



Determinants of Youth Transition from Education to Work in Georgia

Nino Kobakhidze¹⁾²⁾, Nana Gurgenidze¹⁾ and Mamuka Nadareishvili¹⁾³⁾

¹⁾ Georgian Centre of Population Research (GCPR), Georgia

²⁾ I. Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University, Georgia

³⁾ Ilia State University, Georgia

TEW-CCA Working Paper No. 5.1

Version 1.0

DISCLAIMER:

The authors gratefully acknowledge funding for the project “Opportunities and Barriers at the Transition from Education to Work-A Comparative Youth Study in Azerbaijan, Georgia and Tajikistan” (TEW-CCA) from the VolkswagenStiftung for 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”.

TEW-CCA Working Papers are outputs from the TEW-CCA project aiming at the dissemination of research results of the TEW-CCA project. The series is edited by the project coordinator Prof. Michael Gebel from the University of Bamberg, Chair of Methods of Empirical Social Research.

The published TEW-CCA Working Papers represent only the views of the respective authors and not of the TEW-CCA project consortium as a whole. Neither the funding agency Volkswagen Foundation nor the University of Bamberg and the participating universities and research institutes and the providers of the data used in this research bear any responsibility for copyright issues, the analysis and the conclusions of this working paper. This is the solely responsibility of the authors of this working paper.

Copyright remains with the authors.

© 2019, Nino Kobakhidze, Nana Gurgenidze and Mamuka Nadareishvili, all rights reserved.

SUGGESTED CITATION:

Kobakhidze, Nino, Nana Gurgenidze and Mamuka Nadareishvili (2019). Determinants of youth transition from education to work in Georgia. TEW-CCA Working Paper No. 5.1. Bamberg: TEW-CCA Project, University of Bamberg.

Contents

- 1. Introduction 3
- 2. Research Hypothesis and Outline 3
- 3. Labor Market Trends in Georgia 4
- 4. Theoretical Background 6
- 5. Data, Sample Selection and Variables..... 8
- 6. Empirical Results 9
 - 6.1. Educational Attainment..... 9
 - 6.2. Significant First Job 11
 - 6.3. Time Until Finding a First Significant Job 14
 - 6.4. First Job Quality 18
- 7. Conclusion 22
- 8. References..... 23

1. Introduction

The transition from education to work is a central stage in the life course. This is the period between the end of individual's involvement in education and their stable settlement in a work position. Often it is assumed that transition processes have been prolonged and that nowadays it takes young people longer to establish themselves in the labour market than was the case earlier. These claims are not baseless for the case of Georgia. There exists clear evidence that youth face great labour market problems in Georgia. Latest available data shows that youth (14-25y.o.) unemployment reached 30.5% in Georgia in 2016 (ILO, 2019). Young men in Georgia face a 8 percentage higher unemployment risks than women (ILO, 2019). Youth labour market problems are also clearly visible in the high prevalence of youth labour migration processes (Badurashvili & Nadareishvili, 2012). Georgian youths migrate to countries such as Russia or Europe where there are more attractive job offers. However, there are also many youths who succeed in making a smooth transition from education to gainful employment in post-socialist societies (Roberts et al., 2008). In view of this heterogeneity within the group of youths it will become of a crucial importance to study the process of transition of youth from education to work and to identify barriers and opportunities that have emerged for young people in the process of integration to Georgian labour market.

Consequently, this paper aims to determine whether any factors which pave the way of Georgian youths from schooling to work. Based on existing international research we could identify major factors that we expect to ease or hinder youth chances of a successful integration into gainful employment, these factors are further investigated in this paper. Mentioned predicted factors include: Utilization of individual resources, which includes education that is seen as an important factor for successful labour market integration in post-socialist transformation countries; also, youths' and their parents' social resources in terms of social networks and connections that are also likely to play a role (Kogan et al., 2013)

In societies, such as Georgia, with weak social security systems it is also expected that youths depend on the economic resources of their family of origin and co-residence with their parents. Furthermore, paper considers the influence of parent's education and occupation on the one of their children, and whether or not we have the facts of vicious socio-economical generational circle.

In our analysis we will apply to nationally representative retrospective life history data on 2,000 young men and women from Georgia collected at the end of 2015 within the international and interdisciplinary collaborative research project TEW-CCA (<http://www.tew-cca.de/>).

2. Research Hypothesis and Outline

As already stated, this paper will focus on school to work transition among youth and try to determine whether any individual factors pave the way of Georgian youths from schooling to work. Respectively, we will test certain variables in a multivariate analyzes, in order to find which factors promote or hamper youths' integration chances into decent work performing. We use a data from a large-scale representative statistical survey conducted in frame of TEW-CCA project supported by Volkswagen Foundation.

We expect that various resources influence the transition from education to work and vice versa. For example, parents with higher cultural capital (higher education) can bestow information advantages and support the young people to pursue a successful academic and work career. In this respect, the acquisition of education certificates has shown to be an important resource to enter privileged labour market positions in post-socialist countries (Kogan et al., 2011). Social capital such as parents' social ties in the labour market helps young people to find jobs, which have been shown relevant in post-socialist countries (Kogan et al., 2013).

All abovementioned circumstances are explored in the chapter on empirical results where we analyze different factors that might have an influence on the transition of Georgian male and female youths from schooling to work. For example in the sub-chapter on “*educational attainment*” we analyze different factors which have an influence on the educational attainment of youths such as parental education, parental occupation, having siblings, growing up in rural or urban areas, family’s financial wellbeing. We measure effect of abovementioned factors applying to the multivariable analysis of survey data. In the subchapter on “*significant first job*” we explore whether any variables indicated below have impact on the fact that youths have found a first significant job for the moment of interview. These factors are: Working during studies, Grade performance, having a child. In the chapter “*time until first significant job*” applying to the Kaplan-Meier estimate we find duration of the time elapsed after completion of studies before the first significant employment by respondents with distinctive educational levels. We used logistic regression in the analysis related to employment of youths. In the chapter on “*first job quality*” we measure youths’ job quality based on various factors, such as education, searching a job, working during studies and education and employment of parents.

Our research hypotheses in this paper were as following:

1. The higher the educational level of respondent the higher are the chances to find a quality job in Georgia.
2. Parent’s education has a positive impact on youths chances to find a job.
3. Working experience of youths during the studies increase respondent’s future employment chances.

The paper consists of 5 chapters which are organized in a following manner. Chapter 1 provides a theoretical bases for the paper, introduces and looks into the hypotheses which guided the performance of certain analyzes. Chapter 2 overviews the overall labor market trends in Georgia to conceptualize the research findings and paint a broader picture. Chapter 3 presents the theoretical background of the research. Chapter 4 explains the data, sample selection and describes the utilized variables. The empirical results are presented in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 offers a summary and conclusion of the research and its findings as a whole.

3. Labor Market Trends in Georgia

The Georgian labor market has undergone major changes during the last 25 years, including economic and structural changes, registering both periods of growth and severe declines. According to Geostat (2019), out of those individuals that were employment in Georgia, 59.9% were reported as self-employed and 40.1% were wage employed in 2014. Out of the wage employed individuals, 14.4% were employees of the public sector, and 25.3% were employed in a private sector .

Unemployment has been persistently high for independent Georgia, reaching its peak in 2009 (16.9%) due to the 2008 August war and the world financial crisis. After that the unemployment rate started to decline, reaching 11.8% in 2016 (Geostat 2019).

However, there exists a commonly held opinion that unemployment is much higher than the official figures and that there is an additional problem of underemployment. The matter is that official figures on the number of persons employed are artificially increased by including the total number of employees\persons who are working in households free of charge as helping family members. For example, in 2003, this category of family helpers was estimated to represent 29.2% of the total number of employed (USAID and IOM 2010). Another definition problem in official unemployment statistics is that in the official statistics all able-bodied members of a household that possesses at least 0.5 ha plot of land are not counted as unemployed. Thus, the true unemployment rate is

probably even higher as suggested by the official statistics figures as many persons in Georgia engage in agricultural work for subsistence purposes.

Taking these statistical limitations of considering family helpers and subsistence agricultural work as employment categories into account, the differences in official unemployment rates between urban and rural areas might be explained by the dynamically poor labor market in Georgia with a large incidence of typically low-productivity agricultural employment, mainly of a subsistence nature, which represents the majority of the self-employed in rural areas. According to the statistical data methodology at least one member of rural household, usually owner of agricultural land, is considered as being self-employed and some other household members as helping family members. This structure of the employed population in Georgia, which has a disproportionately large self-employed component, reflects a rural/urban division by unemployment rates as well.

Furthermore, the employment structure in Georgia is dominated by agriculture. The structural changes of the 1990s forced large groups of people to migrate back to rural areas, and engage in agriculture again in order to satisfy subsistence needs. Nowadays, still more than half of employed people work in agriculture. Agriculture provides employment of last resort for those who cannot find jobs elsewhere, and eventually work as subsistence farmers. Although large part of workforce is working in the agricultural sector it contributes to only small share to Georgia's GDP, which shows that most work is low-productivity in the agricultural sector in Georgia. Agriculture is dominated by small farms. These farms are generally owned and managed by men. According to official statistics, men head 70% of farms and women make up 30% of farmers/farm owners. The data also suggest that women farmers are less likely to be running farms for commercial purposes (Geostat, 2013: 98). It was also observed that, services and industry play significant roles in driving growth in Georgia. ETF (2015) identified trade followed by manufacturing, public administration, transport and construction as key economic sectors next to the large agricultural sector. In the Georgian economy the informal economy plays an important role. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, when employment fell rapidly in formal sectors, people managed to survive by engaging in a multitude of informal economic activities. For example, they engaged in street trading, subsistence agriculture, or unofficial taxi services. The largest increase in informal employment took place in rural areas, where the population could rely on more abundant natural resources and agricultural activity. In the following chapter of the paper, we analyze international observations of education to work transition and the factors that have shown to contribute immensely to the transition period and quality. The mentioned theoretical knowledge will serve as the bases of our statistical analyses.

4. Theoretical Background

The transition from education to work is an important stage in the individual life course. In the literature various factors are debated that promote the chances or act as barriers in the transition from education to work. In the following we strongly built on the theoretical overview given by Gebel & Mandieva (2019).

For example, education is seen as a key factor influencing the individual labor market success. From a theoretical perspective various mechanisms have been identified as being crucial for understanding the labor market effects of education (van de Werfhorst, 2011; Bills, 2003). The skills approach in the tradition of human capital theory (Becker, 1993[1964]), the signaling and screening approaches (Spence, 1973), as well as the social closure approach and structuralist explanations (Collins, 1979; Doeringer & Piore, 1971).

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 context of the CCA countries working while in school is expected to be also driven by economic needs of the family of origin due to the economic development of the countries considered. Moreover, in CCA countries students may need to work to finance the prolonged education attainment, particularly as the share of tuition-based private and public study places has been increasing in the process of marketization and privatization of higher education institutions (Baranowska, 2011; Robert & Saar, 2012).

While considering the influence of work experience, it is worth mentioning that there is a hefty debate in the literature on the effects of “working while in school”. Some scholars think that it might have a negative consequences as it distracts students from excelling in their studies, while others think it might have positive ramification as young people acquire work experience, skills and social contacts as well as are getting familiar with cultural codes, behavioral patterns and habits in the world of work that may help with their later integration in the labor market after leaving education (Jacob et al., 2018; Weiss et al., 2014). Working during studies may also act as a positive signal of unobserved characteristics that are valued by employers (Nunley et al., 2016).

Another factor influencing the transition was considered to be the processes of family formation, such as marriage and parenthood. They are considered to be central events in the transition to adulthood, next to the transition from education to work. Processes of family formation are expected to affect the education and work careers of men and women. Early marriage and parenthood pave the way for young women to enter the roles of caregivers and house workers and represent barriers in the education and labor market career (Gebel & Heyne, 2014). Early marriage and parenthood increase the demand for housework and induce role conflicts with being a student or active in the labor market. Specifically, children add to the family demand for care and housework and they raise the opportunity costs of participating in the labor market due to costs of childcare. Higher rates of early school leaving, education dropouts and school-to-home transitions are expected among women who experience early marriage and motherhood. In contrast, following principles of sex-specific role specialization in the traditional division of labor early marriage and fatherhood require young men to earn money in the labor market for their family. While this may force young men to leave the education system to enter the labor market being a husband and a father should increase the labor market attachment and career orientation of young men. The specialization in market work allows men to accumulate more market specific skills that should support their career development. These processes can be supported by paternalism of employers.

From a theoretical perspective, decisions on the education and labor market career of young people are heavily influenced or even made by their parents (Gebel & Heyne, 2014). Besides the parental influence on decision-making, young women’s life courses are closely linked to the life courses of their parents through intergenerational transmission of values and resources. Focusing on the

intergenerational transmission of resources, it is important to measure the parental background in a multidimensional perspective. One can distinguish the economic, social, and cultural capital of parents. Parents' economic capital particularly enables young people to finance longer and higher educational attainment (Becker, 1993[1964]). A strong familial economic basis means that youth do not have to work from an early age to contribute to household income or undertake care duties and housework. Parents who are well off can also provide a better learning environment and support their children like providing them with better learning equipment and study material, affording transportation costs to better schools, financing their tuition fees and hiring them high quality private tutoring (Duncan et al., 1998; Erikson & Jonsson, 1996). Regarding the school-to-work transition young people from well-off families can afford a long waiting process for better quality jobs, whereas young people from poor backgrounds have to accept any job they can get, even if it is of low quality because they cannot afford waiting (Gebel & Heyne, 2014). Highly educated parents possess greater cultural capital that provide information advantages and support for young people to pursue a successful academic and work career (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977; Erikson & Jonsson, 1996). It is an advantage to have parents being familiar with the education system and the requirements of schooling as well as the behavioral and cultural request at workplaces in high quality labor market segments. Social capital such as parents' social ties in the labor market helps young people to find jobs and get access to privileged job positions (Granovetter, 1974). To gain access to privileged job segments, it seems to be important to have ties to specific people, particularly having parents who work in the respective sector.

5. Data, Sample Selection and Variables

As stated, this paper is based on the data of the “TEW-CCA Youth Transitions Survey in Georgia” (Badurashvili et al., 2019; Gebel et al., 2019). This is a large-scaled nationally representative youth surveys that was conducted in autumn of 2016 in frame of the research project TEW-CCA funded by Volkswagen Foundation. The survey’s targets population were young people aged 18 to 35 who finished or stopped formal education in the period from 2006 to 2015 and who are not enrolled in formal education at the date of the interview. Applying a multistage stratified random sampling procedure 2000 youths were around whole Georgia chosen and interviewed using a standardized questionnaire that includes detailed information on individual demographic, family, work history and human capital characteristics. This survey was conducted with strong retrospective elements, namely, longitudinal data was collected on the dynamic processes of education attainment, labor market entry, work history, individual level dynamic as well as data on subjective attitudes and identities. The TEW-CCA dataset allows to test the theories mentioned above and to explore our hypotheses.

The conclusions drawn in the paper are based on linear and logistic regression, survivor functions and descriptive analyses. Few variables were created based on the needs of the research paper, one of such variables was the urban/rural differentiation. Due to the possibility of internal migration, we have selected the residence of our respondents at the age of 15 as the indicator of their urban or rural residence.

In the initial step of our analyzes we created two categories for employment: first significant and first quality job. First significant job was considered to be a full time employment were the respondent has worked for at least six months; we excluded any type of casual and unofficial work. Second variable was the quality of the first significant job, which we measured using a three-digit international Standard Classification of Occupation (ISCO) scheme. As the measurement of the quality job, our team, after much consideration selected the cases where respondent worked on at least 6 months and the first, second and third occupational one-digit ISCO codes, as they signify jobs which are harder to get and more prestigious.

In the following step of the analyses we have tried to identify the overlap between significant and quality jobs, and analyzed what percentage of our respondents was the first job the quality job and which factors influenced the mentioned trend. We have looked into the duration of the first significant job measured in months and built the competing risk model to better assess the trends that takes place at Georgian job market.

6. Empirical Results

6.1. Educational Attainment

In the initial step of our empirical research, we are looking at the social selectivity of educational attainment in Georgia with strong emphasis on gender. Table 1.1 shows that men are strongly overrepresented in the basic and upper secondary education track (45.8 percent), while the share of woman in the same educational route is considerably lower at 29 percent. In hindsight, women are dominating both in professional and tertiary education attainment, resulting in 20.4 percent and 50.5 percent attaining professional and tertiary education respectively. Thus, we can conclude that females overall are more educated than males after leaving the educational institutions.

Additionally, parental education also has an influence on respondent's education track; we observed that 56.3 percent of respondents whose parent's obtained only upper secondary education or less are also found within the same educational route and the ones that manage to resume their education are less likely to obtain higher tertiary degrees (Master, Doctorate) (see Table 1.1). Whilst 70.1 percent of respondents who have at least one parent with a university degree take on similar education route with higher relative probability of completing longer tertiary track. The changes in Georgian education system, with abolition of PTU and Technikum, does not allow us to compare it with the professional education track as the mentioned institutions incorporated professional teachings but were not exclusive to it, offering courses which equal to modern day university degree majors. Overall, our analysis shows that the level of parent's education gives us the strong deterrent of the child's one .

Table 1.1 Educational attainment

	Basic secondary education	Upper secondary education	Professional education	Professional education	Tertiary education– Bachelor	Tertiary education– Master, Doctorate
Male	14.27	31.57	11.74	3.16	30.30	8.96
Female	9.35	19.62	15.07	5.38	36.67	13.91
<i>Education of parents</i> Non-complete secondary education	59.46	28.38	5.41	1.35	5.41	-
Complete secondary education	16.30	40.00	15.43	6.96	16.09	5.22
Primary professional education - PTU- or secondary professional education - Technikum	10.76	27.26	20.31	5.03	30.38	6.25
Tertiary education - University, Conservatory, Academia or Aspirantura, Doctorantura	3.94	13.43	9.26	3.24	49.31	20.83

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

In the next step of our analysis we look at the effect of regional factor on education attainment, our analysis shows that the respondents who grew up in the urban area have more chance of obtaining tertiary education compared to the rural inhabitants, however, there is no significant difference of choosing professional education when looking at the urban/rural divide. Almost half of respondents from the rural area finished their educational route with upper secondary education, while almost 60% of urban residence attained a tertiary degree (Table 1.2). Having siblings, on the other hand, has no significant effect on education attainment (Table 1.3).

Table 1.2 Urban/rural and educational attainment

		Upper secondary education or less	Professional education- level I,II, III, IV, V	Tertiary education– Bachelor, Master or Doctorate	Total
	Urban	23.6%	16.8%	59.5%	100.0%
	Rural	49.5%	19.9%	30.6%	100.0%
Total		35.7%	18.2%	46.1%	100.0%

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

Table 1.3 Siblings and educational attainment

		Upper secondary education or less	Professional education- level I,II, III, IV, V	Tertiary education– Bachelor, Master or Doctorate	Total
sibl_Exists	0	33.8%	17.6%	48.5%	100.0%
	1	35.9%	18.3%	45.8%	100.0%
Total		35.7%	18.2%	46.1%	100.0%

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

6.2. Significant First Job

In accordance to our theory presented in Chapter 3 we have further studied the variables that have been assumed in the literature to have an impact on employment and studied if they have the same influence in the Georgian context. It is worth mentioning that in the analysis we have defined significant employment as the first employment which lasted at least 6 month. From the initial testing we observed that there is an apparent positive impact of education on the existence of a first significant job. Higher education level results in a higher percentage of having a first significant job. The divide is especially apparent when we look at men and women separately. At the upper secondary education level 57 percent of males hold a significant job while only 29 percent of women do so, however, 79 percent of male and 70 percent of female have significant jobs at the tertiary education level. Both factors showed to be significant in the regression analyses as well (see Table 2.3); thusly this once again shows the Georgian trend that females are less likely to take less qualified jobs than males.

Regression analyses also showed the same trend as was expected in the theory regarding the education attainment and the transition to a first significant job (see Table 2.3). Respondents that completed only upper secondary education have only 34% chance to obtain significant employment compared to the tertiary education graduates, whilst professional education graduates chance stands at 69% in comparison to the mentioned group. Furthermore, it can also be observed that males have almost twice the possibility to obtain a significant job compared to females.

Following the same logic, we further examined the effect of grade performance in school on the existence of a first significant job. The examination of the mentioned variable provided us with an interesting result: within females good grade performance showed to have a positive impact on employment, while a negative one within males. Thusly, to further contextualize, better grades show the higher chances of the first significant job within woman, while in males the tendency was reversed. This finding can be linked to the fact that males in Georgia are more prevalent in the lower ISCO code jobs (which do not require much schooling) while females are primarily occupied in the more quality ones, where good grades and schooling are more valued. Therefore, the finding does not directly imply that male with lower grades are more wanted in the job sector, but it indicates that men primarily occupy significant jobs with comparably low demand on educational quality.

To further focus on the gender division and the significant job we have to note that different results have also been attained while looking at the existence of a child. Regression analyses showed that having a child is a significant factor that contributes to the significant job attainment chances. However, while the existence of a child increases a probability of employment within males, it decreases it within females. More specifically, data showed that males who have a child have 81.2 percent more chance to have a significant job, while the same factor decreases the percentage within women to 50 percent (Table 2.1). This finding aligns with our hypothesis that males are more incentivized to find employment after the birth of a child as they are considered in the traditional sense the breadwinners of the family, while females as the caregivers. Logically, marrying at an early age is also a predicting variable of significant employment. Respondents who have created families at an early age (18 or younger) have a harder time securing a significant job. This outcome was more or less predictive, marrying at an early age for most deter the chances of receiving higher education which is the highest guarantee in finding significant employment. Furthermore, early marriage in Georgia is often the predictor of an early age to have a first child. According to the theory early marriage and parenthood pave the way for young women to enter the roles of caregivers and house workers and represent barriers in the education and labor market career (Gebel & Heyne, 2014).

Parent's education also has a significant impact on respondent's probability of attaining a significant job, respondents with at least one university graduated parents have twice as much of a chance to find a significant employment in contrast to respondent whose parents did not have higher education; 71 percent of respondents whose parents had tertiary education, managed to find a significant employment in the span of 5 years from graduation (Table 2.2). Interestingly enough

when analyzing the parent’s occupation it was revealed that mother’s occupation is a significant determinant for the existence of the significant job, while father's occupation status is not. Respondents whose mothers were employed when they were 15 have higher chance to find an employment versus the respondents whose mothers did not. However, it is worth noting that family’s financial situation at the age of 15 did not show to have any impact on the chance of finding significant first employment. Here we have faced a discrepancy with international theory and Georgian situation, most of the researchers agree that the impact between the two is mostly inevitable, however, this can be explained with Georgian reality. Majority of our respondents at the age of 15 were in a reality where majority of Georgian citizens did not have much material goods, therefore this might have created a perception bias. While noting that their financial situation was average or acceptable does not mean the family was well off as majority of Georgian citizens did not have the basic resources (such as gas and electricity) due to structural flaws within Georgia.

To put demographic variables aside, we also observe a strong relationship between significant first job and working during the studies. Table 2.3 illustrates that respondents who had a job during studies are three times more likely to have a significant job after their graduation. This indicates that in Georgia experience is well valued while hiring for a job.

Table 2.1 1st child exist * significant first job * Sex of respondent

			SFJ significant first job		Total
			0 0 do not exist	1 1 exist	
Male		0 no 1st child	37.1%	62.9%	100.0%
		1 1st child exists	18.8%	81.2%	100.0%
	Total		32.3%	67.7%	100.0%
Female		0 no 1st child	33.6%	66.4%	100.0%
		1 1st child exists	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%
	Total		45.0%	55.0%	100.0%
Total		0 no 1st child	35.8%	64.2%	100.0%
		1 1st child exists	43.9%	56.1%	100.0%
	Total		40.0%	60.0%	100.0%

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

Table 2.2 Did your mother have higher education (bachelor and higher) when you were 15? * significant first job * Sex of respondent

Sex of respondent			SFJ significant first job		Total
			0 0 do not exist	1 1 exist	
Male	Did your mother have higher education (bachelor and higher) when you were 15?	.00 no	35.3%	64.7%	100.0%
		1.00 yes	26.9%	73.1%	100.0%
	Total			32.4%	67.6%
Female	Did your mother have higher education (bachelor and higher) when you were 15?	.00 no	53.5%	46.5%	100.0%
		1.00 yes	28.3%	71.7%	100.0%
	Total			44.7%	55.3%
Total	Did your mother have higher education (bachelor and higher) when you were 15?	.00 no	46.3%	53.7%	100.0%
		1.00 yes	27.8%	72.2%	100.0%
	Total			39.8%	60.2%

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

Table 2.3 Logistic regression analysis of determinants of having a first significant job

	B	Sig.	Exp(B)
Upper secondary education or less	-1.059	.000	.347
Professional education	-.369	.012	.692
Sex	.711	.000	2.036
had at least one child	-.453	.006	.636
Mothers occupation (at the age of 15)	.236	.029	1.266
Fathers occupation (at the age of 15)	.006	.964	1.006
Work during studies	1.317	.000	3.731
Parent's education	.222	.001	1.248
Marriage before the age of 18	-.004	.027	.996
Family's financial situation at the age of 15	.147	.412	1.159
Constant	-.063	.836	.939

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

6.3. Time Until Finding a First Significant Job

In the next step, we analyze the duration of time elapsed before the first significant employment has been found. On average, within 26 months majority of our respondents manage to find a first significant job. 40 percent however were not able to find first significant job after finishing formal education at the time of the interview; the vast majority of female respondents named marriage as the primary reason for their unemployment. Table 3.1 illustrates that masters/doctorate and professional education graduates find first significant employment in 10 months and bachelor students 6 months prior to the upper secondary education graduates; which show that education pays off. Additionally we observed that respondents who worked during studies find significant employment 13 months earlier compared to their unemployed counterparts (Table 3.1).

Table 3.1 Linear regression analysis of the determinants of the time before first significant job (in month)

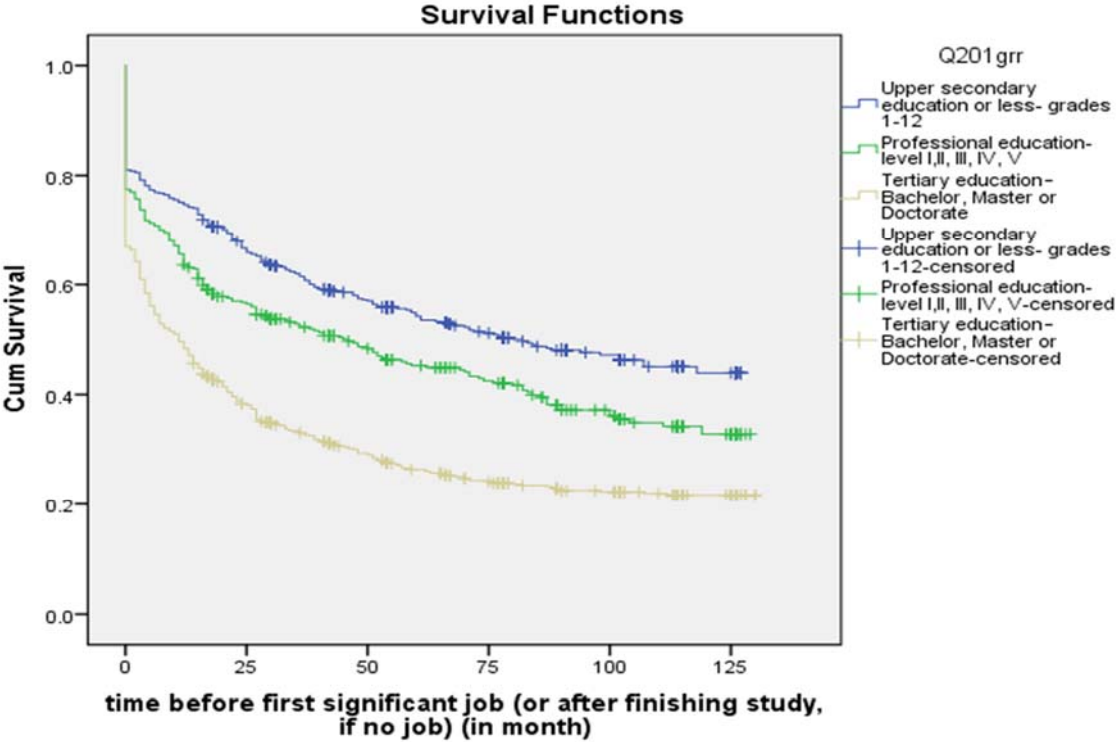
	Unstandardized Coefficients	
	B	Sig.
(Constant)	26.464	.000
Working during studies	-13.541	.000
Tertiary education – Master/Doctor	-10.117	.000
Tertiary education – Bachelor	-6.011	.000
sex of respondent (dichotomous)	-4.093	.004
Professional education (level IV,V)	-10.594	.007

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

There exist several variables which do not have any impact and do not speed up the process of finding a first job. Parents’ education, fathers’ occupation, changing residence, living abroad, importance of religion; Respondent’s education (upper secondary and professional education) also do not reduce the time before they find a first significant job after finishing formal education.

Figure 3.2 shows the empirical survivor functions for all educational groups. School leavers with basic secondary and upper secondary education encounter the biggest problems in job search process. Only 18% of basic secondary graduates, after finishing formal education, have found a significant first job and 57 percent of them have not been able to find a significant job after 5 years. Compared to basic secondary education graduates high school diploma holders find a significant employment after graduation relatively fast and only 42 percent have never had significant employment after 5 years. Graduates from vocational education are significantly quicker than the mentioned former cohort in finding first significant job. We have observed that graduates from tertiary education and upper professional education find immediate employment with similar percentage with difference between them being 2 percent. Higher tertiary education graduates have the fastest transition process with only 17 percent unemployed after 5 years from graduation.

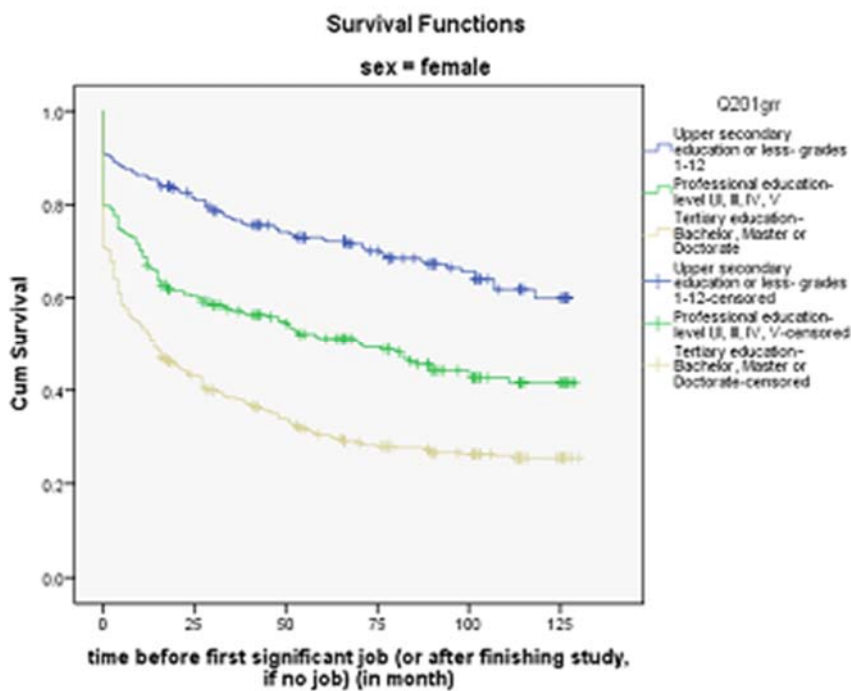
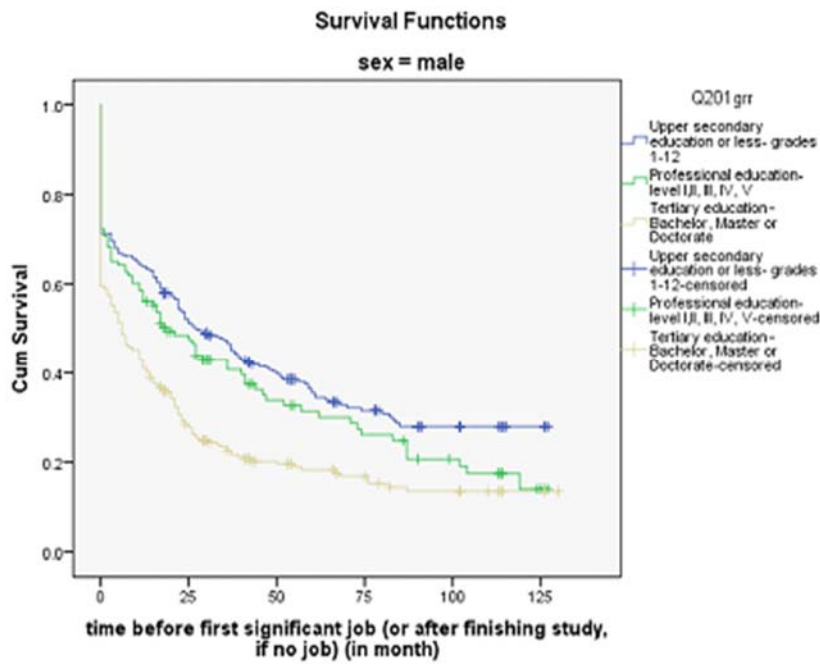
Figure 3.2 Time before first significant job (in months)



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

When looking separately at the speed of employment according to genders, we observe an interesting trend. Figure 3.3 clearly shows that males in Georgia find employment after education significantly faster than females on every education rout. Additionally, more women fail to find significant employment after 5 years compared to men. Males with upper secondary education and professional education have similar entry to the labor market with 30 percent finding a job right after graduation. However, after five years the unemployment rate within upper secondary education graduates is higher to the professional education diploma holders - the latter category resulting in the same percentage of unemployment as tertiary educates. In woman the effect of education on employment is more palpable, higher the education level less the unemployment rate.

Figure 3.3 Time before first significant job (in month) by gender



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

The abovementioned trend can be clearly explained from the following table, which indicates employment status of the first significant employment (ISCO code 1, 2 and 3). As the Table 3.4

illustrates, significantly higher number of woman work on higher positions compared to man, thus we can conclude that man are more willing to take the lower quality jobs in comparison to woman.

Table 3.4 Employment status of first significant job

	Male	Female	Total
0	100.0%		100.0%
1	28.3%	71.7%	100.0%
2	30.6%	69.4%	100.0%
3	41.6%	58.4%	100.0%
4	27.3%	72.7%	100.0%
5	27.1%	72.9%	100.0%
6	100.0%		100.0%
7	77.7%	22.3%	100.0%
8	87.6%	12.4%	100.0%
9	70.3%	29.7%	100.0%
Total	40.7%	59.3%	100.0%

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

In regards to educational characteristics, which are true for all education level, we find that trainings and workshops aid and speed up the process of finding a significant job: 41 percent of those who worked during studies found immediate employment after graduation, while only 19% who did not work during studies managed to do so.

6.4. First Job Quality

In the next step, following the same principle as in the previous chapter, we investigate the factors which influence the quality of the first job, as we have already mentioned quality job was determined as the first three ISCO groups. First employment of 25 percent of our respondents was a quality job, 22 percent of male and 26 percent of woman managed to acquire a quality position upon their very first entry to the job market. First significant factor that has been observed to influence the first quality employment was the education: tertiary diploma holders have the highest percentage of a quality first job, followed by professional education diploma holders and lastly the upper secondary education graduates (see Table 4.1).

Table 4.1 Gender, education attainment and quality job

Sex of respondent			first job was qualify		Total
			0	1 yes	
Male		Upper secondary education or less	93.0%	7%	100.0%
		Professional education- level I,II, III, IV, V	83.7%	16.3%	100.0%
		Tertiary education– Bachelor, Master or Doctorate	56.2%	43.8%	100.0%
	Total	77.2%	22.8%	100.0%	
Female		Upper secondary education or less	97.0%	3.0%	100.0%
		Professional education- level I,II, III, IV, V	84.6%	15.4%	100.0%
		Tertiary education– Bachelor, Master or Doctorate	56.0%	44.0%	100.0%
	Total	73.7%	26.3%	100.0%	
Total		Upper secondary education or less	95.0%	5.0%	100.0%
		Professional education- level I,II, III, IV, V	84.3%	15.7%	100.0%
		Tertiary education– Bachelor, Master or Doctorate	56.0%	44.0%	100.0%
	Total	75.1%	24.9%	100.0%	

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

We can see from the Table 4.2 that upper secondary education graduates and professional education graduates have 10 and 29 percent chance to attain quality employment compared to tertiary education diploma holders. From the mentioned information we can refer that to obtain quality first job higher education is more important than in the instance of a significant job.

Table 4.2 Logistic regression analysis of determinants of quality first job

	B	Sig.	Exp(B)
Upper secondary education or less	-2.242	.000	.106
Professional education	-1.207	.000	.299
Sex	.079	.562	1.082
had at least one child	-.478	.015	.620
Mothers occupation (at the age of 15)	.212	.086	1.237
Fathers occupation (at the age of 15)	-.273	.088	.778
Work during studies	.550	.000	1.734
Parent's education	.341	.000	1.406
Marriage before the age of 18	-.007	.001	.936
Family's financial situation at the age of 15	-.251	.254	.778
Constant	-.749	.110	.473

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

Respondent's self-evaluated performance during their education also has shown to have a positive impact on the quality of their first job. Better grade indicates the higher possibility of the good first employment for both sexes (Table 4.3).

Table 4.3 Performance at post-secondary education, gender and quality first job

Sex of respondent			QFJ first job was qualify		Total
			0	1 yes	
Male	How did you perform at post-secondary education?	Excellent	38.60%	61.40%	100.00%
		Very good	32.70%	67.30%	100.00%
		Good	55.10%	44.90%	100.00%
		Satisfactory	56.50%	43.50%	100.00%
		Total	48.80%	51.20%	100.00%
Female	How did you perform at post-secondary education?	Excellent	35.10%	64.90%	100.00%
		Very good	34.80%	65.20%	100.00%
		Good	52.50%	47.50%	100.00%
		Satisfactory	69.20%	30.80%	100.00%
		Total	44.60%	55.40%	100.00%
Total	How did you perform at post-secondary education?	Excellent	35.80%	64.20%	100.00%
		Very good	34.20%	65.80%	100.00%
		Good	53.30%	46.70%	100.00%
		Satisfactory	61.10%	38.90%	100.00%
		Total	45.90%	54.10%	100.00%

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

The interesting alteration from the results of the significant job was the regression results regarding gender (Table 4.2). Whilst the gender in case of SFJ was significant, in the quality first job it plays no significant part.

As we mentioned in the previous chapter, work during studies increases the probability of the significant employment, however, it has also shown to be the best predictor of the first quality employment. Among those respondents who were also employed during their studies 41.7 percent who managed to find a quality employment upon their first job, whereas this applies to on 19.6 percent of respondents who were not employed during their studies. This factor especially influences the quality employment among women. 45.7 percent of woman who were employed during their studies successfully managed to integrate into the job market compared to 20.5 percent of the women who did not work during studies. The percentage gap is smaller for men (36.1 percent vs. 18.3 percent) (see Table 4.4).

Table 4.4 Working during studies, gender and quality first job

Sex of respondent			QFJ first job was qualify		Total
			0	1 yes	
Male	Did you work during studies?	.00 no	81.7%	18.3%	100.0%
		1.00 yes	63.9%	36.1%	100.0%
	Total		80.4%	19.6%	100.0%
Female	Did you work during studies?	.00 no	79.5%	20.5%	100.0%
		1.00 yes	54.3%	45.7%	100.0%
	Total		58.2%	41.7%	100.0%
Total	Did you work during studies?	.00 no	80.4%	19.6%	100.0%
		1.00 yes	58.3%	41.7%	100.0%
	Total		75.1%	24.9%	100.0%

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

Regression analyses further demonstrates that there is indeed a significant relationship between working during studies and a quality first job. Respondents with professional occupation throughout their studies have almost twice as much chance to have a quality first job than the ones that did not. In the theoretical part of the paper we have noted that there is the debate whether work during the studies positively influence the chances of quality education, hence from the findings we can conclude that in Georgia having a job during studies has a positive pay off.

As in the case of significant first job, regression analysis also illustrated that there is a significant relation between quality first job and both early marriage and existence of a child. As expected, in both cases we see a negative relation which indicates that the mentioned variables hinder individual’s chances of acquiring the quality first job. However, in this case the result is negative for both genders. The processes of family formation are expected to affect the education and work careers of men and women, especially in case of women early marriage and parenthood represents barriers in the education and labor market career.

Furthermore, parent’s education serves as a good predictor of chance for both significant first job and the quality first job; children whose at least one parent attained tertiary education have a 40

percent higher chance to find a quality first job compared to the children of parents who did not attain tertiary degree (Table 4.5). However, it is worth noting that regression analyses showed that neither of parent's occupation does not give us a significant estimate for the chance.

Table 4.5 Highest level of the education for the parents, gender and quality first job

Sex of respondent			QFJ first job was qualify		Total
			0	1 yes	
Male	Highest level of the education for the parents	Non-complete secondary education	100.0%		100.0%
		Complete secondary education	82.2%	17.8%	100.0%
		Primary professional education _PTU_ or secondary professional education _Technikum_	76.8%	23.2%	100.0%
		Tertiary education _University, Conservatory, Academia_ or Aspirantura, Doctorantura	59.3%	40.7%	100.0%
		Never went to school	100.0%		100.0%
	Total		71.6%	28.4%	100.0%
Female	Highest level of the education for the parents	Non-complete secondary education	97.3%	2.7%	100.0%
		Complete secondary education	83.5%	16.5%	100.0%
		Primary professional education _PTU_ or secondary professional education _Technikum_	75.0%	25.0%	100.0%
		Tertiary education _University, Conservatory, academia_ or Aspirantura, Doctorantura	45.1%	54.9%	100.0%
		Never went to school	100.0%		100.0%
	Total		64.6%	35.4%	100.0%
Total	Highest level of the education for the parents	Non-complete secondary education	98.6%	1.4%	100.0%
		Complete secondary education	83.0%	17.0%	100.0%
		Primary professional education _PTU_ or secondary professional education _Technikum_	75.7%	24.3%	100.0%
		Tertiary education _University, Conservatory, Academia_ or Aspirantura, Doctorantura	50.7%	49.3%	100.0%
		Never went to school	100.0%		100.0%
	Total		67.4%	32.6%	100.0%

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

However parent's education at the age of 15 was another significant indicator of the child's first quality employment. Parents' high education has a positive impact on the respondents chance of a successful first employment, only 18.4 percent of respondents whose parents had only upper secondary education managed to successfully integrate into the job market, we observe similar results within the professional graduates and the highest percentage of the first successful employment is within respondents whose parents had tertiary education. However, neither occupation level nor the financial well-being of the family showed to have a significant impact on the quality of employment.

7. Conclusion

This paper aims to determine the factors which pave the way of Georgian youths from schooling to work. Based on existing international research we could identify major factors that we expect to ease or hinder youth chances of a successful integration into gainful employment, these factors are further investigated in this paper.

Our study has found clear evidence that higher education opens the way to high-status and stable employment among labour market entrants in Georgia.

Research has shown that females in Georgia overall are more educated than males after leaving the educational institutions. Additionally, it was found that a parental education also has an influence on respondent's education track: as higher is the parent education more likely are youths to obtain higher tertiary degrees.

Our analysis shows that the respondents who grew up in the urban area have a higher chance to obtain tertiary education compared to the rural inhabitants. However, there is no significant difference of choosing professional education when looking at the urban/rural divide. Having siblings, on the other hand, has no significant effect on education attainment.

An apparent positive impact has been observed between education and the existence of the first significant job. Higher education level results in higher chances to find a job. Furthermore, men have almost twice the possibility to obtain a significant job compared to women.

Grade performance in school has positive effect on females while negative one on male. Existence of a child is a significant predictor of the employment chances for Georgian youth.

Parent's occupation and families financial well-being in youth does not have any impact on the chance of finding significant first employment.

Respondent's self-evaluated performance during their education also has shown to have a positive impact on the quality of their first job. Better grade indicates the higher possibility of the good first employment.

Overall, woman are less prone to taking lower quality jobs and those with higher education background have better chances of getting better jobs.

Work during studies increases the probability of the significant employment. It is also the best predictor of the first quality employment. This factor especially influences the quality employment within women.

Parent's education serves as a good predictor of the chance for both significant first job and the quality first job. Children with at least one parent with tertiary education have a higher chance to find a quality first job compared to the children of parents who did not attain tertiary degree. Additionally parent's occupation and the number of children respondent has does not make much influence on chances to find significant job.

As our study has shown Georgian youths spend 26 months on average before finding a first significant job. Masters/doctorate and professional education graduates find first significant employment in 10 months and bachelor students 6 months prior to the upper secondary education graduates. This confirms that education pays off in finding of job. Additionally we observed that employment during the studies also matters as respondents who worked during studies find significant employment 13 months earlier compared to their unemployed counterparts.

Other factors, as parents' education, parents' occupation, changing of residence, living abroad, importance of religion, respondent's education (upper secondary and professional education) do not reduce the time before finding first significant job after finishing formal education.

Men in Georgia find employment after completing of education significantly faster than women on every education rout. However, among woman the effect of education on employment is more palpable than among man. It is worth to mention that Georgian men are more willing to take the lower quality jobs in comparison to woman. In regards to educational characteristics, which are true for all education levels, we found that trainings and workshops aid and speed up the process of finding a significant job.

8. References

- Badurashvili, I., Kobakhidze, N., Nadiradze, R., Nadareishvili, M., & Meladze, G. (2019). Methodology of the TEW-CCA Youth Transition Survey in Georgia. In M. Gebel, I. Badurashvili, S. Olimova, & R. Sattarov (Eds.), *Methodological report on TEW-CCA Youth Transition Surveys in Azerbaijan, Georgia and Tajikistan. TEW-CCA Working Paper No. 3.* (pp. 68–82). Bamberg: TEW-CCA Project.
- Badurashvili, I., & Nadareishvili, M. (2012). *Social impact of emigration and rural-urban migration in Central and Eastern Europe. Final Country Report Georgia.* Brussels: European Commission.
- Baranowska, A. (2011). Does horizontal differentiation make any difference? In I. Kogan, C. Noelke, & M. Gebel (Eds.), *Making the transition: Education and labor market entry in Central and Eastern Europe* (pp. 216–239). Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.
- Becker, G. S. (1993[1964]). *Human capital. A theoretical and empirical analysis, with special reference to education.* (3rd ed.). New York: Columbia University Press.
- Bills, D. B. (2003). Credentials, signals, and screens. Explaining the relationship between schooling and job assignment. *Review of Educational Research, 73*(4), 441–469.
- Bourdieu, P., & Passeron, J.-C. (1977). *Reproduction in education, society and culture.* London: Sage.
- Collins, R. (1979). *The credential society. An historical sociology of education and stratification.* New York: Academic Press.
- Doeringer, P. B., & Piore, M. J. (1971). *Internal labor markets and manpower analysis.* Lexington: Heath.
- Duncan, G. J., Yeung, W. J., Brooks-Gunn, J., & Smith, J. R. (1998). How much does childhood poverty affect the life chances of children? *American Sociological Review, 63*(3), 406–423.
- Erikson, R., & Jonsson, J. O. (1996). Introduction. Explaining class inequality in education: the Swedish test case. In R. Erikson, & J. O. Jonsson (Eds.), *Can education be equalized? The Swedish case in comparative perspective* (pp. 1–63). Boulder: Westview Press.
- European Training Foundation (ETF) (2015). Torino Process 2014 Georgia. Torino: ETF.

- Gebel, M., Badurashvili, I., Olimova, S., & Sattarov, R. (Eds.) (2019). *Methodological report on TEW-CCA Youth Transition Surveys in Azerbaijan, Georgia and Tajikistan*. TEW-CCA Working Paper No. 3. Bamberg: TEW-CCA Project.
- Gebel, M., & Heyne, S. (2014). *Transitions to adulthood in the Middle East and North Africa: Young women's rising?* Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Gebel, M., & Mandieva, E. (2019). General methodology of the TEW-CCA Youth Transition Surveys in Azerbaijan, Georgia and Tajikistan. In M. Gebel, I. Badurashvili, S. Olimova, & R. Sattarov (Eds.), *Methodological report on TEW-CCA Youth Transition Surveys in Azerbaijan, Georgia and Tajikistan*. TEW-CCA Working Paper No. 3. (pp. 7–54). Bamberg: TEW-CCA Project.
- Geostat (National Statistics Office of Georgia) (2013). *Women and men in Georgia, 2013*. Statistical publication. Tbilisi: Geostat.
- Geostat, (2019): Main statistics. Tbilisi: Geostat. www.geostat.ge
- Granovetter, M. S. (1974). *Getting a job*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- ILO (2019). *ILOSTAT country profiles. Georgia*. Geneva: ILO.
- Jacob, M., Gerth, M., & Weiss, F. (2018). Student employment: social differentials and field-specific developments in higher education. *Journal of Education and Work*, 31(1), 87–108.
- Kogan, I., Matković, T., & Gebel, M. (2013). Helpful friends?: Personal contacts and job entry among youths in transformation societies. *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, 54(4), 277–297.
- Kogan, I., Noelke, C., & Gebel, M. (Eds.) (2011). *Making the transition: Education and labor market entry in Central and Eastern Europe*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.
- Nunley, J. M., Pugh, A., Romero, N., & Seals, R. A. (2016). College major, internship experience, and employment opportunities: Estimates from a résumé audit. *Labour Economics*, 38, 37–46.
- Robert, P., & Saar, E. (2012). Learning and working: The impact of the 'double status position' on the labour market entry process of graduates in CEE countries. *European Sociological Review*, 28(6), 742–754.
- Roberts, K., Pollock, G., Manasyan Heghine, & Tholen, J. (2008). School-to-work transitions after two decades of post-communist transition: What's new? *Eurasian Journal of Business and Economics*, 1(2), 103–129.
- Roksa, J., & Velez, M. (2010). When studying schooling is not enough: Incorporating employment in models of educational transitions. *Research in Social Stratification and Mobility*, 28(1), 5–21.
- Spence, M. (1973). Job market signaling. *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 87(3), 355–374.
- The US Agency for International Development (USAID) International Organization for Migration (IOM) (2010). *Labor market in Georgia*. Report on June-July 2010 survey. Tbilisi: USAID and IOM.
- van de Werfhorst, H. G. (2011). Skills, positional good or social closure?: The role of education across structural–institutional labour market settings. *Journal of Education and Work*, 24(5), 521–548.
- Weiss, F., Klein, M., & Grauenhorst, T. (2014). The effects of work experience during higher education on labour market entry: Learning by doing or an entry ticket? *Work, Employment & Society*, 28(5), 788–807.
- Wolbers, M. H. J. (2003). Learning and working. Double statuses in youth transitions. In W. Müller, & M. Gangl (Eds.), *Transitions from education to work in Europe. The integration of youth into EU labour markets* (pp. 131–155). Oxford: Oxford University Press.