



Determinants of Youth Transition from Education to Work in Tajikistan

Subhon Ashurov¹⁾²⁾ and Jamshed Kuddusov¹⁾

¹⁾ SHARQ (ORIENS) Research Center, Dushanbe, Tajikistan

²⁾ Technological University of Tajikistan, Dushanbe, Tajikistan

TEW-CCA Working Paper No. 5.3

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.

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SUGGESTED CITATION:

Ashurov, Subhon and Jamshed Kuddusov (2019). Determinants of youth transition from education to work in Tajikistan. TEW-CCA Working Paper No. 5.3. Bamberg: TEW-CCA Project, University of Bamberg.

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List of Abbreviations

CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States
GBE	General Basic Education (9 class)
GPE	General Primary Education (4 class)
GSE	General Secondary Education (11 class)
HE	Higher Education (HE-Ba or HE-Ma)
HE-Ba	Higher Education(bachelor)
HE-Ma	Higher Education(Master)
HH	Household
IVE	Initial Vocational Education
LFS	Labour Force Survey
SE	Science Education (PhD or candidate or doctor of sciences)
SVE	Secondary Vocational Education
TEW	Transition from Education to Work
TEW-CCA	Transition from Education to Work in the Caucasus and Central Asia
TEWS	Transition from Education to Work Survey

1. Introduction

Young people represent as a main resource for development and the main conductors of social changes, economic development and scientific and technological progress. Their creative of imagination, ideals, mighty energy and insight are essential to ensure the constant development of the society, where they live.

Exactly the future generation will decide the outcome of social and economic strategies chosen by the current generation, because it brings with itself and carries to the future ideas, views, morals, forms, methods and values of public life. Therefore, the socio-economic orientation of the younger generation - as the future replenishment of human resources that ensure the further socio-economic development of society - largely determines the content and nature of tomorrow, and this orientation ultimately determines that which ideas are foreseen for the social future, which—are not.

The process of the social formation of modern youth in a number of former Soviet countries, the formation of its value orientations occurs in very difficult socio-economic conditions in society, which are generated by the cataclysms of the transition period. It is not impossible to see the severity of the social problems of young people. One of the key problems of youth is unemployment, which increases the deviant behavior of young people and the tendency of distancing young people from the progressive part of society. Ignoring of this situation by the government and the progressive part of society naturally leads to the fact that it can play a negative role in the development of this process and greatly affects for its prospective.

In this connection, on the initiative of a group of researchers from Azerbaijan, Georgia and Tajikistan, under the leadership of the Bamberg University (Germany) Professor Mr. Michael Gebel and with the financial support of the Volkswagen Foundation (Germany), the project "Opportunities and obstacles in the transition from education to work: a comparative youth study in Azerbaijan, Georgia and Tajikistan" was launched. The central research task of this project was to identify key factors that contribute to or impede youth in the transition from education to work.

Based on this, within the framework of this project, in particular, a survey of 2000 respondents aged 18-35 years in the Republic of Tajikistan was conducted (February-May, 2017) (Olimov et al., 2019; Gebel et al., 2019). In the process of preparing of the study questionnaire, four main factors that could influence the transition of young people from education to work were selected: a) individual resources (educational, social resources, etc.); b) demographic factors (family, gender, etc.); c) cultural factors (value personal and family orientations, etc.); d) segments of the labor market (formal, informal, permanent, temporary, etc.).

In this report, based on the results of the survey, a descriptive, cause-and-effect and multivariate analysis of data on the identification of the impact of the above factors in the transition of young people from education to work was carried out.

2. General Characteristics of the Labor Market in Tajikistan

The informal sector in Tajikistan is understood as an unregistered and non-taxable economic activity, which is not prohibited by law. The informal sector includes both self-employed and employed (in the informal sector or individuals), as well as those, who work without registration in large and medium-sized enterprises of the formal sector.

According to the World Bank and the results of the Labour Force Survey (LFS -2016) (State Statistical Agency 2017), currently in Tajikistan the share of informal employment in the total number of employed people is about 60%, which is almost half-divided between the agrarian (30.6%) and non-agrarian (29.4%) sectors economy. 45.8% of the total employed population is employed in the agrarian sector.

Informally employed outside the agricultural sector are almost half-and-half distributed between the formal (46.6%) and informal (53.4%) sectors of the economy. Thus, according to the LFS -2016 data, out of the agricultural sector, 116,178 people are informally engaged in the formal sector of the country's economy. The emergence of informal employment in the formal sector is mainly due to the fact that in accordance with the law of the country, the employer is obliged to pay the state for the employee who is officially employed (for permanent work) - insurance contributions to the Social Protection Fund, as well as income tax on the employee's salary.

Among the informal workers (outside the agrarian sector), 75.9% are male, and 64.5% live in rural areas.

Of course, significant employment in the informal sector generates a number of social and economic problems. The income from the activity here is not taxed, so budgets and social funds are deprived of significant funds. The extension of informal employment tends to aggravate an already excessive income inequality. The labor rights of citizens working in this sector are not protected by law. Employed here are in a very vulnerable and unprotected position, deprived of many labor rights and all social benefits. Like any shadow income, cash in circulation in this sector can fuel corruption and crime. Inability to create their own lobbying organizations or to defend their political and economic interests leads to the fact that the workers in the informal sector turn out to be excluded from the political process. The more significant the scale of this sector, the stronger its negative consequences can be manifested.

However, the informal sector, if it is not excessive, has its undoubted positive aspects for the developing or transition economy, especially in conditions of its labor surplus. In the conditions of prolonged recession or labor surplus in countries where the state is not able to provide effective protection against unemployment, exactly this sector provides some social support to potential unemployed people. In particular, it allows those, who lost their jobs to have earnings and avoid rolling into hopeless poverty, and the state, which is under heavy pressure on the budget, to save on unemployment benefits. Eventually, the incomes of informal sector entities form an element of aggregate demand in the economy and are spent mainly within the formal sector.

Analysis of the educational structure of all employees in the country's economy (according to the data of the LFS-2016) (State Statistical Agency 2017) shows that 0.9% have not education, 2.1% have General Primary Education (GPE), 14.1% - General Basic Education (GBE), 54% -General Secondary Education (GSE), 3.9% - Initial Vocational Education (IVE), 8.9% -Secondary Vocational Education (SVE) and 17% -Higher Education (HE). Thus, 71.1% of the employed population has not professional education.

The average annual growth of the employable population in the period 2004-2016¹ is 2.6%. This indicator in 2016 in the urban areas was 1.8%, and in the rural areas - 2.3%. A similar indicator of labor force in this period was 1.7%. According to the LFS-2016, the level of total unemployment in the urban areas was 11%, and in the rural areas -5,5%. The unemployment rate among female was 5.5%, and among male - 7.9%.

According to the LFS-2016, 75.4% of the employed live in rural areas. The share of youth employment, i.e. of persons aged 15-29 years, constantly declining and reached from 43.7% in 2004 to 37.4% in 2009 and to 31.1% in 2016 (State Statistical Agency 2017).

The change in the structure of the status of employed in the period 2009-2016 is shown in Table 1.

¹ The Labor Force Survey (LFS) in Tajikistan was conducted only in 2004, 2009 and 2016.

Table 1. The structure of the status of the employed population in 2009 and 2016 (in %)

	Hired workers	Self-employed	Employers	Assistants from the HH members
LFS-2009	52.2	46.7	0.4	0.4
LFS-2016	34.8	45.5	10.7	8.5

Source: LFS-2016, State Statistical Agency (2017).

Data of the LFS-2016 (State Statistical Agency 2017) show that in the period 2009-2016 the sectoral structure of the employed population did not change significantly (see Table 2). At the same time, are observed the decreasing of the number of employed in the agrarian sector by 6.4 percentage points and the increasing of the number of employed in the services sector.

Table 2. The sectoral structure of the employed population in 2009 and 2016

	Agrarian sector	Industry sector	Service sector	Construction sector
OPC-2009	52.2	7.0	32.0	8.2
OPC-2016	45.8	7.0	39.0	8.6

Source: LFS-2016, State Statistical Agency (2017).

One of the main factors of the attractiveness of jobs in the labor market is the amount of wages.

Table 3. The average monthly wages and salaries in USD equivalent in Tajikistan

	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Total by types of activity	95.92	116.59	145.86	165.41	142.58	122.79
Real sector	79.87	92.74	114.94	135.53	126.82	117.27
<i>of which, agriculture</i>	29.92	33.35	44.33	50.93	45.13	38.67
Services sector	106.61	131.55	162.69	180.27	149.90	125.08

Source: LFS-2016, State Statistical Agency (2017).

In this sphere, labor market indicators in Tajikistan are wary low (see Table 3). In 2016, the average wage, equivalent in US dollars, for all activities was \$ 122.79, in particular, in the agricultural sector - \$ 38.67.

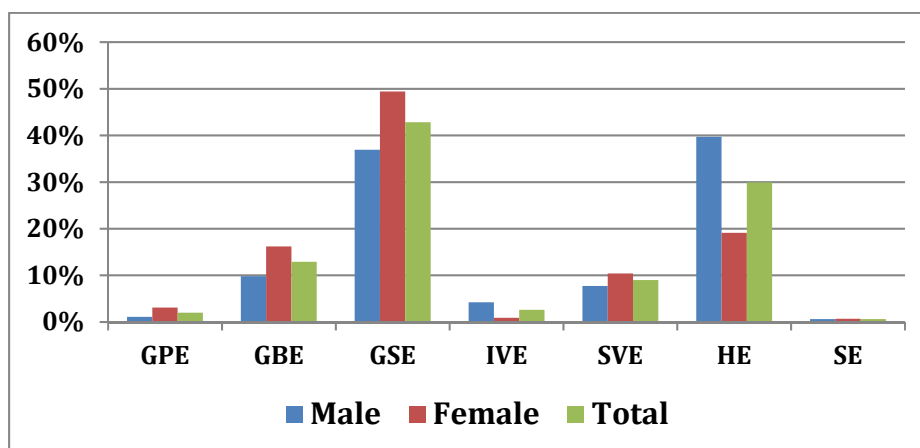
This indicator of the economy of Tajikistan, as one of the poorest countries of the former Soviet space, in comparison with all Commonwealth of Independent States(CIS) countries, in particular, with the countries of the Central Asian and Caucasian regions, is the lowest.

3. Descriptive Statistics on the Determinants of the Transition from Education to Work

3.1. Individual Resources

Analysis of the survey data according to the indicator "the highest level of education achieved" shows that the highest share of the respondents have a General Secondary Education (GSE) - 42.8%, the second –Higher Education (HE)- 29.9%, the third –General Basic Education (GBE) -12.9%, the fourth –Initial Vocation Education (IVE) and Secondary Vocation Education (SVE) -11.6%, the fifth - General Primary Education (GPE) - 2.0% and the latter –Science Education (SE) - 0.6% (see Figure 1).

Figure 1. Distribution of respondents by educational level and sex



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

At the same time, the share of females in all categories of general education (GPE, GBE and GSE), i.e. nonprofessional education, is always higher than that of males, and in professional education (except SVE) on the contrary - the share of males is higher than the share of females. The relatively large proportion of women in the SVE is due to the fact that this subsystem of the education system is mainly focused on women's professions (nurses, primary school teachers).

Moreover, the number of women in the section of GPE is almost three times (2.8 times) more than men, and in the section of GBE- 1.5 times more. And the share of men with HE is more than twice that of women.

Table 4. Distribution of respondents by level of education, sex and place of residence (in %)

	Total	Male	Female	Urban	Rural
General Primary Education	2.0	1.1	3.1	2.3	1.9
General Basic Education	12.9	9.8	16.2	12.7	13.0
General Secondary Education	42.8	36.9	49.4	36.3	45.1
Initial Vocational Education	2.6	4.2	0.9	3.3	2.4
Secondary Vocational Education	9.0	7.7	10.4	6.6	9.8
Higher Education (Bachelor)	13.1	18.1	7.5	11.9	13.5
Higher Education (Master)	16.8	21.6	11.6	25.6	13.8
Science Education (PhD)	0.6	0.6	0.7	1.2	0.5

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

In terms of urban/rural differences, survey data show that the share of people with GBE, IVE or SVE in rural areas is higher than in urban areas. And the share of people who have HE and SE in the urban areas is higher in rural areas (38.7% in sum) than in urban areas (27.8% in sum).

3.2. Socio-Demographic Factors

The results of the survey show that 27% of respondents live in urban areas and 73% in rural areas. IN terms of economic background, 25.9% live in well-off families, 60.2% in middle-income families and 14.1% in poor families. The age of 87.2% of respondents at the time of the survey was less than 30 years (<30), and the age of 12.8% - more than 29 and less than 35 years (≥ 30 and ≤ 35).

Analysis of the number of children in the families of the respondents shows that 20.2% of families have more than 6 children, 53.3% of families - from 4 to 6 children and 26.5% - 3 or less children.

In addition, 40.7% of the respondents' fathers don't have a professional education, 27.9% have an IVE or SVE, and 29.5% have an HE or SE. The majority of mothers of respondents (81.2%) don't have a professional education, 10.2% have an HE or SE, and 7.6% have an IVE or SVE.

According to the survey, 71.7% of respondents are married, including 59.8% having a child, and 31.7% of respondents are living together with their parents. The average age of marriage for men is almost 23 years, for women - 21 years, and the age of leaving the parental home for both sexes is about 20 years.

3.3. Cultural Factors

To the question "Why did you stop studying?" a meager percentage of respondents (0.25%) pointed to the reason "For religious or cultural reasons," and to the question "Why are you not looking for work?" the same reason was indicated only by 0.65% of respondents . Consequently, religious or cultural reasons are not significant factors in influencing the career development of respondents. Nevertheless, there is another factor of general cultural nature, which significantly influences this process - the factor of "patriarchal attitude" of respondents to the issue of career growth. For example, 86% of men and 80.7% of women indicated that "The career of a husband should be more important for the wife than her own career", but the level of education achieved by respondents does not influence this event (see Table 5).

In this context, 86.2% of men and 69.3% of women believe that "mostly a man must earn money", and the level of education achieved by respondents almost inversely affects this opinion (i.e., the higher of the education level, the lower the share of persons confirming this thesis). At the same time, 29.8% of women believe that the husband and wife in the family, both equally need to earn money. In addition, 66.7% of men and 53.2% of women believe that "university education is more important for a boy than for a girl". Here it should be noted that almost half of women don't agree with this statement. It is striking that almost all respondents (93.9% of men and 93.5% of women) believe that "women and girls need permission to work outside the home from their male guardian (for example, father, brother or husband)". These facts point to the predominance of men's influence on the career development of women.

Table 5. Indicators of respondents' approval of some statements regarding career growth by gender and educational levels (in %)

<i>Statements (events)</i>	Not against				
	<i>gender</i>		<i>educational levels</i>		
	M	F	≤GSE	IVE or SVE	HE
University education is more important for a boy than for a girl.	66.7	53.2	63.1	67.6	52.6
The career of a husband must be more important for the wife than her own career.	86.0	80.7	84.2	86.4	81.2
Mostly a man must earn money	86.2	69.3	83.5	67.6	61.9
Women and girls need permission to work outside the home from their male guardian (for example, father, brother or husband)	93.9	93.5	95.0	92.1	92.1

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

4. The Impact of Individual Resources on the Transition from Education to Work

According to the research data, the average age of completion of education is approximately 20 years, and the average age of first job finding is 21.5 years, i.e. the interval between these events is approximately 1.5 years or 18 months. It should be noted that this indicator exactly coincides with the similar result of LFS-2016 (State Statistical Agency 2017).

If we consider this transition in the context of educational levels of respondents, then the traditional natural thesis "how much higher the level of education, so much is the less the transition interval" is basically confirmed. In our case, the exception is the case of "Initial vocational education" (IVE), which we shall consider below separately. In addition, at all levels of education, the transition interval for women is to a different extent longer than that of men. The equality of this interval in the section "Secondary vocational education" (SVE) is certainly connected with the fact that the SVE subsystem, as already mentioned above, is mainly oriented towards the most demanded women's professions (medical sisters, primary school teachers).

Table 6. TEW intervals by sex and educational level of respondents

Educational level	Age at leaving education in years		Age at 1st job in years		Duration of transit	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
	Mean	Mean	Mean	Mean	Months	Months
General primary education	14.5	14.1	14.9	18.8	5	56
General basic education	16.3	16.1	17.5	18.1	14	25
General secondary education	18.0	17.9	19.0	19.1	12	14
Initial vocational education	19.0	19.2	20.5	21.6	18	29
Secondary vocational education	20.3	21.2	21.0	22.0	9	9
Higher education (BA)	22.1	22.3	22.4	22.8	4	6
Higher education (MA) and higher	23.5	23.2	23.9	24.1	5	10

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

As for the exceptional case in IVE, the survey data for graduates of this level of education subsystem show that 40% of this category of respondents "did not have any problems at all in finding a job", and hence the problem - in the remaining 60%.

A deeper analysis of this group shows that the qualification level of 34% of the representatives of this group does not correspond to the needs of the workplaces, which is confirmed by the known facts about the low quality of this level of education in Tajikistan (Ashurov 2012). Moreover, 20% of this group believes that "Low wages in available jobs". Besides, the factor "not enough available jobs" (20%) could also affect this situation, as according to the data of the LFS-2016, the number of employed people with IVE level of education decreased twice in the period 2009-2016 and amounted to 4 % in 2016 (State Statistical Agency 2017). In this regard, the lowest share (52.8%) of people who started job search after completion of education is among those have IVE level of education.

If we consider the status of the first job, then are observed a direct proportionality between the level of education and the finding of the first registered work and the inverse proportionality - in the case of unregistered work. And self-employment among people, who have a level of education - no higher

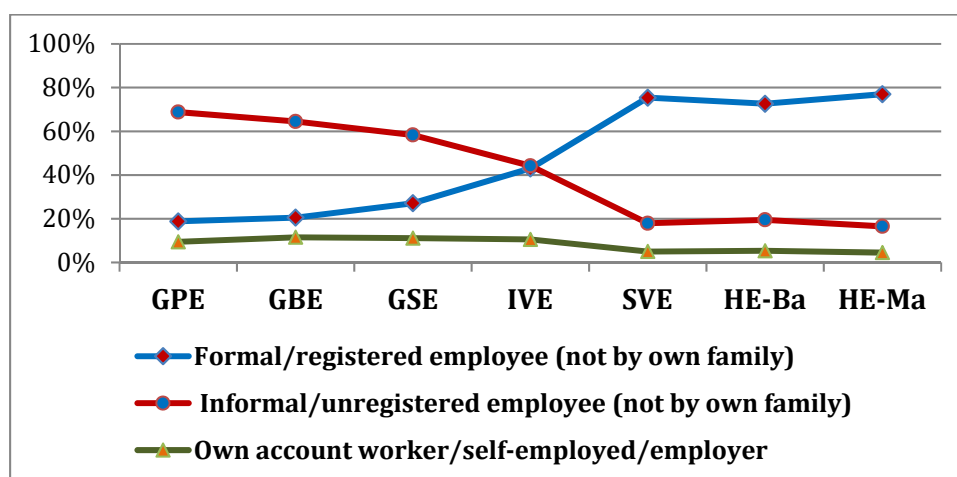
than IVE, is twice more in compared to persons, who have an educational level higher than IVE (see Figure 2).

On average, 56.7% of the first works were "formal / registered employees (not by own family)", and 71,7% of them were in the public sector. Among a male 46.4% had such status of work, and among a female - 63.4%.

Regardless of the gradual expansion of the private sector, the public sector remains the main absorber for the workforce: 42.6% of respondents had the first job in the public sector. It should be noted that 32.7% of the respondents found their first job in abroad.

The survey data show that 29.3% of respondents found their first jobs in the construction industry, 28% in the areas of education, social protection and health, 15.7% in services sector, and 8.5% in the agricultural sector. At the same time, 51.7% of women found their first jobs in the education and health sector and 42.4% of men - in the construction sector.

Figure 2. Dependence of the status of first work on the level of education



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

The private sector basically absorbs unskilled labor force (see Table 7). On average, the first job of 64.4% of respondents with a level of education no higher than IVE was in the private sector, and 86% of respondents with at least SVE level of education had their first job in the public sector.

Table 7. Distribution of the first work by ownership sectors (in %)

	GPE	GBE	GSE	IVE	SVE	HE-Ba	HE-Ma
Public sector	12.0	17.4	28.6	18.4	83.9	72.2	76.1
Private sector	88.0	82.6	72.4	81.6	16.1	26.8	23.9

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

Among the self-employed (first job), 57.1% engaged in handicrafts, 39.6% - small-scale trade and 2.6% - in the agrarian sector. The status of the first job for 17.3% of self-employed was registered business, and 82.7% - unregistered business. It should be noted that among those, who found the first job in the form of small trade, 61.5% had higher education. Among the women who found the first job in the form of self-employment, the share of unregistered business is higher (92.3%) than among men (77.3%). The share of unregistered business among the self-employed decreases with

increasing of the level of education: if 87% -100% of self-employed persons, who have an education level no higher than IVE, are engaged in unregistered business, then only 56% among self-employed persons with a higher master's degree are engaged in unregistered business. Only 13.4% of men used loans from financial institutions at the beginning of their business, while the rest of the men (86.6%) and all women (100%) used their own means or the means of their relatives. The loans of financial institutions were mainly used by people with professional education (72.3%).

At the time of the survey, 34.6% of respondents didn't have the first job, of which 21.1% were male and 78.9% were female, 24% lived in the urban areas and 76% lived in the rural areas. The last ratio (24 to 76) almost corresponds to the ratio of the total number of respondents living in the urban areas or in the rural areas (27% and 73%). Nevertheless, among the people living in the urban areas, 30.7% did not have the first job at the time of the survey, this indicator was 36% among the rural areas. Among female, this category is 54.7%, and among male - 14.5%. 86.4% of those, who didn't find the first job don't have a higher education.

It should be noted that among the youth (persons less than 30 years old), the share of people who didn't find the first job (37.8%) is three times more than among those over 29 years old (12.5%).

The first work among 46.4% of young people is formal (registered), and for people over 29 this indicator is 77.7%. 39.5% of the youth found the first job in the public sector. This indicator among persons older than youth (≥ 30 and ≤ 35) is 65.3%.

Table 8. Branch structure of the first work of young people and persons older than youth (% of the category of persons)

	Agriculture	Manufacturing	Construction	Wholesale and retail trade	Financial intermediation	Public administration	Education	Health and social work
<30	8,6	10,0	31,3	6,3	2,6	3,6	16,7	7,4
≥ 30	2,9	9,5	12,9	5,7	2,9	8,1	35,7	11,0

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

The data in Table 8 shows that the share of young people who found their first job in the "physical" labor (Agriculture, Manufacturing, Construction) (49.5%) is almost twice the share of older people (25.2%) and vice versa, the share of youth, who found their first job in the "mental" work (Financial intermediation, Public administration, Education, Health and social work) (22.9%) were more than two time less than the share of older people (46.7%).

As noted above, 32.7% of respondents found their first job in abroad. The educational structure of these individuals shows that 73% of those, who found their first job in abroad have not professional education (mainly GBE or GSE). In this context, it should be noted that 31.6% of respondents, whose highest educational level is GSE, did not seek a job in connection with the planning of departure to abroad. This indicator among people who have only IVE is 30%, among people who have only SVE - 26.3%, among those which have only bachelor's education - 23.5%, among those which have only a master's degree - 11.7%. Thus, with increasing the level of education, the share of people planning to travel abroad to find work decreases.

The survey data show that immediately after the completion or stopping of formal education 48.3% of respondents actively started a job search, 12.2% had already work (i.e. did not look for work), 3.6% did not want to work, and 35.9% - did not actively looking for work.

The main reasons for the last event ("they did not start actively looking for work") are the family factor (parents / spouse did not allow - 22%), lack of housing near work (16%), marriage (15.6%), intention to carry out foreign labor migration (13%), lack of work experience or proper qualifications (11.3%), lack of experience in finding a job (7.3%).

Among those, who did not start actively seeking work due to lack of work experience and proper qualifications, 87.9% don't have a professional education (have only IVE, SVE or HE). And among those, who have professional education and noted this cause, 3.4% have initial vocational education (IVE), 2.2% - secondary vocational education (SVE), 7.9% - higher baccalaureate education (HE-Ba) and 10.1% - higher master's education (HE-Ma). A similar situation is observed among people who did not start actively seeking work because of "lack of experience in finding a job": they basically have not professional education (85.3%) and live in rural areas (73.6%).

As noted above, 48.3% of respondents actively began a job search immediately after graduation or stopping of formal education. This figure among male is 62.7%, and among female - 32.4%. Among persons who don't have professional education, this indicator is 39.8%, among persons with higher professional education - 42.4%.

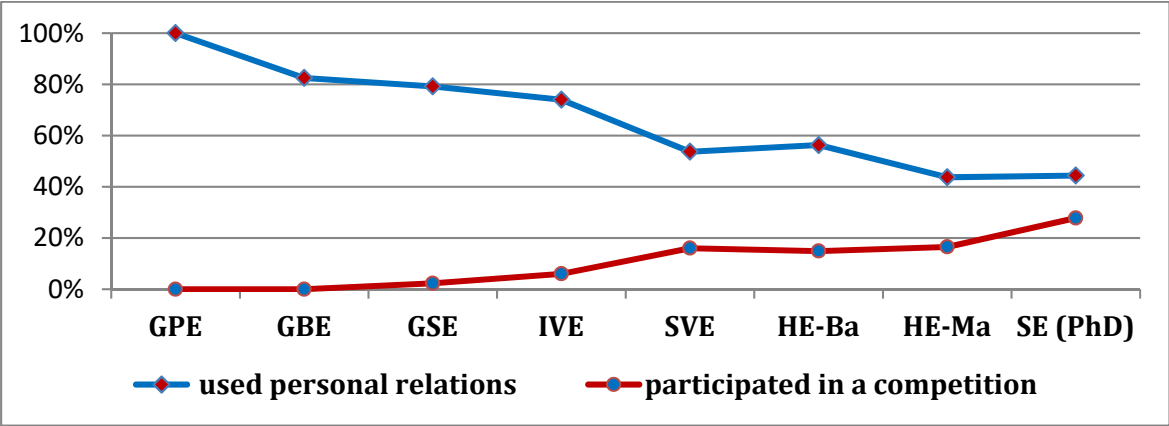
62.3% of respondents indicated "Using personal connections (relatives, friends, friends)" as the main method of finding a job. Further, according to the degree of using the methods of job search, these methods are: direct appeal to employers (38.7%), placement of advertisements in electronic and printed media (13.2%), appeals to state and private employment services (7.6%).

Persons using personal connections to find a job are 70% male and 30% female by gender; they are almost equally distributed in educational level - 51.2% who don't have professional education, and those, who have a professional education 48, 8%. Among those, who don't have professional education, the main part of users of this method is concentrated among those, who have GSE (39.2%), and among those, who have a professional education prevail persons who have a higher education (32.9%).

And the persons who used the method of directly applying to employers for their job search are distributed relatively evenly by sex (58.2% - male and 41.8% - female), and in educational levels - 75.7% have secondary vocational or higher education.

77.3% of people who used electronic and printed media for job search are male, and 55% have higher education. And 78.4% of persons who applied to the employment services for job search have secondary vocational or higher education. Thus, the level of education significantly influences the choice of job search, i.e. persons with a higher level of education use more modern methods of job search (see Figure 3).

Figure 3. The correlation between the level of achieved education and the method of job search



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

Among the factors impeding the looking for and finding a suitable job, respondents mostly noted "not enough jobs available" (36.2%), "lack of work experience and proper skill level" (31.6%) and "low level of wages in available jobs "(20.8%). Factors such as discrimination by sex and ethnic origin were noted by 0.2% and 0.3% respondents, respectively.

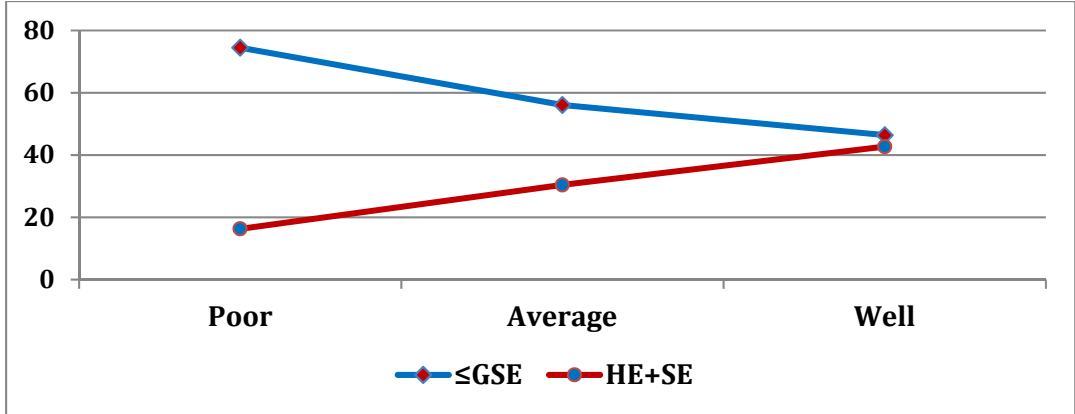
Among the persons noted the main factors mentioned above, male are almost twice more than female, in terms of education level - on average 45% don't have a professional education, and 55% have professional education. It is interesting fact that, among the holders of professional education, 94.5% of respondents who noted "lack of work experience and the required level of qualifications" as a factor hindering the search and finding a suitable job, have secondary vocational and higher education. A similar situation is observed with the factor of "not enough jobs available". The factor of "low level of wages in available jobs" was noted equally by persons with or without a professional education.

It should be noted that, these facts are confirmed by real situations in the labor market of Tajikistan. Firstly, Tajikistan is a labor-surplus country, i.e. the average annual growth in jobs is much slower than that of the labor force: in the period 2004-2016, the average annual increase in labor resources was 2.9%, and the same indicator for jobs - 1.2%. Secondly, as noted above (see Table 3 and Figure 1), the average wage level in Tajikistan is the lowest among the former Soviet countries, in particular, the countries of the Central Asian region. Thirdly, many studies (Ashurov, 2012) and government strategic documents (Parliament of the Republic of Tajikistan 2016) confirm the low level of correspondence of professional education to the needs of the labor market.

5. The Impact of Socio-Demographic and Cultural Factors on the Transition from Education to Work

The survey data show that the level of family welfare has a direct impact on the level of education achieved: with increasing the level of financial security of the family, the share of people who have a higher level of education increases and, conversely, decreases the share of people with a relatively low level of education (see Figure 4).

Figure 4. Correlation between the level of family welfare and the level of education achieved (in %)

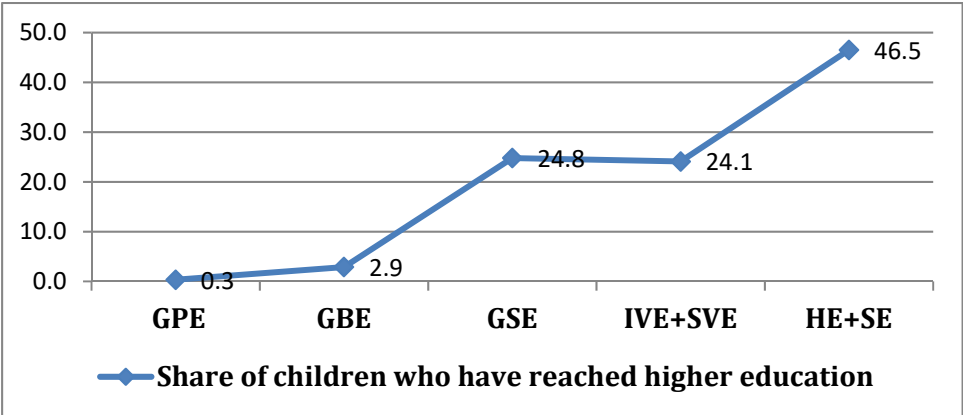


Source: TEW-CCA Youth Transition Survey in Tajikistan, own calculation.

In addition, the fathers of 74.6% respondents who achieved only the GSE educational level and noted "My family was not able to pay for my further studies" to explain the reason for the stopping of the education process, don't have higher education. 83.4% of people of this category live in rural areas, and on the basis of gender, they are almost equally divided.

The level of education of fathers also affects the level of education achieved by their children. Thus, the fathers of 85.8% respondents achieved only GPE, don't have higher education. This indicator among children who didn't reach higher education, on the average (by educational levels) is 78.8%. In general, almost the direct proportionality is observed between the level of education of fathers and the shares of their children who have reached higher education, i.e. with increasing the level of education of fathers, the share of their children who have reached higher education increases (see Figure 5).

Figure 5. Correlation between the level of education of fathers and the share of their children who have completed higher education



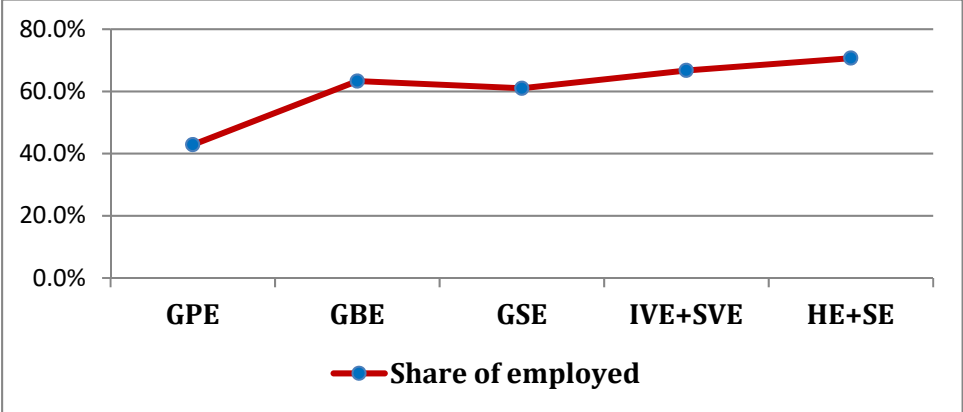
Source: TEW-CCA Youth Transition Survey in Tajikistan, own calculation.

The survey data show that the number of children in the family does not significantly affect the employment: 63.5% of respondents living in families with no more than four children were employed at the time of the study, and this figure among other respondents is 67.8%. Nevertheless, the share of employed persons among persons from large families is 4.3 percentage points higher than other persons.

Similarly, the level of financial security of families does not significantly affect the fact of employment: the share of employed in secured families is 68.7%, in the middle-income families - 63.7%, and in poor families - 68.4%. This is certainly related to the fact that the share of people from low-income families who don't have vocational education (74.5%) is higher than among other categories of persons, which may hinder the receipt of work.

However, between shares of employed and the levels of education of the fathers there is a direct proportionality, i.e. with the increasing of the level of education of the respondent's father, the share of children who have a job increases (see Figure 6). This correlation is not observed with the levels of education of the mothers of the respondents.

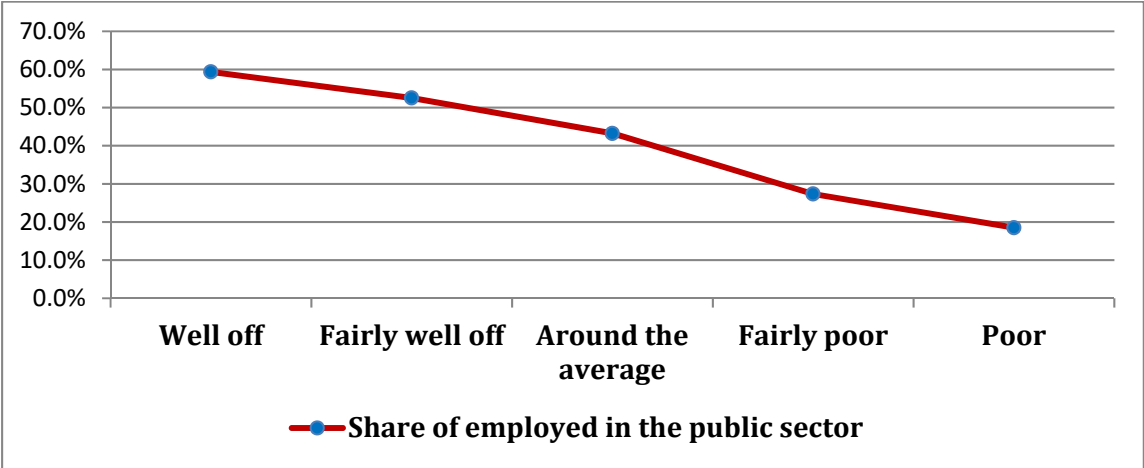
Figure 6. Correlation between levels of education of fathers of family and shares of employed children



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

There is a strict inverse proportionality between the level of family welfare and the shares of those employed in the public sector, i.e. with the decreasing of the family's financial security level, the share of employed persons in the public sector decreases (see Figure 7).

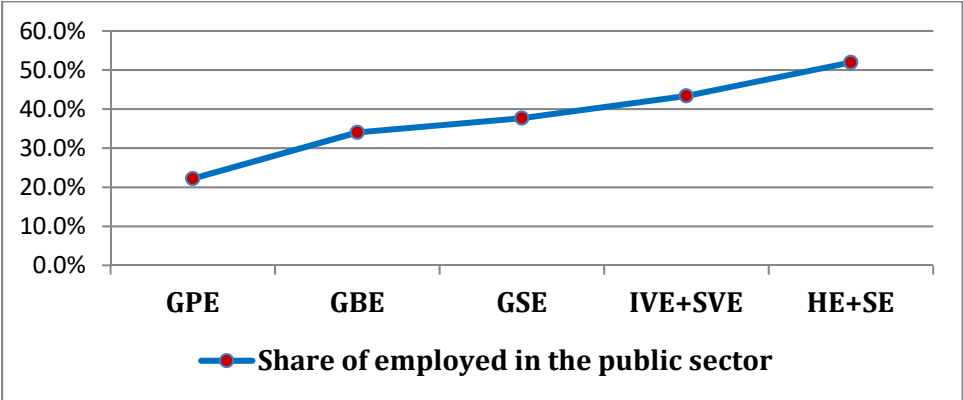
Figure 7. Correlation between the levels of financial security of the family and the shares of employed in the public sector



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

The same picture is observed between the levels of education of the fathers of the family and the shares of employed in the public sector, i.e. with the increasing of the educational level of the fathers families, the share of persons employed in the public sector of the labor market increases (see Figure 8).

Figure 8. Correlation between the levels of education of fathers and shares of employed in the public sector



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

A similar correlation is observed between the level of family welfare and the shares of employed in various sectors of the economy, depending on the wage and the form (physical and mental) of labor (see Table 9).

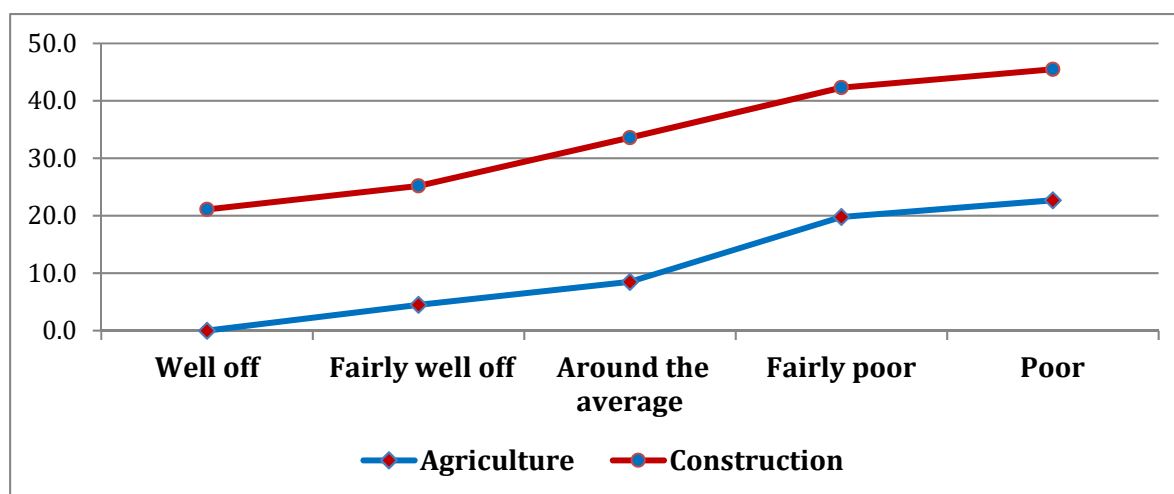
Table 9. Distribution of the employment shares in the labor market sectors according to the level of family welfare (in %)

	Well off	Fairly well off	Average	Fairly poor	Poor
Agriculture	0.0	4.5	8.5	19.8	22.7
Manufacturing	3.5	10.7	13.0	7.2	13.6
Construction	21.1	25.2	33.6	42.3	45.5
Whole sale and retail trade	14.0	7.4	6.2	8.1	4.5
Financial intermediation	8.8	4.1	2.6	0.9	0.0
Public administration and defence	8.8	8.3	4.2	1.8	0.0
Education	36.8	28.1	21.7	15.3	4.5
Health and social work	7.0	11.6	10.3	4.5	9.1

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

We can see from the data of this table that in the agrarian and construction sectors, where physical labor predominates, is observed the direct proportionality between the decrease in the level of family welfare and the shares of employed workers in these sectors, i.e. with the decreasing of the family's welfare level, the share of employed workers in these sectors increases (see Figure 9).

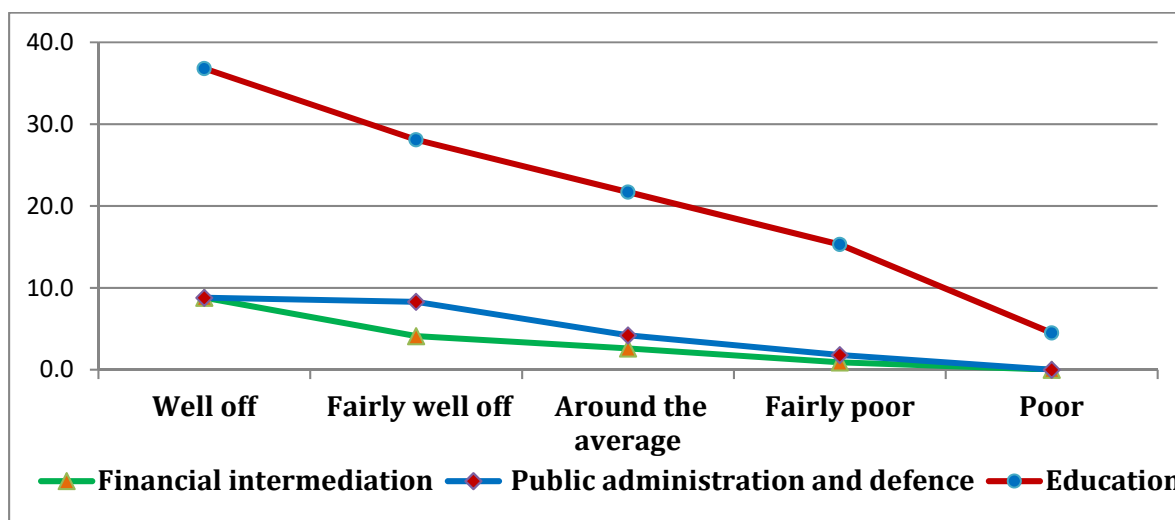
Figure 9. Correlation between levels of family well-being and the shares of employed in the agricultural and construction sectors



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

And in the financial, administrative and educational sectors, where mental work prevails, there is an inverse proportionality between the decline in the family well-being and the share of employed workers in these sectors, i.e. with the decreasing of the level of family welfare, decreases the share of employed workers in these sectors (see Figure 10).

Figure 10. Correlation between the levels of family welfare and the shares of those employed in the financial, administrative and educational sectors



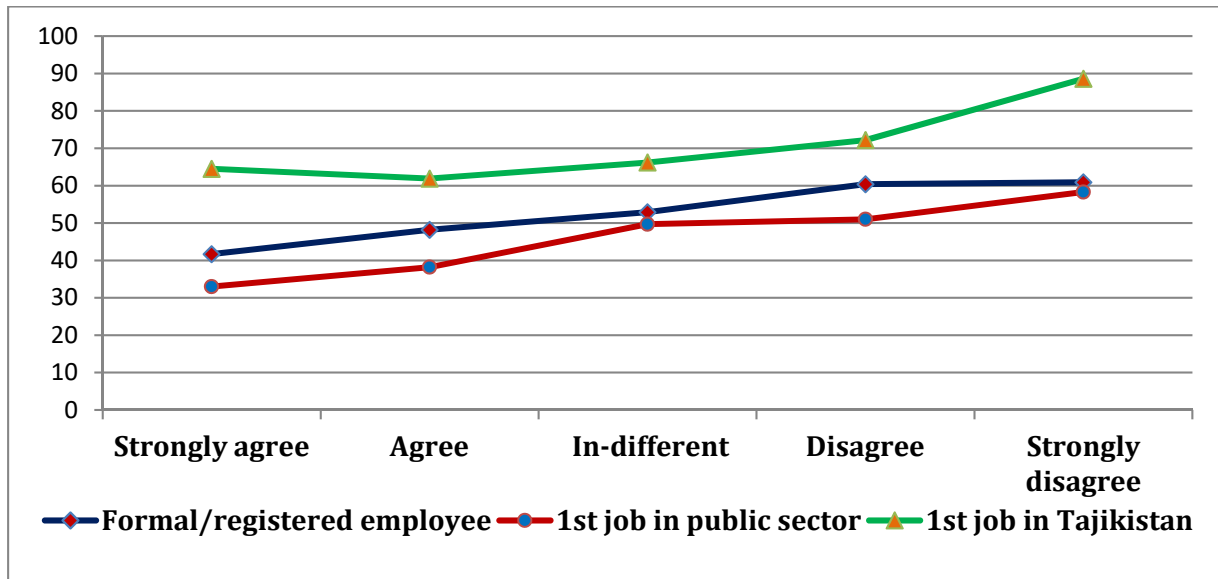
Source: TEW-CCA Youth Transition Survey in Tajikistan, own calculation.

The data show that the number of family members does not affect to the finding a first job in abroad. But the level of family welfare affects this event. The share of people from middle-income families who found their first job in abroad (57.9%) is 2.3 times higher than from wealthy families (24.9%). At the same time, 76.6% of those, who found the first job in abroad are from a families, whose head has not a higher education.

57.7% of self-employed people belong to medium-income families, and 70.7% of self-employed people belong to families, whose head has not a higher education.

Consider now the degree of respondents' orientation to the patriarchal form of life activity on the example of their attitude to the event "University education is more important for a boy than for a girl" and its impact on the status of the first place of work. The survey data show that there is a direct proportionality between these events, i.e. with the increasing of the distance from this principle of patriarchy, the share of people who found the first registered work also increases. The same correlation is also observed in the status of the first work relative to the ownership sector, i.e. with the increasing of the distance from this principle of patriarchy, also increases the share of people who have found the first job in the public sector, where the work is more socially protected (see Figure 11).

Figure 11. Correlation between the relations to the event "University education is more important for the boy than for the girl" and the shares of those, who found the first job in the various labor market segments



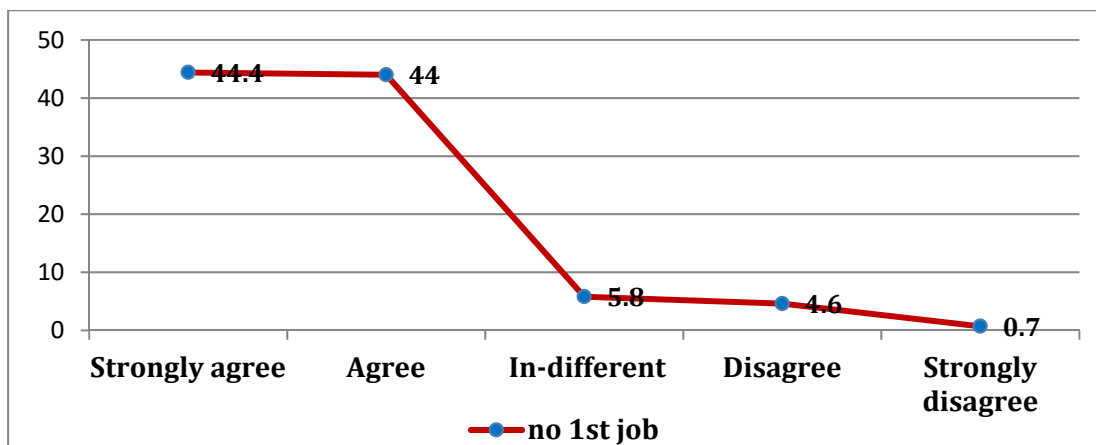
Source: TEW-CCA Youth Transition Survey in Tajikistan, own calculation.

We can see from Fig. 12 that, there is a direct proportionality between the patriarchal orientation of the respondents and the finding of the first work within the country, i.e. with decreasing of the level of patriarchy, the share of people who find the first job within the country increases. In this context, it should be noted that foreign labor migration is mainly forced and is associated with some social losses and risks for the perpetrators of this migration (Olimova 2016).

There is also a correlation between the attitude towards the event "Women and girls need their male guardian's permission to work outside home" and finding the first job. More precisely, the data show that as the distance from this event increases, the share of people who don't have a first job, also decreases (see Figure 13), i.e. if among the people strictly confirming this event, 44.4% don't have the first job, then among the persons who strictly deny this event, this indicator is equal to 0.7%.

As noted above, the family factor (parents / spouse did not allow - 22%) and family creation (15.6%) are part of the main causes of the event "did not actively look for work".

Figure 12. Correlation between the relationship to the event "Women and girls need their male guardian's permission to work outside home" and the shares of those, who didn't find the first job



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

Among the persons that parents / spouses don't allow to look for a work, mainly women (98.4%) and rural residents (76.8%). At the same time, the share of persons from this category is inversely proportional to the level of education of the family father, and between the level of financial security of the family and this "forbidden phenomenon" there is no clear correlation: 14.5% of these persons live in poor families, 26.3% in rich and 57.6% - in the average financial security families. It should be noted that 88% of persons whose parents / spouses are not allowed to seek work completed their education at GBE or GSE levels (see Table 10).

Table 10. Multivariate statistical analyses of the two life course data according to the job search

Life course	Urban/Rural		Sex		Level of education of father			Financial situation of family		
	Urban	Rural	M	F	≤GSE	IVE+SVE	HE+SE	Well off	Average	Poor
Parents/spouse didn't allow	23.2	76.8	1.6	98.4	41.0	31.9	25.3	26.3	57.6	14.5
Got married	30.9	69.1	2.8	97.2	51.2	21.8	24.7	29.7	58.2	11.5

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

A similar situation is also observed among people who didn't start actively seeking work due to marriage. At the same time, the level of financial security of the family affects the event of entering into marriage: 87.9% of the respondents who created the family - from well- or medium-wealthy families. These studies show that 80.1% of those, who created the family completed their education at GBE or GSE levels.

It should be noted that among those, who didn't start actively seeking work for religious and cultural reasons, although they are very few (1.0%), 95.9%, completed their education at GIE, GBE or GSE levels, i.e. do not have a professional education.

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