

11 Educational Achievement, Social Background, and Occupational Allocations of Young Men and Women in Ukraine

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The relationship between gender and inequality in educational and occupational attainment was the focus of much research interest in both Western European and some post-socialist countries throughout the second half of the twentieth century and has remained an important area of study since (see, e.g., Breen and Jonsson 2005; Erikson and Jonsson 1996; Domanski 2006; Ishida et al. 1995; Shavit and Blossfeld 1993; Shavit and Muller 2003). Yet, these issues have not been adequately addressed in Ukraine, where gender-based educational inequalities were not typically the focus of academic investigations during Soviet rule and where, today, significant gaps exist in the research with regard to how educational qualifications differently affect occupational and socioeconomic class status among men and women, and the influence of social background on educational opportunities.

This chapter begins to address these knowledge gaps by presenting findings from the Youth in Transition Survey (YIT) in Ukraine, carried out in 2007 by the Kyiv International Institute of Sociology (KIIS).¹ The survey sampled four thousand Ukrainians between the ages of 15 and 34 who had left school within the previous six years (2001 to 2006). The results highlight a number of important phenomena that can be summarized, in brief, as follows: (1) men and women in Ukraine have equal access to higher education; (2) Ukrainian women tend to achieve higher levels of education; (3) equal access to higher education has, nonetheless, failed to disrupt traditional segregation of young people by gender into particular areas of education; and (4) post-education, regardless of their chosen fields, men achieve more advanced positions and receive greater remuneration. Also, as will be shown, the YIT results strongly correlate social background with

educational achievement in Ukraine – where social background is defined by the educational level of one's parents, one's place of residence, and one's social class. The latter finding holds for both men and women. Thus, based on this survey, we can conclude that social origin (and not gender) is the determining factor in access to education in Ukraine. But as the YIT data also show, gender does influence what people study and how well they do in the labour market once formal education is complete.

To fully explore these findings first requires a brief overview of the rapidly changing context in which Ukrainians undertake higher education, followed by a description of the design of the Youth in Transition Survey.

Ukrainian Education: Recent Trends

Recent decades have been characterized by intense educational expansion in many developed countries, creating greater educational opportunities for both women and men. In some European countries, female educational attainment has caught up with and even surpassed that of men. In Ukraine, female students became more numerous than male students well before independence, during the final decades of Soviet rule. However, educational expansion, in terms of an increase in the quantity of educational institutions, occurred mostly in the post-Soviet period in Ukraine. According to the State Statistics Committee of Ukraine (DKSU), since 1991, the number of higher educational institutions has been continuously increasing, as has the number of students. Colleges and universities – which in Ukraine are referred to as the 'third and fourth levels of accreditation' – increased in number from 149 in the 1990–91 academic year to 351 by the beginning of 2007–08, with an accompanying growth in the number of students, a number that increased by 2.7 times in the same period, from 881,300 to 2,372,500 (DKSU 2009). In fact, over the past two decades, the number of students at the college and university levels has tripled per 10,000 inhabitants in Ukraine: from 170 in 1990–91 to 178 in 1995–96; up again to 284 in 2000–01, then 466 in 2005–06, and finally to 512 in 2007–08 (Council for Cooperation in Education 2005). According to this measure, with regard to increasing access to higher education, Ukraine has exceeded the progress made in the majority of states formerly under Soviet rule (and now members of the Commonwealth of Independent States, or CIS), as

well as that of several countries that are far more economically and politically developed.²

Given such massive educational expansion, it is important to evaluate to what extent this process has been characterized by gender equality or gender discrimination at different stages by examining the following factors: access to education, the structures and processes involved in the educational system, and the level of labour market outcomes of education.

Measuring Educational Attainment and Social Background

The Youth in Transition Survey measured educational attainment using an abridged version of the CASMIN educational schema (Shavit and Muller 2003) to assist with comparative mobility analysis.³ Respondents could identify their highest level of educational attainment, as well as that of their parents, using the following four categories:

- 1bc *Incomplete secondary or lower* – completed elementary education; completed elementary education plus basic vocational qualification; completed secondary plus intermediate general qualification; completed secondary plus intermediate vocational qualification
- 2b *Full secondary* – compulsory in Ukraine; completed full general secondary education or general secondary education plus vocational qualification⁴
- 3a *Lower-level higher education* – e.g., technical college diplomas, non-university teaching certificates
- 3b Full higher education⁵

Areas of study were divided into the following nine categories from which respondents could choose: general programs; education; humanities and arts; social sciences, business, and law; sciences; engineering, manufacturing, and construction; agriculture; health and welfare; and services.

With regard to work, the YIT survey determined occupations by presenting respondents with nine options based on the International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO-88), a well-known tool for organizing jobs into clearly defined fields according to tasks and duties. These nine fields were: legislators, senior officials, and managers; professionals; technicians and associate professionals; clerks;

service workers and shop and market salespeople; skilled agricultural and fisheries workers; craftspeople and related workers; plant and machine operators and assemblers; and non-skilled workers.

Meanwhile, respondents could self-identify as being part of one of six social classes, a list that parallels the occupations listed above and which is based on the Erikson, Goldthorpe, and Portocarero (EGP) approach to class analysis (Shavit and Muller 2003, 17). These six classes are:

- I *Upper service* – higher-grade professionals, administrators, and officials in the public sector
- II *Lower service* – lower-grade professionals, higher-grade technicians, lower-grade administrators and officials, managers in small firms and services, and supervisors of white-collar workers
- IIIab *Routine non-manual* employees in administration and commerce, and routine non-manual workers in services
- IVabc *Small proprietors and artisans* with or without employees, and self-employed farmers
- V + VI *Skilled workers*, lower-grade technicians, and supervisors of manual workers
- VIIab *Semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers*, including agricultural labourers.

Results

As mentioned at the outset, the survey targeted young people aged 15 to 34 who had left school and entered the labour market within the previous six years, meaning that at the time they were surveyed their job status was 'employed.' Results for the youngest respondents (under age 20) must be considered in light of the higher likelihood that these respondents might return to their studies in the future, thereby possibly altering their level of educational attainment and social position. However, this possibility aside, the survey still shows distinct differences in levels of educational attainment between young women and young men, as seen in Table 11.1. In particular, among the women surveyed, a larger proportion (28.0%) had obtained at least a lower-level higher education compared with men (21.7%). This was also true of the highest category of educational attainment, full higher education (29.7% of women vs. 23.8% of men). More men

Table 11.1. Educational Attainment of Men and Women Aged 15–34 and Their Parents

Educational Attainment	Women and Men Aged 15–34		Their Parents	
	Women (%)	Men (%)	Mother (%)	Father (%)
Incomplete secondary or less	8.1*	10.8*	11.8	12.5
Full secondary	34.2**	43.8**	34.0**	41.5**
Lower-level higher education	28.0**	21.7**	34.2**	27.5**
Full higher education	29.7**	23.8**	19.9	18.5
<i>N</i>	2,091	1,734	3,935	3,478

Source: KIIS, *Youth in Transition Survey in Ukraine* (2007).

* $P = .01$.

** $P = .001$.

(43.8%) than women (34.2%) gave full secondary as their highest level of education attained. At the other end of the spectrum, we can note that quite a large number of the young people surveyed (8.1% of women and 10.8% of men) had entered the labour force without completing their secondary school education, even though completion is mandatory in Ukraine.⁵ However, as mentioned earlier, we can also assume that some of these individuals will return to finish their secondary education in evening or vocational schools at a later date.

YIT participants were asked about their parents' level of educational attainment. Results, shown in the right-most columns of Table 11.1, demonstrate a relatively higher level of attainment among mothers compared with fathers. The largest proportion of respondents' mothers (34.2%) had incomplete or basic (lower-level) higher education, and almost exactly the same proportion (34.0%) had a full secondary education. Nearly 20 per cent of mothers had achieved full higher education (completed college or university), while the lowest proportion of the mothers, just 11.8 per cent, had an incomplete secondary education. With regard to the young adults' fathers, results from respondents who answered the survey questions about their parents' education showed that a similarly small proportion of fathers

Table 11.2. Mothers' and Fathers' Educational Attainment: Same or Different (Cell Values as % of the Total Sample)

Mother's Educational Attainment	Father's Educational Attainment			
	Incomplete secondary or less	Full secondary	Lower-level higher education	Full higher education
Incomplete secondary or less	8.1	1.8	1.0	0.5
Full secondary	1.6	26.1	4.0	2.1
Lower-level higher education	1.8	10.4	17.5	4.3
Full higher education	0.6	3.3	4.99	12.0

Source: KIIS, *Youth in Transition Survey* (2007).

(just 12.5%) as sons (10.8%) had failed to complete their secondary education. And, like mothers, about 20 per cent of fathers (though slightly less, at 18.5% vs. 19.9%) had gone on to complete their college or university education. But the educational attainment of the fathers contrasted distinctly from that of mothers in two ways. First, most respondents' fathers by far (41.5% vs. 34.0% of mothers) were found to have completed just their secondary education. And second, a lower number of respondents said their fathers had incomplete (lower-level) higher education (27.5% vs. 34.2% of mothers). Thus, among the parents of the young adults surveyed, mothers are more educated than fathers. As mentioned earlier, greater inclusion of women in education occurred in Ukraine during the final decades of Soviet rule. These results demonstrate the breadth and lasting impact of that change.

The majority of young respondents came from a homogeneous family educational background: 63.7 per cent (a sum of diagonal cell values) of parents had attained the same level of education (see Table 11.2). However, nearly a quarter of these young people (22.6%, the sum of cell values below the diagonal) had mothers who had attained a higher educational level than the father. It was only in the minority of cases (13.7%, a sum of cell values above the diagonal) that

the father's level of education was higher than the mother's. This finding contrasts starkly with research results emerging from other settings. For example, according to Pfeffer's (2008) data from twenty developed countries, for families in which one parent has a higher level of education than the other parent, the situation is generally reversed: in 26 per cent of cases, the father's education level surpasses that of the mother, while the mother's exceeded the fathers' in just 15 per cent of cases. Ukraine thus presents a peculiar case where the mother's educational level is the same or higher than that of the father's in the majority of cases (86.3%). This is especially significant given that in many sociological studies the influence of parents' educational qualifications on children's education has only been measured based on the fathers' education, and not on that of mothers. The presented data, however, show that many mothers exceed fathers in their level of education attained and thus the impact of mothers' education on their children's educations should necessarily be considered.

Gender Differences in Areas of Study and Occupations

Findings from the Youth in Transition Survey show significant gender differences in the subject areas that young men and women choose to focus on in their studies. The survey approached this question using an index of dissimilarity, that is, an index showing what proportion of men or women would need to change their area of study in order to achieve equal gender distribution in the range of study areas.⁶ As noted earlier, for the purposes of the survey, this range was divided into nine generalized categories (listed in the left-most column of Table 11.3). According to the YIT data, the index of dissimilarity for the nine categories equals 32 per cent: this means that one-third of young men or women aged 15 to 34 would have to change their area of education in order to achieve gender parity in those areas. We can also note that gender segregation would be even higher if the fields and branches of education were classified in more detail, with each of the sub-branches having a different gender profile. This has been shown to be the case in Smyth's (2002) study of a number of European countries.

Based on these results, we can divide the areas of education in Table 11.3 by the intensity of their gendering as being areas of 'female intensity' (more than 60% female), 'mixed intensity' (40% to 60% female), or 'male intensity' (below 40% female). Thus, health and welfare is far and away the most female-intensive area of study in Ukraine

Table 11.3. Distribution of Young Men and Women across Areas of Education

Area of Education	Men (%)	Women (%)	N
General programs	49	51	498
Education	28	72	306
Humanities and arts	21	79	121
Social sciences, business, and law	24	76	834
Sciences	40	60	94
Engineering, manufacturing, and construction	73	27	1,009
Agriculture	60	40	153
Health and welfare	11	89	186
Services	41	59	353

Source: KIIS, *Youth in Transition Survey in Ukraine* (2007).

(89% female), followed by three areas where women dominate in the classroom with more than 70% representation: humanities and arts (79%); social sciences, business, and law (76%); and education (72%). According to these results, the most male-intensive area of study in Ukraine is engineering, manufacturing, and construction, with just 27 per cent female participation, followed by agriculture, which is at the threshold between male-intensive and mixed, at 40 per cent female participation. The same breakdown (60%–40%), though reversed, can be seen in the sciences, where the survey found that 60% of those choosing science were women.

Thus, the YIT findings support other evidence that institutions of higher education remain internally gender-segregated in Ukraine. For example, according to the State Statistics Committee of Ukraine (DKSU 2009), among young Ukrainian men it is typical to choose military sciences (99% of all university students acquiring this profession are male), transportation (80% men), national security (80%), computer sciences (74%), and engineering (74%). Young women, meanwhile, show a preference for professions in the social sciences (79% of all university students choosing this major are women), humanities (78% women), arts (77%), medicine (73%), and pedagogy (72%). Also in parallel with the Youth in Transition Survey results, according to the same Statistics Committee study, specialties such as natural sciences

Table 11.4. Distribution of Young Men and Women by Occupation

Occupational Fields	Men (%)	Women (%)	N
Legislators, senior officials, and managers	52	48	146
Professionals	29	71	667
Technicians and associate professionals	43	57	312
Clerks	18	82	188
Service workers and shop and market salespeople	29	71	687
Skilled agricultural and fisheries workers	76	24	50
Craftspeople and related workers	79	21	536
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	84	16	251
Non-skilled workers	67	33	335

Source: KIIS, *Youth in Transition Survey in Ukraine* (2007).

and agriculture are the most gender-neutral. One difference between the YIT results and those found by the Statistics Committee is that the latter study found legal studies to also be relatively gender-neutral, while Table 11.3 shows that the present survey found law to be among the more female-intensive areas of study. However, this is likely explainable by the fact that the YIT analysed only a sample of the population, not the whole population, as the Statistics Committee did. Table 11.3 reveals a gender typology by area of education, which is similar to that of other European nations, especially in Eastern Europe (Smyth 2002). More similarities with Europe emerge with regard to occupation by gender. Categorized according to the International Standard Classification of Occupations, or ISCO-88 scale (listed in the left-most column in Table 11.4), the YIT survey found that, as in other European settings, agricultural, handicraft, machine operating, and non-skilled (manual) jobs tend to be dominated by men in Ukraine, while women tend to predominate in professional, clerical, and service jobs.

Two occupational fields, senior officials and managers, and technicians and associate professionals, are gender-mixed, which reflects patterns of gender distribution in other European countries. Ukraine diverges from other settings, however, with regard to senior officials and managers, a category of occupations that is mixed in Ukraine, while more male-intensive in other European countries (Smyth 2002, 15).

Despite these numbers, we know that men's average income in Ukraine, as measured by the industry average for the country, dramatically exceeded the corresponding level for women (by 21.7%) as of 2007. Although some variation exists across sectors, men receive higher remuneration than their female counterparts, even in so-called female-intensive sectors. For instance, in the educational sphere (where 77% of those employed are women) and health care and social welfare (83% women) average earnings by men are nonetheless 15 per cent higher than women's earnings (DKSU 2008). Thus, there is a disconnect between the YIT survey findings, which show women working across occupational fields in high numbers – sometimes higher than the European average – and the financial gains they receive based on this integration.

*Social Background and Class Status of Higher Education Graduates:
Gender Aspects*

Higher-level education is normally attained by persons between 24 and 34 years of age. By this age, the majority of young people who wish to (and can) achieve higher education will have done so. Table 11.5 narrows the survey results to this demographic of respondents in order to assess these Ukrainians' levels of educational attainment and that of their parents. What emerges most strongly here is the very large proportion of women (51.9%) and men (52.9%) in this age group who have completed the highest levels of education. If we compare this to what the respondents said about their parents' level of education, we can see that only about half as many mothers (25.2%) and fathers (23.9%) had attained such a high level. Table 11.5 also shows that respondents found themselves in the lower categories of educational attainment two to three times less often than their parents; this points to a significant increase in opportunities for higher education in Ukraine. If we look at the values for the two highest levels of education, almost 80 per cent of young people in this age range thus have either lower-level or full higher education.

To break this intergenerational change down in terms of gender, we need to assess what educational opportunities, or what level of educational mobility, is flowing down to young women versus young men from fathers and mothers depending on the parents' social status (as measured by mothers' and fathers' own educational attainment). Tables 11.6 and 11.7 present the proportions of intergenerational relationships between each of the parents and their children's educational

Table 11.5. Educational Attainment of Men and Women Aged 24–34 and Their Parents

Educational Attainment	Women and Men Aged 24–34		Their Parents	
	Women (%)	Men (%)	Mother (%)	Father (%)
Incomplete secondary or less	1.7*	3.3*	7.8	8.7
Full secondary	17.5	19.1	28.5**	35.5**
Lower-level higher education	28.9*	24.8*	38.5**	31.8**
Full higher education	51.9	52.9	25.2	23.9
<i>N</i>	989	645	1,776	1,616

Source: KIIS, *Youth in Transition Survey in Ukraine* (2007).

* $P = .05$.

** $P = .001$.

status. In other words, they show the level of educational mobility (or immobility) of the sons and daughters relative to their fathers and mothers.

Table 11.6 shows that the majority of children whose father had at most either an incomplete or complete secondary education display upward educational mobility (cells above the diagonal). These respondents were more or less evenly distributed among the three higher levels of educational attainment. Sons, however, ended their education at the full secondary level more often than daughters, who more often continued on to obtain a higher education. Nearly one-third of respondents whose fathers had a lower-level higher education maintained their father's achievement by completing this same level of education themselves, while many more, 52 per cent of men and 58 per cent of women, were upwardly mobile in this regard, rising to the level of full higher education. A smaller number expressed downward mobility, entering the labour market with less education than their father (cells below the diagonal). This was true twice as often for sons as it was for daughters. Finally, among the children of the top educated fathers, 70 per cent managed to reproduce this same full higher educational level. A minority finished at the level of an incomplete or lower-level higher education (more often daughters) or full secondary.

Table 11.6. Educational Mobility of Men (Upper Part of Table) and Women (Lower Part of Table) Compared with Their Fathers (% by Row)

Father's Educational Attainment	Men and Women Aged 24–34				
	Incomplete secondary or less	Full secondary	Lower-level higher education	Full higher education	N
Incomplete secondary or less	13.5	<u>37.8</u>	<u>21.6</u>	<u>27.0</u>	<u>42</u>
	11.6	<u>29.8</u>	<u>27.3</u>	<u>32.2</u>	<u>85</u>
Full secondary	<u>4.3</u>	34.8	<u>29.7</u>	<u>31.2</u>	<u>202</u>
	<u>2.7</u>	30.4	<u>31.2</u>	<u>35.6</u>	<u>310</u>
Lower-level higher education	<u>2.4</u>	<u>18.2</u>	27.3	<u>52.2</u>	<u>169</u>
	<u>0.6</u>	<u>10.7</u>	30.5	<u>58.2</u>	<u>281</u>
Full higher education	<u>2.6</u>	<u>10.5</u>	<u>15.7</u>	71.2	<u>160</u>
	<u>1.0</u>	<u>8.3</u>	<u>20.6</u>	70.1	<u>187</u>

Source: KIIS, *Youth in Transition Survey in Ukraine* (2007).

Table 11.7 shows a parallel comparison between survey respondents' educational achievements and that of their mothers. Immediately, we can see similar results emerge, indicating that a mother's education is as important as a father's for her children's educational mobility.

From these two tables it is evident that educational mobility processes are rather gender-blind for young people in Ukrainian society. What is more, mobility rates for women and men are approximately the same as in other developed countries (Pfeffer 2007). Overall, social background and parental education are much more influential for children's educational opportunities than is their gender. In order to determine the probability that children will obtain higher education depending on the educational levels of their mothers and fathers, I have applied an ordinal regression. What I found was that young men's and women's social background essentially determines their chances to obtain a full higher education. So, for example, the probability of children whose father and/or mother have a higher education obtaining the same educational level is approximately 80 per cent (see Table 11.8). At the same time, only about one-third of children who have a low-educated father have similar educational prospects.

Table 11.7. Educational Mobility of Men (Upper Part of Table) and Women (Lower Part of Table) Compared with Their Mothers (% by Row)

Mother's Educational Attainment	Men and Women Aged 24–34				N
	Incomplete secondary or less	Full secondary	Lower-level higher education	Full higher education	
Incomplete secondary or less	15.4	37.2	17.9	29.5	42
	11.2	39.7	21.6	27.6	89
Full secondary	3.9	41.8	24.6	29.7	171
	2.7	34.9	31.9	30.5	281
Lower-level higher education	3.7	23.1	29.9	43.2	225
	0.9	12.9	34.9	51.2	371
Full higher education	2.3	10.8	16.7	70.3	181
	1.2	5.9	16.5	76.5	214

Source: KIIS, *Youth in Transition Survey in Ukraine* (2007)

If we factor in place of residence, we see that geographical origins moderate the influence of social background as measured by parental educational levels, but not crucially. Thus, children from rural areas (31% of respondents in the YIT survey) have much better chances of obtaining a higher education, as long as their parents have already reached that level, compared with children from bigger towns and cities (69% of YIT survey respondents) whose parents have only a secondary education. Apparently, living in a big town or city, with their almost unlimited opportunities to access information sources, libraries, and additional education, does not on its own equalize educational opportunities. Social background remains the determining factor.

Along with education, social background can be measured by an individual's class status. The YIT survey results show that although men and women have similar distributions of educational qualifications, there are some gender differences with respect to social class. These are outlined in Table 11.9, which uses the Erikson, Goldthorpe, and Portocarero (EGP) approach to measure class using six categories of occupational fields (outlined at the beginning of this chapter). As we can see, even at the same level of education, men and women survey respondents identified themselves as belonging to different classes. Young female respondents with a full secondary education

Table 11.8. Probability of Completing a Full Higher Education Depending on a Parent's Level of Education

Educational Attainment		Women and Men Aged 24–34	
		Men	Women
Incomplete secondary or less	Mother	.31	.33
	Father	.38	.40
Full secondary	Mother	.35	.36
	Father	.39	.43
Lower-level higher education	Mother	.58	.57
	Father	.64	.62
Full higher education	Mother	.80	.80
	Father	.77	.75

Source: KIIS, *Youth in Transition Survey in Ukraine* (2007).

said they belonged to class III (routine non-manual labour) five times more often than men with the same educational level. At the same time, men more often appear to belong to classes V + VI and VIIab (qualified and non-qualified manual labour). The main trend with regard to the class of women with lower-level higher education is their concentration within class III, routine non-manual labour (at 43%) and class II, lower service, including lower-grade professionals (at 28%). Over half of men with an incomplete secondary education said they belong to classes V + VI and VIIab (manual labour). Evidently, a considerable number of young males are overeducated for the manual occupations they perform, especially semi- and non-skilled labour. Similarly, many young women are overeducated for the routine non-manual jobs they perform. Regretfully, until now there has been no rigorous investigation at the national level into this issue of correspondence between education and type of employment in Ukraine. The conclusions that I suggest here are indirect, since they are based not on the type of employment data per se, but rather on data about class belonging, which in turn, are based on the type of employment attained.

Full higher education, meanwhile, opens doors to occupations and employment statuses that belong to the highest classes in the EGP scheme, I and II, or upper and lower service classes. In general,

Table 11.9. Social Class Status by Educational Attainment and Gender (% by row)

Educational Attainment	Social Class Status of Women and Men Aged 24–34						<i>n</i>
	I	II	III	IVabc	V + VI	VIIab	
Men (N = 585)							
Full secondary	0.0	0.9	7.9	10.5	36.8	43.9	114
Lower-level higher education	9.3	15.9	11.9	5.3	29.8	27.8	151
Full higher education	37.2	32.2	7.8	5.9	11.6	5.3	320
Women (N = 881)							
Full secondary	1.3	5.5	41.7	2.0	29.1	20.5	151
Lower-level higher education	11.5	28.0	42.9	0.4	9.6	7.7	261
Full higher education	28.4	48.2	17.5	1.9	2.8	1.3	469

Source: KIIS, Youth in Transition Survey in Ukraine (2007).

occupations of almost 77 per cent of young women and 70 per cent of men who had attained a full higher education were within these service classes. However, there exists a noticeable gender disparity. Young men said they belong to the upper service class (I) more often relative to young women with the same level of education, who tended to say they occupy positions belonging to the lower service class (II). These positions have lower pay and worse career prospects. Women are thus receiving less remuneration and face weaker prospects in the labour market based on the same level of education. It also means that equally educated woman reach 'the glass ceiling' more quickly and more often than men.

We can therefore conclude that despite gender equality in access to education, in modern Ukraine, marked gender differences can be observed between women and men who have received the same level of education. One of the possible explanations of such an outcome may be that men and women tend to choose different areas of study, which predetermines their participation in particular occupations and labour market segments to a larger extent than does their level of education. Thus, the more conventional a woman's educational specialty is, the lower her income will be, and the poorer her career opportunities and social status. Yet this explanation, although valid, does not account for

all the evidence, since men who hold accreditation in the same educational field as women tend to achieve greater career advancement as well. Therefore, the stable differences in socioeconomic achievement between men and women in Ukraine cannot be fully explained either by their levels of education or their educational field of choice. Culturally embedded gender stereotypes associated with different positions within the labour market also play a role. Reproduction of occupational gender segregation is also determined by the lack of efficient state gender policies, including educational policies, equal opportunities policies, anti-discrimination policies, and policy to enable a balance between family and work life, including provisions for part-time work and publicly funded child care.

Conclusions

Equal educational opportunities, regardless of an individual's social background or gender, are tightly connected with the ideas of social justice and social equality in developed democratic countries. They are generally regarded to be an inherent part of social integration, stability, and ongoing societal development. This chapter utilized recent data from a large survey, Youth in Transition, to assess gender equality at multiple levels of the Ukrainian educational system, with particular attention paid to access to higher education, structural characteristics of the educational process itself, and the relationship between educational attainment, class, and occupational advancement. As we have seen, the data highlight significant gender differences in these areas, as well as a number of negative tendencies in educational opportunities and accessibility in contemporary Ukrainian society.

As noted in brief at the outset, four trends were clear. First, gender is not a significant determinant of access to educational opportunities for Ukrainians. All levels of education are equally accessible for both men and women. What is more, in the cohort under investigation, women actually surpassed men in terms of attaining higher education. Second, social origin, as defined by one's parents' education and place of residence, does directly impact educational opportunities. This inequality holds across genders. With regard to the impact of parents' education, in particular, a mother's educational qualifications influence her child's opportunities for educational advancement as much as a father's do. Third, despite equal access to education by gender, the educational system remains unequal. Gender differences are easily

observable in the choice of area of study, a reality reflected in other European countries, and especially Eastern Europe. In Ukraine, engineering, manufacturing, and construction courses are male-dominated, while education, humanities and the arts, social sciences, business, and law, and health and welfare courses are female-dominated. Finally, compared with women, men in this cohort held higher professional and managerial positions across all sectors and areas of employment regardless of their chosen field of education or their level of education. Thus, gender inequalities in socioeconomic class remain and will continue unless the state intervenes to redress them.

Returning to the observation made at the beginning of this chapter that higher education in Ukraine has expanded at a rapid rate, we can conclude that this expansion has not been accompanied by equalization of opportunities, including the chance to obtain higher education regardless of social background, or the possibility of enjoying the results of such education regardless of gender. One's chances of attaining higher education are much better for young women and men whose fathers and mothers have already reached those levels. The data show this to be true even for secondary education, which has been compulsory for the late Soviet and post-Soviet cohorts. Gender, meanwhile, remains an important factor in what young Ukrainians choose to study, what kinds of jobs they get afterwards, what they can expect to earn from those jobs, and how far up the ladder they can expect to climb before hitting a glass ceiling.

NOTES

- 1 Kyiv International Institute of Sociology is a private, for-profit research institution. Further information is available at <http://www.kiis.com.ua/>.
- 2 According to the CIS data, between 2000 and 2002, the corresponding number for Germany was 262; Japan, 313; Italy, 314; Austria, 327; Canada, 394; Sweden, 404; Norway, 423; Poland, 466; United States, 494; and Finland, 540 (Council for Cooperation in Education 2005).
- 3 To keep the results statistically significant I have combined the original 1a, 1b, and 1c categories of the schema into a single 1abc category. Similarly, I have united the 2a and 2b categories into a single 2ab.
- 4 Unlike in many other countries, both developed and developing, where only nine years of education are compulsory.

- 5 This can be explained by the fact that not all village schools provide full secondary education, and those students who do not want to or have no possibility to go to school in a different location often quit their education altogether. This situation is also perpetuated by the fact that there is no monitoring of this issue by the state, and there are no official sanctions for persons who decide not to get full secondary education.
- 6 The index of dissimilarity is calculated by summing up the absolute differences in the proportion of females and males in each educational area and dividing the total by two.

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