

ГОДИШНИК НА СОФИЙСКИ УНИВЕРСИТЕТ "СВ. КЛИМЕНТ ОХРИДСКИ"

ФИЛОСОФСКИ ФАКУЛТЕТ

Книга Социология

Том 101

ANNUAIRE DE L'UNIVERSITE DE SOFIA "ST. KLIMENT OCHRIDSKI"

FACULTE DE PHILOSOPHIE

Livre Sociologie

Tome 101

**STRATIFICATION IN BULGARIA. MEASURING THE IMPACT OF ORIGIN, AGE,
GENDER, AND ETHNICITY ON EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT AND LABOUR
MARKET PLACEMENT**

RUMIANA STOILOVA, KALOYAN HARALAMPIEV

Румяна Стоилова, Калоян Хараламбиев. СТРАТИФИКАЦИЯТА В БЪЛГАРИЯ. ИЗМЕРВАНЕ ВЛИЯНИЕТО НА ПРОИЗХОД, ВЪЗРАСТ, ПОЛ И ЕТНОС ВЪРХУ ОБРАЗОВАТЕЛНИТЕ ДОСТИЖЕНИЯ И ПОЗИЦИЯТА НА ПАЗАРА НА ТРУДА.

Фокусът на анализа е върху взаимната зависимост между социален произход, образователни достижения и позиция на пазара на труда. Проведен е европейски сравнителен анализ по отношение на междугенерационната мобилност. Влиянието на социалния произход се интерпретира чрез съпоставка между образователните достижения на респондентите и на техните родители. Социалното затваряне е тематизирано и оценено въз основа на данни, отнасящи се до икономическия и образователен статус на семейните партньори. Позицията на пазара на труда е декомпозирана в категориите на шанса, респективно риска, респондентите да бъдат самонаети, да работят на постоянен трудов договор или без договор, да заемат ръководна позиция или системно да бъдат изключвани от тази възможност по определен признак. Изследвана е ролята на аскриптивни признаци като пол и етнос. Като база за анализ служат емпирични данни от представително за страната изследване "Полове и поколения".

Rumiana Stoilova, Kaloyan Haralampiev. STRATIFICATION IN BULGARIA. MEASURING THE IMPACT OF ORIGIN, AGE, GENDER, AND ETHNICITY ON EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT AND

LABOUR MARKET PLACEMENT

The focus of the analysis is on the interrelation between social origin, educational attainment, and placement on the labour market. European comparison has been made concerning intergenerational mobility. The influence of social origin has been analyzed through matching the educational attainment of respondents and their parents. Social closure is analysed through data concerning the socio economic status of the family partners. The labour market placement is viewed in terms of the chances and risks for self-employment, for working on a permanent contract basis, and for obtaining a managerial position. The role of ascribed factors, like gender and ethnicity, has been examined. The empirical data of the Gender and Generation Survey have served as the basis for the analysis.

Introduction

The process of stratification in contemporary Bulgarian society is affected by different developments and mechanisms that have arisen during the post-communist transition: variation in economic conditions, high level of unemployment, liberalization of welfare-state policy. The reduction of state functions affects all social strata, but in different ways: some groups are in a better condition than others to protect themselves against the risks of labour market fluctuations. This leads to higher levels of inequalities in society (Müller, Scherer 2003). The social welfare state in Bulgaria underwent a deep process of liberalization. Bulgaria holds the lowest position in the international comparison with other transition countries with regard to the percentage of various kinds of public expenditures as a share of the state budget, except as regards support for poor families. The share of the families with two unemployed partners who receive social benefits is 26,3% in Slovakia; in Bulgaria it is 23,7%; in Poland 13,4%; in Hungary 10,4%; in Romania 5,7%; and in Russia 1,4%. However Bulgaria is in last place with respect to public expenditures for education as a share of the state budget. This share in Poland represents 7,5%; in Slovakia – 5,0%; in Hungary – 4,6%; in Romania – 3,6%; in Russia – 3,5%; in Bulgaria – 3,2%. A very slow increase for education is expected in Bulgaria within the next five years: the share of the expenditures for education in 2007 and 2008 is 4,2%.

The limited governmental expenditures on education are decreasing the egalitarian effects of the school system and are leading to an increase of inequalities in educational opportunities. The possible outcomes may be an increase of the role of the family for the educational attainment of children, hence greater inequality in educational opportunities among children of different social backgrounds could be expected. There are differing chances for children depending on the social origin to obtain the educational level that guarantees their future transition and adaptation

to the needs of the local labor market.

Several developments on the labor market can be identified as significant for stratification: the establishment of the group of the self-employed, the risk of working in the informal economy without a labor contract and without social security payments; vertical segregation (meaning that factors additional to the attained education are significant for access to high positions in the organizational hierarchies and to the chance of exercising management functions). The questions arising in connection with these significant developments for stratification, are: How do social origin and individual characteristics (such as ethnicity, gender and age on one hand, and structure factors like labour market opportunities on the other) determine the status in employment (socio-economic status)? What is the role of education for the labour market placement in contemporary Bulgarian society?

Theoretical background and main hypothesis

In his study of inequality of educational opportunities, Raymond Boudon (1974) explains two mechanisms, which he calls primary and secondary effects of social origin. On the average, children from a higher social class perform better at school – this relates to primary effects; they tend to choose a given performance academic track in school more than do children of a lower social origin – this represents the secondary effects. John Goldthorpe claims there is a rational process underlying the lack of convergence in class-specific evaluations in educational decision making. Less advantaged families require greater assurance of success than their more advantaged counterparts before deciding to pursue options for advanced schooling. “The persistence of these differing propensities over time can be seen to have a rational basis once the implications of the resources, opportunities and constraints that continue to typify differing class situations are taken into account” (Goldthorpe 1996:496). Interpreting this theoretical thesis, we find that, in order to help prevent early dropout from school, parents must be sure that higher educational attainment will improve their children’s chance for better placement and, hence, for a more stable labor market position.

The importance of social origin for stratification will be analyzed in two dimensions: in the comparison of the educational attainment of parents and children (intergenerational mobility) and in the matching between the socio-economic statuses of the family partners, leading either to the process of social closure or, on the contrary, to social openness. The process of social closure

increases the level of inequality in society. This involves a concentration of the benefits in the dual earner families, where both partners are well educated, and of the risks for families with two unemployed partners with a low level of education. Previous comparative research by Blossfeld and Drobnic (2001) concerning the possibility of wives being in employment as correlated with husbands' educational and employment status, show differences among Central European societies. In Poland the conservative model prevails: when the husband has a higher level of education, it is more likely that the wife is not in employment. In Hungary, on the contrary, the dual partner family model is prevalent. The wife is in employment even in the case where the husband has high employment status. (In Poland the role of the Catholic Church is estimated as a major factor contributing to the more traditional division of the family roles.) The analysis of the empirical data for Bulgaria will show the country's position in this comparison.

The socio-economic status will be examined in three dimensions – self-employment, labor contract, and managerial position. Self-employment is an interesting social category for stratification analysis, because it emerges at the complex intersection of family, state, and market. Self-employment can be seen as an unstable situation as regards the search for a proper job and the escape from unemployment status. Among the self-employed we find people with the most unstable, marginal, unskilled activities, who neither receive good remuneration for their work nor even the assurance of access to health care (Arum, Mueller 2004: 157-158). In many countries the groups represented in this marginal form of self-employment are ethnic minorities: for them self-employment is a more interesting option. Research shows that the differences between ethnic groups remain even when human capital and demographic variables are considered (Tubergen 2004). Through self-employment ethnic groups can achieve higher positions than through employment, which requires certificates and high qualifications (Arum, Müller 2004: 14). A strong variation can be observed with respect to gender.

The self-employed have an important impact on stratification. They legitimize a social structure in which the polarization of society is bridged by the wide middle class strata. This depends, however, on the connection between education and self-employment, and on the role of family-based social capital. When there is a positive association between self-employment status and education, and at the same time a lower degree of association between self-employment and social capital, there is a development towards the model of new middle class strata, those which rely on knowledge, and not a trend towards the traditional middle class groups. The post-

communist societies are described as having declining levels of labour market regulation and low to moderate levels of family-based social capital. The empirical data for Bulgaria will be estimated in this comparative frame.

Usually the self-employed are defined through their autonomous position. It is precisely the dimension of autonomy in work that divides the self-employed into two categories: the professional vs. non-professional self-employed; the skilled vs. unskilled non-professionals; the professional and managerial proprietors; the skilled vs. unskilled non-professionals. A recent article discusses the tendency for an increase of the marginalized forms and the unstable forms of employment. The description of „erosion of the social position of labor” (Arum, Müller 2004:12) applies to self-employment characterized by low level of qualification.

Another dimension of the labour market placement significant for stratification is the form of the labour contract. An important distinction in Bulgaria is whether work is done with or without labour contract. According to Breen employers prefer the forms of regulation not connected with a diffuse and long lasting exchange; they prefer forms where labour commodity increases. This means that employers prefer shorter contracts rather than permanent contracts with the employee, because this form makes them more flexible in adapting to the needs of the market. The growing competition leads the employers to transfer the risks and uncertainties to the individual employees. Thus the employers achieve an “asymmetric binding”. The employers have the right to choose from the labour resources, which, when necessary, they can reduce, thereby avoiding the risk of financial loss while preserving their chances of enrichment from economic growth (Breen 1997). This is exactly what is happening in the employer-employee relationship in Bulgaria, and it has a significant impact on stratification in the country. Globalization trends, the growing competition, the decreasing role of the trade unions, and the shift of the risk from the employer to the individual employee, lead not only to a decreasing number of permanent contracts but also to an increased number of people working without a labor contract: this is the form involving the greatest insecurity on the labor market.

The inclusion of the hierarchical dimension of the economic position is motivated by the existence of vertical gender segregation. The latter is a contributing factor of lower income among women. This in turn leads to gender differences in the returns obtained from education. The analysis will assess the importance of gender and education for chances of obtaining managerial positions. The structure of the article follows the basic model of educational and

labour market attainment developed by Blau and Duncan (1967). This model characterizes status attainment as the result, on one hand, of a direct link between social origin and destination, and, on the other, of an indirect link where social origin influences one's education, which in turn affects one's occupational destination.

Data and statistical methodology

The Dataset is based on the representative national survey “*Relations between genders and generations*” (GGP 2004, with 9500 respondents), conducted using an international comparative methodology. In the article we have used contingency tables, Cramer's V and multinomial logistic regressions. All of them have served to detect correlations between the dependent variable and all independent variables (predictors). For the purposes of logistic regression it is important to select independent variables that are highly correlated with the dependent variables (educational attainment and labour market placement) but have only low or no correlations with the other independent variables. The highest correlations between the independent variables in the analysis are observed between fathers' education and age of the respondents (0,279) and between fathers' education and ethnicity of the respondents (0,221) (Table 1). They are lower than 0.7, given in relevant literature as a value for which control is recommendable. This allows putting the independent variables together in the analyses.

Table 1. Correlation between the independent variables

(Cramer's V)

| | Age | Ethnicity | Fathers' education | Gender |
|--------------------|-------|-----------|--------------------|--------|
| Age | 1,000 | 0,083 | 0,279 | 0,125 |
| Ethnicity | | 1,000 | 0,221 | 0,013 |
| Fathers' education | | | 1,000 | 0,066 |
| Gender | | | | 1,000 |

Source: GGP

The terms “age” and “birth cohort” are used as synonyms. The analysis of the birth cohorts allows better understanding of the factors which contribute to the process of school-to-work transition. This makes possible the observation of the labour market placement of people from the same birth cohort in connection with the differences in their educational attainment. In this way the conclusion can be made that, in the same period of time and for the same age, the

educational attainment has a significance that can be measured.

Results

Origin-education link

The origin-educational link has been viewed in three different perspectives. *First*, in European perspective: comparing Bulgaria with the countries in the similar transitional context; *second*, according to the effects of intergenerational mobility: comparing the educational status of the parents and the respondents; *third*, in analyzing the role of ascribed characteristics: gender and ethnicity.

Table 2. Mean (and in parentheses standard deviation) of the main characteristics of education leavers

| Country | | Bulgaria | Romania | Hungary |
|---|-------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Total number of cases | | 3241 | 4693 | 8614 |
| | Female | 0,60 (0,49) | 0,49 (0,49) | 0,46 (0,49) |
| Highest educational attainment of education leavers | Tertiary | 0,19 (0,39) | 0,10 (0,30) | 0,15 (0,35) |
| | Upper-secondary | 0,57 (0,50) | 0,63 (0,48) | 0,70 (0,46) |
| | Lower-secondary or less | 0,24 (0,43) | 0,27 (0,45) | 0,15 (0,35) |
| Parents' highest educational attainment | Tertiary | 0,14 (0,35) | 0,06 (0,23) | 0,13 (0,33) |
| | Upper-secondary | 0,52 (0,50) | 0,50 (0,50) | 0,61 (0,49) |
| | Lower-secondary or less | 0,34 (0,47) | 0,44 (0,50) | 0,26 (0,44) |

Source: Data for Romania and Hungary is taken from Iannelli 2003 (35-36). Highest educational attainment is estimated when leaving continuous education training for LFS 18-35. For Bulgaria, according to the GGP, the same age cohort is taken.

The conclusion drawn from the international comparison made by Iannelli (2003) on the basis of the Labour Force Survey, is that, concerning the educational attainment achieved by young people when leaving continuous education, there are two groups of countries. Italy, Romania and Spain show the highest percentage of young people leaving continuous education with only compulsory schooling or less. In contrast, in Austria, Belgium, Finland, Greece,

Hungary, Slovenia, Slovakia and Sweden the rate of young people leaving with only compulsory schooling or less is low (below 20%). The estimation for Bulgaria is made on the data from Gender and Generation Survey, which uses the same categories as LFS. Bulgaria (24%) could be placed in the first group, the one with young school leavers with the lowest educational grade above 20% (Tabl. 2). The number of people with tertiary level education in Austria, Hungary, Italy, Romania and Slovakia is comparatively lower. Bulgaria, with its 19%, is positioned higher than the neighboring countries Romania (10%) and Hungary (15%). The selection of these two countries for the purposes of comparison is based on the common institutional past but also on the presence of ethnic minority groups that contribute significantly to the process of early dropout from school in the period of the post-communist transition. The distribution of parents' highest educational attainment in the low secondary level shows very large country differences. These percentages are particularly high in the countries of Southern Europe (80% in Spain, 68% in Italy and 66% in Greece). Bulgaria does not belong to this group but to the other one, with the relatively low percentage of lowly educated parents (below 30%) similar as in Slovakia, Finland, Hungary, Sweden and Austria.

The European comparison concerning the intergenerational mobility shows highest rates of stability in Hungary and Rumania. Bulgaria is in a leading position as regards the upward mobility of women. There are significant gender differences in the rates of mobility between parents' and children's educational attainment (Table 3). In most countries the chances of upward inter-generational educational mobility are significantly higher for women than for men (with the exception of Austria, Romania and Slovakia). Downward mobility is more pronounced in Bulgaria (12% for women, 16% for men) than in Rumania and in Hungary. More women than men have educational status higher than that of their father's; fewer women have lower education in comparison with their parents. The correlation between the chances of intergenerational mobility is higher for women than for men. Cramer's coefficient is 0,386 for men and 0,425 for women with basic or without education. These two lowest educational levels are separately discussed, because of the greater difficulty of deciding to prolong children's education among the families, placed at the basis of the educational stratification.

Table 3. Intergenerational educational mobility – European comparison

(Percentages)

| | Stability | | Upward mobility | | Downward mobility | |
|-----------------|-----------|------|-----------------|-----------|-------------------|-----------|
| | Female | Male | Female | Male | Female | Male |
| Austria | 52 | 52 | 26 | 25 | 22 | 22 |
| Bulgaria | 55 | 57 | 34 | 27 | 12 | 16 |
| Hungary | 63 | 62 | 26 | 24 | 11 | 14 |
| Romania | 62 | 63 | 30 | 28 | 8 | 9 |

Source: Data for Romania and Hungary is taken from LFS (Ianelli 2003:37). For Bulgaria data is derived from GGP.

The tendency is towards a steady increase of the educational attainment of women in the age cohorts. More than half of the women in the oldest generation (age groups born before 1927 and in 1928-1937) have a basic education. A turn can be observed among the age cohort born 1948-57: the majority of women have obtained a secondary education. For the age group 1968-77 the greatest proportion of tertiary education (32.8%) is observed. The proportion of tertiary education among women is increasing in the transition period. However there is an evident increase in the category of women without education – from 1.2% for the age cohort born 1958-1967 to 2.3% in the next age cohort born in 1968-1977. The rule that primary education is compulsory was followed more strictly during the communist period, when there was pressure coming from above, than it has been during the post-communist transition. In the latter period there has been an increased role of rational choice made individually or by the families.

Table 4. Probability of matching between the educational attainments of the parents

(Percentages)

| | Highest educational level of the mother | | | |
|------------------------------|---|-------------|-----------------|-----------------------|
| | Tertiary | Secondary | Basic and lower | Without any education |
| Tertiary | 0,61 | 0,36 | 0,03 | 0,00 |
| Secondary | 0,10 | 0,73 | 0,17 | 0,00 |
| Basic and lower | 0,00 | 0,07 | 0,85 | 0,08 |
| Without any education | 0,00 | 0,00 | 0,09 | 0,91 |

Source: GGP, 2004, IS

Education increases the chances of women to return to the same job after career breaks (Cramer's V 0,452). Among the higher educated mothers, 82,9% rely on returning to their job; among the mothers with a secondary education the share decreases to 69,1%; among the women with a basic level of education the proportion falls to 39,1%; among women with basic education

the proportion falls to 25,0%. Women with tertiary education have a higher chance of returning to their job after a break. Education has a significant impact over the opportunity to overcome brakes in the professional career.

The *social closure* can be observed through the probability of mothers having a certain educational level depending on the father's education (Table 4). Knowing the education of the father, we can predict with a relative degree of certainty the educational level of the mother. The highest matching between educations of both parents is observed within the category of people with no education (91%), followed by those with a basic and lower education (85%). Having in mind the effects of social closure, in the further multinomial logistic regressions, the indicator for social origin will be included taking into account only the father's highest educational attainment. The impact on the chances of obtaining basic education has been compared with the chances of dropping out (Table 5).

Table 5. Multinomial logistic regression of the likelihood of attaining basic education (reference category – without education) depending on the fathers' education, ethnicity, sex and age group

| | | B | S.E. | Exp(B) |
|--|-------------|----------|------|---------------|
| | Intercept | 2,12*** | 0,32 | |
| HIGHEST EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF THE FATHER The reference category is: Without education | Tertiary | 16,74 | 0,00 | 18 692 615,96 |
| | Secondary | 2,50*** | 0,55 | 12,20 |
| | Basic | 2,53*** | 0,20 | 12,56 |
| ETHNICITY The reference category is: Bulgarian | Other | -0,86 | 0,45 | 0,43 |
| | Roma | -2,15*** | 0,24 | 0,12 |
| | Turks | -1,47*** | 0,21 | 0,23 |
| GENDER The reference category is: Male | Female | -0,63*** | 0,16 | 0,53 |
| BIRTH COHORTS The reference category is: Born after 1978 | Before 1927 | 0,05 | 0,53 | 1,05 |
| | 1928 – 1937 | -0,20 | 0,29 | 0,82 |
| | 1938 – 1947 | 0,43 | 0,30 | 1,54 |
| | 1948 – 1957 | 0,97** | 0,32 | 2,64 |
| | 1958 – 1967 | 1,33*** | 0,33 | 3,77 |
| | 1968 – 1977 | 0,39 | 0,29 | 1,48 |

Source: GGP, 2004, IS

The education of the father increases the chances of the respondents to be with some education rather than none. The same tendency is valid for fathers with a tertiary, secondary and basic education. There are large distances in the likelihood of leaving education with a tertiary

level, depending on the father's education. Gender differences are observed among all levels of education: for the secondary education (ExpB) it is 0,44; for basic it is 0,53; and for tertiary education it is 0,68. Gender is an important predictor of educational attainment for all educational levels. For tertiary education women's chances are highest and are closer to the corresponding chances of men. The educational chances of Roma and ethnic Turks are smaller than of ethnic Bulgarians; those of Roma are smaller in comparison with Turks.

A high level of social closure in the basic social strata has been observed in terms of the matching between the educational attainments of parents and children and between the couple's educational and employment statuses (Table 6). High likelihood of homogamy has been observed in all educational categories – groups with basic (72%), tertiary (61%) and without any education (58%). If we add the couples where one partner has a basic education and the other no education, the closure in the lowest educational statuses is evidently extremely high. The correlation between the respondent's and the partner's educational statuses (Cramer's V 0,572) shows a homogamy in all educational categories. The term homogamy describes marriage between individuals who are, in some culturally important way, similar to each other. In this article the similarity considered is that in education and economic statuses. High correlation between educational and employment statuses is observed.

Table 6. Correlation between respondents' and partners' educational statuses

(Percentages)

| | Highest educational level of the partner | | | | |
|-------------------|--|-----------|-------|-------------------|-----|
| | Tertiary | Secondary | Basic | Without education | |
| Tertiary | 61 | 38 | 1 | | 100 |
| Secondary | 13 | 74 | 13 | 0 | 100 |
| Basic | 1 | 22 | 72 | 5 | 100 |
| Without education | | 3 | 39 | 58 | 100 |
| Total | 19 | 50 | 28 | 3 | 100 |

A woman is more likely to be in employment when the husband is with a high education (Table 7). In this dimension Bulgaria seems to be situated closer to Hungary than to Poland. Housewives are more often in the low educational groups. If the respondent is with an education below basic, it is more likely for the partner to be a housewife. In general, however, the status of housewife is not widespread.

Table 7. Correlation between respondent's educational status and partner's socio-economic status

(Percentages)

| | Economic status of the partner | | | | |
|-------------------|--------------------------------|------------|-----------|-----------|-------|
| | In employment | Unemployed | Pensioner | Housewife | |
| Tertiary | 71,6 | 6,1 | 21,6 | 0,7 | 100,0 |
| Secondary | 65,3 | 14,4 | 19,1 | 1,2 | 100,0 |
| Basic | 26,1 | 26,6 | 45,6 | 1,6 | 100,0 |
| Without education | 14,3 | 45,1 | 38,3 | 2,3 | 100,0 |
| Total | 54,6 | 16,8 | 27,4 | 1,2 | 100,0 |

The lowest income groups in Bulgaria are to be found among the unemployed and the pensioners. In the category of respondents with a basic education, the partner is more likely to be unemployed or retired. In the group of the unemployed, 41% have a partner who is also unemployed (Table 8). There is social closure in the group of the unemployed. The correlation between respondents' and partners' socio economic statuses is $V 0,463$, which could be estimated as modest; however this value has a different importance for the social categories – in this case social closure leads to accumulation of risks in the context of the transition, and thus to a high level of a polarization and inequality in society.

Table 8. Correlation between respondents' and partners' socio-economic statuses

(Percentages)

| | Partners' socio economic status | | | | |
|---------------|---------------------------------|------------|-----------|-----------|-----|
| | In employment | Unemployed | Pensioner | Housewife | |
| In employment | 77 | 15 | 7 | 2 | 100 |
| Unemployed | 51 | 41 | 7 | 2 | 100 |
| Pensioner | 12 | 6 | 82 | 1 | 100 |
| Housewife | 74 | 14 | 12 | 1 | 100 |
| Total | 54 | 17 | 29 | 1 | 100 |

Education-destination link

Three dimensions of the labour marker placement come into the analysis: the likelihood of being self-employed as compared with being employed, differences in the labour contract, and obtainment of a managerial position.

Table 9. Multinomial logistic regression of the chances of being self-employed instead of employed, predicted by birth cohort, gender, ethnicity, father's and respondent's education

| | | B | S.E. | Exp(B) |
|--|-------------|----------|---------|---------------|
| | Intercept | -2,59*** | 0,70 | |
| BIRTH COHORT | Before 1927 | 17,23 | 1137,43 | 30 533 031,81 |
| The reference category is: After 1978 | 1928 – 1937 | 2,88*** | 0,52 | 17,74 |
| | 1938 – 1947 | 1,35*** | 0,29 | 3,85 |
| | 1948 – 1957 | 1,03*** | 0,26 | 2,81 |
| | 1958 – 1967 | 1,19*** | 0,25 | 3,29 |
| | 1968 – 1977 | 1,01*** | 0,25 | 2,75 |
| GENDER | Female | -0,47*** | 0,11 | 0,63 |
| The reference category is: Male | | | | |
| ETHNICITY | Others | 0,98*** | 0,27 | 2,66 |
| The reference category is: Bulgarian | Roma | -0,76 | 0,50 | 0,47 |
| | Turks | 0,51* | 0,20 | 1,67 |
| FATHER'S HIGHEST EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT | Tertiary | -0,29 | 0,29 | 0,74 |
| | Secondary | -0,61* | 0,26 | 0,55 |
| The reference category is: Without education | Basic | -0,57* | 0,23 | 0,56 |
| RESPONDENT'S HIGHEST EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT | Tertiary | 0,04 | 0,69 | 1,04 |
| | Secondary | 0,08 | 0,68 | 1,08 |
| The reference category is: Without education | Basic | 0,16 | 0,67 | 1,17 |

The likelihood of being *self-employed* is higher for the older cohorts, especially for those in retirement age (Table 9). The likelihood of being self-employed instead of employed is higher among the respondents born in 1928–1937 than those born after 1978. There is a significant gender dimension in self-employment. The likelihood of being self-employed and not employed is lower for women than for men. There is also an ethnic dimension, which is a common feature in international comparisons. The likelihood of being self-employed and not employed is higher for the ethnic Turks than for ethnic Bulgarians.

Among fathers without education, it is more likely that their children will be self-employed. The education of the father and the self-employment status of the respondent are in a negative association. Among fathers with a secondary education the chances that their children will be self-employed are lower than among fathers without education. The likelihood of being self-employed is lower for respondents who's fathers have basic education than when the fathers are without education. As concerns the initial hypothesis of the correlation between self-employment and education, the conclusion is that the prevailing figure among the self-employed is not a well educated but, on the contrary, a lowly educated individual with lowly educated

parents.

Table 10. Multinomial logistic regression of the likelihood of working without labor contract, by birth cohort, sex, ethnicity, fathers' and respondents' education

| | | B | S.E. | Exp(B) |
|--|-------------|----------|------|--------------|
| | Intercept | 1,87* | 0,87 | |
| BIRTH COHORTS | 1928 – 1937 | 3,14*** | 0,88 | 23,03 |
| The reference category is: After1978 | 1938 – 1947 | -0,46 | 0,31 | 0,63 |
| | 1948 – 1957 | -1,10*** | 0,25 | 0,33 |
| | 1958 – 1967 | -1,10*** | 0,23 | 0,33 |
| | 1968 – 1977 | -0,72*** | 0,20 | 0,49 |
| GENDER | Female | -0,71*** | 0,15 | 0,49 |
| The reference category is: Male | | | | |
| ETHNICITY | Others | -0,59 | 0,62 | 0,56 |
| The reference category is: Bulgarian | Roma | 1,28*** | 0,36 | 3,61 |
| | Turks | 0,36 | 0,26 | 1,43 |
| HIGHEST EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF RESPONDENT'S FATHER | Tertiary | -0,43 | 0,40 | 0,65 |
| The reference category is: Without education | Secondary | -0,45 | 0,32 | 0,64 |
| | Basic | -0,92*** | 0,28 | 0,40 |
| EDUCATIONAL STATUS OF THE RESPONDENT | Tertiary | -3,86*** | 0,90 | 0,02 |
| The reference category is: Without education | Secondary | -2,82*** | 0,87 | 0,06 |
| | Basic | -1,50 | 0,85 | 0,22 |

As regards *labor contracts* the oldest cohorts are more likely to work without a contract (Table 10). The likelihood of working without a contract as compared with working on a permanent contract basis, is higher among the respondents born in 1928–1937 than in the youngest cohort (those born after 1978). When all other independent variables remain constant, the chances of working without a contract are lower for women than for men. The likelihood of working on a permanent contract depends on the education. The likelihood of working without contract to the chance of working on a permanent labor contract is smaller in the group of respondents with a university degree, and smaller among those with a secondary education, as compared with respondents without education. People with even a minimal level of education have greater chances of working on a contract than respondents with no education at all. The likelihood of Roma to work without contract is higher. Among the independent variables the strongest impact is that of education, followed by the age cohort, and, in third place, ethnicity.

Together with self-employment status and labor contract arrangement, the *third important dimension* of the labour market placement is the incidence of *managerial functions* (Table 11).

Table 11. Multinomial logistic regression of the likelihood of achieving manager status, by birth cohort, sex, ethnicity, origin and education (a)

| | | Yes | | |
|---|-------------|-----------------|-------------|----------------------|
| | | B | S.E. | Exp(B) |
| | | Intercept | -18,80*** | 0,38 |
| BIRTH COHORTS The reference category is: After1978 | 1928 – 1937 | -0,45 | 0,84 | 0,64 |
| | 1938 – 1947 | 0,81*** | 0,21 | 2,24 |
| | 1948 – 1957 | 0,64*** | 0,16 | 1,91 |
| | 1958 – 1967 | 0,81*** | 0,15 | 2,24 |
| | 1968 – 1977 | 0,54*** | 0,15 | 1,71 |
| GENDER The reference category is: Man | Woman | -0,36*** | 0,08 | 0,70 |
| ETHNICITY The reference category is: Bulgarian | Others | 0,22 | 0,30 | 1,24 |
| | Roma | -0,20 | 0,49 | 0,82 |
| | Turks | -0,30 | 0,23 | 0,74 |
| ORIGIN – HIGHEST EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF RESPONDENT'S FATHER The reference category is: Without education | Tertiary | 0,96** | 0,35 | 2,61 |
| | Secondary | 0,62 | 0,33 | 1,87 |
| | Basic | 0,42 | 0,33 | 1,53 |
| EDUCATIONAL STATUS OF THE RESPONDENT The reference category is: Without education | Tertiary | 17,70*** | 0,21 | 48 429 346,30 |
| | Secondary | 16,43*** | 0,21 | 13 643 730,89 |
| | Basic | 15,47 | 0,00 | 5 225 127,07 |

a) The reference category is: Not achieving manager position

The chances of obtaining a managerial position are influenced most strongly by the education, followed by birth cohort, origin and gender. The youngest and the oldest age cohorts seldom exercise managerial functions. The likelihood of holding a managerial position as compared with not holding, is highest for respondents born in 1938-1947 and in 1958-1967 in comparison with those born after 1978. At one and the same educational level, women are less often in managerial positions than men. The chances of becoming a manager are lower for women than for men. The chances of holding managerial positions are higher for the respondents with a tertiary education than for those without education and moderate for the respondents with a secondary education compared with these without education.

Conclusions

The results demonstrate the role of two important mechanisms of social stratification: education and social origin. Social origin has a strong impact on the possibility of obtaining a tertiary education. The increase of educational attainment even at the lowest levels leads to increased chances for finding a secure job, characterized by working on a labour contract basis. The process of social closure among the lowest educational strata limits the chances of their children for a better education. These conclusions indicate the need for governmental intervention for the integration of low-education groups in the formal labour market; for monitoring discriminatory practices in the selection of personnel according to ethnicity. Understanding the rationale of pursuing a longer education is essential for developing a policy for preventing early dropout from school. Such a policy would require a better integration between education policies, social policies, and policies for integrating ethnic groups to the labour market. The integration between various policy measures should lead, at the individual level, to higher motivation of families in the lower educational strata to make the rational choice of making their children go to school and keeping them for a longer time in the education system. At the top of the educational stratification, the effect of the policy measures is expected to lead to better pronounced positive correlation between education and self-employment, and by the emerging profile of well-educated self-employed people with an innovative and creative approach to the changing context of the globalized world of work.

References

- Arum, R. 2007. Self-employment and social stratification. In: Scherer, S., Pollack, R., Otte, G., Gangl, M. (Ed.) *From Origin to Destination. Trends and Mechanisms in Social Stratification Research. Essays in Honor of Walter Müller.* Campus Verlag, Frankfurt/New York.
- Arum, R., Müller, W. (Ed.) 2004. *The Reemergence of Self-Employment. A Comparative Study of Self-Employment Dynamics and Social Inequality,* Princeton University Press, Princeton and Oxford.
- Blau, P., Duncan, D. 1967. *The American Occupational Structure,* New York.
- Blossfeld, H.-P., Drobnic, S. (eds.) 2001. *Careers of Couples in Contemporary Societies. From Male Breadwinner to Dual Earner Families.* Oxford University Press.

- Blossfeld, Buchholz, Bukodi, Ebralidze, Kurz, Relikowski, Schmelzer. 2005: "*Flexibility processes and social inequalities at labor market entry and in the early career – A conceptual paper for the flexCAREER project*". Working Paper No. 1. University of Bamberg.
- Boudon, R. 1974. *Education, Opportunity, and Social Inequality: Changing Prospects in Western Society*. New York: Wiley.
- Boyadjieva, P. 2006. Rethinking Neo-Institutionalism or Does Diversity Matter in Higher Education. *Sociological Problems*, Special Issue, pp. 208-224.
- Boyadjieva, P. 2007. Between social engineering and the academic evaluation: Institutionalisation of the politics for university entry during the period of totalitarian socialism in Bulgaria. *Sociological Problems*, 3-4 (submitted for print).
- Breen, R. 1997. Risk, Recommodification and Stratification. *Sociology* 31, pp. 473-489.
- Goldthorpe, J. H. 1996. Class Analysis and the Reorientation of Class Theory: The Case of Persisting Differentials in Educational Attainment. *The British Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 47, No. 3, Special Issues for Lockwood (Sep. 1996), pp. 481-505.
- Iannelli, Cr. 2003. Parental Education and Young People's Educational and Labour Market Outcomes: A Comparison across Europe. In: Kogan, I. and Møller, W. (eds.) *School-to-Work-Transition in Europe: Analyses of the EU LFS 2000 Ad Hoc Module*. Mannheim.
- Møller, W., Scherer, St. 2003. Mehr Risiken – Mehr Ungleichheit? Abbau von Wohlfahrtsstaat, Flexibilisierung von Arbeit und die Folgen. Campus.
- Tilkidjiev, N., Dimov, M. 2003. *Status Basis of Democratic Consolidation under Post-Communism*. Sofia: East-West Publishing House.
- Tubergen, Frank van 2004 *The Integration of Immigrants in Cross-National Perspective. Origin, Destination, and Community Effects*, Ponsen&Looijen b.v., Wageningen.