (BA) and 29% of persons from higher tertiary (MA/PhD) education. Similarly, the share of persons who got 100% state-budgeted funding and report that they use additional private funding to supplement the study fee strongly increases with the level of post-secondary education. Other co-sharing arrangements are less common and make only up 4 to 12% at the respective post-secondary education level. The majority of respondents had to finance the studies at this level themselves or get it financed by their parents. This applies to 83% of persons from secondary professional education, whereas the share is smaller at lower tertiary (BA) education (64%) and higher tertiary (MA/PhD) education (52%).

Regarding the ownership of the education institution attended by students it turns out that the overwhelming majority of 98% of respondents from secondary education (or less) were enrolled in a public school, which provide the education free of charge. In contrast, the privatization share is much higher at the professional education level. 31% of persons from initial professional education and 38% of respondents from secondary professional education were enrolled in a private higher education institution (HEI). At the tertiary education level, the share of respondents from private HEI ranges from 12 to 16%. Thus, despite strong privatization processes in Georgia the HEI system is still predominantly in public hands.

Table 2.8: Study arrangement, ownership of education institution, by level education enrollment, column-%

	Low. Sec.	Upp. Sec.	Init. Prof.	Sec. Prof.	Low. Tert.	High. Tert.
Public education institution	98	98	68	62	84	88
Private education institution	1	2	31	38	16	12
Don't know	0	0	1	0	0	0

Source: TEW-CCA Youth Transition Survey in Georgia, own calculation.

2.4. Social inequality in education attainment

Table 2.9 presents results on various dimensions of social inequality in education attainment. Education attainment, in contrast to education enrollment (see Chapter 2.1), is defined as the highest level of education successfully completed when leaving education. Hence, respondents who dropped out from education, i.e. without successful completion, were assigned the prior education level they attended.[5]

[5] That is, basic secondary dropouts were coded as primary education. Upper secondary dropouts were coded as basic secondary. Initial professional dropouts were coded as basic secondary if their prior level of education was basic secondary education or incomplete upper secondary education (grades 9 or 10). Those initial professional dropouts that attended upper secondary education grade 11 were assigned upper secondary education as their level of education attainment. There was one initial professional dropout that did not report her/his prior education level, such that this person was coded as missing on the variable of education attainment. Dropouts from secondary professional education were assigned to the upper secondary education level as they all reported that they attended general secondary education as their prior level and via this route an upper secondary education is necessary to get to secondary professional education. The lower tertiary (BA) dropouts all reported that their last level of education was secondary education and not professional education such that they were coded as upper secondary education following the same logic as the secondary professional dropouts. Higher tertiary (MA) dropouts were coded on undergraduate (BA). There is one dropout from the PhD level, which was coded as higher tertiary education (MA) under the assumption that a MA degree (or equivalent) is needed to get to the PhD level.

The gender-specific results in the first two columns of Table 2.9 show a clear gender inequality in education attainment in favor of women in Georgia. Men are overrepresented in basic secondary education (or less) and upper secondary education. Women have a slight advantage over men in reaching an initial or secondary professional degree. Women clearly surpass their male counterparts at the tertiary level of education. They reach lower tertiary (BA) degrees with an eight percentage point higher probability and higher tertiary (MA/PhD) degrees with a six percentage point higher probability than men. Regarding the highest degree their probability is almost twice as much as that for men.

There is also a clear ethnic inequality in education attainment. In the TEW-CCA Youth Transition Survey in Georgia 87% of the respondents define themselves as Georgian. The largest ethnic minority groups among the respondents are Azerbaijanians (6.8%) and Armenians (4.1%). The share of ethnic minorities tends to fall with the level of education. Specifically, ethnic minorities are overrepresented at the lower education degrees of basic secondary (or less) and upper secondary. Above these levels they just outperform Georgians in secondary professional education and they are just slightly underrepresented in initial professional education. The bivariate analysis reveals a strong ethnic inequality at the tertiary level of education. Only very small fractions of ethnic minorities reach lower tertiary (BA) (9%) and higher tertiary (MA/PhD) (3%), which is much smaller than the 35% BA degree holders and 13% MA/PhD degree holders among the Georgian ethnic majority.

Next to gender and ethnic inequalities in education attainment we study the influence of the family of origin on educational attainment. Specifically, we investigate correlations of parental education, employment and occupation status and wealth with the education attainment of the respondent. The questions on the parental background refer to the parental situation at the age of 15 of the respondents. This is a proxy measure for the situation at the parental home during the childhood and youth (for a detailed justification of the timing of measurement and indicators used, see Gebel & Mandieva (2019)).

The first dimension of parental resources we consider is parental education, which can be mainly seen as a measure for cultural capital that provides information advantages and support for young people to pursue a successful academic and work career. In the following bivariate analyses we consider parental highest education level, being it the one of the mother or the father. A strong degree of intergenerational inheritance of education degrees is visible. 65% of respondents whose parents had a basic secondary education degree at maximum also end up in the lowest education group, whereas this applies only to 1% of the respondents with at least one parent with tertiary education. Among those with parents with upper secondary education just 20% end up in basic secondary education or less. The great majority of this group (42%) reaches the same education level as their parents. The share of just reaching secondary education is much lower among those with higher parental education degrees. For example, among respondents from the most privileged education backgrounds, i.e. having at least one parent with tertiary education, just 4% end up in basic secondary education or less and just 18% end up with an upper secondary education degree when leaving education. Similarly, there is the pattern of intergenerational transmission of professional education attainment. The share of initial professional education degrees is highest among persons whose parents had a professional degree as the highest education degree. The only exception are persons with the upper secondary education background who have an even a slightly higher probability of attaining secondary professional education, which reveals some upward mobility in education attainment across generations. Regarding tertiary education, just less than 4% of respondents with parents from the lowest education group manage to get to tertiary education. The probability of tertiary education attainment rises sharply with the highest level of parental education. For example, 46% (20%) of persons whose parent(s) reached tertiary education also acquire a BA (MA/PhD) degree, whereas this applies to just 15% (BA) (4%, MA/PhD) if the highest education of the parents was upper secondary education.

Table 2.9: Social inequality in education attainment, row-%

	<=Basic sec.	Upp. Sec.	Init. Prof.	Sec. Prof.	Low. Tert.	High. Tert.
Gender						
Men	15	37	11	3	27	8
Women	11	22	13	5	35	14
Ethnic origin						
ethnic majority	10	27	13	4	35	13
ethnic minority	35	36	10	8	9	3
Highest level of parental education						
Basic secondary or less	65	27	4	1	4	0
Upper secondary	20	42	13	6	15	4
Initial or secondary professional	12	31	18	5	28	6
Tertiary education	4	18	9	3	46	20
Parental wealth						
fairly well off/well	6	23	9	6	39	16
around the average	14	28	15	4	30	9
fairly poor/poor	21	35	8	2	22	13
Father's employment and occupation						
Employee ISCO 1-2	4	16	4	3	48	26
Employee ISCO 3-4	4	20	8	5	49	13
Employee ISCO 5	24	31	13	2	22	9
Employee ISCO 6	25	42	7	5	17	4
Employee ISCO 7-9	15	30	16	5	27	7
Own account worker/self-empl/employer	9	23	14	4	37	12
Unemployed	20	36	14	4	19	8
Home duties	–	–	–	–	–	–
Unable to work due to illness	24	30	10	0	30	5
Retired	–	–	–	–	–	–
Mother's employment and occupation						
Employee ISCO 1-2	0	13	7	3	52	26
Employee ISCO 3-4	4	28	13	5	34	16
Employee ISCO 5	18	27	14	5	26	9
Employee ISCO 6	15	44	7	7	20	7
Employee ISCO 7-9	21	34	14	3	19	9
Own account worker/self-empl/employer	4	32	11	3	44	6
Unemployed	15	24	14	3	32	12
Home duties	16	32	14	5	26	7
Unable to work due to illness	–	–	–	–	–	–
Retired	–	–	–	–	–	–
Number of siblings						
0 siblings	13	27	15	2	29	14
1 sibling	10	26	12	4	35	13
2 siblings	14	30	12	5	29	9
>=3 siblings	19	33	10	5	25	8
Living arrangements during childhood						
Lived with two parents	12	28	13	4	32	11
Lived with less than two parents	15	27	11	4	31	12

Source: TEW-CCA Youth Transition Survey in Georgia, own calculation.

Remarks: Definition of ISCO levels: legislator, official, manager (ISCO 1), professional (ISCO 2), technicians, associate professional (ISCO 3), clerk (ISCO 4), service workers, shop or market sales workers (ISCO 5), skilled agricultural or fishery workers (ISCO 6), craft and related trades workers (ISCO 7), plant, machine operators and assemblers (ISCO 8), elementary occupations (ISCO 9). Results for some parental activity types not displayed ("–") in case of too small number of cases.

The advantages of persons from privileged family of origins is also visible with regard to the association of parental wealth and education attainment, although to a weaker extent than for parental education. Parental wealth can be seen as a measure of parents' economic capital. Respondents were asked to subjectively assess the overall financial situation of the family when he or she was 15 years old. Five answer categories were distinguished that were merged to (fairly) well, average wealth and (fairly) poor wealth. Next to parsimoniousness the reason for merging categories was that 63% of respondents defined themselves as coming from average wealth backgrounds. Results displayed in Table 2.9 show that, for example, respondents who assessed the financial wealth of their parents as (fairly) poor ended up in basic education (21%) three times more often than respondents who reported a (fairly) well parental wealth. The opposite picture emerges at tertiary level, where 39% of the respondents from richer families reach a BA degree, whereas this applies to only 30% of the respondents from families of average financial wealth and 22% of the respondents from poorer families. Sharp discrepancies according to parental wealth also exist at the secondary professional level. Interestingly, this applies to a lesser extent at the higher tertiary (MA) level, where almost the same proportion of respondents from poor families (13%) reaches a degree as among respondents with parents from wealthy backgrounds (16%).

There is a relationship between parent's employment and occupation situation (measured at age 15 of the respondent) and the education attainment of the respondent. Parent's employment and occupation position can also be seen as a measure of the economic capital but also social capital of the family of origin when it comes to the analysis of education attainment. Among respondents whose father was employed, there is the tendency, with few exceptions, that the lower the ISCO level, the higher is the probability of ending up with basic or upper secondary education and the lower is the probability of reaching tertiary education. For example, 26% of respondents whose father was legislator, official, manager (ISCO 1) or professional (ISCO 2) and 13% of respondents whose father was technicians, associate professional (ISCO 3) or clerk (ISCO 4) reached a MA degree, whereas the share is just 4–9% for respondents with fathers working as service workers, shop or market sales workers (ISCO 5), skilled agricultural or fishery workers (ISCO 6), craft and related trades workers (ISCO 7), plant and machine operators and assemblers (ISCO 8) or elementary occupations (ISCO 9). The only deviations from the linear relationship are the lowest ISCO groups (7–9), whose probability of just reaching a secondary degree is lower and their probability of obtaining a tertiary degree is higher compared to respondents with fathers of ISCO 5 and 6 levels. In contrast, there is no clear association between father's ISCO level and the attainment of professional education. The same pattern emerges for the association between mother's ISCO level and the education attainment of the respondent. The linear relationship is even more pronounced than in the case of fathers. The influence of other parental employment states on the education attainment of the respondents is rather weak. Respondents whose father or mother were own account workers, self-employed or employers had on average much higher chances of getting a tertiary degree and much lower risks of just getting a basic or upper secondary degree compared to respondents with parents employed in lower occupational levels. However, they do not reach the same level as respondents with fathers in ISCO 1 to 4 occupational levels. Supplementary, more detailed analyses on this group (not shown in Table 2.9) reveal that respondents with own-account and self-employed parents working as farmers/herders, craftsmen, shopkeepers, petty traders and street sellers perform worse in education attainment than respondents with parents working as self-employed professionals or managers or owners of companies. The latter resemble more the pattern of respondents with employed parents in higher occupation levels. Having an unemployed father or a father who was unable to work due to illness or having an unemployed

mother or mother engaged in home duties leads to a probability of getting a tertiary degree that is similar to the medium occupational levels of employed parents.

Next we consider the association between the number of siblings and education attainment. Siblings are expected to matter in the competition for parental resources that are relevant for education success. The more siblings a young person has the less resources should be available for him or her.

Table 2.9 shows that there is the tendency that the larger the number of siblings the higher is the probability that respondents possess a upper secondary degree or less and the lower is the probability of acquiring a tertiary education degree. The only deviation from this linear relationship is the contrast between respondents without siblings and those with one sibling because the latter slightly outperforms the former. Thus, sibling resource competition mainly comes to play when there are two siblings or more. The negative influence of the number of siblings on education attainment is not as clear and even slightly reversed at the professional education level. There is the tendency that respondents with more siblings acquire initial professional degrees less often but secondary professional degrees more often.

A related measure is the question on with whom the respondent spent most of her/his childhood up to age 15. In the following analyses we distinguish between those respondent who spent all or the majority of this period with both parents and those who did not. Growing up with less than two parents can be seen as proxy for fewer parental resources, ceteris paribus, because there is only one or no parent providing resources. It can also be seen as an indicator of disruptive life course events such as divorce or death of a parent that may have detrimental effects on the education attainment. In contrast to our expectation, we do not find a clear relationship between growing up with less than two parents compared to having lived with two parents.

Table 2.10 presents findings on access exams for post-secondary education and points in national exam a well as entry exams. In the Georgian higher education reform process the Unified National Admission Exam was introduced based on the principles of transparency and meritocracy next to the establishment of a system of quality assurance, evaluation and accreditation (Badurashvili et al., 2019a). Next to access to tertiary education level this also applies to secondary professional education as students become enrolled in professional higher education programs (VET level IV and V) through passing the Unified National Examinations. The performance in the Unified National Admission Exams also serves as the basis for awarding public tuition grants nowadays (see Section 2.3). It is worth mentioning that since 2006, a unified system of test score-based admission system defined the ranges of grants according to the test results. Before that, Georgia followed the Soviet System admission based on entrance exam, where the high education programs were either fully financed by the state if the students receive the adequate score at the entrance exams or fully financed by the students themselves if they receive the score below what is needed for state funding.

Table 2.10 highlights that about half of all respondents who were enrolled in lower tertiary (BA) education when leaving education got access to this education level via the Unified National Admission Exam. The share is lower among higher tertiary (MA/PhD) students in the sample analyzed, which can be attributed to the fact that they entered higher education on average earlier and, thus, more often during times before the introduction of the Unified National Admission Exam.[6] Interestingly, the other respondents from tertiary education report that they had to undergo an entry exam, which was organized by the institution itself and just 3–4% claim that no exam was needed for accessing post-secondary education. This share is much higher for students from secondary professional education, among which one fifth of respondents did not participate in an entry exam as a prerequisite to enter this education level. Entry exams organized by institutions themselves are the dominant route of access to secondary professional education among the respondents. Just 18% of secondary professional students report that they participated in the national exam.

[6] Another explanation could be that higher tertiary (MA/PhD) students interpreted the question with regard to the access to the MA/PhD and not with regard to the access to their first post-secondary education level (BA).

Regarding the performance in the national exam, persons from higher tertiary (MA/PhD) education report on average better grades than those from lower tertiary education. For example, 22% of higher tertiary (MA/PhD) had an excellent performance compared to just 9% of respondents from lower tertiary (BA). In contrast, 14% of lower tertiary (BA) students reached just a satisfactory grade in the Unified National Admission Exam, whereas this applies to just 5% of higher tertiary (MA/PhD) students. The share of getting a satisfactory grade is highest among persons from secondary professional education (25%). These persons reach also less often good or very good grades. Surprisingly, 25% of them report an excellent performance in the Unified National Admission Exam. Regarding the entry exams organized by institutions, persons from higher tertiary (MA/PhD) education report an excellent performance twice as often as persons from lower tertiary (BA) education. In contrast, the share of satisfactory and good grades is much higher among education leavers from BA as compared to those from MA/PhD programs. The dominant grade in entry exams organized by institutions is "good" among those who were enrolled in secondary professional education. Just a small share of these persons reach a very good or excellent grade.

Table 2.10: Access exams for post-secondary education and points in national exam or entry exam, column-%

	Sec. Prof.	Low. Tert.	High. Tert.
Access to post-secondary education			
National exam	18	52	34
Entry exam required	60	43	62
No exam was required	22	4	3
Don't know	0	0	1
Performance in national exam			
excellent	25	9	22
very good	10	19	29
good	40	59	42
satisfactory	25	14	5
poor	0	0	0
Don't know	0	0	2
Performance in entry exam			
excellent	4	19	36
very good	10	18	20
good	81	55	39
satisfactory	4	8	4
poor	0	0	0
Don't know	0	0	0

Source: TEW-CCA Youth Transition Survey in Georgia, own calculation.

2.5. Working before leaving education

There is a debate in literature whether "working while in school" is bad as it may distract students from being a good student or good as young people acquire work experience, skills and social contacts as well as getting familiar with cultural codes, behavioral patterns and habits in the world of work that may help with the integration in the labor market after leaving education (Jacob et al., 2018; Weiss et al., 2014). It may also act as a signal of unobserved characteristics that are valued by employers (Nunley et al., 2016). Against this background we will describe the incidence, timing, duration and

characteristics of working before leaving education in Georgia in the following. Multivariate analyses on the determinants and consequences of working before leaving education shall be the aim of future studies.

In this section we study any kind of employment activities the respondents performed before finishing or stopping formal education. Collecting information on working in parallel to education or in periods of interrupting education is seen as important because increasing shares of young people continue their educational career beyond compulsory schooling entering an age when they are available for work next to their studies (Roksa & Velez, 2010; Wolbers, 2003). In the TEW-CCA Youth Transition Survey in Georgia we apply a broad conception of work that includes any kind of paid/unpaid registered/unregistered work in family businesses, private businesses or in public sector or work as an own account worker/self-employed/employer.[7] In addition, periods of informal apprenticeship (that is not organized in a formal vocational program) and internships/traineeships are covered as well. However, vocational training received in formal vocational education as well as housework, which was done outside family businesses, are not counted as work episodes to be reported.

Table 2.11 offers an overview on the overall incidence of work before leaving education, differentiated by gender and education groups. The incidence is calculated at the person level. Overall, about one quarter (25.6% of mean and 23.0% of women) gain some work experience before leaving education. There is a very strong positive association with the level of education that is reached at the time of leaving education, which can be, among others, technically be related to the later age of leaving education among higher education groups. The incidence of working before leaving education is just 7.0% for basic secondary graduates, whereas the share is already twice as much for upper secondary graduates (15.2%) and initial professional graduates (16.8%). 23.3% of secondary professional graduates and 28.5% of lower tertiary (BA) graduates report some work experience before leaving education. The highest incidence of working before leaving education is reached among higher tertiary (MA/PhD) graduates, among which 60.2% worked before leaving education.

Table 2.11: Overall incidence of work before leaving education, by gender and education, row-%

	%
Gender	
Men	25.6
Women	23.0
Education level attained at the time of leaving education	
Basic secondary	7.0
Upper secondary	15.2
Initial professional	16.8
Secondary professional	23.3
Lower tertiary (BA)	28.5
Higher tertiary (MA/PhD)	60.2

Source: TEW-CCA Youth Transition Survey in Georgia, own calculation.
Remarks: Incidence is calculated at the person level.

In Table 2.12 we give more detailed information on the types of work, periods of work and reasons of work that is done before leaving education. The analyses refer to the sample of reported work spells before leaving education, i.e. one person may contribute to the analysis with several work spells. The analyses are conducted for various gender and education groups separately. Regarding the types of work it is obvious that formal/registered employment outside the own family business is the dominant

[7] A "registered/formal employee" means that income taxes are paid either by the employer or employee. "Unregistered/informal employee" means that income of the employee is not taxed. For all types of work it does not matter if someone earns monetary or non-monetary income.

work form. For men, 56% and, for women, 68% of all reported work spells before leaving education are in terms of a formal/registered work arrangements. However, there is also a certain proportion of work spells that are based on informal/unregistered work arrangements (25% for men and 18% for women). Among the remaining work forms being employee/helper in agricultural family businesses is most common (10% for men, 6% for women). Being employee/helper in non-agricultural family businesses is very rarely reported (less than 2% of work spells) as well as being an own-account worker, self-employed or employer already. Specific work arrangements that were expected to play a role for the transition from education to work are not often reported before leaving education. Less than 1% was engaged in informal apprenticeships[8] and 3% of work spells reported by men and 5% of work spells reported by women were in form of an internship or traineeship.

Table 2.12: Types of work, periods of work and reasons of work of reported work spells before leaving education, by gender and education, column-%

	Men	Women	Basic Sec./ Upp. Sec.	Init. Prof./ Sec. Prof.	Low. Tert./ High. Tert.
Types of work					
Formal/ registered employee	56	68	26	45	76
Informal/ unregistered employee	25	18	37	38	13
Informal apprentice	1	0	2	0	0
Internship/trainee	3	5	1	1	6
Employee/helper in non-agricultural family business	2	0	4	1	0
Employee/helper in agricultural family business	10	6	27	12	1
Own-account/self-employed/ employer	2	3	2	2	3
Periods of work					
All over the year	56	67	35	55	71
Seasonal work	20	15	40	21	10
During school holidays	9	5	8	8	6
Irregular interval	16	13	18	16	13
Reasons for working					
You wanted to earn your own money	78	72	62	76	78
You wanted to gain work experience	24	36	10	10	41
You worked to build networks	4	7	1	2	7
You had to work to finance your study	3	4	1	4	4
You had to work to support your family	25	14	47	22	10

Source: TEW-CCA Youth Transition Survey in Georgia, own calculation.
Remarks: % are calculated for the sample of reported work spells, i.e. one person may contribute to the analysis with several work spells. Multiple answer categories were allowed for the question on the reasons for working, i.e. column-% do not add up to 100% for the reasons for working.

Whereas the gender differences in the types of work before leaving education are not very pronounced, education groups differ stronger in their types of work experience. As before, the level of education attainment refers here to the highest level that is completed at the time of leaving education. Just 26% of work spells reported by secondary graduates were as formal/registered employees. This share is much higher for professional graduates (45%) and tertiary graduates (76%). The incidence of informal/unregistered work is much higher for secondary graduates (37%) and

[8] Informal apprenticeship solely refer to apprenticeships that are not organized in a formal vocational program. The latter is captured in the analyses on education programs (see Section 2.3).

professional graduates (38%) compared to tertiary graduates (13%). Being employee or helper in agricultural family business is much more common at lower levels of education. For example, 27% of the work spells of secondary graduates are in this work arrangement, while this applies to just 1% of the work spells of tertiary graduates. Internships and traineeships are much more common among tertiary graduates (6%) than among secondary and professional graduates (1%).

Regarding the periods of work, more than every second reported work spell relates to work that is done all over the year. The incidence of working all over the year is higher among women than men and it increases with the level of education that is finally reached when leaving education. Seasonal work spells are much more common among secondary graduates (40%) than among professional graduates (21%) and tertiary graduates (10%).

Respondents were also asked to tell the reasons for working for each work spell before leaving education. Multiple answer categories were allowed. The dominant reason for working is the motive of earning money. Around three quarter of all work spells were justified with the motive of earning money. This applies more often to work spells reported by tertiary graduates (78%) and professional graduates (76%) than by secondary graduates (62%). The motive of earning money not for themselves but for the family is much more common among lower education groups. For example, 47% of work spells reported by secondary graduates are justified by the need of financially supporting the family, whereas this applies to just 10% of the work spells reported by tertiary graduates. The motive to gain work experience is four times more often reported for work spells of tertiary graduates (41%) than for secondary and professional graduates (both 10%). Similarly, although at a much lower level of incidence, the motive of building networks is more often reported among tertiary graduates (7%) than among secondary and professional graduates (1–2%). Just 4% of work spells reported by professional and tertiary graduates refer to the explicit motive of financing studies.

Using Table 2.13 we draw our attention to the life course dynamics of working before leaving education. It report the age-specific incidence (%) of work before leaving education for various gender and education groups. This analysis is done at the person level. The incidence of working is very low during teenage years. For example, just 5.9% of male respondents and 2.5% of female respondents worked when they were 15 years old. However, the share substantially increases with growing age. For example, for the age 18 already 13.5% of male respondents and 7.2% of female respondents reported a work activity and the respective numbers are 20.2% for men and 15.5% for women. At age 24 about every third respondents was in work. In general, it is found that male respondents reported more often work activities than female respondents for almost every age before leaving education.

However, these figures are strongly influenced by the level of education attainment because respondents drop out of the analyses at the age they left education. This induces an overrepresentation of professional and tertiary students at later age. Hence, supplementary education-specific investigations were performed. For the education-specific analysis cell entries are restricted to the average age before leaving the respective education level plus two years in order to avoid the dominance by very small group of persons at later ages after typical education leaving age. The education-specific analyses reveal that the work propensity is rather low (below 7%) at all ages for (prospective) basic secondary graduates. In contrast, (prospective) upper secondary graduates reach double-digit rates of work experience from age 17 onwards. Their highest work incidence is reported for age 19 (17%). Compared to upper secondary graduates, fewer initial professional graduates were working before leaving education. It should be taken into account that our definition of working before leaving education does not entail practical work experiences that were part of a formal vocational training program (see Section 2.3 for results on such kind of practical training experiences during education). Among secondary professional graduates the incidence of working surpasses the 10% threshold at age 17 and reaches almost 20% in the years prior to leaving education. Lower tertiary (BA) graduates report work activities at a rate that is comparable to secondary professional graduates. The highest incidence of working before leaving education is found among higher tertiary (MA/PhD) graduates. Next to the ones from lower tertiary (BA) education they have the lowest rates of working during the years before turning 18. However, with the transition to tertiary education their work

activity rate surges, reaching already 33.1% at age 20. This share further increases to 47.8% at age 23. The highest incidence is reached for those who study longer than average (48.5% working at age 25 and 57.7% working at age 26 prior to leaving education).

Table 2.13: Age-specific incidence (%) of work before leaving education, by gender and education

	Men	Women	Basic Sec.	Upp. Sec.	Init. Prof.	Sec. Prof.	Low. Tert.	High. Tert.
Age								
12	1.7	0.6	3.5	1.6	0.3	0.0	0.4	0.0
13	2.4	0.9	4.1	2.6	0.3	0.0	0.6	0.0
14	3.6	1.4	4.8	4.1	1.5	0.9	0.9	0.0
15	5.9	2.5	6.2	6.1	2.7	3.6	2.3	1.3
16	8.0	3.8	5.2	8.9	5.7	7.2	3.2	2.6
17	11.2	5.3	6.3	10.9	8.1	12.6	5.0	4.9
18	13.5	7.2	5.9	13.1	10.2	13.8	7.6	7.4
19	17.4	12.1		17.0	12.1	17.6	12.4	15.3
20	20.2	15.5		15.9	13.1	14.8	16.7	21.2
21	25.1	20.2			12.9	18.4	19.2	33.1
22	23.1	24.8				12.8	19.7	39.3
23	29.2	29.7				19.9	18.2	48.0
24	36.9	32.5					21.0	47.0
25	35.8	30.9						48.5
26	49.9	39.2						57.7

Source: TEW-CCA Youth Transition Survey in Georgia, own calculation.
Remarks: Incidence is calculated at the person level. % are calculated for the sample of respondents for the time before leaving education. For the education-specific analysis cell entries are restricted to the average age before leaving the respective education level plus two years in order to avoid the dominance by very small group of persons at later ages after typical education leaving age. Average age of leaving education is taken from Table 6.1. The calculation does not take the length of work spells into account (see Table 2.12 for an analysis of length of work spells).

Next to the timing of working, it is also interesting to study the time spent working before leaving education. Table 2.14 provides information on the absolute and relative time spent working before leaving education for gender and education subgroups. The measures are calculated at the individual level. The individual time interval considered lasts from age 12 to the individual age of leaving education. The time spent working is measured on a yearly level and the year is considered as a year of working whenever a work activity is reported in the year, irrespectively of the period of work (for an analysis of periods of work see Table 2.12).

The absolute duration measures the number of years between age 12 and the individual year of leaving education. When interpreting the numbers it should be kept in mind that the year of leaving education and, thus, the time interval considered varies between individuals. Overall, 75% of men and 77% of women do not work before leaving education, which replicates the findings of Table 2.11. If persons worked, the duration is rather equally spread in short and long term experiences. For example, 9% of men and women spent one to two years working prior leaving education. 5% spent three years and 4% of men and 3% of women spent four years working. The share of persons working five years and more is 8% for men and 6% for women. Regarding education groups, the absolute duration of time spent working prior leaving education tends to increase with the (prospective) level of education, which, among other factors, can be technically related to the later age of education leaving of higher educated persons. The first row replicates the findings from Table 2.11 that 87% of secondary graduates, 82% of professional graduates and 63% of tertiary graduates reported that they never worked prior to leaving education. 5% of secondary graduates, 8% of professional graduates and 13% of tertiary graduates have one or two years of work experience. Three to four years of work experience

is reported by 4% of secondary graduates, 7% of professional graduates and 14% of tertiary graduates. Long work experiences of five years or more apply more often to tertiary graduates (8%) than to secondary and professional graduates (both 3%).

The lower part of 2.14 calculates the relative duration of work experience by dividing the absolute number of working years prior leaving education by the number of years that were theoretically available for working from age 12 to the individual age of leaving education. By definition, the shares in the first row of 0% relative duration is identical to the shares in the first row of 0 years absolute duration. 6% of men and 8% of women worked for up to 20% of their available time between age 12 and leaving education. 10% spent between 20 and 40% of their time working. Just 10% of men and 5% of women spent more than 40% of their youth between age 12 and leaving education in work. Across all education groups the most common relative amount of working time is between 0 and 40%. This applies to 6% of secondary graduates, 14% of professional graduates and 29% of tertiary graduates. Just 8% of secondary graduates, 5% of professional graduates and 7% of tertiary graduates worked more than 40% of the time between age 12 and the age of leaving education. Comparing the absolute and relative shares of working time reveals that higher education groups spent more time working prior to leaving education in absolute terms, whereas lower education groups spent more time working prior to leaving education in relative terms.

Table 2.14: Absolute and relative time spent working before leaving education, by gender and education

	Men	**Women**	**Basic Sec./ Upp. Sec.**	**Init. Prof./ Sec. Prof.**	**Low. Tert./ High. Tert.**
Absolute duration					
0 years	75	77	87	82	63
1 year	3	3	2	2	4
2 years	6	6	3	6	9
3 years	5	5	2	4	8
4 years	4	3	2	3	6
5 years	3	3	2	2	4
6 years	2	1	1	1	2
>6 years	3	2	0	0	2
Relative duration					
0%	75	77	87	82	63
]0%-20%]	6	8	2	4	13
]20%-40%]	10	10	4	10	16
]40%-60%]	6	3	3	3	6
]60%-80%]	2	1	2	2	1
]80%-100%]	2	1	3	0	0

Source: TEW-CCA Youth Transition Survey in Georgia, own calculation.
Remarks: Measures are calculated at the person level. The individual time interval considered lasts from age 12 to the individual age of leaving education. The time spent working is measured on a yearly level and the year is considered as a year of working whenever a work activity is reported in the year, irrespectively of the period of work. This is because the answer categories of periods of work (see Table 2.12) do not allow a concrete measure of the exact time spent within a year on work. The absolute duration measures the number of years between age 12 and the individual year of leaving education. The relative duration of work experience is calculated by dividing the absolute number of working years prior leaving education by the number of years that were theoretically available for working from age 12 to the individual age of leaving education.

3. Labor market inactivity, job search and time until finding a first job

3.1. Labor market inactivity

In the first step of our empirical analyses on the period after leaving education we measure the incidence of labor market inactivity by gender. In this regard, we address the specific pattern of the "school-to-home transition", which is usually ignored in the Western literature on school-to-work transition and which got a first detailed attention by the comparative study on youth transitions by Gebel and Heyne (2014). Following Gebel and Heyne (2014), we define 'inactive' persons in our sample of education leavers as persons who have neither found a first job[9] until the date of the interview nor engaged in any kind of job search activities[10] since leaving education. Thus, we apply a very strict definition of "permanent" inactivity ignoring the incidence of temporary inactivity or persons becoming inactive after a period of labor market engagement.[11] Supplementary analyses (not displayed in Tables) show that 37.2% of women and 24.1% of men have not yet found a first job at the time of the interview.[12] Among those persons without a first job, 69.6% of women and 45.8% of men indicated that they were not actively searching for a job after prior to leaving their educational institutions.[13] Combining this information on existence of first job and search behavior yields the inactivity rate, which is 25.9% for women and 11.0% for men in Georgia (see Table 3.1). Thus, a much smaller proportion of men is inactive than women, which highlights a large gender inequality with respect to the labor market participation decision after leaving education.

Table 3.1 reports the inactivity rate by gender and education attainment level.[14] For women there is a clear negative education gradient. The higher the level of education attainment, the lower is the

[9] For a definition of a "first job" see Section 4 for details as well as the Methodological Report of the TEW-CCA Youth Transition Surveys (Gebel & Mandieva 2019).

[10] Each respondent was asked whether he or she had been actively seeking for work in the period after leaving education. Actively seeking means applying for specific works, replying to work offers, answering advertisements, appearing for an interview, sending CV, going directly to companies' offices.

[11] These issues of temporary inactivity and dynamics into and out of inactivity shall be subject to future multivariate and dynamic analyses.

[12] This is just an information with regard to the criteria of defining inactivity. As individuals differ in the duration of the time period between leaving education and the date of the interview, the given figures have limited information value with regard to the success probability of finding a first job in a dynamic perspective. For more adequate analyses in this respect see Section 3.3, in which more appropriate methods of event history analysis are applied.

[13] Among those respondents who got a first job after leaving education 24.6% report that they did not actively seek for work in the period after leaving education. When looking at the reasons given for not searching 41.9% of these first job holders without search experience did not search because they continued the same work they had before leaving education. Another 1% said that they were employed by the recommendation of the university, which also does not entail an active search process. Among the remaining cases (n=187) 3.1% report self-employment as their first job type and 19.1% report a first job in the family business, which both often do not entail an active search process. Thus, 151 cases are left for which it seems implausible that they did not search for a first job but found one. 70% of these cases can be somehow explained by the fact that they report they found their first job via personal contacts, where the initiative often comes from the family and does not entail a process that is perceived by the respondent as an active search process. However, 30% of the 151 cases report methods of finding a first job later on that implies a job search process must have taken place. However, this job search process may have already occurred before leaving education such that it was not reported. Nevertheless, in a few cases respondents may have misreported non-search.

[14] In this section and the following sections we use education attainment, i.e. the highest education level that was completed, as the independent variable of interest. This is because from a theoretical perspective of signaling theory it can be expected that having the signal of the final degree is important in the labor market attainment process (Gebel & Heineck 2019). Moreover, the persons spent the full time in the education program, which should enhance their human capital compared to person dropping out from the same education program.

probability of being inactive after leaving education. For example, 58.3% of female graduates from basic secondary education become inactive, whereas this is only the case for 3.7% of higher tertiary (MA/PhD) graduates. A similar negative effect of the level of education on inactivity is visible for men. 22.9% of male basic secondary graduates are inactive, whereas only 3.4% of male higher tertiary graduates (MA/PhD) are inactive. The only deviation from this negative relationship are male graduates from initial professional education who have the lowest inactivity rate.

Table 3.1: Inactivity rate, by gender and education level, column-%

	Men	Women
Total inactivity rate	11.0	25.9
Inactivity rate by education attainment		
Basic secondary	22.9	58.3
Upper secondary	15.7	42.5
Initial professional	1.7	18.8
Secondary professional	9.4	17.8
Lower tertiary (BA)	3.9	17.7
Higher tertiary (MA/PhD)	3.4	3.7

Source: TEW-CCA Youth Transition Survey in Georgia, own calculation.

In the next step we investigate the personal reasons given by young men and women for being inactive, i.e. not working or not looking for work, after leaving education (see Table 3.2). When asked about the reasons for inactivity respondents were allowed to give multiple responses. Among women, getting married (55.5%) and care for other household members (22.7%) are major reasons for not engaging in job search. These reasons are almost never given by men. Only 6.7% of inactive women reported that their parents and/or spouse did not allow them to work outside home. Similarly, religious and cultural barriers are almost never mentioned (incidence below 1%).

Next to family-related reasons female school leavers also mention the lack of jobs in the immediate surrounding as a reason for their labor market inactivity. This can reflect a general lack in labor market demand but also regional labor mobility barriers for women. Every fifth Georgian inactive women identifies the lack of jobs in the immediate surroundings as one of the causes of not searching for a job. Comparing the numbers for men and women it becomes evident that the lack of labor supply is much more often an issue among inactive men in Georgia. About one half of Georgian inactive men said that they did not search for a job because there was no job in the immediate surroundings.

Compared to women, men also mention other labor market related issues as a reason for not searching for a job such as the lack of useful contacts (16.5%), proper qualifications (17.5%) and work experience (16.7%). Health issues are also relatively much more often mentioned among inactive men (7.5%) than among inactive women (0.7%). Inactive men also report more often than inactive women that they were inactive because they have been planning to go abroad (men: 4.6%, women: 1.0%) or waiting for a seasonal job (men: 2.0%, women: 0.2%). Men also more often mention that they did not want to work (16.1% for men compared to just 5.8% for women).

Overall, the general pattern emerges that family responsibilities are the predominant reason for being inactive in the job market for women. In contrast, young women see less often missing job opportunities or other labor market reasons as the major reason for not being engaged in the labor market, whereas this applies more often to inactive men.

Specific analyses on the labor market value of the additional education experience of education dropouts can be subject to future multivariate analyses (for such studies on other Eastern European countries, see, for example, Matković & Kogan (2012); Matković & Kogan (2014).

Table 3.2: Reasons for inactivity after leaving education, by gender, column-%

	Men	Women
There was no job in the immediate surrounding	53.0%	19.9%
You were waiting for seasonal work	2.0%	0.2%
You did not have useful contacts	16.5%	2.9%
You were not properly qualified / trained	17.5%	7.0%
You were too young/inexperienced	16.7%	6.2%
You were planning to go abroad	4.6%	1.0%
You were seriously ill or disabled	7.5%	0.7%
You got married	3.7%	55.5%
Your parents/spouse did not allow you to	1.7%	6.7%
You had to take care for other household	0.0%	22.7%
Due to religious or cultural reasons	0.0%	0.7%
You did not want to work	16.1%	5.8%

Source: TEW-CCA Youth Transition Survey in Georgia, own calculation.
Remarks: Multiple answer categories were allowed, i.e. column-% do not add up to 100%. Analysis on the reasons for inactivity are conducted for the subsample of inactive persons.

3.2. Job search methods

Among respondents who were actively looking for a job the job search behavior of young people at their transition from education to work was asked. There is an ongoing scientific debate about the role of social networks for labor market success in Eastern European countries (Kogan, 2011; Kogan et al., 2013). In the following, we will describe the role of such informal job search method as compared to formal job search methods. Table 3.3 displays the job search methods after leaving education, total, by gender and by education attainment level. The analyses includes all respondents who actively engaged in seeking for work after leaving education, irrespectively of the fact whether the respondent was successful in finding a job or not.[15] Multiple answers were allowed, if the respondent used several job search methods. Informal methods of searching for a job play an important role at labor market entry in Georgia. A majority of respondents (71.3% of men and 58.1% of women) used personal contacts in the search for a first job. Only very few respondents contacted labor migrant networks when looking for a first job. This can be explained by the definition of the target population which entails only persons residing in Georgia at the time of the survey, such that labor migrants are underrepresented in this survey. But also formal search methods play a role. About one half of the respondents inserted or consulted a job advertisement in online portals, newspapers or journals or answered one in the process of searching for a first job. It is worth noting that a significant number of respondents (29.6% of men and 29.1% of women) has directly applied to the company of their choice for the first job opportunity. 9.0% of all male respondents and 13.4% of female respondents who searched for a first job took a test or participated in a competition to get access to a public sector job. The fact that only 3.4% of respondents and 4.5 of female respondents that were in search of a first job contacted an employment agency is not an astounding finding; on contrary, it aligns with the fact that state employment agencies do not exist in Georgia and private employment agencies are not very common.

[15] The method of searching for a job after leaving education should not be equated with the methods of finding a first job. This is because education leavers may use a search method that does not yield a job match. The method of finding the first job is analyzed in Section 4.3.

The gender-specific results reveal that men and women use quite similar job search methods with few variations. While Georgian women are more prone to taking tests and participating in competitions for the jobs in private sector, men are more likely to use personal contacts in the job searching process. Formal job search methods are more popular among women than among men.

Education-specific analyses show that the higher the education level of a graduate the less common is the practice of using the personal contacts in the search of a first job. While eight out of 10 respondents with the lowest levels of education (basic/upper secondary) used personal contacts in the search for a first job, only 51.7% of respondents with tertiary education did so. In contrast the share of formal job search methods strongly increases with the level of education attainment. For example, whereas just 29.1% of secondary graduates inserted or consulted a job advertisement in online portals, newspapers or journals or answered one, this share is higher among graduates from professional education (42.2%) and tertiary graduates (61.7%). The positive relationship between education attainment and formal job search methods is even more evident with respect to taking a test or participating in a competition for recruitment to the public sector. This applies to just 2.8% of graduates from basic or upper secondary education compared to 19.6% of graduates from tertiary education.

Table 3.3: Job search methods after leaving education, total, by gender and by education attainment level, column-%

	Men	Women	Basic Sec./ Upp. Sec.	Init. Prof./ Sec. Prof.	Low. Tert./ High. Tert.
You inserted or consulted a job advertisement in online portals, newspapers or journals or answered one	41.6	51.6	29.1	42.2	61.7
Unsolicited application	29.6	29.1	21.4	32.5	33.6
You used personal relations	71.3	58.1	80.4	65.8	51.7
You contacted labour migrant networks	2.3	2.1	1.6	2.5	2.5
You took a test/You participated in a competition for recruitment to the public sector	9.0	13.4	2.8	5.7	19.6
You contacted an employment agency	3.4	4.5	1.6	4.0	5.7

Source: TEW-CCA Youth Transition Survey in Georgia, own calculation.
Remarks: Multiple answer categories were allowed, i.e. column-% do not add up to 100%.

3.3. Time until finding a first job

In the next we do a dynamic analysis of the individual time elapsed between leaving education and finding a first job. Finding a job is a central marker in the transition to adulthood due to its importance in gaining independence from the family, as well as for securing a good socio-economic position, career and life chances. Using detailed monthly retrospective individual data, the duration of the school-to-work transition is measured as the time elapsed between leaving the education system and finding stable employment (Gebel & Noelke, 2011).

The date of leaving education refers to the last education program the respondent attended.[16] Leaving education is defined both as "finishing education" in terms of successful completion/graduation[17] of the last education program the respondent was enrolled into and "stopping education" in terms of "failing/dropping out" from the last education program the respondent was enrolled into. Thus, both persons who successfully completed their last education and those who failed/dropped out were included. Search periods prior to leaving education are disregarded due to missing information on potential search activities, and because they are fundamentally different from the time elapsed between leaving education and finding a first significant job, as the search after graduation gives rise to higher material and psychological costs (Allen & van der Velden, 2007).

Following common definitions (Gebel & Noelke, 2011), as well the definitions given in the surveys analyzed (Gebel & Mandieva, 2019), we operationalize the first job position for a school leaver as any first job after leaving education, including short-term, casual work and unregistered work, self-employment and work as family helpers, is treated as a first job in order to account for the variety of first job positions in Georgia. The respondents were asked to fill out a detailed monthly economic activity calendar for the time since leaving education. The activity calendar covers a minimum period of one year up to a maximum period of 10 years depending on the year the respondent was leaving education. The actual length of the calendar varies randomly due to the criteria of selecting respondents. Based on this calendar the first job was identified. The few graduates who obtain first significant jobs before leaving the education system are counted as making an instantaneous transition.

"Permanently" inactive people, i.e. persons who have neither found a first job until the date of the interview nor engaged in any kind of job search activities since leaving education, are excluded for the following analyses on the time elapsed between leaving education and finding a first job (for analyses of this group see Section 3.1). Using the monthly retrospective activity calendar information, periods of military service between leaving education and finding a first job or, respectively the date of the interview were deducted from the duration measurement. This is because military service is an obligatory time-out that should not be counted to the duration of finding a first job. However, only a small proportion of the respondents actually went to the military between leaving education and the first job or the date of the interview. Despite these restrictions the time elapsed between leaving education and finding a first job should not be equated with job search time. It may happen that young people temporarily give up job search within this period, i.e. experiencing temporary periods of labor market inactivity because of fully engaging in housework or care, being sick, etc.

Event history analysis is used to study the time elapsed between leaving education and finding a first job. The time elapsed until first significant employment is described with Kaplan–Meier (product-limit) estimates of transition rates because of the problem of right-censored duration data for those who have not yet found employment at the time of the interview (Blossfeld et al., 2019).[18] Figure 3.1 shows Kaplan-Meier survival functions for finding a first job after leaving education by gender, education and

[16] This means that respondents who interrupted their education career reported about the date of leaving their last education program attended, which is easier to remember (Gebel & Mandieva 2019). In the context of Georgia, the focus on the last education program attended is justified as the phenomenon of education returners is less widespread then in Western countries. In any case all work activities in parallel or prior to this last education spell are still captured in the analyses of Section 2.5.

[17] The date of finishing education for successful graduates is defined as the date of attending the last course or participating in the last exam, and not to the date of receiving the certificate. This restriction was seen as important as the national experts reported that a substantial part of graduates receives certificates with a delay due to bureaucracy (Gebel & Mandieva 2019).

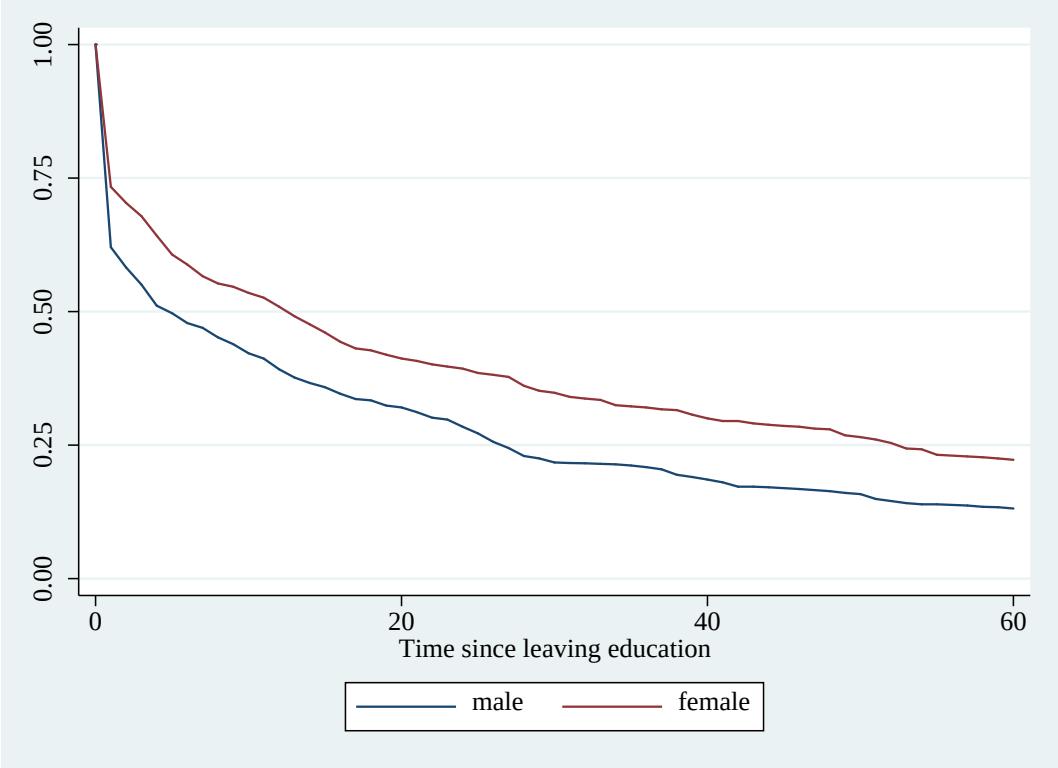
[18] Specifically, in the case of "right-censoring" we know that the transition duration is longer than the time between leaving education and the date of the interview. For example, somebody leaves education seven months before the interview and has not yet found a job. In this case, the overall job search duration will not be exactly seven months but longer and has to be estimated.

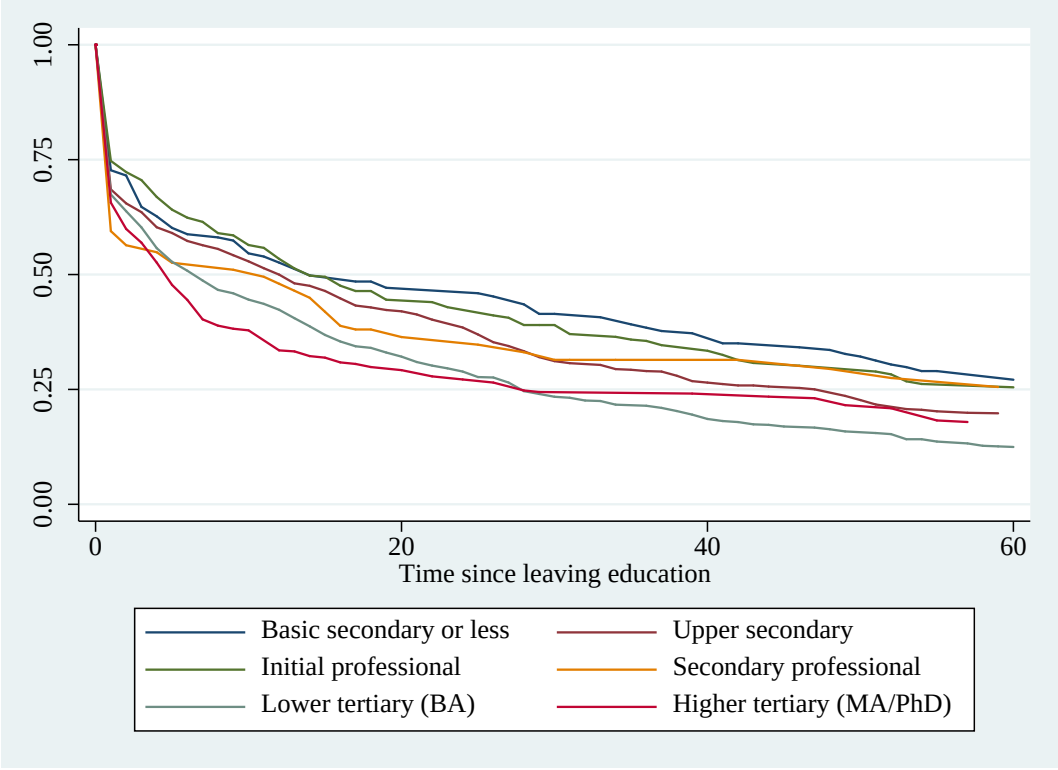
VET organization as key independent variables of interests. The y-axis shows the proportion of persons who have not yet found a first job for a given time point after leaving education that is marked on the x-axis. In addition, Table 3.4 shows the respective figures but from a reversed perspective. For selected months after leaving education it reports the share of people having found a first job until the respective month after leaving education by gender, education and VET organization. This equivalent to the distance from the 100% line and the Kaplan Meier survivor function.

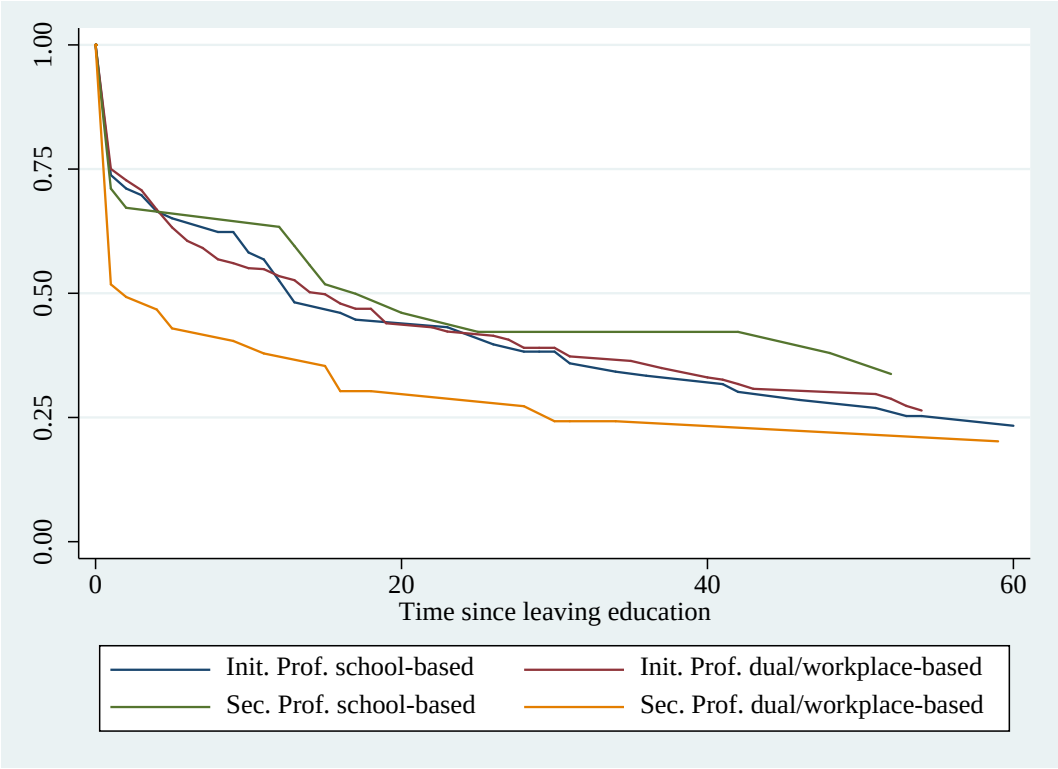
We find that many education leavers experience direct and quick entries into their first job within one month. This applies to 38% of men and 27% of women, who experience a very smooth transition from education to work. In the following years, further labor market integration can be observed, but the conditional transition probabilities (so-called "hazard rates") decrease: the longer the time elapsed in non-employment after leaving education, the harder it is to find a first job. Such a pattern of so-called "negative duration dependence" in the job search process is usually explained by discouragement effects that lead to reduced individual search intensities. Moreover, potential employers may interpret the prolonged search period as a negative signal and therefore refrain from making job offers to the long-term unemployed. As a result, there is a substantial share of young people who require many years to find a first job, and there is a non-negligible share of young people who do not succeed in finding a first job, even after a long search period. Thus, job seekers are strongly divided into those who find a first job within one year and those who search for very long periods of time. The data in Table 3.4 reveal that after one year 61% of the men but just 49% of the women have found a job, and the share increases to 87% for men and 78% for women after five years. The gender gap just slightly decreases over time and shows a rather large gap of 9 to 11 percentage points.

Education qualifications are seen as the central determinants of successful labor market integration (Kogan & Müller, 2003; Kogan et al., 2011; Shavit & Müller, 1998). There is the general tendency that the higher the level of education the speedier is the job finding process. However, the nexus between education and the speed of labor market integration is not strongly pronounced. For example, a rather high share of young people with basic education (27%) or upper secondary education (31%) immediately find a job in the first month after leaving education. The share of immediate transitions is just slightly higher among tertiary graduates (BA: 33%, MA/PhD: 34%). There is a strong difference between initial and secondary professional education with respect to very smooth transitions. Just 25% of initial professional education graduates finds immediately a first job, whereas 41% of secondary professional education graduates do so, which makes the latter the most successful education group in this respect. After one year, however, the advantage of secondary professional graduates diminishes as 52% have found a first job compared to 47% of the initial professional graduates. Similarly, the lowest education groups make relative gains compared to secondary professional graduates as 47% of basic secondary graduates and 50% of upper secondary graduates found a first job within the first year after leaving education. Tertiary graduates gain in their advantage in the job search process as 58% of BA graduates and even 67% of MA/PhD graduates succeeded in finding a first job within the first year. With longer duration there is a reversal in the leading education group as BA graduates surpass MA/PhD graduates in their share of labor market integration after three years. The other education groups also reach high levels of labor market integration after three years, ranging from 62% first job experiences among the least educated to 71% first job experience among the graduates from upper secondary education. Nevertheless, almost one third of the secondary and professional education graduates is still without first job experience after three years. This share just slowly increases in the following years reaching, for example, 73% among the basic secondary graduates and 80% among the upper secondary graduates after five years. In contrast, after five years 87% of the BA graduates and 82% of the MA/PhD graduates found a first job.

Figure 3.1: Kaplan-Meier survival functions for finding a first job after leaving education by gender, education and VET organization







Source: TEW-CCA Youth Transition Survey in Georgia, own calculation.
Remarks: Analysis are conducted for the subsample of all persons excluding inactive persons (i.e. persons who have not found a first job yet and who have not actively searched for a job since leaving education). Survivor function shows for each month the share of persons for a specific group who has not yet found a first job.

Table 3.4: Share of people (%) having found a first job until a specific month after leaving education by gender, education and VET organization

	Months since leaving education						
	1	**6**	**12**	**24**	**36**	**48**	**60**
Gender							
Men	38	52	61	72	79	84	87
Women	27	41	49	61	68	72	78
Education							
Basic secondary	27	41	47	53	62	66	73
Upper secondary	31	43	50	62	71	75	80
Initial professional	25	38	47	57	64	70	75
Secondary professional	41	47	52	64	69	71	74
Lower tertiary (BA)	33	49	58	71	79	84	87
Higher tertiary (MA/PhD)	34	56	67	73	76	77	82
VET organization							
Init. Prof. school-based	26	35	47	57	67	71	77
Init. Prof. dual/workplace based	25	39	47	58	64	69	74
Sec. Prof. school-based	29	33	37	54	58	62	66
Sec. Prof. dual/workplace based	48	57	62	70	76	76	80

Source: TEW-CCA Youth Transition Survey in Georgia, own calculation.
Remarks: Analysis are conducted for the subsample of all persons excluding inactive persons (i.e. persons who have not found a first job yet and who have not actively searched for a job since leaving education).

A specific additional analysis has been performed with respect to the role of the organization of the VET system as there is an ongoing scientific and political debate about the best organization of VET in terms of its practical work elements and its relevance for the transition from education to work (Shavit & Müller, 1998; Kogan et al., 2011; Kogan, 2019). The results show that there is no difference between school-based and dual/workplace-based training at the initial professional level, when it comes to immediate transition into the labor market. However, the organization matters at the secondary professional level where 48% of graduates who got dual/workplace-based training make an immediate transition compared to 29% of graduates who were solely/mainly trained in schools. In terms of level differences, both secondary professional groups still outperform the graduates from initial professional education. However, there is a change after one year, when the share of persons with first job experience reaches 47% in the initial professional education group (irrespectively of the training organization) compared to just 37% of secondary professional graduates with school-based training. All groups are still outperformed by the secondary professional graduates with dual/work-placed based training (62% first job experience). This general order persist also in the long run. Interestingly, over time, the school-based training marginally outperforms the dual/work-placed based training at the initial professional level. In sum, the organization of training does not make a big differences at the initial professional education level in Georgia when it comes to the speed of labor market integration. However, at the secondary professional education level dual training clearly speeds up the labor market integration in Georgia compared to school-based training as well as lower levels of professional education. Making the comparison of graduates from upper secondary who received general education with the dual/workplace based training from professional secondary reveals that the latter makes a much faster labor market integration in the first years and differences just level off after five years. Secondary professional graduates with dual/workplace based training even outperform tertiary graduates in the first year of job search and are neck to neck with tertiary graduates in the longer run.

3.4. Obstacles in finding a first job

In addition every respondent who actively searched for a job was asked about the main obstacles the person experienced in finding a job after leaving education. Both persons who successfully found a first job and those who have not yet found a first job during the observation period are included but analyzed separately because it differences in the experiences of obstacles in the job search process can be expected between the two groups.

Table 3.5 shows the different major obstacles of finding a job after leaving education that were reported by persons who were actively engaged in job search activity, by success, gender and education level.

In Georgia just a small proportion of respondents report that they did not have any problems at all finding a job. The share is just 1.9% among job seekers that have not yet found a first job. However, it is also just 15.0% among those who found a first job. This indicates that even successful job seekers in Georgia had to struggle in the job search process after leaving education. Differences in the obstacles faced are not much pronounced between those who found a first job and those who are still looking for one. In the following, we are focusing on gender-specific and education specific results.

Among the active job searchers only 12.3% (of women)/12.7% (of men) indicated not having had any problems in the search process. The great majority of respondents, both among male respondents (61.6%) and female respondents (58.3%) named the lack of available jobs as the main obstacle for finding a job. Additionally, a significant number of respondents (39.2% of women and 36.0% of men) noted that the lack of work experience was a one of the obstacle in finding a job as well. Insufficient skills obtained during the studies were also mentioned by 18% of respondents that noted that requirements for job were higher than education/training received. Some respondents also see the problem of unattractive job offers in the job search process. 21.3% of men and 19.5% of women

indicated that the problem is the low wages of the available jobs and 6.4% of women and 9.8% of men complain about the poor working conditions of the available jobs. Interestingly, only about 12% of young male and female persons who were/have been engaged in job search after leaving education report that they did not have useful contacts as a problem in the job search process. Most interestingly, just a tiny share of respondents of below 0.5% report that they experienced discrimination based on gender. Similarly, discrimination based on ethnic origin remains for men and women below the 0.5% threshold. In contrast slightly more people report age discrimination but the incidence of 1.6% among men and 2.9% among women is still very small.

Table 3.5: Main obstacles of finding a job after leaving education among persons who were actively engaged in job search activity, by success, gender and education level, column-%

	No first job	With first job	Men	Women	Basic Sec./ Upp. Sec.	Init. Prof./ Sec. Prof.	Low. Tert./ High. Tert.
You didn't have any problems at all in finding a job.	1.9	15.0	12.3	12.7	9.7	12.4	14.5
Requirements for job were higher than education/ training received	22.8	16.9	18.2	18.0	16.2	19.3	18.8
Not enough work experience	43.4	36.4	36.0	39.2	38.4	32.8	39.3
Not enough jobs available	64.9	58.5	61.6	58.3	63.6	62.7	56.0
Discrimination based on age	4.4	1.8	1.6	2.9	1.6	2.7	2.6
Discrimination based on gender	0.0	0.3	0.1	0.3	0.4	0.0	0.2
Discrimination based on ethnic origin	0.0	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.2	0.0	0.6
Low wages in available jobs	16.0	21.3	21.3	19.5	20.7	18.7	20.6
Poor working conditions in available jobs	7.6	7.9	9.8	6.4	7.9	10.0	7.0
You did not have useful personal contacts	14.3	11.0	11.8	11.5	11.7	8.1	12.9

Source: TEW-CCA Youth Transition Survey in Georgia, own calculation.
Remarks: Analysis are conducted for the subsample of all persons who were actively looking for a job after leaving education, irrespectively of the fact whether they found a first job or not. Multiple answer categories were allowed, i.e. column-% do not add up to 100%.

Education-specific results reveal that respondents with higher education attainment are more likely to mention that they did not have any problems in finding of first job compared to less educated young people. The complaint about not enough available jobs is prevalent among a majority of job seekers irrespectively of their education attainment level. There is just a slight tendency that the incidence of this problem is lower among tertiary educated young people. The share of respondents mentioning underqualification problems was highest among graduates from professional education but closely followed by tertiary graduates and the lowest education groups. In contrast, professional graduates complain about a lack of work experience less often, which can be related to the practical training elements for a majority of VET students. Nevertheless, still 32.8% of professional graduates mention a lack of work experience. Graduates from professional education report a lack of useful personal contacts less often than the other education groups. This can be partly related to the social networks they gain access to via their workplace-based training.

4. Characteristics of first job

4.1. Type and quality of first job

In the previous chapter, we analyzed differences in the speed of finding a first job across different socio-demographic groups. However, a quick labor market entry does not automatically guarantee a higher quality of the first job. Hence, it is important to investigate the type and quality of the first job as well. In this regard we adopt a multidimensional perspective on various aspects of job quality and working conditions instead of relying on a single job quality dimension (such as wages) or aggregating working conditions into a one-dimensional index. The advantage of such a multidimensional perspective is that it captures potential trade-offs or cumulative advantages or disadvantages in the working conditions of first job holders in different employment segments. Detecting cumulative disadvantages is important in order to assess the prevalence and degree of precarious, low quality work among young female workers. Specifically, the job type, type of contract and the occupation level are the central objective dimensions of job quality that are considered in the following. Due to the retrospective nature of the questions on the first job the TEW-CCA Youth Transition Surveys refrained from asking subjective questions (e.g. on subjective job satisfaction) or details that are hard to remember (e.g. the wage obtained in the first job).

For the subsequent analyses we focus only on those respondents who report that they succeeded in finding a first job. Table 4.1 shows the type of first job differentiated by gender, education level and the organization of VET. Taking regional specificities into account, engagement in the labor market is defined as a very broad concept, encompassing unregistered informal work arrangements, agricultural waged work, self-employment and family helpers (Gebel & Mandieva, 2019). Formal versus informal employment are defined at the individual level and not at the firm level. A formal (registered) job means that income taxes for the specific job are paid either by the employer or employee, whereas this is not the case for informal (unregistered) jobs. Overall, it is noticeable that the majority of education leaver, 58% of men and 77% of women, enter a first job as a formal/registered employee. Men become more often informal/unregistered employees (24%) compared to women (18%). Men work also more often as an employee or helper in the family business (11%) compared to women, which is predominately characterized by informal work arrangements, too (see Table 4.4). Starting the working career as an own account worker, self-employed or employer is not very common in Georgia. This route is taken just by 6% of men and 3% of women.

Education-specific results show that with the increase of the education level of the respondents, the probability of being formally employed in the first job increases as well. Just 40% of basic secondary and 48% of upper secondary graduates start their working life as formal employees. Graduates from professional education have much higher chances of getting formal job (initial professional: 72%; secondary professional: 70%). Analyses by the type of VET training reveal that dual/workplace-based training increase the chances of formal sector employment compared to school-based training. The advantage is four percentage points at the initial professional education level and even 10 percentage points at the secondary professional education level. The best chances of formal sector employment is found among tertiary graduates (BA: 81%, MA/PhD: 88%). There is a pronounced negative education gradient with regard to become an informal employee in the first job. It is highest among basic secondary graduates (45%) and lowest among MA/PhD graduates (8%). At the professional level there is again a strong influence of getting dual-/workplace-based training that decreases the risks of informal employment by five percentage points at the initial professional level and even 20 percentage points at the secondary professional level. However, secondary professional students with dual-/workplace based training have the highest probability of working as an employee or helper in the family business (18%), which resembles the characteristics of informal employment. Other professional education groups as well as tertiary graduates register a much lower incidence of family business work (0 to 6%). Graduates from basic and upper secondary education end up in the family business sector with a probability of 11–12%. Initial self-employment is a rather rare event among all

education groups. There is no clear relationship to the education level in this respect. Upper secondary graduates start in self-employment most often (7%).

Table 4.1: Type of first job, by gender, education level and VET organization, row-%

	Formal/ registered employee	Informal/ unregistered employee	Employee/ helper in family business	Own-account/ Self-employed/ employer
Gender				
Men	58	24	11	6
Women	77	18	2	3
Education				
Basic secondary	40	45	11	4
Upper secondary	48	34	12	7
Initial professional	72	20	5	3
Secondary professional	70	16	12	2
Lower tertiary (BA)	81	12	3	3
Higher tertiary (MA/PhD)	88	8	0	4
VET organization				
Init. Prof. school-based	69	23	6	2
Init. Prof. dual/workplace based	73	18	5	4
Sec. Prof. school-based	64	28	4	4
Sec. Prof. dual/workplace based	74	8	18	0

Source: TEW-CCA Youth Transition Survey in Georgia, own calculation.
Remarks: Analysis are conducted for the subsample of all persons who found a first job, irrespectively of the fact whether they still hold (this/a) job or not at the date of the interview.

Another important job quality differentiations exist along the type of contract and social security coverage. Table 4.2 displays differentiated results in this respect according to gender, education level and VET organization. These analyses are restricted to dependent employees, including employees and helpers in the family business sector, excluding own-account, self-employed workers and employers. Regarding the type of contract the crucial distinction between work contracts of unlimited duration versus work contracts of limited duration (temporary contracts) versus seasonal work contracts is made. As seasonal contracts have a tiny negligible incidence of 0.1% they are merged with temporary contracts as it is often done in research on contract types. Whereas temporary contracts playa less prominent role at labor market entry in Eastern Europe, with a few exceptions such as Poland and Slovenia (Baranowska & Gebel, 2008), it is important to consider the case of a written work contract from having no written work contract in Eastern Europe (just a verbal agreement) (Kogan, 2011; Gërxhani & van de Werfhorst, 2013). The case of having no written work contract is often seen as a defining characteristic of informal work arrangements next to or in addition to the distinction between registered and unregistered work.

Gender-specific analyses in Table 4.2 show that men work more often without a contract than women. While the share of temporary contracts (12%) is equal between sexes women are clearly advantaged in getting access to unlimited work contracts (40%) at the beginning of their working career compared to their male counterparts (29%). Next to gender inequalities there is a clear negative effect of education on the risk of working without a contract. While 84% of basic secondary graduates face the risk of no-contract work, this applies to only 29% of higher tertiary (MA/PhD) graduates. In terms of the VET organization there is again a clear advantage of graduates who were trained in the dual way or mainly/solely at the workplace. At the initial professional level this lowers the risk of no-contract work by seven percentage points and at the secondary professional level the advantage makes even up 17 percentage points. The chances of getting a permanent work contract increase with the

education level from just 14% among the basic secondary graduates to 53% of the higher tertiary (MA/PhD) graduates. While there is no influence of the VET organization at the initial professional level, graduates from dual-/workplace-based secondary professional education have a 14 percentage points higher chance of getting a permanent work contract than the ones who received school-based training. Temporary work contracts are also more widespread among the higher educated groups, reaching up to 18% among higher tertiary (MA/PhD) graduates. The probability of temporary employment is among secondary professional graduates with dual-/workplace-based training in absolute percentages just slightly higher (13% vs 11%) but in relative percentages (among the sample of persons with a working contract in the first job) lower (13%/(41+13%)=24% vs. 11%/(26%+11%)=30%) compared to secondary professional graduates with school-based training. In contrast, at the initial professional level, employers use temporary contracts more often among persons with dual-/workplace-based training than school-based training, both in absolute terms (12% vs. 6%) and in relative terms (12%/(31%+12%)=28% vs. 6%/(30%+6%)=16%).

Table 4.2: Type of contract and employer provided free health insurance coverage in first job, by gender, education level and VET organization, row-%

	Type of contract				Employer provided free health insurance		
	no contract	Unlimited contract	limited contract	Don't know	yes	no	Don't know
Gender							
Men	57	29	12	1	22	78	0
Women	47	40	12	0	20	80	0
Education							
Basic secondary	84	14	2	0	5	94	1
Upper secondary	69	21	9	1	16	84	0
Initial professional	59	31	10	0	14	86	0
Secondary professional	53	35	12	0	15	85	0
Lower tertiary (BA)	38	45	16	1	27	72	1
Higher tertiary (MA/PhD)	29	53	18	0	29	71	0
VET organization							
Init. Prof. school-based	64	30	6	0	8	92	0
Init. Prof. dual/workplace based	57	31	12	0	16	84	0
Sec. Prof. school-based	63	26	11	0	7	93	0
Sec. Prof. dual/workplace based	46	41	13	0	21	79	0

Source: TEW-CCA Youth Transition Survey in Georgia, own calculation.
Remarks: Analysis are conducted for the subsample of all persons who found a first job, irrespectively of the fact whether they still hold (this/a) job or not at the date of the interview. Respondents who were self-employed and employers in their first job are excluded.

Regarding social security coverage the results in the right part of Table 4.2 show that coverage rates are rather low and not stratified by gender. Just around every fifth men and women profits from employer provided free health insurance. However, there is a relationship with the level of education as the health insurance coverage rate tend to rise with the education level. Whereas just 5% of basic secondary graduates get a free health insurance provided by their employer in their first job, this applies to 29% of graduates from higher tertiary (MA/PhD) education. Professional graduates and upper secondary graduates have rather similar coverage rates (14–16%) and lay between the two extremes. In terms of VET organization there is a clear advantage of persons who received dual-/workplace-based training as they get free health insurance more often than their counterparts from

school-based training. The advantage is eight percentage points at initial professional education and 14 percentage points at secondary professional education.

Another job quality indicator we consider is the occupational skill level of the respondent in the first job. This analysis is restricted to employees and family helpers, i.e. excluding self-employed for which a separate analysis of types of occupations is performed (see below). The TEW-CCA Youth Transition Surveys classified first jobs based on a three-digit version of the International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO) classification. We aggregated the information into 1-digit ISCO levels. Table 4.3 reveals that young male and female labor market entrants enter different occupational positions. Only a very small fraction of men (1%) and women (2%) get direct access to a ISCO-1 positions as legislators, senior officials and managers position at labor market entry. However, many respondents got into jobs as professionals (ISCO-2) or technical and associates professionals (ISCO-3). While the gender composition is equal at the ISCO-3 level (21%) the share of ISCO-2 first jobs is twice as high among women (23%, men: 12%). Women also outperform men as clerks (ISCO-4, women: 17% vs. men: 9%) and service workers, shop and market sales workers (ISCO-5, women: 27% vs. men: 14%). In contrast, the incidence of low-skilled employment is higher among men. They worked more often in their first job as skilled agricultural and fishery workers (ISCO-6, men: 4% vs. women: 1%), craft and related trades workers (ISCO-7, men: 16% vs. women: 4%), plant and machine operators, assemblers (ISCO-8, men: 5% vs. women: 1%) and in elementary occupation (ISCO-9, men: 16% vs. women: 4%).

Table 4.3: Occupational level of first job, by gender, education level and VET organization, row-%

	ISCO 1	ISCO 2	ISCO 3	ISCO 4	ISCO 5	ISCO 6	ISCO 7	ISCO 8	ISCO 9	Army	Don't know
Gender											
Men	1	12	21	9	14	4	16	5	16	2	0
Women	2	23	21	17	27	1	4	1	4	0	0
Education											
Basic secondary	0	0	3	8	32	1	22	3	31	0	0
Upper secondary	0	2	14	9	29	5	17	5	18	1	0
Initial professional	0	7	21	9	37	2	11	2	9	1	0
Secondary professional	0	11	17	9	44	6	8	0	6	0	0
Lower tertiary (BA)	2	27	28	18	13	1	4	2	3	0	0
Higher tertiary (MA/PhD)	3	45	28	17	4	0	2	0	0	0	1
VET organization											
Init. Prof. school-based	4	2	16	9	43	2	8	2	12	0	0
Init. Prof. dual/workplace based	0	9	24	9	33	3	12	3	8	0	0
Sec. Prof. school-based	0	7	19	11	52	0	7	0	4	0	0
Sec. Prof. dual/workplace based	0	13	15	8	38	10	8	0	8	0	0

Source: TEW-CCA Youth Transition Survey in Georgia, own calculation.
Remarks: Analysis are conducted for the subsample of all persons who found a first job, irrespectively of the fact whether they still hold (this/a) job or not at the date of the interview. Respondents who were self-employed and employers in their first job are excluded. ISCO levels are defined as 1 "Legislators, senior officials, managers", 2 "Professionals", 3 "Technicians, associate professionals", 4 "Clerks", 5 "Service workers, shop and market sales workers", 6 "Skilled agricultural and fishery workers", 7 "Craft and related trades workers", 8 "Plant and machine operators, assemblers" and 9 "Elementary occupations". Military personal forms a separate group without any distinction of the occupational skill level.

As explained above we looked at various dimensions of job quality. In the next step we would like to link the various quality dimensions to the type of first jobs in order to better characterize them. Table 4.4 presents the association between job quality and first job type.

Table 4.4: Quality of first job, by first job type, column-%

	Formal/ registered employee	Informal/ unregistered employee	Employee/ helper in family business
Type of contract			
No contract	35	91	98
Unlimited contract	47	8	0
Limited contract	17	2	0
Don't know	1	0	2
Employer provided free health insurance			
Yes	28	4	0
No	72	96	100
Don't know	0	0	0
Occupation (ISCO 1 digit)			
Legislators, senior official and managers	2	0	0
Professionals	24	3	0
Technicians, associate professionals	26	11	3
Clerks	16	8	3
Service workers, shop and market sales workers	17	37	13
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	0	0	33
Craft and related trades workers	7	19	1
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	2	4	0
Elementary occupations	3	18	48
Military occupation	1	0	0
Don't know	0	0	0

Source: TEW-CCA Youth Transition Survey in Georgia, own calculation.
Remarks: Analysis are conducted for the subsample of all persons who found a first job, irrespectively of the fact whether they still hold (this/a) job or not at the date of the interview. Respondents who were self-employed and employers in their first job are excluded.

There is a strong positive association between the level of education and the occupational skill level. For example, the highest ISCO-1 level is exclusively reached by tertiary graduates. Just below 2% of secondary graduates get into the higher professions (ISCO-2), whereas this applies to 27% of lower tertiary (BA) graduates and 45% of higher tertiary (MA/PhD) graduates. Just a few professional educated persons reach the ISCO-2 level. They have better chances to reach technical and associates professionals (ISCO-3) positions (17% of secondary professional and 21% of initial professional graduates). However, tertiary graduates outperform the professional graduates at ISCO-3 level, too, as 28% of them work as technical and associates professionals in their first job. While the share of clerks (ISCO-4) is similar (8–9%) for secondary and professional graduates it is higher among tertiary graduates (17–18%). The occupational levels of ISCO-5 and below are dominated by lower education groups. Professional graduates work very often as service workers, shop and market sales workers (initial professional: 37%, secondary professional: 44%) reaching the highest share at this ISCO level. The relationship between education and ISCO-6 occupations (skilled agricultural and fishery workers) is mixed, which can also be related to the overall small fractions of first jobs in this occupational segment. Graduates from basic secondary and upper secondary education dominate the craft and related trades workers (ISCO-7), plant and machine operators, assemblers (ISCO-8) and in elementary occupation (ISCO-9). For example, 31% of basic secondary graduates and 18% of upper secondary

graduates work in elementary occupations, whereas this applies to just 6–9% of professional graduates, 3% of lower tertiary (BA) graduates and no one from higher tertiary (MA/PhD) education.

Regarding the organization of VET there is no clear relationship with the occupation level. All professional groups almost never reach ISCO-1 level with the exception of initial professional school-based students who reach the relatively highest but still very small share (4%) of all education groups. To get access to ISCO-2 level of professional occupations dual-/workplace-based training pays off as it clearly increases the access chances (by seven percentage points at the initial professional level and by six percentage points at the secondary professional level). The same applies for the access to ISCO-3 technical and associates professional positions for dual-/workplace-based training at the initial professional level. However, among secondary professional graduates it is an advantage to have school-based training to become a technical and associates professional. Similarly, mixed pattern emerge at lower occupational levels (see Table 4.3).

The majority of formally registered employees were working with official contracts, either with unlimited duration (48%) or temporary (17%) one, but nevertheless 35.4% of formally employed first job holders were working on the bases of a verbal agreement with the employer. Having no written work contract is the clearly dominating contract arrangement for informal employees (91%) and employees and helpers in family business (98%). This reveals how close the family business jobs are to the informal employee positions in terms of contract types. Formal employees also have the highest probability (28%) of getting free health insurance from their employer. Employer-provided free health insurance is an almost unknown phenomenon both among informal employees as well as employees/helpers in the family businesses. Formal employees have the highest probability of becoming legislators, senior officials, managers (ISCO-1 level: 2%) and professionals (ISCO-2 level: 24%). In contrast, informal employees and employees and helpers in family business almost never reach these occupational levels. Formal employees also clearly dominate the job positions as technicians, associate professionals (ISCO-3 level: 26%) and clerks (ISCO-4 level: 16%). In contrast, only a tiny share of 6% of employees and helpers in family business work as technicians or associate professionals (ISCO-3) and clerks (ISCO-4). Similarly, only few informal employees reach these occupation levels. 11% of informal employees work as technicians, associate professionals and 8% of informal employees work as clerks. Informal employees most often work as service workers, shop and market sales workers (ISCO-5 level: 37%). This is followed by 19% working as craft and related trades workers (ISCO-7) and 18% working in elementary occupations (ISCO-9). Employees and helpers in the family business predominately work in elementary occupations (48%) and as skilled agricultural and fishery workers (33%). In contrast, formal employees are hardly to find in the lower occupational levels ISCO-6 to ISCO-9.

Data presented in Table 4.5 illustrate the main characteristics of those young persons who started their labor market career as entrepreneurs. In terms of type of occupation, the majority make up self-employed craftsmen (37%) followed by professionals (29%) and shopkeepers, petty traders and street-sellers (23%). Just a small fraction works as manager/owner of a company/institution (4%) or as farmer/herder (4%). Gender-specific analyses (results not displayed in Table 4.5) reveal that half of male own-account workers were self-employed craftsmen, while the majority of females worked as professionals. Larger-scale business start-ups are very rare at labor market entry and correspondingly both male and female youth are rarely presented on high positions in the private sector- as managers/owners of the companies, accounting for less than 10%. However, among males this indicator is considerably higher.

Table 4.5: Characteristics of first jobs as own account workers, self-employed and employers

	%
Occupation	
Farmer/herder	4
Self-employed craftsman	37
Shopkeeper/petty trader/street-seller	23
Professional (Lawyer, consultant, doctor)	29
Manager/owner of the company/organization	7
Formality of business	
registered business	33
unregistered business	67
Main source of business funding	
You took the business over from your father/mother/other relatives	5
Money from family or friends	18
Own savings/sold property	15
Loan from microfinance institutions	3
Loan from bank	9
No money was necessary to start your business	49
Don't know/Refusal	1

Source: TEW-CCA Youth Transition Survey in Georgia, own calculation.
Remarks: Analysis are conducted for the subsample of all persons who found a first job, irrespectively of the fact whether they still hold (this/a) job or not at the date of the interview. Analysis is restricted to own account workers, self-employed and employers in first job. Dependent employees and family helpers in first job are excluded.

Two third of businesses owned at labor market entry were not officially registered, which underlines the importance of the informal sector also in the self-employment segment in Georgia. In terms of business funding half of the respondents said that no money was necessary to start their business and 5% took over the business from their family. Among those who needed money the main part of them used the money of family or friends (overall 18%; 35% among those who needed money) and own saving or sold a property (overall 15%; 29% among those who needed money). Overall, only 9% took a loan from a bank and 3% a loan from microfinance institutions, which just represent 24% of all persons that needed money. This is a hint that the banking system in Georgia is still behind existing demands of business development.

4.2. Sector of first job

There were also differences with regard to the economic sectors in which young school leavers are employed (excluding family sector) in their first job (see Table 4.6). In terms of ownership structure about three quarter of men and women who work as employees enter a first job in the private sector, whereas 22% of men and 25% of women work in the public sector at the beginning of their labor market career. Employment in NGOs plays a negligible role as the incidence is 1% or below. There is a positive relationship between the education level and the probability of working in the public sector as an employee. It increases from 6% for basic secondary graduates to 44% among higher tertiary (MA/PhD) graduates.

Table 4.6: Sector of employment and industry sector, by gender and education level, row-%

	Men	Women	Basic Sec.	Upp. Sec.	Init. Prof.	Sec. Prof.	Low. Tert.	High. Tert.
Sector of employment								
Public	22	25	6	15	14	14	29	44
Private	78	74	94	85	86	86	70	54
NGO	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	2
Don't know	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Industry sector								
Agriculture, hunting and forestry	13	3	19	17	5	11	2	0
Fishing	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mining and quarrying	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	1
Manufacturing	10	6	15	14	11	2	4	3
Electricity, gas and water supply	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	1
Construction	15	1	13	11	5	3	5	3
Wholesale and retail trade; repair of motor vehicles, motorcycles and personal and household goods	16	28	23	25	36	35	21	9
Hotels and restaurants	6	4	8	5	7	9	4	1
Transport, storage and communication	4	3	1	2	3	5	6	3
Financial intermediation	3	9	0	1	2	0	12	11
Real estate, renting and business activities	1	2	3	0	0	0	2	4
Public administration and defense; compulsory social security	9	6	3	6	5	0	9	12
Education	4	15	1	3	4	6	15	21
Health and social work	1	10	0	1	10	8	6	14
Other community, social and personal service activities	13	12	10	12	9	21	12	18
Private households with employed persons	1	2	3	3	3	2	1	0
Extra-territorial organizations and bodies	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Source: TEW-CCA Youth Transition Survey in Georgia, own calculation.
Remarks: Analysis are conducted for the subsample of all persons who found a first job, irrespectively of the fact whether they still hold (this/a) job or not at the date of the interview. Respondents who were self-employed and employers in their first job are excluded. For the analysis of the sector of employment employees/helpers in family business are excluded, while they are included for the analysis of industry sector.

In terms of industry sectors[19] it turns out that women most often start work in wholesale and retail trade sector (28%). This is followed by working in the education sector (15%), services (12%) and health and social work (10%). In contrast, male labor market entrants dominate construction (men: 15% vs. women: 1%), agriculture, hunting and forestry (men: 13% vs. women: 3%) and manufacturing (men:

[19] Respondents who were self-employed and employers in their first job are excluded in the analysis of ownership structure.

10% vs. women: 6%). While the relatively largest share of men working is also reached in the wholesale and retail trade sector, it is still much smaller than the female share in this sector (28%).

There is also a relationship between education attainment of the respondent and the industry sector of first employment. For example, the share of the agriculture, hunting and forestry sector is highest among the basic secondary graduates (19%) and declines with education as almost no tertiary graduate works in this sector. A similar pattern can be observed in manufacturing and construction. Professional graduates most often work in the wholesale and retail trade sector (35-36%). Tertiary graduates work much more often in education (BA: 15%, MA/PhD: 21%), in financial intermediaries (BA: 12%, MA/PhD: 11%) and real estate sector (BA: 2%, MA/PhD: 4%) than lower educated groups, who rarely enter these industries. The health and work sector is dominated both by professional and tertiary graduates, whereas lower educated persons have almost no chance to get into this sector because it requires the respective qualifications.

4.3. Methods of finding the first job

Whereas we analyzed the method of searching for a first job in Section 3.2 this Section 4.3 is devoted to the analysis of the method of finding the first job. Separate analyses are needed because these two aspects can be different as not every method used in the job search process will yield a job match. More specifically, not everybody searching for a job with a specific method has been successful already and even among the successful labor market entrants not each method applied brought them into the first job. Whereas each respondent could report multiple methods of job search that he or she applied after leaving education, respondents had to name the one method how they found their first job. Comparing the job search methods applied (Table 3.3) and the methods of finding a first job (Table 4.7) provides some insights into the efficiency of job search method.[20]

Table 4.7 displays the method of finding a first job in total, by gender and by education attainment level. The analyses includes all respondents who became employees in non-family businesses. Respondents who were self-employed and employers as well as those who were employees/helpers in family business in their first job are excluded.

Informal networks play a key role in finding a first job in Georgia. A majority of employees found their first job via personal contacts. Gender-specific analyses reveal that men found their first job more often via personal relations than women (men: 62.4%, women: 56.2%). Only very few respondents contacted labor migrant networks when looking for a first job. This can be explained by the definition of the target population, which entails only persons residing in Georgia at the time of the survey, such that labor migrants are underrepresented in this survey. But also formal search methods play a role. 13.0% of male first job holders and 21.6% of female first job holders found their first job via inserting or consulting a job advertisement in online portals, newspapers or journals or answering one. 14.6% (men) and 12.1% (women) of first jobs as employees in the non-family sectors were found via an unsolicited application to the company. The share of finding the first job in a test or the participation in a competition for accessing public sector jobs is almost identical between the two sexes (men: 7.8%, women: 8.6%). The fact that less than 1% of first employees found their first job via an employment agency mirrors the fact that state employment agencies do not exist in Georgia and private employment agencies are not very common. Education institutions also just play a negligible role (less than 1%) in bringing young people into employment based on recommendations.

[20] In this comparison, it should be taken into account that Table 3.3. on the applied job search methods includes all active job searchers irrespectively of their later sector of employment, whereas Table 4.7 is restricted to employees who are not employed by their own family. Hence, respondents who had their first job in the business of their family were not asked about the way of finding a first job because it is by definition via personal relations.

Table 4.7: Methods of finding a first job in total, by gender and education level, row-%

	Men	Women	Basic Sec./ Upp. Sec.	Init. Prof./ Sec. Prof.	Low. Tert./ High. Tert.
You inserted or consulted a job advertisement in online portals, newspapers or journals or answered one	13.0	21.6	8.4	12.7	25.4
Unsolicited application	14.6	12.1	14.7	12.6	12.4
You used personal relations	62.4	56.2	72.7	66.0	48.2
You contacted labor migrant networks	0.3	0.1	0.4	0.0	0.1
You took a test/You participated in a competition for recruitment to the public sector	7.8	8.6	2.8	6.3	12.1
You contacted an employment agency	0.7	0.5	0.0	1.8	0.6
Employed by recommendation of the University	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.2
Don't know/Refusal	1.2	0.7	1.0	0.7	0.9

Source: TEW-CCA Youth Transition Survey in Georgia, own calculation.
Remarks: Analysis are conducted for the subsample of all persons who found a first job, irrespectively of the fact whether they still hold (this/a) job or not at the date of the interview. Respondents who were self-employed and employers as well as those who were employees/helpers in family business in their first job are excluded.

The education-specific analyses show that the higher the education level of a graduate the less common it is to find a first job using the personal contacts. While 72.7% of the respondents with the lowest levels of education (basic/upper secondary) got their first employment via personal contacts, only 48.2% of respondents with tertiary education did so. In contrast, the share of first jobs found via formal job search methods strongly increases with the level of education attainment. For example, whereas just 8.4% of basic/upper secondary graduates found their first job by inserting or consulting a job advertisement in online portals, newspapers or journals or answering one, this share is higher among graduates from professional education (12.7%) and tertiary graduates (25.4%). The positive relationship between education attainment and formal job search methods is even more evident with respect to finding the first job by taking a test or participating in a competition for recruitment to the public sector. This applies to just 2.8% of graduates from basic or upper secondary education compared to 12.1% of graduates from tertiary education.

The gender-specific and education-specific differences in the job search process may also relate to the different sectors of first employment among men and women and the different education groups. Hence, we add an analysis on the ways of finding a first job by the sector of employment. Table 4.8 show the method of finding a first job by the sector of employment. As before the analysis is restricted to employees who were not employed by their family. The NGO sector was excluded because of the very small incidence (less than 1%) (see Section 4.2).

Table 4.8 reveals that first jobs in the private sector were more often found using personal relations (63.4%) than first jobs in the public sector (43.4%). Formal ways of finding a first job are more common in the public sector. For example, 21.4% of the first jobs in the public sector were found by inserting or consulting a job advertisement in online portals, newspapers or journals, whereas this applies to only 17.2% of first jobs in the private sector. Similarly, 16.5% of first jobs in the public sector were found by unsolicited applications compared to 12.1% of first jobs in the private sector. 16.6% of public sector employees participated in a competition for recruitment to the public sector, whereas just 5.7% of private sector employees did so by taking a test for recruitment.

Table 4.8: Method of finding a first job by sector of employment, row-%

	Public	Private
You inserted or consulted a job advertisement in online portals, newspapers or journals or answered one	21.4	17.2
Unsolicited application	16.4	12.1
You used personal relations	43.4	63.4
You contacted labour migrant networks	0.3	0.2
You took a test/You participated in a competition for recruitment to the public sector	16.6	5.7
You contacted an employment agency	0.8	0.6
Employed by recommendation of the University	0.5	0.0
Don't know/Refusal	0.8	0.9

Source: TEW-CCA Youth Transition Survey in Georgia, own calculation.

Remarks: Analysis are conducted for the subsample of all persons who found a first job, irrespectively of the fact whether they still hold (this/a) job or not at the date of the interview. Respondents who were self-employed and employers as well as those who were employees/helpers in family business in their first job are excluded. The NGO sector was excluded because of the overall very low incidence (less than 1%) among first jobs.

5. Early career mobility

5.1. First job type and current activity status

In the following, we will analyze the characteristics of the few mobility processes that take place after having found a first job by comparing the situation at the time of the interview with the first job. Studying the early career dynamics is a central topic of school-to-work transition research (Gebel, 2015; Scherer, 2001). Table 5.1 starts with an analysis comparing the first job type with the current activity status of respondents. As we just compare the current situation with the situation of the first job we do not capture all mobility processes that have taken place in the early career. It should also be noted that the observation window varies between one and 10 years for the respondents.

Table 5.1: First job type and current activity status, column-%

		First job type			
	Total	**Formal/ registered employee**	**Informal/ unregistered employee**	**Employee/ helper in family business**	**Own-account/Self-employed/ Employer**
Current activity state					
Formal/ registered employee	44	60	9	4	9
Informal/ unregistered employee	7	1	33	1	1
Employee/ helper in family business	6	0	1	80	1
Own-account/Self-employed/ Employer	4	2	2	1	53
Unemployed	33	31	49	6	29
Engaged in home duties	5	5	6	5	5
Military service	0	0	1	3	0

Source: TEW-CCA Youth Transition Survey in Georgia, own calculation.
Remarks: Analysis are conducted for the subsample of all persons who found a first job, irrespectively of the fact whether they still hold (this/a) job or not at the date of the interview.

Results in Table 5.1 show that 60% of registered employees did not change their type of job and they are still formal employees.[21] Only a tiny share of 1% of registered employees change to unregistered employment. Similarly, just 2% become self-employed or employers. Among informal employees, the share of persistence in the job type is just half of the size as just 33% did not change the job type and are still employed informally. Only 9% of informal employees succeed in reaching a formal job at the time of the interview. 1% become family helpers/employees and 2% become self-employed/employers. This underlines a strong segmentation of the Georgian employment sectors along the formal-informal divide as there are almost no mobility processes between formal and informal employment in the early career observed.

A large proportion of employees become unemployed, which reveals a large share of job losses. At the time of interview 31% of formal employees and even 49% of informal employees are unemployed.[22]

[21] As we just compare the job type of the first job and the current job type, employer changes and changes in job quality may have happened for those who stay in formal employment.

[22] As we just compare the job type of the first job and the current activity states, further job losses may have happened in between.

Thus, informal sector employment is very insecure as every second person, who was informally employed in the first job, lost her or his job. But also formal sector employment is quite unstable as one third is unemployed at the time of the interview.

The highest persistence is observed among those who started their career as a helper or employee in the family business. At the time of the interview still 80% are employed in the family business. Just 4% managed to get a formal job and 1% got an informal job in another business that did not belong to the own family. Just 6% become unemployed, which is much lower than among formal and informal employees in non-family business.

In contrast, almost every second persons who were own-account workers, self-employed or employers changed their status. Most of the changers became unemployed (29%) and only small proportions got into formal employment (9%) and informal employment (1%) outside the family business sector. Just 1% got a job as a family helper/employee.

Across all first job types an equal share of 5 to 6% of first job holders become engaged in home duties. Remembering the high incidence of inactivity among education leavers (25.9% of women and 11% of men) reveals that inactivity is usually entered after leaving education and rarely after having had a first job.

5.2. Occupational mobility

Next to mobility in the type of job we consider the mobility in the occupational skill level of the respondent. We do so by comparing the occupation in the first job with the occupation in the current job (see Table 5.2). Thus, the analysis is restricted to persons who (have) had a first job and who had a job at the time of the interview. Due to applied occupation scale and design of the questionnaire the analysis is further restricted to persons who were employed in non-family business or family business, i.e. excluding own-account workers, self-employed and employers. As in Section 4.1 the first job as well as the current job were analyzed at the 1-digit ISCO level, which was the result of aggregation from a three-digit ISCO version.

Concerning those who got direct access to a ISCO-1 positions as legislators, senior officials and managers position at labor market entry, just 58% of them managed to maintain their positions. 30% moved to jobs as professionals (ISCO-2) and 12% moved to jobs as technical and associates professionals (ISCO-3). A much higher degree of occupational stability is visible among professionals (ISCO-2). 90% of respondents that started off as professionals remained on the same post during the time of the interview and only 9% of them switched to lower occupational levels. However, just 1% of professionals managed to become legislators, senior officials and managers. A slightly lower but still high share of occupational stability of 80% is visible among respondents that started working as technical and associates professionals (ISCO-3). Among them, 7% moved up the career ladder and became professionals and 1% became legislators, senior officials or managers. The remaining 13% experienced downward occupational mobility, mainly becoming clerks (ISCO-4). Being a clerk in the first job is among the most instable occupational position because only just 73% of respondents that started their careers as clerks remained on the same work sphere at the time of the interview. 14% of the clerks managed to improve their occupation and became technical or associate professionals (10%) or professionals (4%), while 8% switched to being service or shop and market sales workers (ISCO-5) and 6% to the lowest ISCO 6 to 9 levels. Only 68% of the respondents that started off as service, shop and market sales workers (ISCO-5) remained on the same position at the time of the interview, 23% of these respondents moved up to become clerks (4%), technical or associate professionals (17%) and professionals (2%). 87% of respondents that started working as skilled agricultural and fishery workers (ISCO-6) were still in the same profession at the time of the interview, while 12% moved to higher occupational positions, mainly as service, shop and market sales workers (6%). Only 66% resumed working as craft and related trades workers (ISCO-7), whereas 23% managed to reach higher occupation positions, mainly as service, shop and market sales workers (11%) and technical or

associate professionals (8%). The remaining 11% experienced downward mobility to plant and machine operators, assemblers (ISCO-8) and elementary occupations (ISCO-9). There is a strong occupational persistence at the lowest occupational levels. 96% of our respondents who started their career as plant and machine operators, assemblers remained in the same occupation at the time of the interview and only 4% moved upward to technical and associate professionals jobs. 81% of persons who worked in elementary occupations in the first job still do so at the time of the interview. 19% manage to move upward the occupational career ladder up to levels as technical and associates professionals (ISCO-3).

Table 5.2: Occupation in first and current job, column-%

	Occupation first job									
	ISCO 1	**ISCO 2**	**ISCO 3**	**ISCO 4**	**ISCO 5**	**ISCO 6**	**ISCO 7**	**ISCO 8**	**ISCO 9**	**Army**
Current occupation										
ISCO 1	58	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
ISCO 2	30	90	7	4	2	3	1	0	0	0
ISCO 3	12	2	80	10	17	3	8	4	5	0
ISCO 4	0	1	6	73	4	0	3	0	3	0
ISCO 5	0	1	2	8	68	6	11	0	4	0
ISCO 6	0	0	0	0	0	87	0	0	2	0
ISCO 7	0	1	3	3	3	0	66	0	2	0
ISCO 8	0	0	0	1	2	0	6	96	2	0
ISCO 9	0	3	1	2	4	0	5	0	81	0
Army	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100

Source: TEW-CCA Youth Transition Survey in Georgia, own calculation.
Remarks: Analysis is conducted for the subsample of all persons who found a first job, irrespectively of the fact whether they still hold this job or not at the date of the interview, and who are currently employed. Restricted to persons who were employed in non-family business or family business. Excluding own-account workers, self-employed and employers. ISCO levels are defined as 1 "Legislators, senior officials, managers", 2 "Professionals", 3 "Technicians, associate professionals", 4 "Clerks", 5 "Service workers, shop and market sales workers", 6 "Skilled agricultural and fishery workers", 7 "Craft and related trades workers", 8 "Plant and machine operators, assemblers" and 9 "Elementary occupations". Military personal forms a separate group without any distinction of the occupational skill level.

5.3. Sectoral mobility

The analysis in Section 5.2 highlighted that there are differences with regard to the economic sectors in which young school leavers are employed in their first job. In this section we consider the sectoral mobility (in terms of ownership structure) between the first and current job. Hence, the analysis is restricted to persons who (have) had a first job and who have a job at the time of the interview. Due to applied definition of sectors and the design of the questionnaire the analysis is further restricted to persons who were employed in non-family business i.e. excluding family employees/helpers, own-account workers, self-employed and employers. Information about the mobility out of the family business sector and self-employment were provided in Section 5.1.

According to the results in Table 5.3 there is a rather high degree of sectoral immobility in the early career. The great majority of persons remain in their initial sector of employment. This applies to 80% of labor market entrants in the public sector, 92% of labor market entrants in the private sector and 100% of labor market entrants in the NGO sector. Thus, the highest mobility is observed for youth employed in the public sector. 20% of those who started their career in the public sector changed to

the private sector at the time of the interview. In contrast, just 7% of private sector employees have entered the public sector at the time of the interview.

Table 5.3: Sector of employment in first and current job, column percentages

	First sector of employment		
	Public	**Private**	**NGO**
Current sector of employment			
Public	80	7	0
Private	20	92	0
NGO	0	0	100

Source: TEW-CCA Youth Transition Survey in Georgia, own calculation.
Remarks: Analysis is conducted for the subsample of all persons who found a first job, irrespectively of the fact whether they still hold this job or not at the date of the interview, and who are currently employed. Restricted to persons who were employed in non-family business Excluding family helpers/employees, own-account workers, self-employed and employers.

6. Timing of life course transitions

6.1. Incidence and average age of experiencing central events in the transition to adulthood

In this section we analyze the incidence and average age of experiencing central events in the transition to adulthood. In this regard we follow the approach of Gebel and Heyne (2014) and study the transition from education to work in the broader context of the transition to adulthood (Buchmann & Kriesi, 2011; Corijn & Klijzing, 2001; Hogan & Astone, 1986). Specifically, we consider the events of leaving education, leaving parental home, finding a first job, getting legally married[23] and getting parent for the first time. The incidence measures how many percent of the respondents had already experienced the respective transition event until the time of the interview. It should be kept in mind that the age of the respondent varies at the date of the interview. The age of leaving education is calculated on average for all respondents because the target population of the TEW-CCA Youth Transition Survey is persons who left education. The age of further life course events is only calculated on average for those who experienced this event until the date of the interview. Due to the censoring of data and non-universalness of life course events we do not observe all life course events.

Table 6.1 presents the incidence and average age of the respondents at the central life events. The events are ordered in the chronological sequence that would be expected but individual deviations are common (see Sections 6.2 to 6.5 for further analyses on the individual order of life course events). The results show that on average the age of leaving of education among Georgian men (19.7 years) is lower than for women (20.5 years). This can be explained by the fact that women on average reach a higher level of educational enrollment (see Section 2.1) and, correspondingly, they are longer enrolled in education.

Regarding the central life course event of leaving parental home, both men and women leave their parental home when they are in the age of around 20 years (men: 19.9 years, women: 20.2 years). There are huge gender differences in the incidence of the event of leaving home. While 75% of the female respondents have left parental home at the time of the interview, this applies to just 27% of the male respondents.

Men start their first job on average at age 21.2, which is on average 1.6 years earlier than women. This age gap can be related to the higher age of leaving education among women as well as the longer first job search duration among women compared to men (see Section 3.3).[24] There are also gender-specific differences in the incidence of finding a first job. While 76% of young men (have) got a first job until the date of the interview this applies to just 63% of the women. Central technical explanations for this pattern are the higher inactivity rate of women after leaving education (see Section 3.1) and the longer duration of first job search for women (see Section 3.3).

Strongly gender-specific pattern can be observed with regard to the events of family formation. While just 21% of the male respondents have experienced their first legal marriage at the time of the interview, this applies to 54% of the women. The gap is even more pronounced with respect to first parenthood. While just 26% of the male respondents became parent at the time of the survey this applies to 70% of the female respondents. Interestingly, the incidence of first parenthood is slightly higher than the incidence of first legal marriage for both men and women, which is a hint for out-of-wedlock births (see Section 6.5 for details). Differences also occur in the timing of first marriage and first parenthood. Men are on average about two years older than women at these two life course events. Specifically, for the target population of persons having left education during the last ten years prior the interview, we find that men got married at age 24.1 on average compared to women who got married at age 22.3 on average. Male respondents got first time father on average at age 24.3

[23] The topic of religious marriage is studied in Section 6.3.

[24] Other factors for the gender-related peculiarities in the timing of finding a first job such as the gender-specific effects of early marriage and childbirth and the challenges of combining work and family life should be subject to further in-depth analyses.

compared to women who were on average 22.3 years old when becoming a mother for the first itme. Comparing the age at central life course events it turns out that women are at the events of family formation (1st legal marriage and 1st motherhood) on average younger than at the event of getting a first job. In contrast, men experience the events of family formation on average at a much higher age than the event of getting a first job.

Table 6.1: Incidence and average age of experiencing central events in the transition to adulthood, by gender and education

	Age of leaving education	Leaving home		1st job		1st marriage		1st parenthood	
		Inci-dence	Age	Inci-dence	Age	Inci-dence	Age	Inci-dence	Age
Gender									
Men	19.7	27%	19.9	76%	21.2	21%	24.1	26%	24.3
Women	20.5	75%	20.2	63%	22.8	54%	22.3	70%	22.3
Education									
Basic secondary	15.9	42%	17.8	44%	18.2	27%	19.1	45%	19.4
Upper secondary	18.3	46%	19.7	61%	20.3	34%	21.1	49%	21.4
Initial professional	19.8	56%	19.9	72%	21.3	43%	21.9	50%	22.2
Secondary professional	20.8	59%	19.7	60%	21.9	52%	21.8	62%	22.4
Lower tertiary (BA)	22.2	68%	20.5	75%	23.3	47%	23.8	57%	24.0
Higher tertiary (MA/PhD)	24.3	66%	21.3	90%	25.1	51%	25.3	58%	25.2

Source: TEW-CCA Youth Transition Survey in Georgia, own calculation.
Remarks: Age of leaving education is calculated on average for all respondents because the target population of the TEW-CCA Youth Transition Survey is persons who left education. The age of further life course events is only calculated on average for those who experienced this event until the date of the interview.

There are also strong education-specific differences in the incidence and timing of life course transition events. This is most evident in the average age of leaving education. Basic secondary graduates leave education on average already at age 15.9, whereas upper secondary graduates are on average 18.3 years old. Respondents with initial professional education leave education on average at age 19.8 and secondary professional graduates do so on average at age 20.8. Tertiary graduates reach the highest age of education leaving. BA graduates leave education on average with 22.2 years and MA/PhD graduates leave education on average with 24.3 years.

The education-specific age dispersion is much less pronounced with regard to leaving parental home. On average, the age of leaving parental home is higher than the age of leaving education for the three lower education groups of basic secondary education, upper secondary education and initial professional education. It is lower for the three higher education groups. The incidence of leaving education up to the time of the interview grows with the education level, from 42% among basic secondary graduates to 66% among higher tertiary (MA) graduates. Among those who left the parental home the age of leaving is just 17.8 among basic secondary graduates, whereas it is around 20% for graduates from upper secondary and professional education and also rather low among tertiary graduates (BA: 20.5, MA/PhD: 21.3).

Concerning the age of starting of the first job it is logically that its timing is strongly related to the age of leaving of education and so its average value is higher among more educated youths. Specifically, it ranges from age 18.2 for basic secondary graduates to age 25.1 for higher tertiary (MA/PhD) graduates. Comparing the average age of leaving education and the average age of finding a first job across the education groups mirrors the findings we had with respect to the education-specific job finding rates (see Section 3.3). The gap is 2.3 years for basic secondary graduates and 2 years for upper secondary

graduates. It is smaller for initial professional graduates (1.5 years) and for secondary professional graduates (1.1 years) and smallest for tertiary graduates (BA: 1.1 years, MA/PhD: 0.8 years).[25]

There are also education differences in the incidence and timing of family formation. For example, the incidence of first legal marriage until the date of the interview increases from 27% among basic secondary graduates to 51% among higher tertiary (MA/PhD) graduates. Similarly, the average age of first legal marriage among those who experienced their first marriage before the date of the interview increases with the level of education. It is on average lowest for basic secondary graduates (19.1) and highest for higher tertiary (MA/PhD) graduates (25.3). The connection between education and incidence is less pronounced. The lowest incidence is found among basic secondary graduates (45%), whereas the highest incidence is registered among secondary professional graduates (62%). However, there is a clear education gradient in the timing of first parenthood, ranging from 19.4 years on average for basic secondary graduates to 25.2 years among higher tertiary (MA/PhD) graduates.

As explained at the beginning of this Section 6.1 the analysis of the incidence and average age of life course events does not take the censoring of data into account. Thus, in more detailed analyses in the following, we apply method of event history analyses to the timing of the demographic life course events of leaving parental home, first legal marriage and first parenthood as we already did it for the timing of first job in Section 3.3.

In addition, we provide for each of the life course transitions more detailed analyses on the ordering of life course events in an individual perspective in Sections 6.2 to 6.5. Due to the censoring of data we do not have full life course sequences at hand. Thus, we cannot say how many percent of people experienced first event A and then event B and how many percent did this the other way around. However, what we can do is to investigate how many percent of persons who experienced a certain life course event had already experienced other life course events prior to the event of interest. When interpreting these kind of analyses in the following Sections 6.2 to 6.5 it should be kept in mind that due to the focus of the survey on recent education leavers not all further life course events of leaving home or family formation have already been observed for every person who will experience them in her or his life course. Hence, the results only apply to the respective group of persons who has already experienced the respective life course event. Moreover, the warning is given that these analyses do not allow any conclusions how many percent experience other life course events afterwards. This is because, due to the censoring of data, we do not observe each further life course events. Another related warning is that comparing numbers across Sections 6.2 to 6.5 is only possible to a limited degree because the sample analyzed is different in each section. This is because each Section 6.2 to 6.5 focuses on those respondents who have already experienced the life course event of interest until the date of the interview. As the incidence of life course events varies in general and due to censoring these are different groups of respondents that are investigated as analytical samples in each Section 6.2 to 6.5.

6.2. The timing of leaving education and finding a first job

Table 6.2 shows the percentage of persons who experienced other life course transitions before leaving education, differentiated by gender and education groups. The share of women who left parental home before leaving education (35%) is twice as much as the share for men (17%).[26] Regarding education groups there is clear association as the share of respondents who leave parental

[25] The more elaborated analysis on the relationship between education level and time until finding a first job is the event history analysis conducted in Section 3.3 because it takes the censoring of data into account, which is not the case in this Section 6.1.

[26] As explained before, the statement that 35% of female education leavers left parental home before leaving education does not imply that 65% of women leave parental home afterwards. This is because, due to the censoring of data, we do not observe whether all remaining women will indeed leave parental home.

home before leaving education increases with the level of education. For example, while just 5% of basic secondary graduates left home before leaving education, this applies to 43% of lower tertiary (BA) graduates and 47% of higher tertiary (MA/PhD) graduates. Thus, almost every second university student left parental home before leaving education.

About every fourth women experienced family formation before leaving education. Specifically, 15% of women got married before leaving education and 16% became mother before leaving education. The shares are much lower for men. Just 3% of men got married and, similarly, just 3% got father before leaving education. There is a clear association between the level of education and experiencing events of family formation before leaving education. While just tiny shares of basic secondary graduates were married (2%) or parent (2%) before leaving education the share is much higher among tertiary graduates. For example, among higher tertiary (MA/PhD) graduates 17% were married and 22% were parent before leaving education.

Table 6.2: Share of people (%) experiencing other life course transitions before leaving education, by gender and education

	Before leaving education …		
	leaving home	**1st marriage**	**1st parenthood**
Gender			
Men	17	3	3
Women	35	15	16
Education			
Basic secondary	5	2	2
Upper secondary	12	5	4
Initial professional	27	7	7
Secondary professional	35	15	13
Lower tertiary (BA)	43	16	18
Higher tertiary (MA/PhD)	47	17	22

Source: TEW-CCA Youth Transition Survey in Georgia, own calculation.
Remarks: Analysis are conducted for the full sample.

Table 6.3 reports the percentage of persons who experienced other life course transitions before getting a first job, differentiated by gender and education groups. The analysis and following interpretations are restricted to the sample of persons who have found a first job before the date of the interview. We find that already 46% of women but just 19% of men who got a first job left parental home before starting to work.[27] The incidence of earlier parental home leaving increases with the level of education. Whereas 13% of basic secondary graduates left parental home before getting a first job, this applies to 52% of higher tertiary (MA/PhD) graduates. Thus, about every second university student left parental home before getting a first job.

About every fourth women experienced family formation before starting to work. Specifically, 23% of women got married before leaving education and 27% became mother before their first job. The shares are much lower for men. Just 7% of men got married and just 5% got father before starting to work. There is a clear association between the level of education and experiencing events of family formation before the first job. While just small shares of basic secondary graduates were married (9%) or parent (13%) before leaving education the share is much higher among tertiary graduates. For

[27] As explained before, the statement that 46% of women who found a first job left parental home before does not imply that 54% of women who found a first job will leave parental home afterwards. This is because, due to the censoring of data, we do not observe whether all remaining women will indeed leave parental home.

example, among higher tertiary (MA/PhD) graduates 23% were married and 28% were parent before leaving education.

Table 6.3: Share of people (%) experiencing other life course transitions before finding a first job, by gender and education

	Before finding 1st job …		
	leaving home	1st marriage	1st parenthood
Gender			
Men	19	7	5
Women	46	23	27
Education			
Basic secondary	13	9	13
Upper secondary	19	12	12
Initial professional	34	12	15
Secondary professional	40	14	14
Lower tertiary (BA)	42	20	20
Higher tertiary (MA/PhD)	52	23	28

Source: TEW-CCA Youth Transition Survey in Georgia, own calculation.
Remarks: Analysis is restricted to the sample of persons who have found a first job before the date of the interview.

6.3. The timing of leaving parental home

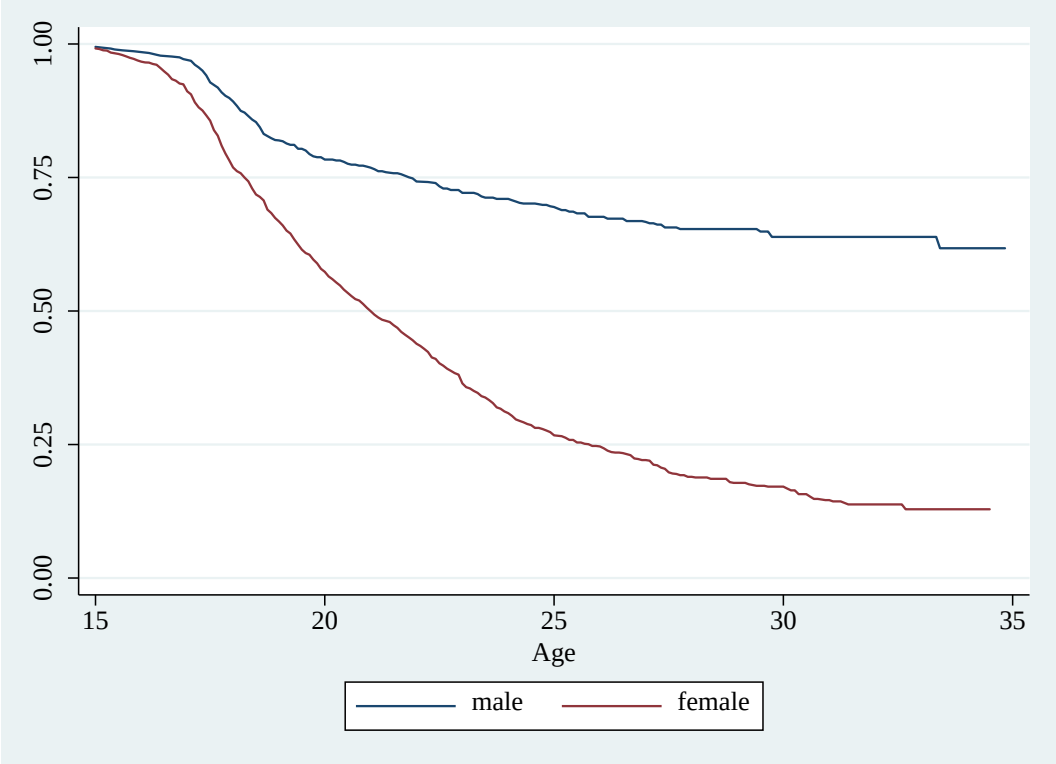
Leaving the parental home is seen as an important step in the complex transition to adulthood (Baranowska-Rataj et al., 2016; Gebel, 2017; Shanahan, 2000; Corijn & Klijzing, 2001). It is an objective indicator or, so called "transition marker", of young people becoming independent from their parents. It also often implies that young people gain independence from parental home (Baranowska-Rataj et al. 2016). However, the objective indicator of leaving the parental home should not be seen as equal for gaining autonomy from parents (Manzoni, 2016). Young people may be rather independent of their parents although they still share a flat. In a similar way, young people may have their own household but the parents still strongly support their child. The standard objective indicator of the date of leaving parental home is used in order to maintain comparability to the majority of empirical studies on leaving parental home.

As explained by Gebel and Mandieva (2019) a time restriction for defining the event of leaving parental home is introduced requiring that the young person lived separately for one year or more to avoid reporting of short insignificant spells. Periods of military service or long-term hospital stays were excluded because young people only move from the parental home to institutionalized living arrangements, which does not represent the move to residential independence researchers are interested in when studying the transition to adulthood. The interviewer guideline specifies that "parental home" is broadly defined as living arrangements with the legal guardian(s), such as the biological, adoptive, or step parent(s) the respondent spent most of his or her childhood (up to age 15). Adoptive and step parent were also included because, from a theoretical perspective, the biological relationship is not of interest when investigating the process of gaining residential

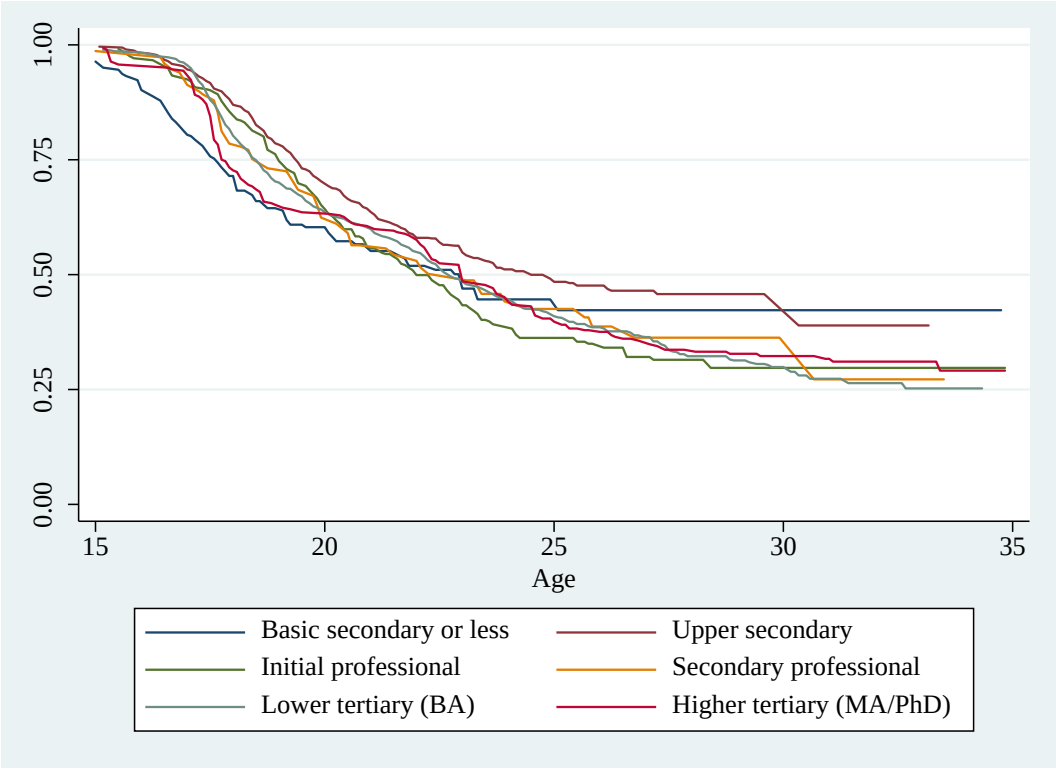
independence.[28] "Living separately" is defined as living in separate accommodation, i.e. with a separate entrance, living either alone or with other person(s) (friend(s), partner, spouse, own children, parents-in-law, etc. but not with any biological, adoptive and/or stepparents). This definition was chosen to account for multi-story dwellings, which are shared by separate persons and families that form distinct households. Thus, staying at home requires that the person continues sharing the household with his or her legal guardian(s).

Event history analysis is used to study the timing of leaving parental home. As described in Section 3.3 this accounts for the problem of right-censoring of data. Figure 6.1 shows Kaplan-Meier survival functions for leaving parental home by gender and education. The y-axis shows the proportion of persons who have not yet left parental home for a given age that is marked on the x-axis. In addition, Table 6.4 shows the respective figures but from a reversed perspective. For selected ages it reports the share of people having left parental home until the respective age by gender and education groups. This is equivalent to the distance from the 100% line and the Kaplan Meier survivor function in Figure 6.1.

Figure 6.1: Kaplan-Meier survival functions for leaving parental home, by gender and education



[28] However, in order to avoid confusion about the wording of leaving parental home and not offending respondents who did not grew up with parents, the date of leaving "parental" home was not asked when respondents were raised in boarding schools or orphanages (48 respondents) or by grandparents or other relatives (1 respondent).



Source: TEW-CCA Youth Transition Survey in Georgia, own calculation.
Remarks: Analysis are conducted for the whole sample.

Table 6.4: Share of people (%) having left parental home until a specific age, by gender and education

	Age					
	18	**20**	**22**	**25**	**27**	**30**
Gender						
Men	11	22	26	31	33	36
Women	23	43	56	73	78	83
Education						
Basic secondary	29	40	48	55	58	58
Upper secondary	13	30	42	52	54	54
Initial professional	15	36	50	64	68	70
Secondary professional	21	38	47	58	64	64
Lower tertiary (BA)	20	36	45	59	64	70
Higher tertiary (MA/PhD)	27	36	42	60	64	68

Source: TEW-CCA Youth Transition Survey in Georgia, own calculation.
Remarks: Analysis are conducted for the whole sample.

We find that already 23% of women but just 11% of men have left parental home at age 18 or before. The shares strongly increase with age. The already double within the next two years. Until age 25, already three out of four women (73%) left parental home, while just one third of men did so. At age 30, the cumulative shares further increase to 83% for women and just 36% for men. Thus, the absolute percentage point gap between both genders increases from 12 percentage points at age 18 to 47 percentage points at age 30. There is no clear association between the level of education and the timing of leaving parental home. For example, already 29% of basic secondary graduates as well as

27% of higher tertiary graduates but just 13% of upper secondary graduates and 15% of initial professional graduates left parental home until age 18. The differences between education groups change with age but remain rather small at later ages as well. For example, at age 25, the highest cumulative proportion of home leavers is reached by initial professional graduates (64%) and the smallest proportion can be observed for upper secondary graduates (52%).

Table 6.5 shows the share of persons who experienced other life course transitions before leaving parental home, differentiated by gender and education groups. The analysis and following interpretations are restricted to the sample of persons who have found a first job before the date of the interview.

Table 6.5: Share of people (%) experiencing other life course transitions before leaving parental home, by gender and education

	Before leaving parental home …			
	Leaving education	**1st job**	**1st marriage**	**1st parenthood**
Gender				
Men	36	21	3	2
Women	48	20	3	4
Education				
Basic secondary	82	21	1	3
Upper secondary	68	21	3	4
Initial professional	51	23	5	5
Secondary professional	40	23	2	0
Lower tertiary (BA)	31	20	3	4
Higher tertiary (MA/PhD)	24	13	4	3

Source: TEW-CCA Youth Transition Survey in Georgia, own calculation.
Remarks: Analysis is restricted to the sample of persons who have left parental home before the date of the interview.

About every second women (48%) and about every third men (36%) left education before leaving parental home.[29] The incidence of leaving education before leaving parental home strongly declines with the level of education attainment. Whereas 82% of basic secondary graduates left education before leaving parental home, this applies to just 40% of secondary professional graduates and just 24% of higher tertiary (MA/PhD) graduates. There is almost gender quality (men: 21%, women: 20%) in the incidence of starting to work before leaving parental home. Thus, just every fifth young Georgian who left parental home got a first job before. The share of getting a first job before leaving home is very similar for all education groups (20–23%) with the exception of higher tertiary (MA/PhD) graduates, among which just 13% got a first job before leaving parental home. The incidence of family formation before leaving parental home is extremely low for all gender and education groups. Just 3% of parental home leavers were already married and just 2–4% already had a first child. However, more detailed analyses (not shown in Table 6.5) reveal that, especially for women, the events of leaving home and first marriage coincide. Specially, this applies to 28% of women and 3% of men who left

[29] As explained before, the finding of this Section 6.3 that 48% of women who left parental home until the date of the interview left education before is not directly comparable to the finding of Section 6.2 that 35% of women who left education until the date of the interview left parental home before. The two numbers to not add up to 100% because the analytical samples of Section 6.2 and 6.3 are different. In Section 6.2 the persons who left education until the date of the interview are analyzed, which is different from the sample of Section 6.3, in which only those persons are analyzed who left parental home until the date of the interview.

home. Combining these findings reveals that 31% (=3%+28%) of women and 6% of men (=3%+3%) who left home got married before or in the same month as leaving parental home. Though, for only every third women and one of 20 men who left parental home there was a previous or coinciding event of marriage. Thus, the great majority experience leaving parental home without the previous or simultaneous step of getting married or childbirth.

6.4. The timing and arrangement of first marriage

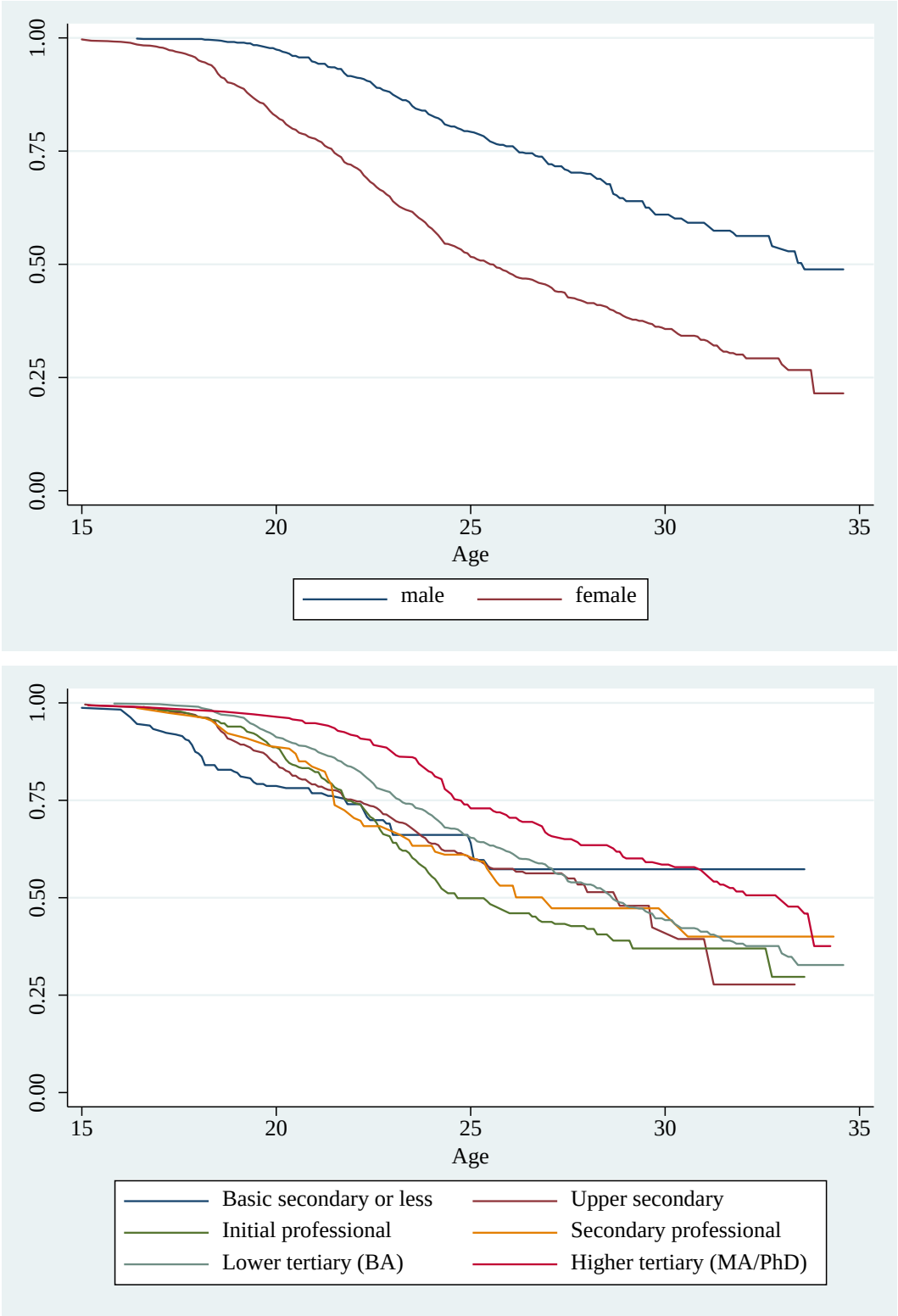
Processes of family formation such as marriage and parenthood are central events in the transition to adulthood next to the transition from education to work. Life course research has shown that family formation and school-to-work transition are strongly interrelated (for a short overview, see, Gebel & Mandieva, 2019).

The TEW-CCA Youth Transition Survey in Georgia asked respondents about the incidence and timing of both religious and legal marriages. Detailed analyses (Results not displayed in Tables/Figures), reveal that among those respondents who experienced a religious or legal marriage (or both) until the time of the interview, 17% had a religious but (not yet) a legal marriage, 37% had a legal but (not yet) a religious marriage and 46% had both a religious and a legal marriage. Among those respondents who had both a religious and legal marriage until the date of the interview, 60% had these two events rather simultaneously within one month, 29% had the legal marriage before the religious marriage and only 11% had the religious marriage before the legal marriage. The average time gap between both event is just a quarter of a year. In the following analyses we will focus on the event of first legal marriage. This is in line with other studies on transition to first marriage.

Event history analysis, which accounts for the right-censoring of data, is also used to study the timing of first legal marriage. Figure 6.2 shows Kaplan-Meier survival functions for first marriage by gender and education. The y-axis shows the proportion of persons who have not yet legally married for a given age that is marked on the x-axis. In addition, Table 6.6 shows the respective figures but from a reversed perspective. For selected ages it reports the share of people who have got married until the respective age by gender and education groups. This is equivalent to the distance from the 100% line and the Kaplan Meier survivor function in Figure 6.2.

We find that less than 1% of men and 5% of women have already got married at age 18 or earlier. The shares strongly increase with age, specifically for women. For example, at age 22, 28% of women but just 9% of men have got married. In the following years, there is a strong tendency to marry as the share of married person increases to 48% among women and 21% among men at age 25. Until age 30, 64% of women and 39% of men have got married. The education-specific analyses reveal that the incidence of early marriage is much higher among lower education groups. For example, until age 20, every fifth (21%) of basic secondary graduates got married, while the share is just 11% among professional graduates and 4% of higher tertiary (MA/PhD) graduates. As higher education groups have not yet finished their education at these ages there is an overlap of education participation and education level effect. The negative association of the share of married persons with the (prospective) level of education declines at later ages. For example, the cumulative share of persons with 1st marriage experience is almost identical between basic secondary graduate and lower tertiary (BA) graduates (35–36%) until age 25. At this age, the highest cumulative share of persons who experienced first marriage is reached among initial professional graduates (50%). At age 30, just 43% of basic secondary graduates, the group leading in terms of early marriages at ages 18 and 20, have got married, which is the lowest cumulative share at age 30 next to higher tertiary (MA/PhD) graduates (42%). The highest cumulative share of first marriage at age 30 is observed among initial professional graduates (63%).

Figure 6.2: Kaplan-Meier survival functions for 1st legal marriage, by gender and education



Source: TEW-CCA Youth Transition Survey in Georgia, own calculation.
Remarks: Analysis are conducted for the whole sample.

Table 6.6: Share of people (%) who experience 1st legal marriage until a specific age, by gender and education

	Age					
	18	**20**	**22**	**25**	**27**	**30**
Gender						
Men	0	3	9	21	28	39
Women	5	17	28	48	55	64
Education						
Basic secondary	13	21	26	36	43	43
Upper secondary	4	16	25	40	44	58
Initial professional	4	11	26	50	56	63
Secondary professional	3	11	30	39	50	53
Lower tertiary (BA)	1	9	17	35	42	56
Higher tertiary (MA/PhD)	2	4	8	27	34	42

Source: TEW-CCA Youth Transition Survey in Georgia, own calculation.
Remarks: Analysis are conducted for the whole sample.

Table 6.7 shows the share of persons who experienced other life course transitions before first legal marriage, differentiated by gender and education groups. The analysis and following interpretations are restricted to the sample of persons who have got legally married before the date of the interview. 84% of men and 71% of women left education before getting married. The incidence of leaving education before getting married declines with the level of (prospective) education attainment. Whereas 92% of basic secondary graduates left education before getting married, this applies to just 63% of higher tertiary graduates (MA/PhD) graduates. Nevertheless, among all education groups the great majority of persons who experienced first marriage until the date of the interview leaves education before getting married.

Table 6.7: Share of people (%) experiencing other life course transitions before 1st legal marriage, by gender and education

	Before 1st marriage …			
	Leaving education	**Leaving home**	**1st job**	**1st parenthood**
Gender				
Men	84	28	61	10
Women	71	45	33	15
Education				
Basic secondary	92	36	23	17
Upper secondary	85	34	33	14
Initial professional	83	48	47	15
Secondary professional	68	32	39	7
Lower tertiary (BA)	65	44	40	14
Higher tertiary (MA/PhD)	63	53	49	16

Source: TEW-CCA Youth Transition Survey in Georgia, own calculation.
Remarks: Analysis is restricted to the sample of persons who experienced 1st legal marriage before the date of the interview.

Just 28% of men but already 45% of women left parental home before getting married. Thus, moving out of parental home before marriage is much more common among women. More detailed analyses (not shown in Figures/Tables) reveal that for many young people, especially women, the events of leaving home and first marriage coincide. Specially, this applies to 38% of women and 4% of men who got married. Combining these findings reveals that 83% (=45%+38%) of women and 32% of men (=28%+4%) who got married left parental home before marriage or the month of marriage. Hence, the great majority of married women leave parental home before or on marriage, whereas this applies to just one third of men who in great majority remain in their parental home until first marriage. The share of leaving home before getting married does not systematically vary with the (prospective) level of education. The share is lowest among secondary professional (32%) and upper secondary (24%) graduates and highest among initial professional (48%) and higher tertiary (MA/PhD) graduates (53%).

61% of men but just 33% of women got a first job before becoming married. This share tends to increase with the level of education. For example, just 23% of basic secondary graduates got a first job before getting married, whereas this applies to 49% of higher tertiary (MA/PhD) graduates.

Only in a very few cases the first parenthood occurs before the first marriage. Specifically, just 15% of women and 10% of men who got married first time became mother ahead. This incidence does not systematically vary with the level of education.

The TEW-CCA Youth Transition Survey in Georgia asked respondents about more details on the first marriage. In this respect Table 6.8 offers information on the way of finding the spouse, the decision on marriage and the age difference to the spouse, differentiated by gender and education groups.

The results indicate that young people in Georgia usually meet their spouses occasionally or through friends, relatives, or acquaintances. Particularly, men report that they found their spouse occasionally (30.1% compared to 22.7% of women), whereas meeting via friends, relatives, or acquaintances applies more often to women (37.7% compared to 28.8% of men).[30] A significant part of young people met their spouse while studying (men: 17.5%, women: 12.9%). Acquaintance by phone and using internet were not yet very common among the respondents of our survey. Just 9.0% of men and 6.2% of women have found their spouse in this way. Meeting the spouse at the workplace is also not very common as this applies to only 7.6% of men and 8.4% of women. Marriages of neighbors and relatives as well as arranged marriages play a quite negligible role in Georgia. Regarding education group differences it turns out that the higher the (prospective) education level of a respondent is the higher is a probability that he or she met her spouse while studying or at the workplace. Finding marriage partners trough friends, relatives, or acquaintances is popular to almost the same degree among all education groups. Finding the spouse via internet or phone is more common among lower educated than higher educated groups.

When asked about the final decision on marriage the overwhelming majority of respondents (94.0% of men and 86.0% of women) report that he or she made the final decision on her/his first marriage partner herself/himself. Just 5.8% of men and 9.1% indicate that it was a joint decision of themselves with their parents. Just a negligible share of respondents tell that it was the decision of other family members (father, mother, both parents or other relatives) only. In terms of educational group differences there is just a slight tendency that the personal decision about the marriage is more common about the highly educated.[31] In contrast, joint decision making with the parents happens more often among lower educated groups.

[30] Differences between men and women occur because the male respondents who got married before the date of the interview are different in their characteristics (age, etc.) from the female respondents who got married before the date of the interview.

[31] As indicated before we just report bivariate association. Whether this association mirrors a causal effect of education or whether it is, for example, just a spurious association due to confounding with age (as higher educated marry later and independence in decision making becomes stronger with age) shall be subject to future multivariate analyses.

Regarding age differences to the spouse Table 6.8 shows a clear gender-specific pattern. Whereas 81.3% of young women who got married tell that their husband was older then themselves, this applies to just 21.1% of young grooms. Among men 58.3% have a wife that is younger, whereas this applies to just 6.9% of women. 19.2% of men and 11.4% of women say that their spouse had the same age. There are weak associations with education. The share of persons reporting having an older spouse declines with the education level and the share of respondents having a spouse of the same age increases with the education level.

Table 6.8: Ways of finding spouse, decision on marriage and age difference to spouse (in %), by gender and education

	Men	Women	Basic Sec./ Upp. Sec.	Init. Prof./ Sec. Prof.	Low. Tert./ High. Tert.
Ways of finding spouse					
Occasionally	30.1	22.7	25.6	27.3	22.2
While working	7.6	8.4	2.8	7.3	11.9
While studying	17.5	12.9	12.0	10.1	16.4
We were neighbors	4.5	6.7	6.8	6.7	5.7
We are relatives	0.0	1.2	2.6	0.0	0.2
Arranged marriage by parents/family	1.6	3.1	4.7	2.9	1.6
Through friends/relatives/acquaintances	28.8	37.7	34.6	38.1	35.9
Through the internet/phone	9.0	6.2	9.1	6.7	5.3
In church	0.4	0.2	0.6	0.4	0.0
Through a matchmaker	0.0	0.7	1.2	0.4	0.2
Don't know / Refusal	0.5	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.5
Final decision on first marriage					
Yourself/yourselves	92.4	86.0	79.3	85.0	93.2
Father	0.0	0.8	0.9	1.4	0.2
Mother	0.0	0.2	0.6	0.0	0.0
Both father and mother	1.8	2.6	5.7	1.0	0.9
Joint decision of yourself and your parents	5.8	9.1	11.9	11.6	5.0
Other relatives	0.0	0.9	1.1	1.0	0.4
Don't know / Refusal	0.0	0.4	0.6	0.0	0.3
Age of spouse					
spouse older	21.1	81.3	75.4	72.0	64.1
spouse same age	19.2	11.4	6.5	8.6	18.6
spouse younger	58.3	6.9	17.2	19.4	16.5
Don't know / Refusal	1.4	0.5	0.9	0.0	0.7

Source: TEW-CCA Youth Transition Survey in Georgia, own calculation.
Remarks: Analysis is restricted to the sample of persons who experienced 1st legal marriage before the date of the interview.

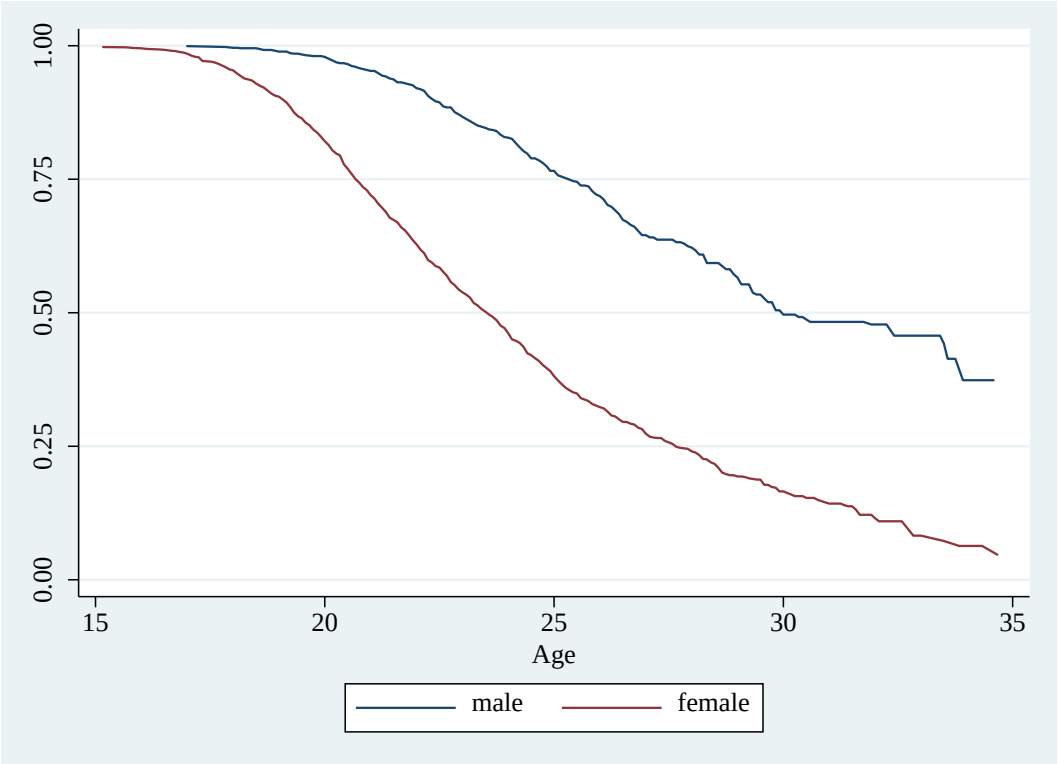
6.5. The timing of first parenthood

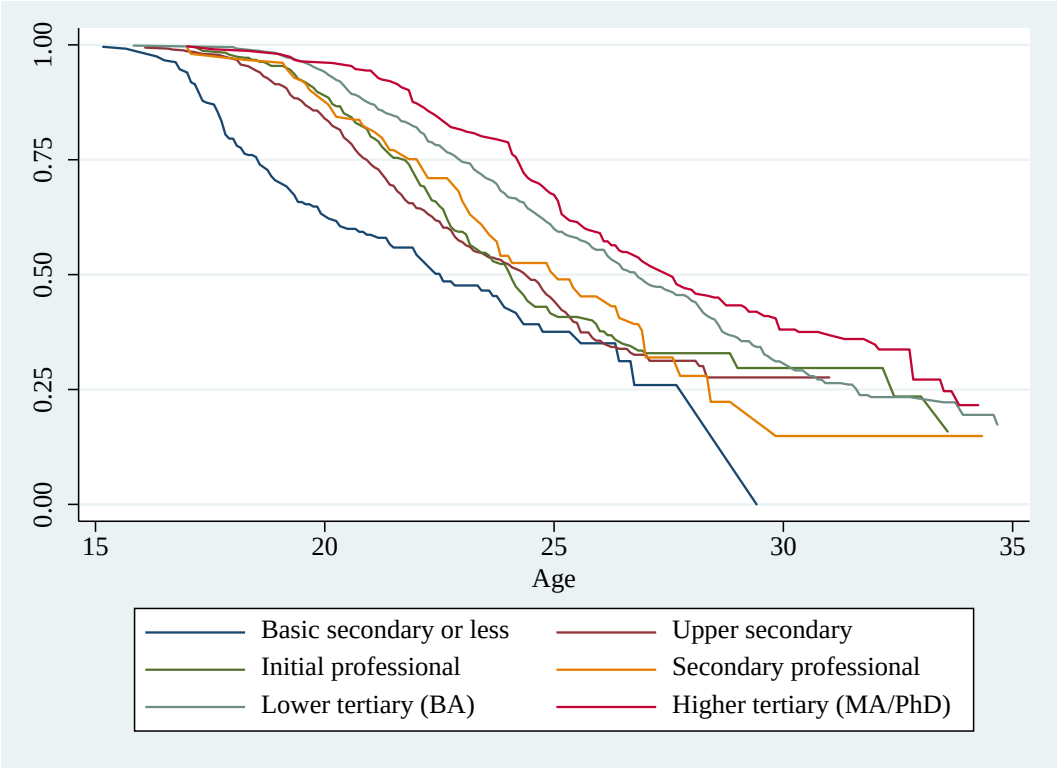
Event history analysis, which accounts for the right-censoring of data, is also used to study the timing of first parenthood. Figure 6.3 shows Kaplan-Meier survival functions for first parenthood by gender

and education. The y-axis shows the proportion of persons who have not yet got a child for a given age that is marked on the x-axis. In addition, Table 6.9 shows the respective figures but from a reversed perspective. For selected ages it reports the share of people who have got a first child until the respective age by gender and education groups. This is equivalent to the distance from the 100% line and the Kaplan Meier survivor function in Figure 6.3.

We find that less than 1% of men and 5% of women have already got a child at age 18 or before. The shares strongly increase with age, specifically for women. For example, 18% of women but just 2% of men have become parents at age 20 or before. In the following years, there is a strong tendency to get a first child as the share of mother and fathers increases to 62% among women and 23% among men at age 25. Until age 30, 83% of women and 50% of men have got a first child. The education-specific analyses reveal that the incidence of early parenthood is much higher among lower education groups. For example, until age 20, every fourth (37%) of basic secondary graduates have got a child, while the cumulative share is just 11–12% among professional graduates and 4–6% of higher tertiary (MA/PhD) graduates. As higher education groups have not yet finished their education at these ages there is an overlap of education participation and education level effect. The negative association of the share of parents with the level of education declines at later ages. For example, at age 25, the cumulative share of parents is just about twice as much among basic secondary graduates (62%) compared to higher tertiary (MA/PhD) graduates, whereas it was 10 times larger at age 20. The great majority of each education groups became father or mother until age 30. The cumulative share varies from 62% among higher tertiary (MA/PhD) graduates to 85% among secondary professional graduates.

Figure 6.3: Kaplan-Meier survival functions for 1st parenthood, by gender and education





Source: TEW-CCA Youth Transition Survey in Georgia, own calculation.
Remarks: Analysis are conducted for the whole sample.

Table 6.9: Share of people (%) who experience 1st parenthood until a specific age, by gender and education

	Age					
	18	**20**	**22**	**25**	**27**	**30**
Gender						
Men	0	2	8	23	36	50
Women	5	18	37	62	73	83
Education						
Basic secondary	20	37	46	62	74	-
Upper secondary	3	16	36	56	68	72
Initial professional	2	11	29	58	67	70
Secondary professional	2	12	25	49	68	85
Lower tertiary (BA)	0	6	18	40	52	69
Higher tertiary (MA/PhD)	1	4	13	33	47	62

Source: TEW-CCA Youth Transition Survey in Georgia, own calculation.
Remarks: Analysis are conducted for the whole sample. Survivor function cannot be estimated at age 30 for the basic secondary graduates because no events were observed due to the definition of the target group.

Table 6.10 shows the share of persons who experienced other life course transitions before first parenthood, differentiated by gender and education groups. The analysis and following interpretations

are restricted to the sample of persons who have got a first child before the date of the interview. 87% of men and 76% of women left education before getting a first child. The incidence of leaving education before becoming a parent declines with the level of (prospective) education attainment. Whereas 97% of basic secondary graduates left education before first parenthood, this applies to just 63% of higher tertiary graduates (MA/PhD) graduates. Nevertheless, among all education groups the great majority of persons who experienced first parenthood until the date of the interview leaves education before getting a child.

Table 6.10: Share of people (%) experiencing other life course transitions before 1st parenthood, by gender and education

	Before 1st parenthood …			
	Leaving education	**Leaving home**	**1st job**	**1st marriage**
Gender				
Men	87	33	70	58
Women	76	82	34	56
Education				
Basic secondary	97	72	24	39
Upper secondary	91	64	40	49
Initial professional	86	76	43	62
Secondary professional	78	72	39	69
Lower tertiary (BA)	67	75	43	61
Higher tertiary (MA/PhD)	63	74	46	64

Source: TEW-CCA Youth Transition Survey in Georgia, own calculation.
Remarks: Analysis is restricted to the sample of persons who experienced 1st parenthood before the date of the interview.

Just 33% of men but already 82% of women left parental home before getting a first child. Thus, moving out of parental home before first parenthood is much more common among women. The share of leaving home before getting a first child does not systematically vary with the (prospective) level of education. The share is lowest among upper secondary graduates (64%) and highest among initial professional graduates (76%).

70% of men but just 34% of women got a first job before becoming married. This share tends to increase with the level of education. For example, just 24% of basic secondary graduates got a first job before first parenthood, whereas this applies to 46% of higher tertiary (MA/PhD) graduates.

More than half of the respondents who got a child had become married before childbirth. Specifically, this applies to 58% of men and 56% of women. This incidence does not systematically vary with the level of education.

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