Lund University

Lund University Master of International Development and Management

May 2012

CHANGES IN THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM IN STRUCTURAL CRISIS
EDUCATIONAL TRAJECTORIES OF TAJIK CHILDREN

Author: Evgeny Kochkin

Supervisor: Ellen Hillbom

Abstract

This thesis analyses the impact of structural changes in the Tajik society and education system in relation to factors such as gender differences, academic success, socioeconomic status of families, and the educational expectations and plans of Tajik parents and children. The thesis begins by briefly describing the social transformations that Tajikistan went through in the past 100 years; particular attention is paid to the break-up of the USSR and the civil war that took place in the last 20 years. It is suggested that the social context which shapes the attitudes of parents and children towards education has been changed considerably, creating new types of educational trajectories and re-framing educational and social inequality in the country.

The second part of the thesis presents qualitative and quantitative data on how Tajik parents and children perceive further education and employment and make educational choices within the current institutional context. The empirical basis of the study includes a representative national survey of 1,000 rural and urban households and 33 interviews that were collected in different urban and rural regions of Tajikistan. The analysis of the collected data is based on two theoretical concepts: parents' educational expectations and horizons for action.

Key words: educational expectations, educational inequality, gender, horizons for action, labour migration, rural-urban differences, social transformations, Tajikistan

Acknowledgements

Acronyms

ASPT - Agency on Statistics under President of Tajikistan

FAO - United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization

GBAO – Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast

GPA – Grade Point Average

IOM – International Organization for Migration

RRS –Region of Republican Subordination

TJS – Tajik Somoni

TLSS _ Tajikistan Living Standards Measurement Survey

TNU – Tajik National University

UNICEF - United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)

USSR - Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

List of Maps, Figures and Tables

Contents

1. Introduction

Tajikistan has undergone tremendous changes in the last 20 years: the break-up of the USSR, civil war, a transition from a planned to a market economy. All these events caused significant changes in most aspects of Tajik society. The goal of this paper is to discuss how recent events and transformations affected the educational system of the country. In particular, the main research focus is to estimate the role of structural changes in the Tajik educational system and society in relation to factors such as gender differences, academic success, the socioeconomic status of families, and the educational expectations and plans of Tajik parents and children. There are three groups of research questions which are relevant to this topic:

- What is the current structural context in which Tajik children and parents make educational choices? How did the social transformations that took place in Tajikistan in the last 20 years affect that context?

- How do Tajik parents perceive education and the future educational careers of their children? What is the effect of family and regional factors as well as children's gender and academic achievements on the expectations of parents in terms of the educational careers of their children?

- How do Tajik children perceive education and their future educational careers? How do they perceive their role in the process of decision making? How do their personal characteristics and interaction with peers influence their educational plans?

The research project was based on a mixed-methods design combining a survey data analysis and qualitative research. In conjunction with a local research centre called 'Zerkalo', I carried out a representative national survey of 1,000 rural and urban households. In addition to the survey, 33 interviews were collected in different urban and rural regions of Tajikistan. I recorded interviews with such groups of people as children, parents, school and university teachers, university students, lawyers, and social workers. Multiple data sources not only increased the overall validity of the study, but in addition, each source served a different purpose within the overall methodological design. Interviews with university and school teachers, lawyers, and other experts were conducted to provide information on the structural conditions in which Tajik children and parents make educational choices; in particular, how Tajik society and its educational system is organized, which educational trajectories exist in country, and which factors tend to have a significant effect on the educational expectations of parents and the trajectories of children. The survey data was intended to provide statistical information on how parents perceive the educational future of their children, and how family, regional, and child-specific factors influence their perceptions. Interviews with secondary school and university

students were intended to provide data on how children themselves experience their trajectories, perceive their future education/careers, and make educational choices.

The paper consists of five main chapters. The following chapter (chapter two) outlines the main socioeconomic transformations in Tajik society in the last 100 years. This part of the paper describes changes taking place in the educational system, the labour market, and family-related norms and values, drawing comparisons between the Soviet and post-Soviet institutional context. Particular attention is devoted to the break-up of the USSR and the civil war in 1992–1997 as events that changed major aspects of Tajik society and its educational system. It is suggested that the social context which shapes the attitudes of parents and children towards education has been changed considerably, creating new types of educational trajectories and re-framing educational and social inequality in the country. Chapter three reviews recent empirical studies on educational systems in post-Soviet countries in general, and particularly in Tajikistan, as well as certain theoretical concepts related to educational choices and trajectories. The synthesis of the theoretical debates on educational choices and recent findings on how Tajik children and parents perceive education allows us to produce a framework for understanding how Tajik children and parents perceive educational opportunities and which factors might predict the educational trajectories of children. Chapter four describes the research design, methodology, and the analytical approach taken in regard to the data. The chapter provides detailed information on why certain methods were chosen and how the methodological tools were designed. The following chapter (chapter 5) presents the main results of the study. In particular, it demonstrates the existing educational trajectories, the effect of family background and regional and structural factors on those trajectories; it also shows how Tajik children and parents perceive the gain of education compared to other options.

The thesis contributes to the growing debate on educational attainment and the trajectories of children in developing countries as a whole, and particularly in countries belonging to the former USSR (Gerber, 2000; Gerber, 2003; Gvaramadze, 2010; Roberts, Kamruzzaman & Tholen, 2009; Walker, 2009; Walker & Stephenson, 2010). Furthermore, the paper sheds some light on how structural changes in society affect educational systems, particularly the socioeconomic, regional and gender aspects of such transformations.

2. Background

The main goal of this section is to provide detailed information on the current socioeconomic situation in Tajikistan and to discuss the main socioeconomic transitions in Tajik society in the last 100 years. Particular attention is devoted to the Soviet era (1920s–1991), the break-up of the USSR, and the civil war (1991–1997). This discussion provides an analytical basis for the later analysis of the effect of social transformations on the educational trajectories of Tajik children and the expectations of their parents.

2.1. Country profile

Tajikistan belonged to the former Republic of the USSR (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) located in the south-eastern corner of Central Asia. The Republic of Tajikistan is a landlocked country, 93% of which is surrounded by mountains and only 6% of which is suitable for farming and cultivation. Tajikistan shares borders with Afghanistan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, and the People's Republic of China (see Map 1). The country has a population of around 7 million. Tajiks are the main ethnic group (80%), and there is a sizeable minority of Uzbeks (15%) and Russians (5%) (USAID, 2011, p.6). Seventy-three per cent of the population of Tajikistan live in rural areas, and the majority of people earn their living through agriculture (Shoismatuloev, 2006, p.224).

Map 1. Location of Tajikistan in Central Asia[1]

The country has five administrative divisions: Gorno-Badakhshan (GBAO), Khatlon (which includes Kuliab and Kurgan-Tube), the Region of Republican Subordination (RRS), Soghd, and Dushanbe which, as the capital, is the administrative centre of the country. All the regions are extremely diverse in terms of population density, industrial development, and infrastructure as

---

[1] Source: http://www.ruby-sapphire.com/tajikistan_ruby_and_spinel.htm, accessed on 02.03.12, modified by Kochkin, 2012.

well as the availability of educational institutions (see Map 2). Dushanbe has a population of 730,500 and an industrial productivity share of 8.6% of all the industrial goods produced in Tajikistan in 2010[2]. Currently, Dushanbe is the biggest educational centre in Tajikistan with 133 schools, 9 vocational colleges, and 20 universities. Khatlon is the most populated region in Tajikistan with a current population of 2,693,900. The region includes 4 urban population centres (17.2 % of the population of the region) and 24 rural districts (82.8% of the population). Khatlon's industry produces 32.9% of the country's industrial goods. The educational system includes 1,272 schools, 11 vocational colleges, and 5 universities. Soghd is the second largest region in Tajikistan in terms of population: 2,251,700 people. There are 8 urban population centres (25% of the regional population) and 14 rural districts (75% of the regional population). The region produces 20.6% of all industrial goods produced in Tajikistan. The educational system of the region includes 881 schools, 17 vocational colleges, and 7 universities. The third largest region in terms of population is RRS, with 1,734,000 people. RRS has 3 urban population centres (26.3% of the region's population) and 10 rural districts (73.7% of the region's population). The educational system of the region includes 1,141 schools, 13 vocational colleges, and no higher education institutions. GBAO is the largest region in Tajikistan in terms of territory, covering 44.9% of the country. However, since it is a highly mountainous region, its population density is the lowest from among the five regions. The total population of the region is 206,300 (less than 3% of total population of Tajikistan), spread across one city (13.6% of the regional population) and 7 rural districts (86.4% of the regional population). Industrial productivity was equal to 0.7% of the total industrial output of Tajikistan in 2010. The region has the least developed education system in the country with 314 schools, 1 vocational college, and 1 university.

---

[2]All numbers discussed in the paragraph are taken from the report of the Agency on Statistics under President of Tajikistan (ASPT, 2011).

Map 2. Educational institutions of Tajik regions: number of secondary schools, vocational colleges and universities by region (ASPT, 2011, p.9; modified by Kochkin, 2012)
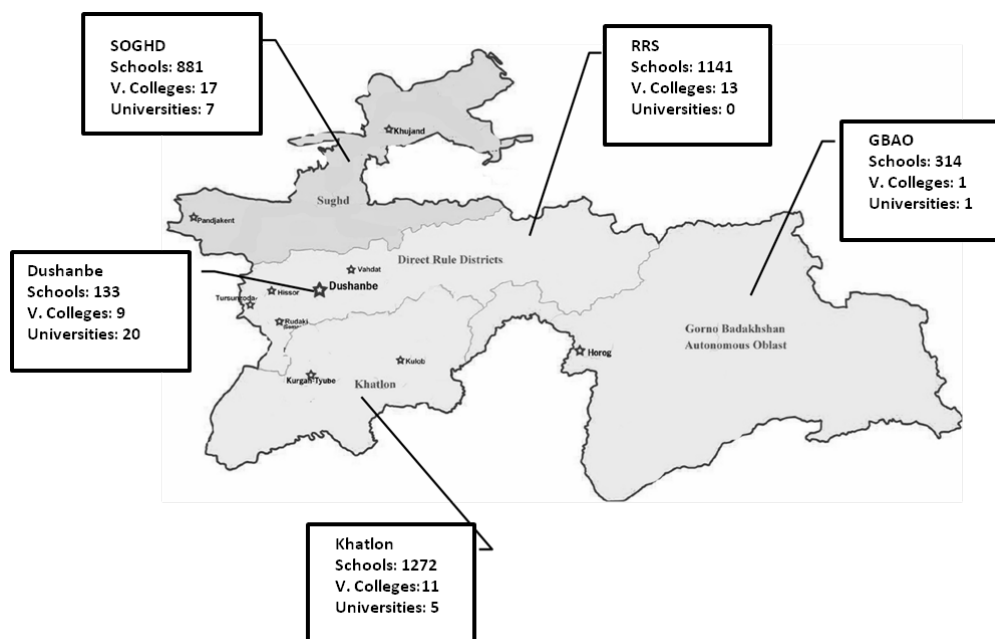
The education system in Tajikistan consists of 4 main stages: compulsory education, which includes primary (grades 1–4) and basic/lower secondary education (grades 5–9); secondary (grades 10 and 11); technical and vocational education (available after grades 9 or 11); and higher education (see Figure 1). Currently, the most important stage in the Tajik education system is the 9th grade. According to recent data, the dropout rate during grade 9 is 11%[3], while directly after grade 9, the figure is 22.6% (USAID, 2011, p.11). Furthermore, educational choices made after this stage have a large impact on the entire educational career of a child. Therefore, if a child decides to drop out after the 9th grade, it is relatively difficult for him/her to be enrolled again and to enter higher education later on. In view of the fact that the Law on Education guarantees every Tajik child free access to 'high quality' education, and that education is compulsory only between the ages of 7 and 16 (grades 1–9), these students are not considered to be an issue by the Tajik Government. For this reason, 9th grade students and their expectations, as well as the expectations of their parents, will be one of the main objects of my study.

---

[3] The proportion of students who were enrolled in grade 9, but drop out of the school before the end of the academic year

Figure 1. Educational system of Tajikistan
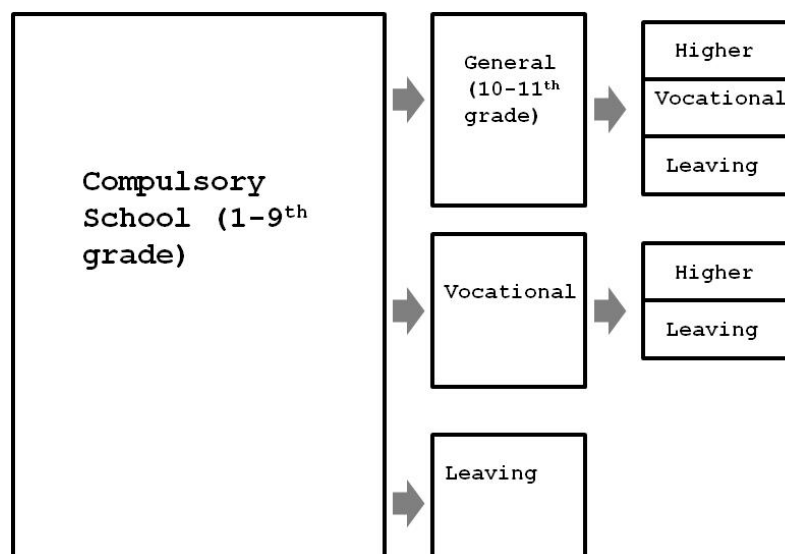
2.2. The Soviet period in Tajik history (1920s–1991)

Tajik society in general and the Tajik education system in particular have gone through significant changes in the last 100 years. At the beginning of the twentieth century, there were almost no modern schools in the region, literacy among the Tajik people was around 2%, and scarcely above 1% of women were literate (Silova & Abdushukurova, 2009, p.361). Because of the rapid expansion of the Soviet education system, by 1939, more than 2,000 schools had been built, and the overall literacy rate among the population aged 9 to 49 had reached 82.8% (Whitsel, 2009, p.29). By 1945, there was a school in every village and a few modern universities in big cities. All these achievements considerably increased the enrolment of students in primary, secondary, and higher educational levels. At the time of independence in 1991, the Tajik educational system was characterized by universal literacy and entitlement to a comprehensive and free education, with negligible differences attributable to socioeconomic distinctions (such as gender and ethnic, regional, and economic distinctions) (Baschieri & Falkingham, 2009; Silova & Abdushukurova, 2009; Whitsel, 2009).

Another feature of the Soviet era in Tajikistan was rapid urbanization which started in the 1920s. The number of cities rose from 4 in 1923 to 8 in 1926. The period from the end of 1920s to beginning of 1940s was characterized by rapid growth of the urban population, mostly caused by migration of educated specialists from outside Tajikistan. Therefore, in 1959, the percentage of migrants in Dushanbe was around 70% (Shoismatuloev, 2006). Because of the lack of a functioning education system and sufficient numbers of educated people in the 1920s, the qualified workforce (engineers, teachers, doctors etc.) were sent to Tajikistan from Russian cities

as well as other parts of the USSR. Even when new colleges and universities were built in Tajikistan, the practice of importing an educated labour force continued. Developing industry required more and more professionals and specialists, and the capacity of the local education system could not satisfy this demand. Moreover, many factories and ministries were less interested in educated local specialists than in inviting qualified specialists from outside Tajikistan. As a result, the major part of the qualified workforce of Tajikistan consisted of people from Russia and other parts of the USSR.

2.3.   The break-up of the USSR and civil war

The break-up of the USSR and the civil war (1992–1997), followed by a long period of civil unrest, caused tremendous changes in Tajik society. In essence, the first years of independence demonstrated the unstable and unsustainable nature of the development achieved in the country from the 1920s.

During the Soviet era, Tajikistan was highly dependent on subsidies from Moscow: subsidies made up 47% of total government revenues, the highest proportion in the USSR; Tajikistan also had the highest inter-republic trade deficit (Clifford, Falkingham and Hinde, 2010, p. 329). Annual average inflation was 4% in 1990; in 1991, the first year after the break-up, it increased to 112%, then to 1,157% in 1992 and 2,195% in 1993 (ibid). In fact, inflation did not decline to double digits until 1997. The economic crisis was accompanied by a civil war that started in 1992 and officially ended in 1997. The civil war took the lives of 60,000–100,000 people and forced the majority of Russian specialists and working migrants from other parts of the USSR to leave the country. Moreover, approximately 800,000 Tajik people migrated to different countries (Jaward & Tadhbakhsh, 1995). Furthermore, 500,000–600,000 people were displaced within the country, mostly from Kurgan-Tube (the most dangerous region during the war) to Dushanbe and GBAO (Shemyakina, 2011). Lack of food and job opportunities in the cities caused many people to leave and migrate to rural areas. Thus, another consequence of the civil war was a significant growth of population in the rural areas. The rural population of Tajikistan grew from 68.6% in 1991 to 73.5% in 2004.Another important impact of the civil war was the destruction of the country's industry: 80% was destroyed by the end of 1992 (Shemyakina, 2011). Regionally, the damage was more severe in the south, where 100% of the local industry was destroyed (ibid).

In the regions that suffered from the civil war, 20% of schools were completely destroyed, and a larger number of girls and children from poorer households dropped out of school; many teachers left the profession in order to provide for their families (Baschieri & Falkingham, 2009; Whitsel, 2009). Overall, the post-Soviet period was characterized by a drop in educational

participation across all levels, but especially in secondary and higher education, by growth of gender, economic, urban/rural and regional gaps in educational attainment, and by the decline in the government funding of education from 20% of the GDP (Soviet period) to below 3% (Whitsel, 2009, p.49).

2.4. Current situation in Tajikistan: extensive labour migration and corruption

The break-up of the USSR, decreasing living standards, and unemployment caused phenomena such as extensive labour migration of Tajik people to other countries. From May 1994 to May 1995, government employees did not receive their salaries. In the second part of 1995, the average monthly salary was the equivalent of around USD 1 (Shoismatuloev, 2006, p.92). Extreme poverty, lack of available jobs, low salaries, and high costs of food and other goods forced thousands of people to search for jobs outside Tajikistan. This period might be seen as the beginning of Tajik emigration to Russia and other post-Soviet countries. Currently, as many as 74% of Tajik households are somehow involved in this process (IOM, 2009, p.14) while remittances represent nearly 60% of the GDP. According to the IOM, 97.6% of Tajik migrants go to Russia because of language skills (Russian is one of the obligatory subjects at school), the huge demand for unskilled labour in Russia, and lack of visa requirements between Russia and Tajikistan (ibid). Over 95% of Tajik labour migrants are men (77.9% of them are married with children) since the cultural norms of Tajik society expect men to be the breadwinners while women take care of traditional household duties.

This flow of migrants from Tajikistan to Russia has noticeably changed the lives and social norms of the people in Tajikistan. The group most affected by this situation are the wives who, while their husbands work abroad for months or even years, have to take care not only of their children and the elderly but also of their family's budget, fields, and animals. Moreover, every year, more and more men migrate to Russia and find new wives there and stop supporting their abandoned families. In this situation, 'abandoned mothers' become the main actors responsible for the education of their children.

An important feature of post-Soviet Tajikistan is corruption. Tajikistan ranks 152 out of the 182 countries in the Transparency International's Corruption Perception Index for 2011[4], with a corruption perception index score of 2.3 out of a possible 10. (The lower the score, the more corrupt is the country.) According to Heritage Foundation studies, Tajikistan is one of the 20

most corrupt countries in the world, where corruption is present in most aspects of official life; the education system is no exception (Spånning, 2009, p.158).

Corruption has penetrated all parts of Tajik education, from 'gifts' parents give pre-school teachers (to better look after their children) to multi-thousand dollar bribes from senior university administrators to government officials to obtain extra benefits for their schools (Briller, 2007, p.14). Tajik universities are the most corrupt of all education institutions. Families who wish their children to study in a university have to pay bribes to gain admittance and to pass exams. The price usually depends on the prestige of the university and the department. In some universities, teachers even get paid to write research and thesis papers for their students (Ivanov, 2009).

3. Literature review

3.1. Previous research

The break-up of the USSR caused massive social, political, and economic transformations in Central Asia and Eastern Europe. The political monopoly of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was eliminated, the existing planned economy was challenged, and new states emerged all over Eurasia. This part of the thesis reviews the main academic studies on social transformations in post-Soviet countries and their effect on education. Firstly, the studies related to social and educational changes in Central Asia, Russia, and Eastern Europe will be discussed in order to demonstrate common patterns and transformations caused by the break-up of the USSR. Secondly, I will review studies related to Tajikistan. Analysing the academic literature on Tajikistan, I will present findings that reveal the effects of social transformations on the educational attainment of children.

3.1.1. Literature review on educational transformations in post-Soviet countries

According to Bucur and Eklof (2007), the main consequences of the collapse of the USSR in relation to education and society were the following: a significant drop in the funding of education; decreased prestige of diplomas; growing unemployment; and the increasing costs of secondary and higher education. The authors claim that during the Soviet era, family income, occupation, and personal connections affected students' opportunities to be enrolled in prestigious schools. However, children from poorer families could study in special schools for the gifted, and there was a well-developed network of free extramural enrichment programmes. Those who passed entrance exams with high marks went to a vocational school or university and received education free of charge, as well as free housing and small stipends to cover living

expenses. After the break-up of the USSR, in many post-Soviet countries, tuition fees were introduced in prestigious secondary schools and universities. Even in countries where schooling was nominally free, parents were asked to pay for optional courses and special services. Corrupt methods of gaining admission to higher education institutions increased dramatically. It might be claimed that all these factors lead to growing educational inequality, making the financial capital of the family one of the main factors in obtaining better education. Changing market mechanisms made some specializations more attractive for children and their parents. In particular, people became interested in specializations that could lead to the attainment of a well-paid job. In such a situation, the prestige of such specializations as liberal arts and humanities considerably declined, while the status of degrees in law, economics, business administration, and IT increased significantly (Bucur & Eklof, 2007, p.349).

Several scholars on post-Soviet education and society point out the significant changes in the transition from education to the labour market all over the former USSR (Walker, 2007; Roberts, Kamruzzaman & Tholen, 2009; Walker, 2009; Walker & Stephenson, 2010; Gvaramadze, 2010). During the Soviet era, all vocational colleges and universities were part of the 'centrally-planned system through which graduates were placed into work by mandatory job assignment' (Walker 2009). This placement was based on the specialization that the person obtained and demanded of the labour market in different parts of the USSR. It meant that each person gaining vocational or higher education was both guaranteed and required to work in his/her specialization at a particular place (factory, hospital, school etc.). With the collapse of the Soviet Union, the distribution system was eliminated, and graduates of the educational institutions were no longer guaranteed jobs. After the break-up, employment and the transition from education to the labour market started to be based on market economy principles: new private sector employers were no longer required to follow any of the old rules when recruiting personnel; there were no longer any nomenklatura positions or persons; membership of a political party no longer had to be treated as a commendation by higher education institutions or employers (Roberts, Kamruzzaman & Tholen, 2009, p.61). It is argued that the school to work transition became a more difficult and individualized process.

3.1.2. Literature review on educational transformations in Tajikistan

The first research project on Tajik education was carried out by Sahnozar Soismatuloev (2006); it was a longitudinal study on the educational and professional trajectories of Tajik children. Four waves of the study have been carried out so far. The first wave, a study of 4,000 tenth grade students, was carried out in 1980. The sample included school children from both rural and urban areas. The further waves were carried out in 1984, 1992 (during the civil war),

and 1998. These data permitted an estimation of the educational paths of a full generation that had gone through such social transformations as a civil war, the break-up of the USSR, and the transition from a planned to market-led economy. The study has revealed certain trends in the Tajik educational system. In particular, the author argues that the civil war and other recent events significantly increased the dropout rate of children, and that children from the poorest social groups as well as girls were more likely to drop out of the education system. Internal educational migration from rural to urban areas was widespread in Tajikistan in the Soviet era, and continues even today; therefore, in order to get vocational or higher education, children often migrate from their home villages and small towns to larger population centres. The author claims that the market relationships brought to higher education (fee-based programs, increased costs of textbooks, dormitories etc.) increased opportunities for the higher education of children whose parents belonged to newly formed classes such as entrepreneurs, managers, and specialists. On the other hand, the children of manual workers who previously constituted the majority of university students could not afford to get higher education. The children of rural families were in the same situation.

An interesting project called 'The School Dropout Prevention Pilot Program' was carried out by USAID (USAID 2011). The goal of the project was to both estimate current trends in dropout rates in Tajikistan and find a way to deal with it. In the analytical part of the project, they used five sources of data: raw data from the ministry of education, the report on the National Census of School (NCS), MICS, the Tajikistan Living Standards Measurement Survey (TLSS), and Tajikistan's Millennium Development Goals (MDG) progress report. The analysis showed significant gender and regional differences in dropout rates. In particular, girls had higher dropout rates in the first three stages of the education system; regions such as Khatlon, Dushanbe, and RRS tended to have significantly higher dropout rates than others, while the region with the lowest dropout rate was GBAO.

An important study on the contemporary Tajik education system and factors that affect children's attainment was carried out by Christopher M. Whitsel (2009). This study is based on 110 interviews (54 with parents and grand-parents; 56 with teachers) collected by the author in different urban and rural areas of Tajikistan. The main research question was to identify the factors explaining the recent drop in educational attainment. The analysis showed that declining educational attainment could be explained by three groups of factors: family, community, and macro-structural characteristics. The amount of fees charged to families, both legal and illegal, increased significantly in the last twenty years, and consequently, not all parents could afford to send their children to school. The author claims that community conditions such as cultural

norms considerably influenced the choices that Tajik parents and children make concerning education. Therefore, Tajik parents considering whether or not their children need further education beyond their basic studies often invoke traditional roles and norms related to gender. The widespread social norm among parents is that 'boys will be the provider for the family, so they must gain skills to get a good job. For girls, the path to a good future is through marrying well' (Whitsel, 2009, p.37). Macro-structural characteristics also affect families' decisions. On one hand, the dramatic changes in the country's economy increased educational costs for families. On the other hand, the introduction of compulsory levels of education (up to the 9th grade) gave families the opportunity to choose whether or not to send their children to secondary and higher school (Whitsel, 2009, p.39).

Several scholars used data from the TLSS to identify factors that predict the enrolment of Tajik children (Baschieri & Falkingham, 2009;Shemyakina, 2011). TLSS is a series of monitoring national representative household surveys carried out in 1999, 2003, and 2007 by the State Committee on Statistics with technical and financial support from the World Bank, the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), the United Kingdom Department for International Development, and the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO). Olga Shemyakina, analysing the data sets from 1999 and 2003, made an attempt to evaluate how the civil war affected the enrolment of children in conflict-affected regions. According to her estimations, damage to household dwellings during the civil war had a significant negative effect on the enrolment of girls, and little or no effect on the enrolment of boys. Thus, in the regions affected by the conflict, girls of school-going age were 12.3% less likely to complete secondary school (up to 9th grade) in comparison with girls who had graduated from secondary school when the conflict started. A similar picture could be seen in the regions relatively unaffected by the conflict: there, girls were 7% less likely to complete secondary school. Despite the fact that enrolment rates started to rise after the war ended, the rates in the conflict-affected areas were still below those in the areas not affected by the conflict. The author claims that the conflict might have created considerable regional and generational gaps in the educational attainment of women.

Angela Baschieri and Jane Falkingham applied multilevel modelling (2003 TLSS data) in conjunction with geographical information to estimate the effect of personal and community factors on school attendance of 7–17 year-old children in modern Tajikistan. Their study produced several interesting results. In particular, children with siblings aged under five are less likely to attend school; therefore, some children missed out on school to take care of younger household members (Baschieri & Falkingham, 2009, p.218). Their second conclusion was that

school attendance is lower in areas with more opportunities for agricultural work, where children have to help their families in agricultural activities (ibid).

The current study, based on mixed methods design, brings additional understanding on that how social transition of the Tajik society influenced the value of education among the population of the country. In particular, focusing on such well discussed factors as gender and regional differences, it brings some understanding on that how these factors influence the choice of particular level of study, specialization, reasons to continue education or drop out. Moreover, it evaluates the effect of relatively new patterns in Tajik society such as extensive migration, abandoned mothers, scarcity of the labour market etc.

3.2. Theoretical framework and operationalization of theoretical constructs

The analysis of the collected data is based on two theoretical concepts: parents' educational expectations and horizons for action. Both theoretical patterns seem relevant to the particular study. Most papers written applying the theories were based on the data collected in western countries with stable institutions such as US and UK. The aim of the paper is to test the theoretical concepts on the data obtained in a post conflict country, country that has gone through significant social changes that concerned educational system. The focus of the work is to analyze the experience and voices of parents and children from contemporary Tajikistan, identify how they perceive education, make educational plans and identify the most important factors that predict these plans and expectations. The following part of the paper reviews the main ideas of these concepts, provides concrete examples of applying the theories as well as discusses how these concepts might be adapted to the institutional context of Tajikistan and purposes of the particular study.

3.2.1. Parents' educational expectations

The first theoretical pattern which I will use in my research is the educational expectations of parents. In terms of social science, educational expectations are defined as concrete plans or beliefs of parents about what they actually expect to happen in the educational careers of their children (Goldernberg, et al., 2001, p.550). This concept has been widely discussed within social research on education, social inequality, and mobility. It has been proven that parents' educational expectations strongly affect their children's educational expectations, achievements, and attainments (Aldous, 2006; Bandura, et al., 1996; Kaplan, et al., 2001; Kirk, et al., 2011; Banner & Mistry 2007; Mistry, 2007; Neuenschwander, et al., 2007).

A few studies have been carried out in order to identify how the educational expectations of parents are developed and what factors predict how parents perceive the future educational attainment of their children. All the factors that tend to predict educational expectations of parents can be divided in two groups: the personal characteristics of the children and the socioeconomic position of the family.

The first group includes such determinants as academic achievements and gender. It has been suggested that the link between parents' expectations and children's academic performance is reciprocal in nature (Zhang, et al., 2011). There is some empirical evidence that not only parents' expectations predict the academic performance of their children but also that the academic achievements of children tend to have a strong effect on their parents' educational expectations. Another influential factor is the gender of a child. Some studies suggest that the expectations of parents regarding the future employment and education of their sons and daughters could be explained by national norms and values. Therefore, national norms predict strongly differing participation of the two genders in politics and the labour market as well as the equality of financial returns from education. Parents tend to consider these factors when making educational decisions (McDaniel, 2009).

The family-related factors include two main types of determinants: the economic capital of the family and the parents' educational level. One of the main socioeconomic factors is the financial capital of a family. Families that have relatively high incomes can provide better 'physical resources' for the mental development of their children (Dhesi, 2001, p.16). Resources include better learning equipment, a private place for studying, and more extra-curricular activities. Further, it is easier for high-strata parents to invest money in the education of their children. At the same time, for children from high-strata families, the obtaining of higher education often means conserving their family's social position (Hansen, 2008; Stocké, 2007). There is an opinion, that in a situation of increasing economic inequality, the impact of economic resources tends to increase (Hansen, 2008, p.3). In particular, economic investments become harder, especially among the poorest families; moreover, economic downturns lead to greater insecurity and pessimism with respect to future prospects, and such ideas become especially common among relatively poor social groups (ibid). Another key factor is the parents' education (Goyette, 2008; Raty & Kasanen, 2010). Educated parents have a better understanding of the benefits of high educational attainment and are more prepared to make bigger economical investments in their children's education, even if it means cutting down on goods such as cloth, food, and entertainment for the whole family.

Adapting the concept to the purposes of the particular study it was important not only to consider the common factors such as child characteristics (academic achievements) and family factors (parents' education and income), but also add some factors that relate to the current institutional conditions of contemporary Tajikistan. In particular, some factors that represent the most important social transformations of the Tajik society were added to the model.

One of such factor is the migration experience. As it has been shown above temporary labour migration is a relatively new phenomenon for the Tajik society; however, the process tends to have a strong influence on the life of Tajik people. Currently, remittances are the main source of income for a significant part of the population. Hence, it is necessary to estimate how a migration experience of the family affects the educational expectations of the parents.

The second factor is a region and type of the population point. As the analysis of previous studies has shown, educational attainment and achievements as well as educational infrastructure vary considerably by regions. There are regions where because of the presence of available land majority of families are involved in agriculture and children have to help their parents in the field; moreover, since farming is a profitable business in those areas obtaining further education might be considered as wasted resources. Simultaneously, there are mountainous regions with poor agricultural facilities and industry, in those regions educational expectations of parents might be higher. Moreover, there are considerable differences in the level of development of educational infrastructure between rural and urban areas. Consequently, getting education beyond the compulsory level requires more resources for rural families. The fact might affect the educational expectations of parents.

Thirdly, educational qualification of mothers and fathers need to be tested separately. Since mostly men work abroad, many women are left behind with their children. Hence, mothers are more involved in the educational process of their children.

Finally, since the majority of previous studies on Tajik education pointed out a rising gender gap in the educational attainment, particular attention should be paid to the role of children's gender in the process of development of the educational expectations of parents.

The conceptual framework of educational expectations adopted for the study is shown in Figure 2. The framework will be tested on the data of the quantitative survey that has been carried out as a part of the thesis project.

Figure 2. Conceptual framework: factors that expected to affect parents' educational expectations within the institutional context of contemporary Tajikistan
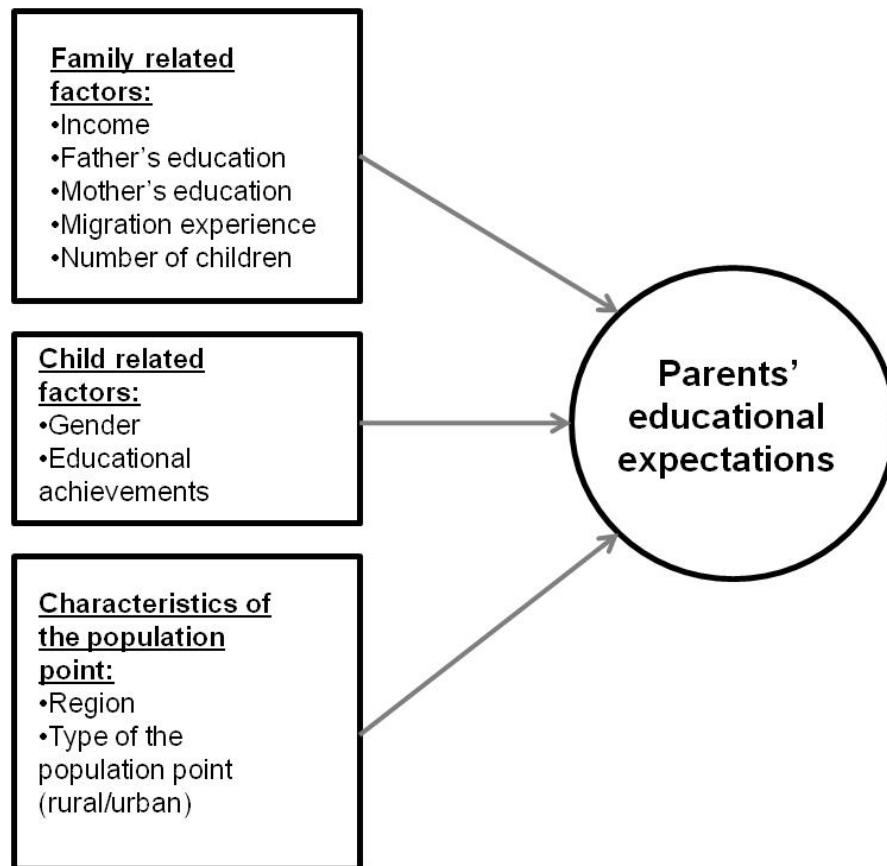
The proposed theoretical model is applied to answer the following research questions:

- How do Tajik parents perceive education of their children and the future educational careers?

- How do Tajik parents perceive the gain of education compare to other options?

- What is the effect of family and regional factors as well as children's gender and academic achievements on the expectations of parents in terms of the educational careers of their children?

For answering first two research questions, descriptive statistics will be performed on the data set of Tajik households. In particular, such aspects will be evaluated as educational expectations of Tajik parents regarding the level of education, specialization and occupation of their children; reasons why parents believe vocational and higher education are important for their children; reasons why parents think that their children will not get education beyond the compulsory level. Taking into account previous body of studies on Tajik education, special attention will be paid to the effect of gender, regional, and urban-rural differences.

To answer the third research question a statistical method such as ordinal regression analysis will be applied. Particularly, the effect of personal characteristics of children, family and regional factors on the educational expectations of parents will be estimated.

3.2.2. Horizons for action

The second important theoretical concept, which I am going to apply in my research, is 'horizons for action' (Hodkinson & Sparkes, 1997; Hodkinson, 1998). This concept, as I see it, encapsulates the idea that people make rational educational and career decisions within certain perceived spectra of available and socially approved opportunities. The spectral width depends on structural conditions (the labour market, features of the education system), family/personal capitals, and personal perceptions of what choice might be appropriate and available. 'Horizons for action both limit and enable our view of the world and the choices we can make within it' (Bloomer & Hodkinson, 2000, p.35).

In essence, the concept is an integration of Bourdieu's ideas of 'habitus', 'field', and 'capitals' (see Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990) with the theory of rational choice. According to Bourdieu, children's horizons for action are formed during their interactions with peers (such interaction is called 'the youth training field' (Hodkinson, 1998, p.558)). Their activities in the field are determined by available capitals (social, economic, cultural resources). Interacting in the field with other agents, who have more or less resources, children choose a spectrum of opportunities which are both available and suitable for them, and they then make rational decisions within this spectrum. Hence, to identify the horizons, we need to understand not only the structural conditions very well but also their life stories, personal experiences, and information about interactions with peers.

I have made an attempt to adapt the model, proposed by Hodkinson and et al., to the current institutional context of Tajikistan (see Figure 3). Analyzing the previous studies on Tajik education, it might be argued that parents tend to have a strong influence on the educational trajectories and believes of children. I suggest that educational horizons of Tajik children are evolved through interaction with their parents. Simultaneously, it might be suggested that gender of the child as well as his/her educational achievements and personal experience significantly affect horizons for action of Tajik secondary school and university students. Hence, the goal of the further analysis will be to identify how Tajik children perceive their future and illustrate how interaction with parents and child's gender, achievements as well as personal experience influence the perception.

Figure 3. Conceptual framework: Development of horizons for action within the institutional context of contemporary Tajikistan
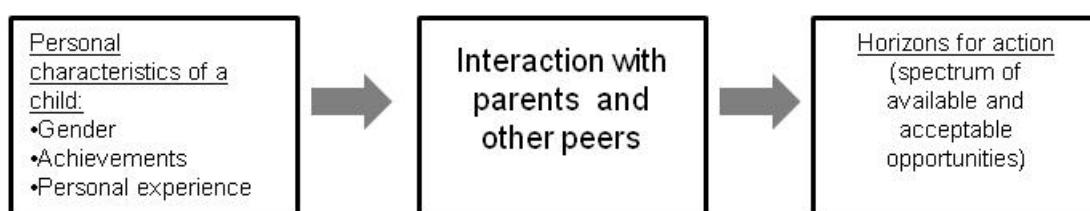
The conceptual framework is applied in order to answer the following research questions:

- How do Tajik children perceive education and their future educational career?
- How do they perceive their role in the process of the decision making?
- How do their personal characteristics and interaction with peers influence their educational plans?

The concept of the horizons for action emphasizes the importance of qualitative methods in educational research. In particular, the mechanism of making educational and career decisions should be understood in the context of 'the life histories of those who make them' (Hodkinson & Sparkes, 1997, p.33). It could be achieved only by collecting qualitative data. Thus, the concept will be tested on the set of interviews carried out in different parts of Tajikistan.

To understand what are the horizons for action of Tajik children and how they are developed, I will analyse transcripts of focused interviews with 9th grade students as well as university students (see guide – Appendix 1). Apart from questions on expected educational trajectories , these interviews covered questions on how their aspirations were developed, how they changed during different stages of their life, and what kind of life events played an important role, how parents, teachers and friends influenced on their decision, what they plan to do in the future, etc. One of the main goals of such interviews was to invite students 'to reflect meaningfully' (Harper, 2007, p.58) on how they make educational decisions.

4. Methodology

In order to address the main questions of the study, this research adopts a mixed-methods design combining the analysis of survey data with qualitative research. In particular, the methods applied in the research were semi-structured interviews with parents, secondary school and university students; expert interviews with school directors, university and school teachers, lawyers, and social workers; field observations and notes at each stage of the research; and a

representative national survey of 1,000 households. Multiple data sources not only increased the overall validity of the study, but in addition, each source served different purposes within the overall methodological design. Expert interviews and observations were intended to provide information on the structural conditions in which Tajik children and parents make educational choices; in particular, how Tajik society and the educational system is organized, which educational trajectories exist in the country, and which factors tend to have a significant effect on the educational expectations of parents and the trajectories of their children. Survey data was intended to provide statistical information on how parents perceive the educational future of their children, and how family, regional, and child-specific factors influence their perception. Interviews with secondary school and university students were intended to provide data on how children themselves experience their trajectories, perceive their future education/careers, and make educational choices.

4.1. The research process: constructing the methodology and collecting the data

The fieldwork took place between October 2011 and January 2012 and included two main stages. The first stage was based on the qualitative methodology. In total, 33 interviews were collected in different urban and rural regions of Tajikistan (see Appendix 2). In the second stage, a survey of Tajik households was carried out. The methodological tools (guide for interviews, questionnaires, and sample plan) were developed with considerable support from teachers and researchers at the Tajik National University (TNU), the Centre for Sociological Research 'Zerkalo', and the Centre for Educational Studies 'Pulse'. A number of discussions with these people helped me understand how better to ask questions on educational trajectories to parents and children, what questions were worthwhile to use for the survey and interviews, and what papers/articles had been written on my topic by Tajik scholars.

4.1.1. Interviews and observations

All the interviews were carried out in Tajik schools, universities, or in the respondents' houses. During the field stage, I visited and collected qualitative data in three out of five Tajik regions: Dushanbe, RRS, and Khatlon. Interviews with experts were structured around a number of themes: the typical educational trajectories in the country as a whole and the region (as well as university or school) in particular; how and why these trajectories changed in the last 20 years; which historical events and social processes had been the most significant; how gender affects educational trajectories; and how family-related and regional factors influence the educational trajectories of children. Interviews with parents were focused on the following themes: the

socioeconomic background of the family; the educational and career trajectories of family members; migrations experienced in the family; the educational expectations of parents regarding their children and how they had developed and changed over time; and the expected costs of further education and the expected benefits. Interviews with children covered such topics as family background; personal achievements; the educational experiences and paths of respondents; attitudes towards schooling; and plans for future education, how the plans were developed and changed over time (see Appendix 1). Each interview with experts and parents lasted around 30–35 minutes, while interviews with school and university students lasted around 45–60 minutes.

Moreover, I worked as a university teacher for almost three months at TNU, which enabled me to utilise methods such as participant observation[5] and field work diaries[6]. After each interview or working day, I took notes in a field journal where I tried to describe, in as much detail as possible, all observations and events related to the topic of my research. The journal includes information on the family assets and living conditions of respondents, the relationships among family members, teachers and students, and between students and their classmates. I think that the application of these methods not only gave me a deeper understanding of Tajik society but also provided me with important information on how honestly respondents answered my questions.

4.1.2. Survey

There are two main reasons why I decided to carry out the survey. Firstly, it was important to collect qualitative data, since for many students and their parents, especially in rural areas, 9th grade is an important stage where they have to decide what they will do in their lives. A significant part of such decisions involves the possibility of internal (educational migration to a big city) or external migration (labour migration to Russia). Survey data might help our understanding of this and statistically show how family and personal characteristics influence such decisions.

Secondly, based on interviews with children and experts as well as travelling around the country, I could see that Tajikistan is a country where neighbourhood regions might differ considerably. In particular, Khatlon (the region includes Kurgan Tube and Kuliab and is located relatively close to Dushanbe) has fertile soil, and people derive a significant income from

---

[5] "This requires the researcher to immerse themselves in the place/the societies they are studying. By living closely with the people you are studying it is possible to empathize with their way of looking at and interpreting their world. The note taking involved is rigorous and one is required to constantly test impressions and ideas" (Scheyvens & Storey, 2003, chapter 5).

[6] "A day-to-day record of events, diet, work or observations kept by yourself or an informant" (Scheyvens & Storey, 2003, chapter 5).

agricultural activities on their family farms. Children from the region miss school frequently since they have to help their parents to farm and are generally less motivated to study. The dropout rate after the 9th grade is the highest here. By contrast, in GBAO (a mountainous region bordering Afghanistan), children have plenty of free time that they can spend studying. As I was told, children of that mountain region generally show better results on national exams and have higher educational expectations. Unfortunately, because of dangerous weather conditions and the absence of safe roads, I could not make a trip there and collect interviews. However, survey data helped me to estimate the differences in educational expectations of children from all parts of Tajikistan and to study how exactly family assets and family characteristics affect educational trajectories in each region.

'Zerkalo' included my questionnaire in one of their ongoing projects. Because of their help, a representative survey (Scheyvens & Storey, 2003, chapter 4) of 1,000 rural and urban households was carried out (sampling plan: Appendix 3, questionnaires: Appendix 4). Questionnaires for the survey contained sets of questions on the following:

- Family assets and characteristics (income, educational background of all family members, number of children, nationality).
- Educational history of one child in the household (GPA, gender, age, experience of changing schools, father's educational and professional trajectory including expected internal or external migration). Educational expectations regarding future education and career of the child after the 9th grade.
- Migration experience (internal and external migration experiences of family members).

One thousand households for the survey were selected by random route method. Trained interviewers working with Zerkalo visited these 1,000 households, but only those that had a child studying at grades 6–9 were interviewed. If a household had more than one child at such an age, we asked questions pertaining to the older child. In total, data on 602 households that fitted the criteria mentioned above were carried out. All these questions were asked of the parents of the child, but if the parents had been absent for more than the previous three months, we interviewed the grandparents or other guardians of the child.

Collected survey data were analysed using SPSS software (version 15). Analysis of the data set, presented in the paper, is mainly based on two statistical methods: Pearson's chi-square test and ordinal regression analysis.

4.2. Ethical considerations, interactions with the respondents, and limitations

Ethical considerations were crucial for each stage of the study. In both the quantitative and qualitative parts of the research, verbal consent was obtained from all the respondents before the interview took place or the survey questions were asked. At the qualitative stage, prior to the interviews, I provided respondents with some brief information about myself, the nature of the project, and confirmation that their responses and participation in the study would remain anonymous. In cases where the speech recorder was used, I asked the respondents' permission to record their answers and explained that all records would be translated and analysed only by myself. In cases where respondents were under 18, parental consent was requested. Mostly, these particular interviews took place in the respondents' houses. On the quantitative stage, all respondents were provided with brief information about the study, and it was stated that all data would be used in aggregated form only; no personal data on respondents' names, surnames, or addresses were recorded.

During the qualitative stage, the important issue which I would like to discuss here was the respondents' perception of me as a 'Russian'. The historic and current relationships between Tajikistan and Russia affected the way that students, parents, teachers, and experts both perceived my presence in Tajikistan and interacted with me. Older respondents, when they discovered that I was from Russia, always started comparing the situation in Tajikistan in the Soviet era with the situation now, expecting that I would personally understand and have experienced all the transformations. In the beginning, this was not easy considering the fact that I was 4 years old when the break-up of the USSR took place. Younger respondents, especially students whom I taught at the TNU, were less concerned about my Russian origin and perceived me as a person who studies in Sweden and came from the 'West'. To them, I represented some 'other world' that they knew very little about. In many cases, they themselves volunteered to be interviewed and help me with my study. During the interviews, they often asked me questions about Sweden and what it is like living there. Since there are few researchers doing field studies in Tajikistan, the fact that I came to Tajikistan not just for a couple of days but for several months to work for free at TNU, as well as my active interest in their country, was positively perceived by the majority of respondents. In particular, it encouraged respondents to feel more open with me and actively participate in my study.

I have to point out that I did not face any language issues, since the majority of the population, especially in urban areas, speaks Russian as a second language. Initially, there I tried

to speak slowly and use simple sentences, expecting that it would be difficult for people to understand me. However, very soon, I realized that that offended people, and I started speaking at my regular pace, as I would do in Russia. Moreover, the ability to speak Russian significantly sped up the process of communication and my study as whole. I did not need a translator to collect my data and could actively participate in the daily activities of the university and department where I did my internship.

I assume that the qualitative part of the data collected for the thesis contains some biases and is most likely not representative. Respondents for all interviews were chosen by a method call 'snowball (or chain) sample' (Scheyvens & Storey, 2003, chapter 4). Therefore, I collected interviews with people recommended to me by my Tajik friends and colleagues. For instance, I met some people from Dushanbe, Gissar, and Kurgan Tube, and they introduced me to their friends that work as teachers or whose children study in the 9th grade. Then, I asked the respondents to introduce me to people they knew who suited my criteria. On one hand, people talked to me more honestly. However, this might have caused certain biases in the data. In particular, I was unable to meet people from the poorest or the richest groups of Tajik society. Consequently, it is hardly possible to make valid and reliable conclusions (Kvale, 1996, p.92). However, the data still demonstrates certain common trends and provides a deeper understanding of the context; it also serves to give voice to the students and their parents.

5. Results

5.1. Social transformation of Tajik society and educational system: analysis of interviews with experts, teachers and parents

The main goal of this part of the analysis which is based on interviews with experts, parents and teachers, is to demonstrate the predispositions, the structural context within which children and parents are supposed to make educational choices, and how the structural transformation of Tajik society in the last 15-20 years has affected the context.

Almost all respondents whom I asked mentioned the lack of well-paid jobs as a significant feature of the current socio-economic context of Tajikistan. People with vocational or higher education can find a job in the government sector or the hardly developed private sector; however, their monthly salary would vary from 200 to 500 TJS (40-110 USD). Job options with higher salaries are very limited and to get such jobs, recent graduates of universities or colleges have to use existing family networks or illegally pay some money to get hired.

'The main problem is a lack of good jobs. On the national TV or radio channels, they always advertise a lot of job offers, but mean salary is 200-300 TJS, what you can do with this money? For sure people don't want to get these jobs. Every year, there are 140,000 new university graduates and no job for them. That is why everybody wants or should I say has to go to Russia and work there'. **Respondent's ID: ST6**

'Many alumni of our university simply cannot find a job. There are two different flows: students, who illegally pay for all exams and then their parents find them a job, or they became temporary migrants, work as salesmen. Students who try to study themselves (it is possible not in all our universities and just few students really study hard), they usually can find a good job, but not in Tajikistan. Usually, it is Dubai, Russia, Turkey'. **Respondent's ID: UT3**

'I was working in Moscow and met a Tajik who has a diploma of a lawyer and worked as a construction worker. He told me that he really tried to find a job in Dushanbe, but everywhere they asked him to pay for getting it. He gave up and came to Russia'. **Respondent's ID: US2**

Another important feature of the current socio-economic situation and particularly the education system is corruption. Frequently, to be enrolled in a professional or higher education institution, a family has to pay a bribe; in some cases it requires several thousand dollars (to get admitted to a prestigious university in Dushanbe). Furthermore, while studying at these institutions students have to pay some money to teachers in order to pass exams. Not all families can afford it.

'You cannot imagine how difficult it is to teach students, when all of them expect that after the course is done they will just pay you and all get the pass. It took me years to build a reputation of a person who does not accept bribes'. **Respondent's ID: UT1**

'Even to get admitted to a vocational college you have to give some bribes, it might be around $700-800, thus, in those colleges study only children of those parents who can afford it'. **Respondent's ID: ST5**

However, despite the fact that education might not increase your chances to get a good job and requires significant investments, some parents are still motivated to provide their children with higher education. In particular, in urban areas, the majority of parents claimed that they want their children to get higher education, despite being aware of the risks. Providing their

children with education, they hope that the economic situation in their country will be better in the future, and their children will be employed.

> *'I understand the education now does not give you any particular perks. However, I still want my kids to be educated, you know in case something will finally change in our country, and you will again need education. I deeply believe so'.* **Respondent's ID:PR1**

As it has been mentioned above, the extensive labour migration is a significant feature of modern Tajik society as well as one of the outcomes of the recent social transformations. The analysis of interviews has shown that the process of labour migration of men created a situation in which the mother's education became a key factor in influencing the achievements and trajectories of Tajik children. The majority of mothers in Tajikistan have to take care of their children alone while fathers are working abroad. All teachers whom I interviewed told me that in this situation mother's education plays a crucial role on the educational outcomes of children. The majority of women have an educational qualification not higher than 9th grade. Frequently, they are not able to help their children with homework assignments and simply do not have enough time to do so. By contrast, educated mothers understand the value of education and they try their best with helping their children with home assignments, finding a good tutor, and providing their child with all necessary study equipment.

> *'You know, families are big here with many children. In such situations, mothers cannot pay much attention to each child, elder children take care of younger ones. Nowadays, the situation is even worse, fathers and elder brothers are in Russia and mothers simply are not able to control the educational achievements of their children. In such situation, the mother's education is very important. Many mothers are not educated or have just 9th grade, many home responsibilities, they simply cannot control how their children deal with home assignments or motivate children to study. If a mother is educated, even if she is a housewife, she will literally do everything to provide her children with a good education'.* **Respondent's ID: ST1**

> *'Children of educated and uneducated mothers differ considerably as earth and heaven. I can just have a look at a child and tell you if his mother is educated or not. Children of educated mothers are usually always well and cleanly dressed, always prepared for a class. I am always surprised, educated mothers usually have a full-time job, after work they come home and start helping their children with home*

assignments. By contrast, uneducated ones all day long at home and don't have enough time to help children'. **Respondent's ID: ST2**

It should be mentioned that married women of migrants taking care of their children are frequently not allowed to make educational decisions for their children, especially in rural areas. The decision is usually made by the father, who controls educational process of children being abroad by calling the wife or other relatives.

I have discussed the phenomena of educated mothers with some researchers, lawyers and social workers. They described to me some other features of the issue. In particular, more and more men working abroad divorce their Tajik wives (sometimes doing it by phone or sms). Since the majority of marriages are religious ones, it is enough for a husband say 'Se talok'[7] and the couple will be divorced. Another frequent case is that husbands just stop sending money. In all such cases, women have to start supporting their children by themselves. Educated mothers can quite easily find a job or already have one; consequently, they have enough resources not only to feed their children, but also provide them with some education. Uneducated mothers in such a situation are the most vulnerable since there are no jobs available for them. In order to survive, they leave children with grandparents and migrate to Russia. A relatively common trend is that women that cannot feed their children leave them in orphanages.

5.2. Estimating educational expectations of Tajik parents

This part of the findings presents the analysis of the survey data. The goal of the analysis is to identify parents' expectations regarding the education of their children, estimate how parents perceive the value of education in comparison with other options, as well as identify the effect of family related factors, such as personal characteristics of the child and regional factors on the educational expectations of parents.

5.2.1. Expected level of education and specialization

Data presented in Figure 4 show that 8% of parents do not expect that their children will continue education beyond the compulsory level. Furthermore, 20% of parents expect that their children will not get education beyond the general level (11th grade). Meanwhile, 52% parents believe that their children will get higher education.

Further analysis has shown that there is a certain gender bias in the educational expectations of parents (see Figure 5). In particular, 13% of parents expect their daughters to drop out after 9th grade and 24% of parents think that their daughters will not get education beyond the general

---

[7] It can be translated as : tree divorces

level (11th grade). In contrast, only 3% of parents expect their sons to drop out after the 9th grade and 16% after the 11th grade. Moreover, similar differences are observed regarding the expected level of higher education. Thus, 62% of parents expect their sons to get higher education and only 41% of parents believe that their daughters will obtain higher education.

Figure 4. Expected level of education (%)
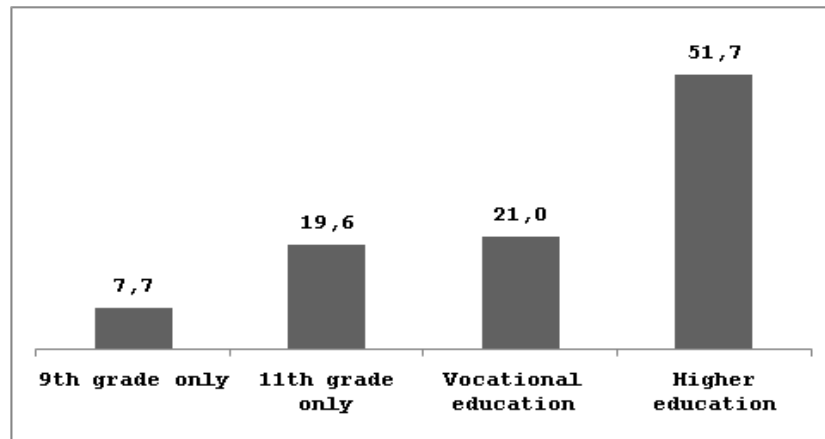
Figure 5. Expected level of education, by gender (%)
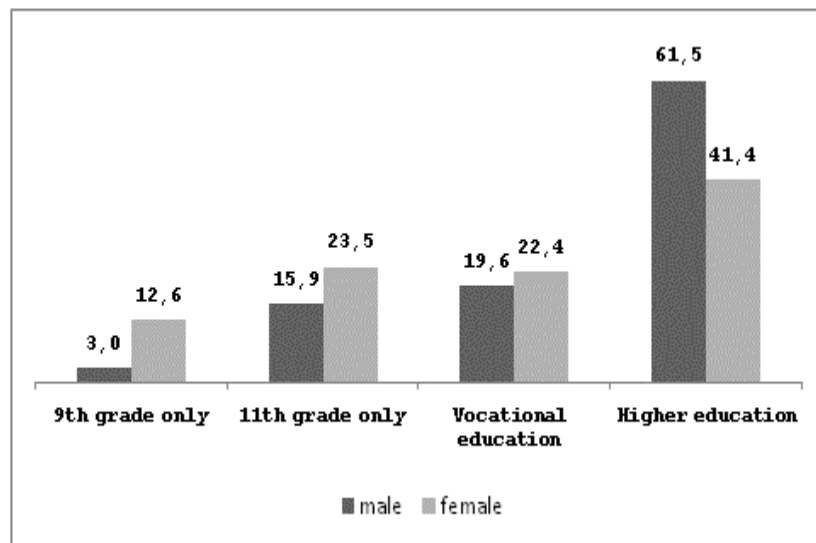
Note: Pearson chi-square asymp. sig. (2-sided)<0,001.

Furthermore, there are significant regional differences in the educational expectations of parents (see Table 1). The highest percentage of parents who expect their children to get higher education was observed in regions such as Dushanbe (76%) and GBAO (91%). As mentioned above, Dushanbe is the capital of the country where the majority of Tajik Universities are located. Children from the city have many options to continue education. By contrast, GBAO is a mountainous region with poor social and industrial infrastructure as well as a very limited area of land available for farming. It might be suggested that the lack of opportunities in the region encourages children to migrate to other parts of Tajikistan for education and employment. The

highest percentage of parents that expect their children to dropout after the 9th or 11th grade was observed in regions such as Kurgan Tube and RRS. These regions are located quite close to Dushanbe and have plenty of land available for cultivation. As noted by many respondents, children from these parts of Tajikistan have to help their parents with farming, and as a result, they frequently miss school and usually end up dropping out earlier.

Likewise, there are some urban-rural differences in the expectations of parents (see Table 1). In rural areas, expected dropout rate is twice as high as in urban areas.

Table 1. Regional and rural urban differences in parents expectations – expected level of education (%)

Region/PP type — Expected education	Dushanbe	Soghd	Kurgan Tube	Kyliab	RRS	GBAO	Urban	Rural
9th grade only	3,2	3,7	12,3	0,0	8,8	0,0	4,7	10,4
11th grade only	14,5	20,4	25,5	7,7	18,4	0,0	18,3	20,8
Vocational education	6,5	22,2	23,6	30,8	21,3	9,5	22,3	19,8
Higher education	75,8	53,7	38,6	61,5	51,5	90,5	54,7	49,0

Note: Expectations and region: Pearson chi-square asymp. sig. (2-sided)<0,001; expectations and type of the population point: Pearson chi-square asymp. sig. (2-sided)<0,05.

As presented in Figure 6, the most preferable fields of study for parents are IT, social and medical science. Among other options, parents pointed out that they expect their children to study law, management and pedagogy. As can be seen in Figure 7, there is a gender difference in preferable fields of study as well. The majority of parents (53%) expect that if their daughters continue education they will study medicine. At the same time, parents expect their sons to study more practical specializations such as IT, defence, social science, or law. According to the collected qualitative data, the gap might be explained by traditional gender norms; specifically, a noticeable part of parents who send their daughters to study medicine do not expect them to work after graduation. Instead, they believe that a medical degree will make a girl a good mother and wife who is capable of taking care of her children and husband. By contrast, it is expected that boys will be those who will bring money to the family. That is why parents trying to provide them with a more practically oriented education.

Figure 6. Expected field of study (%)
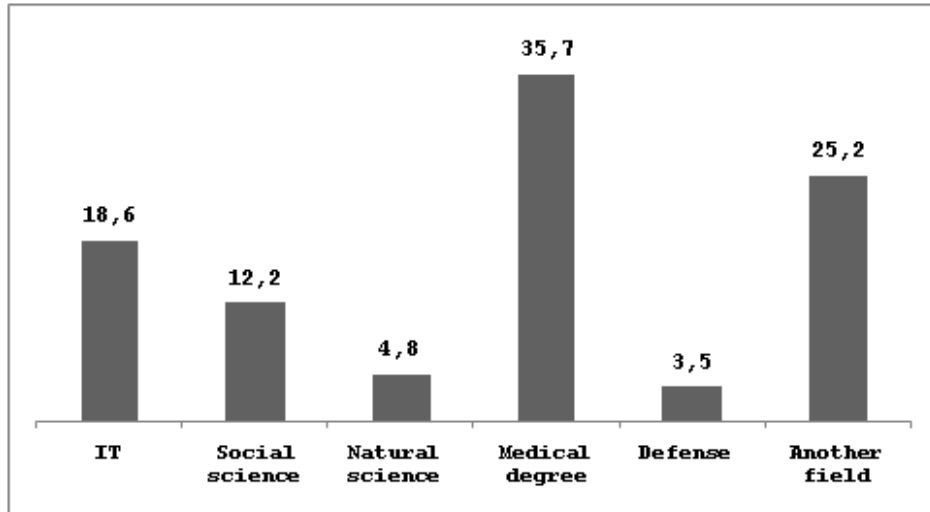
Figure 7. Expected field of study, by gender (%)
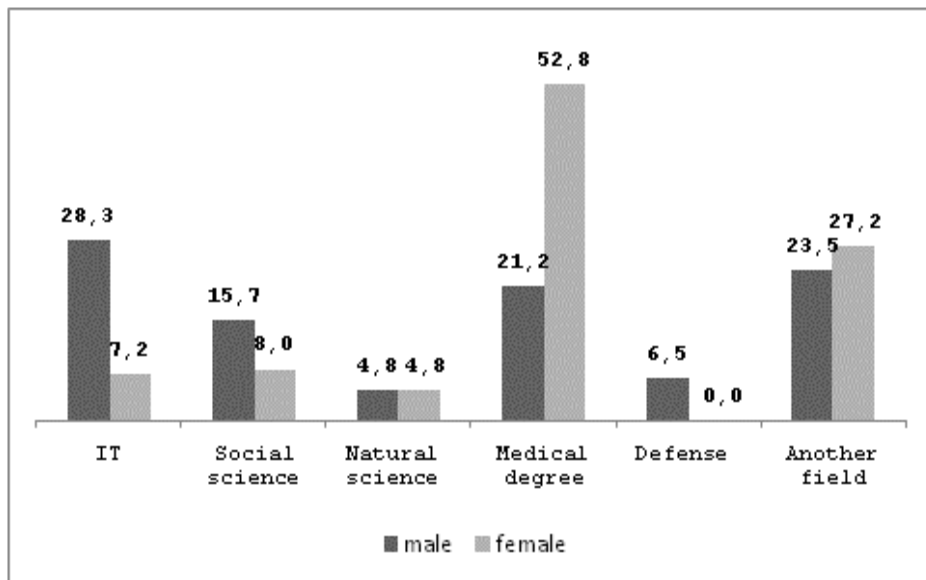
Note: Pearson chi-square asymp. sig. (2-sided)<0,001.

It is important to mention that there are some regional and urban-rural differences in the preferable fields of study (see Table 2). Particularly, social sciences are considerably more popular in Dushanbe and urban population points. There are two possible explanations for the observation. First of all, the majority of educational institutions where you can study social science are located in big cities (mostly in Dushanbe). Secondly, labour markets in big cities are more diverse and there are some working positions available for graduates in social science.

Table 2. Regional and rural urban differences in parents expectations- expected field of study (%)

Region/PP type Field of study	Dushanbe	Soghd	Kurgan Tube	Kyliab	RRS	GBAO	Urban	Rural
IT	17,5%	16,7%	16,5%	8,1%	24,2%	38,1%	16,5%	20,7%
Social science	31,7%	12,7%	10,0%	8,1%	8,3%	0%	16,2%	8,1%
Natural science	1,6%	6,9%	3,5%	5,4%	5,0%	14,3%	3,3%	6,3%
Medical degree	25,4%	34,3%	39,0%	45,9%	37,5%	14,3%	35,3%	36,2%
Defence	4,8%	2,0%	4,0%	5,4%	3,3%	0%	4,0%	3,0%
Another field	19,0%	27,5%	27,0%	27,0%	21,7%	33,3%	24,6%	25,8%

Note: Expectations and region: Pearson chi-square asymp. sig. (2-sided)<0,01; expectations and type of the population point: Pearson chi-square asymp. sig. (2-sided)<0,05.

5.2.2. Expected gain of education and reasons to drop out

All parents who expect their children to drop out after the 9th grade were asked about the reasons they did not want their children to their continue education. Figure 8 presents the main reasons why parents think their children will not get education beyond the compulsory level. The most common reasons are: 'the child does not like school' (39%), 'family cannot afford further education' (31%) and 'the child will get married soon' (36%).

Figure 8. Reasons to drop out (multiple response, %)
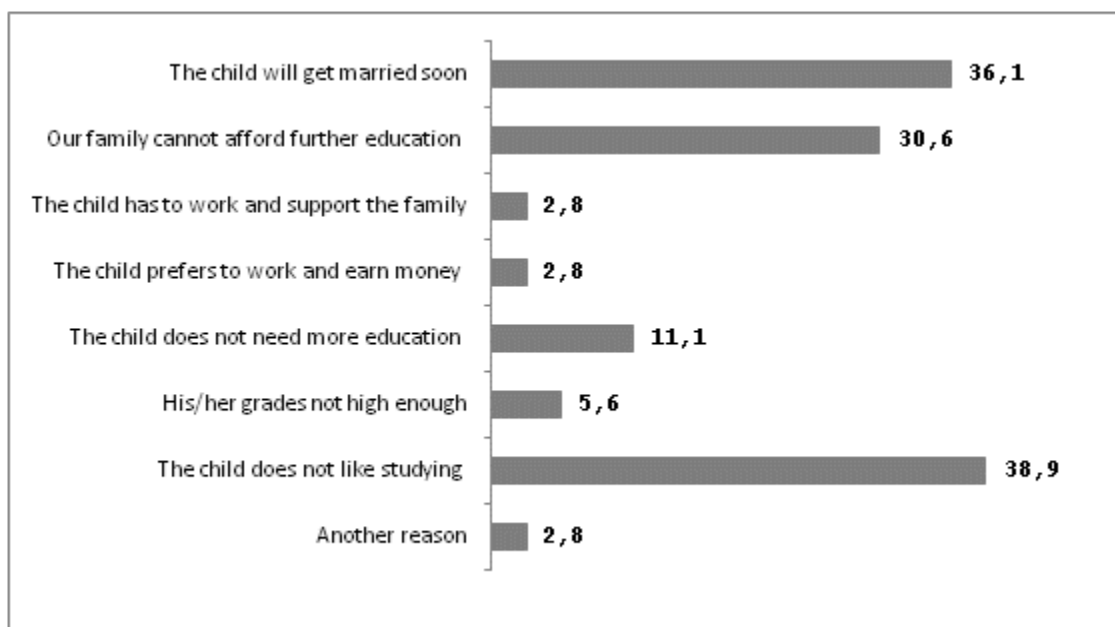
At the next stage, I estimated the gender and urban-rural difference in the reasons to drop out. The regional differences were not estimated, since in some regions there were only few cases of children whose parents expected them to dropout. Figure 9 demonstrates the gender

differences of the issue. Specifically, there are two main reasons why boys do not study beyond the compulsory level: the lack of family resources (57%) and interest to study (42%). The spectrum of reasons for girls is more diverse. Particularly, their parents pointed out the following reasons: 'the child will get married soon' (45%), 'the lack of interest to study' (38%), 'the lack of financial capital' (24%), 'parents think that the child doesn't need further education' (14%), 'not high enough academic performance' (7%). It can be concluded that financial capital and personal interest to study are the main factors that meter when the family decides to send their sons to study beyond the compulsory level. While for daughters, factors such as early marriage and parents beliefs in the importance of further education as well as personal achievements play a considerable role in the decision making process.

Figure 9. Reasons to drop out, by gender (multiple response,%)
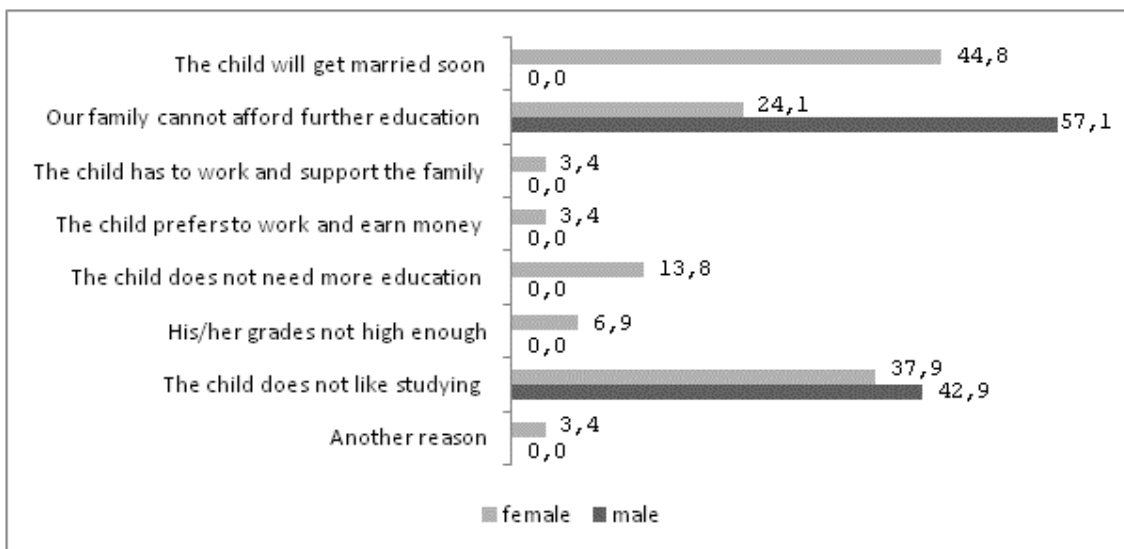
As the next step of the data analysis, responses of parents on reasons why their children need to get further education were analysed. The analysis shows (see Figure 10) that parents providing their children with vocational and higher education expect that it will give them 'higher income' (52%), 'better career opportunities' (46%), 'higher social status' (26%). Furthermore, 9% of parents replied that education beyond the compulsory level will make it easier to find a suitable marriage partner for the child.

Figure 10. Reasons for getting higher and vocational education (multiple response, %)
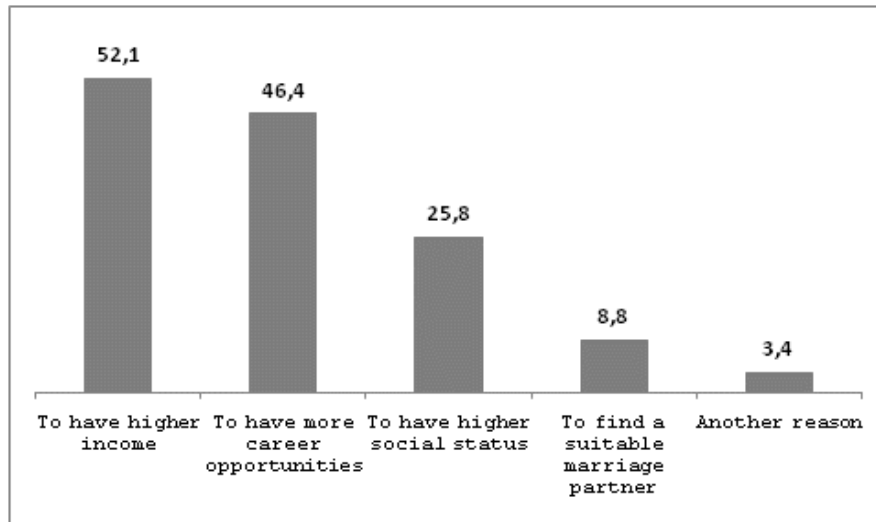
As shown in Figure 11, there are significant gender differences only among parents who chose 'another reason'. Thus, parents of girls are more likely to choose this option. These parents were asked to clarify what the reason is, and the majority of them replied that education will prepare their daughters for the marriage and will make them better wives and mothers.

Figure 11. Reasons for getting higher and vocational education, by gender (multiple response,%)
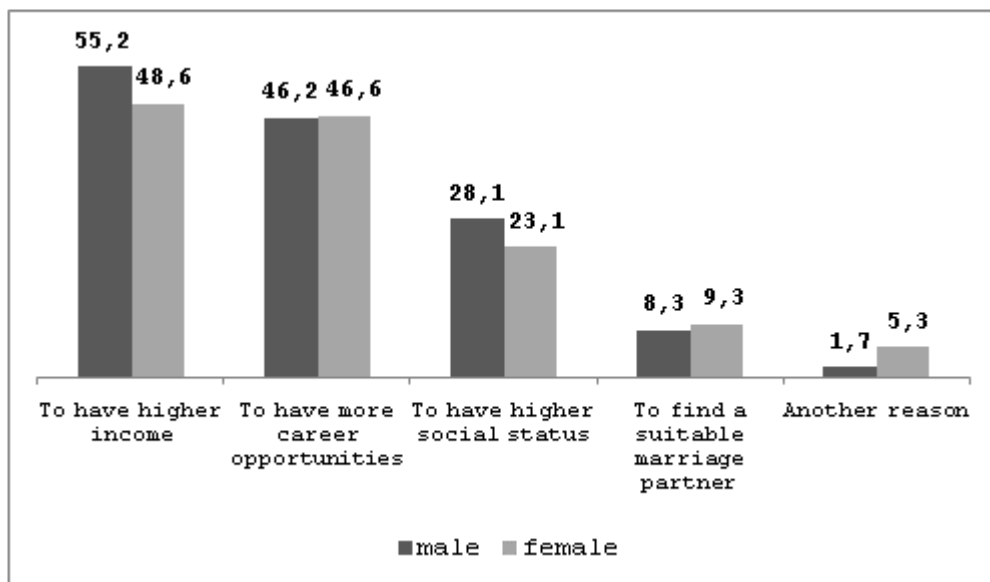
It should be pointed out that some regional and rural-urban differences in reasons for obtaining education were identified. In particular, parents from Dushanbe more often than parents from other regions chose reasons such as 'education increasing social status' (43%), 'education provides career opportunities' (60%) and ' education makes it easier to find a suitable marriage partner' (14%). Considering rural-urban differences we can see that in rural areas parents tend to value education more than in urban areas for benefits such as better income and

career opportunities. In contrast to rural areas, in urban areas parents place more value on such benefits of education as a better social status and the advantage of finding a suitable marriage partner.

Table 3. Regional and rural-urban differences in educational expectations – reasons to get higher and vocational education (multiple response, %)

Region/PP type Reason to drop out	Dushanbe	Soghd	Kurgan Tube	Kyliab	RRS	GBAO	Urban	Rural
To have higher income	41,3%	48,5%	60,4%	40,5%	53,0%	40,0%	49,1%	55,3%
To have more career opportunities	60,3%	38,6%	45,2%	59,5%	45,3%	35,0%	45,4%	47,3%
To have higher social status	42,9%	28,7%	18,8%	24,3%	25,6%	30,0%	29,5%	22,0%
To find a suitable marriage partner	14,3%	3,0%	8,6%	13,5%	11,1%	0%	9,2%	8,3%
Another reason	1,6%	5,9%	3,6%	0%	2,6%	5,0%	5,2%	1,5%

5.2.3. Ordinal regression model of parents' expectations

This part of the paper presents the results of the ordinal regression analysis the goal of which was to estimate the effects of family background, children academic achievement and gender as well as regional differences on parents' educational expectations (see Appendix 5 for more information on the method). In order to estimate how different factors influence on the educational expectations of parents of daughters and sons, separate equations were estimated for girls, boys, and all children in the sample. For the purpose of the analysis expectations were coded into an ordinal variable where 1 = 9th grade; 2 = 11th grade; 3 = vocational education and 4 = higher education. This variable was used as a dependent variable in the regression equation. Additionally, the final equations included 9 independent variables: family income, number of children in the family, education of fathers and mothers, migration experience, GPA (grade point average), gender of a child (included only in the first equation), region and type of the population point (see Table 4).

Table 4. Descriptive statistics

	All		Girls		Boys	
Y	*Mean*	*SD*	*Mean*	*SD*	*Mean*	*SD*
Parent's expectations	3,17	0,99	2,93	1,07	3,40	0,86
X	*Mean*	*SD*	*Mean*	*SD*	*Mean*	*SD*
Income	2,5	1,24	2,43	1,18	2,56	1,3
Mother's education	2,25	0,9	2,24	0,87	2,26	0,92
Father's education	2,87	0,93	2,85	0,94	2,89	0,91
Number of children	3,06	1,73	3,21	1,81	2,93	1,63
Migration experience	0,33	0,47	0,31	0,46	0,35	0,48
Gender of the child dummy (male)	0,5	0,5	–	–	–	–
GPA	4,14	0,56	4,23	0,54	4,05	0,57
Region dummy (Soghd)	0,18	0,39	0,2	0,4	0,17	0,37
Region dummy (Khatlon)	0,38	0,48	0,39	0,49	0,37	0,48
Region dummy (RSS)	0,6	0,25	0,5	0,23	0,8	0,26
Region dummy (GBAO)	0,23	0,42	0,24	0,43	0,22	0,42
Population point dummy (urban)	0,48	0,5	0,5	0,5	0,46	0,5

Household income represents monthly income of all family members that is coded in an 8 point scale (see Appendix 4, question 29). Education of parents was coded in a 4 point scale where $1 = 9^{th}$ grade or lower; $2 = 11^{th}$ grade; $3 =$ vocational education and $4 =$ higher education. Migration experience is represented by a binary variable where $0 =$ none of family members have work experience abroad; $1=$ some of family members have work experience abroad.

The GPA is a sum of grades received by the child for the last module (1/4 of the academic year) on four subjects included in the curriculum (Tajik language, literature, math, and biology) divided by the number of subjects. In our case, GPA measures academic achievements of students in a scale from 1 to 5. Gender of the child is represented by a binary variable where 1=male, 0= female.

Regions were coded in a series of dummy variables where Dushanbe is a reference variable. Dushanbe has been chosen as a reference variable, since it is the largest educational centre in the country with a wide spectrum of educational opportunities; expectations of parents from other regions will be compared with the responses of parents in Dushanbe. Type of the population point was coded as a binary variable, where 1=urban, 0=rural.

Table 5. Results of the ordinal regression analysis

	All		Girls		Boys	
Y	*Estimate (α)*	*S.E.*	*Estimate (α)*	*S.E.*	*Estimate (α)*	*S.E.*
Cut-off point 1	3,4***	,964	3,8**	1,39	3,9*	1,562
Cut-off point 2	5,1***	,976	5,3***	1,42	6,2***	1,542
Cut-off point 3	6,2***	,992	6,5***	1,44	7,5***	1,569
X	*Estimate (β)*	*S.E.*	*Estimate (β)*	*S.E.*	*Estimate (β)*	*S.E.*
Income	-,054	,098	-,203	,140	,76	,146
Mother's education	,37**	,127	,45*	,181	,41*	,193
Father's education	,38***	,115	,41*	,164	,34*	,168
Number of children	-,079	,054	-,2**	,070	,11	,093
Migration experience	-,034	,208	,109	,290	-,14	,315
Gender of the child dummy (estimated for girls)	-1,5***	,209	–	–	–	–
GPA	1,3***	,197	1,1***	,284	1,4***	,290
Region dummy (Soghd)	,745	,466	,58	,654	,86	,696
Region dummy (Khatlon)	,409	,433	,49	,617	,16	,626
Region dummy (RSS)	,493	,460	-,13	,641	1,29	,716
Region dummy (GBAO)	2,3**	,887	20,71	,000	1,86	1,077
Population point dummy (estimated for rural areas)	-,284	,212	,58	,654	-,308	,330
Nagelkerke R Square	**,298**		**,313**		**,25**	
Model sig.	**,000**		**,000**		**,000**	
Goodness-of-Fit Sig	**,94**		**,6**		**,99**	
N	**462**		**230**		**232**	
Note: **P*<0,05 P**<0,01 P***<0,001**						

The regression analysis has shown (see Table 5) that the main factors predicting the educational expectations of parents are the GPA of children (the higher educational performance of children, the higher are their parents' educational expectations), the parents' education (the education of mothers and fathers is prone to have a significant positive effect on their expectations), regional dummy (in the GBAO region parents' expectations were significantly higher than those in Dushanbe), and the gender of the child (parents of girls tend to have lower educational expectations). It is important to mention that the number of children in a family significantly influence on parents' expectations regarding daughters only. When there are more children in the family, parents are less likely to expect their daughters to be educated. A possible explanation is that in big families, a situation in which parents have to decide which child should get education they prefer to provide education to their boys. Moreover, the interviews have shown that in big families with a limited amount of resources, parents reduce resource crowding by marrying off their daughters earlier.

5.3.   Estimating the horizons for action of Tajik children

The main aim of the following section is to demonstrate how exactly children themselves perceive their future education and carrier, which options they consider as acceptable and attractive, as well as how they perceive their role in the decision making process.

To estimate the horizons for action of Tajik children, I carried out 7 interviews with secondary school students and 5 interviews with university students. One of the main differences which I observed is that boys and girls perceive their role in the decision-making process differently. Girls routinely mentioned that their education depends heavily on their fathers, while boys highlighted that they make decisions for themselves. Moreover, boys are less likely to think about their future families as a possible barrier to continue education or make a successful career.

To illustrate how Tajik girls might see available opportunities and make educational choices I quoted short parts of two interviews with 9th grade students. One of them studied in an average secondary school in Dushanbe, while another one in a rural school of RRS.

'I: What do you plan to do in your life?

R: I want to be a doctor, cardiologist.

I: Really? You have already decided that you want to be a cardiologist?
R: No, actually it was the decision of my father. I wanted to be a judge. I always watch TV shows where they show real juridical cases. I wanted to be one of those judges. But my father told me that when I am married my husband would not let me be a judge. Then, he told me: 'if you respect me, you will be a doctor'. Anyway you cannot imagine how lucky I am, I have many classmates, girls, who desire to study but their parents would never let them.
*…..Even my sisters; they dropped out after the 9th grade and now what? They married, have children, sit at home and do nothing. I don't want to live like that. If I am educated my life might be different, like in those TV shows about Europe and America'. **Respondent's ID:SS1***

'I would like to study in a medical university and become a paediatrician. I really want to help people and work with children. But I still don't know if my father will let me do it or not. It partly depends how good my grades will be. Anyway what my father will tell me to do, I will do it. Father's word is a law for us. I have a

classmate, she is very bright, has only perfect grades, she is the best in our class. Her father is currently working in Russia, the other day he called her mother and told that she does not need to study anymore after the 9th grade. And now they are taking her from school. … Anyway even I am lucky, and my father will let me study, I am not sure that my husband will let me work. My mother has higher education in medicine, and two of her sisters as well. But none of them has worked even a single day in their life. Their husbands did not let them'. **Respondent's ID:SS6**

The narratives of 'being lucky' and 'show respect to parents' were essential parts of all interviews with girls whom I met in Tajikistan. Girls are trying to study hard and show parents that they should be allowed to study. However, in many cases it does not happen. The main factors why parents do let girls to continue their studies are the following: lack of resources, co-educated classes (parents afraid that their daughters will be raped), early marriages, lack of available jobs for educated girls.

By contrast, boys talking about their education describe that their educational trajectory is some kind of a dialogue with parents and elder brothers. As a result of the dialogue, an optimal strategy to study is chosen and the whole family, including elder brothers, will invest money in their education.

'I really wanted to study medicine, and I came to my father to discuss it. He told me that probably economics would be a more appropriate choice and people who know economics will be in high demand soon. So we agreed that I will study economics now for one year and then if I don't like it, I will change it to medicine'. **Respondent's ID: US6**

'Soon it will be the end of the year, and I still don't know where I will continue my education. My father is in migration, he will come back in a few months and then I can discuss with him what I will be doing'. **Respondent's ID: SS4**

For boys obtaining higher or vocational education, it frequently means that besides studying they have to work and cover at least some costs of their studies. Some university and college students go to Russia for several months every year and work there as unskilled labourers in order to get additional money and help their families to pay for their education. In most cases, they spend the money to cover transport costs, buy books, a laptop, clothing and bribes for passing exams. The rest they spend as pocket money to go out with their friends.

'R: This summer and two autumn months I spent working in Moscow, actually in a city close to Moscow. I was working in a big mall. So basically all I earned is enough now for one year. I could buy good clothes, a lap top, pay for the exams, now I can pay for travelling from home to the university and pay for passing exams myself. Also, my father was out of a job this year so I gave some money to him as well. When I was coming back I thought I had a lot of money, but now I see that it is hardly enough until the next summer.

I: But how could you be in Russia, if you had classes here at the university?

R: Actually, I paid some money to buy a document that I am sick and have to stay in a hospital for three months'. **Respondent's ID: US2**

'Some of my classmates, quite many of them at least for 2-3 months every year go to Russia; otherwise, they would not be able to pay for their education'. **Respondent's ID: US6**

'My parents told me that from the first years as a student I will have to work. I am the oldest one and soon my younger brother and sister will also become students, and our parents would simply not be able to pay for transport and lunch for three of us every day. So whenever I and my brother will be studying we know that from the very first years we will have to find at least some job'. **Respondent's ID: SS3**

The majority of boys whom I interviewed told me that one of the factors that motivates them to continue education is the army. In Tajikistan, every man from the age of 18 has to join the army for two years. However, if you are studying you can get a delay for the period of your study. Moreover, while studying at the university boys can attend special military courses. Those who attended the military program at the university are exempt from the military service. Thus, obtaining higher education works as a good motivator for those boys who do not want to join the army. As I was told by children, parents and university teachers, army duties are not considered as an attractive option, and in general families try to avoid them. However, there are some cases when guys want to join the army and consider it as a good option to get new skills.

'I had two choices to study here or go to the army. I have decided it is better to be a student while parents are still alive'. **Respondent's ID:US1**

'I know that the army would not be so bad for me, you know I have been training a lot, know computers. I know that parents can help me get a place in a good military

unit. I am not afraid as probably others, I might even stay in the army and do my career there'. **Respondent's ID: SS5**

Another important difference I observed while analysing and collecting interviews with children is that children from urban and rural areas choose a specialization to study differently. Thus, children from urban areas tend to choose some modern specializations such as IT, humanities, international relations or business related specializations. By contrast, children from rural areas try to get education in traditional specializations such as medicine or education. They expect that after they have completed their studies, they will return to their home villages or rural towns and live with their families. As a result, making a choice of the specialization they try to get an education, which could be useful back in their hometowns or villages.

'Not any education is good for a village. There is a job for a social worker, but not for an economist. When I was choosing my specialization, I thought that if I would not be able to find a job in Dushanbe I will have to come back and my education should not be wasted. Thus, my brother became an engineer and then came back to our village, for two years could not find a job, lost all skills and then had to come back to a city. That is why I have decided to become a social worker; at least I will get some job in my home village'. **Respondent's ID: US 3**

'In many villages there is nothing functioning apart from schools. That is why many young people from a rural area whom I know come to Dushanbe to become teachers'. **Respondent's ID: US5**

Nevertheless, my talks to second and third year students who came from rural areas, but study in an urban educational institution, revealed that after the experience of living in a big city they do not want to return to their home villages anymore. The majority of them pointed out that in a city they have internet, at least some job opportunities, the ability to date, and less social pressure and control from parents and society. The most common words what they use describing their life in a city are 'comfort' and 'freedom'. Their horizons for action transformed significantly from the time when they were secondary school graduates. Many of them do not want to return to their home places anymore and try their best to find some job in a city or at least go as temporary workers to Russia.

6. Conclusion

The Soviet and post-Soviet eras significantly affected all major aspects of Tajik society. The educational system is one of these aspects. From the beginning of the twentieth century to the 1990sTajikistan was transformed from a country with a literacy rate of 2% and an absence of modern educational institutions to a country with universal literacy and entitlement to a comprehensive and free education system, with only minor differences in enrolment rates according to gender, ethnic, regional, and economic factors, and with modern vocational and higher education systems. However, the break-up of the USSR, followed by a civil war and a long period of civil unrest, has shown that the development achieved was not sustainable. This thesis was designed to demonstrate how these events in recent Tajik history affected the education system. The main object of the analysis was to reveal how social context has been changed by the post-Soviet era; how Tajik parents and children perceive education and make educational choices; and to investigate the effect of contextual, regional, family, and gender on these choices and perceptions.

The analysis of expert interviews has demonstrated that the break-up of the USSR, the civil war, and the economic crisis caused outcomes such as job scarcity, increased corruption, and extensive labour migration to Russia and other post-Soviet and Middle Eastern countries. The scarcity of jobs and corruption in education and the labour market created a situation in which obtaining education frequently requires significant investment and does not provide the expected social outcomes. It might be claimed that such a situation makes labour migration a more desirable option for the youth than vocational or higher education. Moreover, the growing external migration of men created a situation in which women are left behind to be solely responsible for the educational performance and trajectories of their children. In such situations, the mother's education became a significant predictor influencing the educational trajectories of Tajik children.

Descriptive analysis of the survey data demonstrated several important trends in how Tajik parents perceive the future educational trajectories and the importance of education for their children. First of all, a certain gender bias was identified. Parents were more likely to expect their daughters to drop out after the 9th and 11th grades than their sons. Simultaneously, daughters are less likely to be expected to enter higher education. Those parents who expect their daughters to obtain higher or vocational education think that it is important for them to study specializations such as medicine. In many cases, the choice of specialization is associated with parents' belief that their daughters should strive to be good wives and mothers, and that obtaining an education will help them in that. Making decisions as to whether or not their sons or

daughters need to get education beyond the compulsory level, parents tend to consider varying factors. In particular, financial capital and the personal interests of a child towards studying are considered when the family decides to send sons studying beyond the compulsory level. In contrast, for daughters, factors such as early marriage and the parents' beliefs regarding the importance of further education, as well as personal achievements, play a considerable role in the decision-making process. Secondly, regional and rural-urban differences in educational expectations of parents were identified. The highest percentage of parents who expect their children to get higher education was observed in regions such as Dushanbe and GBAO, while the lowest expectations were observed in Khatlon and RRS. Currently, Dushanbe is the largest educational centre in Tajikistan, where majority of Tajik universities are located. Children from the city have many options as to where to continue their education. By contrast, GBAO is a mountainous region with poor social and industrial infrastructure as well as a very limited area of land available for farming. This lack of opportunities in the region encourages children to migrate to other parts of Tajikistan for education and employment. Khatlon and RRS are located quite close to Dushanbe and have plenty of land available for cultivation. As was mentioned by many respondents, children from these parts of Tajikistan have to help their parents with the farming, and as a result, they frequently miss school and usually end up dropping out earlier. Considering the urban-rural differences, it was identified that in rural areas, the expected dropout rate after the 9th grade is twice as high as it is in urban areas.

The ordinal regression analysis of parents' educational expectations according to the personal characteristics of their children, family, and region has shown that the main factors predicting the educational expectations of parents are the GPA of children, the parents' education, region–specific differences, and the gender of the child. It is important to mention that the number of children in a family significantly influences parents' expectations regarding daughters. When there are more children in the family, parents are less likely to expect their daughters to be educated. Currently, because of scarcity of resources and the increased costs of education, in big families, parents have to decide which child should get education. Usually, the boys are chosen, while in order to reduce resource crowding, they marry off their daughters earlier.

From my analysis of the interviews with secondary school and university students, I have drawn several conclusions. In particular, one of the main differences which I observed is that boys and girls perceive their role in the decision-making process differently. Girls consistently mentioned that their education depends heavily on their fathers, while boys highlighted that they make decisions for themselves. Moreover, boys are less likely to consider their future families as a possible barrier to continue education or a make successful career. In contrast, when choosing

further education, boys and their parents have to consider army duties as an important factor. Boys are prone to choose educational institutions that provide special courses that will help them in the future to avoid the army. Boys are more responsible for earning money and covering some of the costs of their studies. Since both the formal and informal costs of education are very high for an average Tajik family, boys are both eager and expected to start working immediately after graduating from secondary school in order to cover at least some of their education costs. Another important observation I made while collecting interviews and teaching at TNU is that children from rural areas choosing a particular place of study try to get education in traditional specializations such as medicine or education. They expect that after they have completed their studies they will have to return to their home villages or rural towns and live with their families. Therefore, when choosing their specialization, they try to get an education that could be useful in their homes. However, after their first years of study, their expectations and horizons for actions tend to be transformed, and they do not always want to return to their home villages anymore; instead, they try their best to either get a job and stay in the city or migrate to Russia.

To summarise, all the structural transformations that Tajikistan has undergone in the last 20 years significantly affected the Tajik educational system, individual educational trajectories and the value of education in the eyes of Tajik people. According to my observations, the effect includes two stages. First, structural transformations influence macro-level factors and processes, reshape social norms. In case of Tajikistan, all the structural transformations caused patterns such as job scarcity, increased corruption, and extensive labour migration. At the second stage, these new patterns and context factors affect individual-level educational prospects, the perception of education and educational trajectories. The negative impact appears to be greatest for girls, children from certain regions of Tajikistan and rural areas. I believe that the concept of 'structural transformations' might be both important and useful for future research on the educational system of Tajikistan and other post-Soviet countries.

Word count: 14980

References

Aldous, J., 2006. Family, ethnicity, and immigrant youths' educational achievements. *Journal of Family Issues*, 27, pp.1633–1667.

ASPT, 2011. Regionu Respubliki Tajikistan, [online] Available at: <http://www.stat.tj/img/fafa4ed764f8e9b9cad5fd57b6c819fa_1322470596.pdf> [Accessed 22 March 2012].

Bandura, A., Barbaranelli, C., Caprara, G. V., & Pastorelli, C., 1996.Multifaceted impact of self-efficacy beliefs on academic functioning. *Child Development*, 67, pp.1206–1222.

Baschieri, A., Falkingham, J., 2009. Staying in School: Assessing the Role of Access, Availability, and Economic Opportunities – the Case of Tajikistan. *Population, Space and Place*, 15, pp.205–224.

Benner, A.; Mistry, R., 2007. Congruence of Mother and Teacher Educational Expectations and Low-Income Youth's Academic Competence. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 99 (1), pp.140–153.

Bloomer, M.; Hodkinson, P., 2000. Learning Careers: Continuity and Change in Young People's Dispositions to Learning. *British Educational Research Journal*, 26(5), pp.583-597.

Bourdieu, P.; Passeron, J. K., 1990. *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture (Theory, Culture and Society Series)*. 2nd ed. London: SAGE. p288.

Briller, V., 2007. Tajikistan country case study, [online] Available at: <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0015/001555/155515e.pdf>[Accessed 22 March 2012].

Bryman, A., 2008.*Social Research Methods*. Oxford: Oxford Universtiy Press.

Bucur, M.; Eklof, B., 2007. Russia and Eastern Europe. In: Arnove, R.; Torres, C. A., *Comparative Education: the Dialectic of the Global and the Local*. 3rd ed. United States of America: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc. p333-357.

Clifford, D.; Falkingham, J.; Hinde, A., 2010. Through Civil War, Food Crisis and Drought: Trends in Fertility and Nuptiality in Post-Soviet Tajikistan. *European Journal of Population,* 26 (3), pp.325-350.

Dhesi, A. S., 2001. Expectations and post-school choice: some data from India. *Education + Training*, *43*(1), pp.14-24.

Eccles, J. S., & Wigfield, A., 2002. Motivational beliefs, values, and goals. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 53, pp.109–132.

Gerber,T.P., 2000. Educational Stratification in Contemporary Russia: Stability and Change in the Face of Economic and Institutional Crisis. *Sociology of Education*, 73 (4), pp.219-246.

Gerber,T.P., 2003. Loosening Links? School-to-Work Transitions and Institutional Change in Russia since 1970. *Social Forces*, 82 (1), pp.241-276.

Goldenberg, C., Gallimore, R., Reese, L., & Garnier, H., 2001. Cause or Effect? Longitudinal Study of Immigrant Latino Parents' Aspirations and Expectations, and Their Children's School Performance. *American Educational Research Journal*, 38, pp.547-582.

Goyette, K., 2008. College for some to college for all: Social background, occupational expectations, and educational expectations over time. *Social Science Research,* 37 (2), pp.461–484.

Gvaramadze, I., 2010. Skill Formation and Utilisation in the Post-Soviet Transition: Higher Education Planning in Post-Soviet Georgia. *Higher Education Quarterly*, 64 (2), pp.118-132.

Hansen, M., 2008. Rational Action Theory and Educational Attainment. Changes in the Impact of Economic Resources. *European Sociological Review*, 24 (1), pp.1-17.

Harper, S., 2007. Using Qualitative Methods to Assess Student Trajectories and College Impact. *New Directions for Institutional Research*, 136, pp.55-68.

Hodkinson, P. & Sparkes, A., 1997. A Sociological Theory of Career Decision Making. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 18(1), pp. 29-44.

Hodkinson, P., 1998. The Origins of a Theory of Career Decision-Making: A Case Study of Hermeneutical Research. *British Educational Research Journal*, 24(5), pp. 557-572

IOM, 2009. *Abandoned wives of Tajik labor migrants: IOM Study on the socio-economic characteristics of abandoned wives of Tajik labor migrants and their survival capabilities.* IOM Dushanbe, Tajikistan.

Ivanov, A., 2009. Tajikistan: The Education System Gets a Failing Grade, [online] Available at:<http://www.eurasianet.org/departments/insightb/articles/eav022009a.shtml> [Accessed 11 March 2012].

Jaward, N., & Tadhbakhsh, S., 1995. *Tajikistan: a forgotten civil war*. London, Minority Rights Group.

Kalan, D. S., Liu, X., & Kaplan, H. B., 2001. Influence of Parents' Self-Feelings and Expectations on Children's Academic Performance. *Journal of Educational Research*, 94, pp. 360-70.

Kirk, C.; Lewis-Moss, R.; Nilsen, C.; Colvin, D., 2011. The role of parent expectations on adolescent educational aspirations. *Educational Studies*, 37 (1), pp.89-99.

Kvale, S., 1996. *Interviews: An Introduction to Qualitative Research Interviewing*. USA, Sage Publications, p.300.

McDaniel, A., 2010. Cross-National Gender Gaps in Educational Expectations: The Influence of National-Level Gender Ideology and Educational Systems. *Comparative Education Review*, 54 (1), pp. 27-50.

Mikkelsen, B., 2005.*Methods for Development Work and Research: A new guide for practitioners.* New Delhi, Sage Publications.

Mistry, R. S., White, E., Benner, A. D., & Huynh, V., 2009. A longitudinal study of the simultaneous influence of mothers' and teachers' educational expectations on low-income youth's academic achievement. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 38, pp.826–838.

Neuenschwander, M.; Vida, M.; Garrett, J.; Eccles, J., 2007. Parents' expectations and students' achievement in two western nations. *International Journal of Behavioral Development*, 31 (6), pp.594–602.

Ragin, C., 1994. *Constructing Social Research: the Unity and Diversity of Method*. Thousand Oaks, Pine Forge Press.

Raty, H.; Kasanen, K., 2010. A Seven-Year Follow-Up Study on Parents' Expectations of Their Children's Further Education. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*. 40 (11), pp.2711-2735.

Roberts, K., Kamruzzaman, P., Tholen, J., 2009. Young people's education to work transitions and inter-generational social mobility in post-soviet central Asia. Young. 17 (1), pp.59-80.

Scheyvens R.; Storey, D., 2003. *Development Fieldwork: A Practical Guide.* London, Sage.

Shemyakina, O., 2011. The effect of armed conflict on accumulation of schooling: Results fromTajikistan. *Journal of Development Economics*, 95(2), pp. 186–200.

Shoismatuloev, S., 2006. *Tajikistan v zerkale priemstvennostii smenu pokolenii*. Dushanbe.

Silova, I., Abdushukurova, T., 2009. Global norms and local politics: uses and abuses of education gender quotas in Tajikistan. *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, 7(3), pp. 357-376.

Spånning, A., 2009. *Towards institutional stabilization and development? A study of inter-organizational cooperation in the Tajik cotton industry*. Karlstad, Karlstad University, p.399.

Stocké, V., 2007. Explaining Educational Decision and Effects of Families' Social Class Position: An Empirical Test of the Breen–Goldthorpe Model of Educational Attainment. European Sociological Review, 23 (4), pp.505-519.

USAID, 2011. *School Dropout Prevention Pilot Program Dropout Trend Analysis*. Tajikistan.

Walker, C., 2007. Navigating a 'zombie' system: youth transitions from vocational education in post-Soviet Russia. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 26 (5), pp.513-531.

Walker, C., 2009. From 'inheritance' to individualization: disembedding working-class youth transitions in post-Soviet Russia. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 12 (5), pp.531-545.

Walker, C.; Stephenson, S., 2010. Youth and social change in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 13 (5), p521-532.

Whitsel, C., 2009. Family resources, sitting at home and democratic choice: investigating determinants of educational attainment in post-Soviet Tajikistan. *Central Asian Survey*, 28(1), pp.29-41.

Zhang, Y.; Haddad, E.;Torres, B.; Chen, C., 2011. The Reciprocal Relationships Among Parents' Expectations, Adolescents' Expectations, and Adolescents' Achievement: A Two-Wave Longitudinal Analysis of the NELS Data. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 40 (4), pp.479–489.

Appendix

Appendix 1. Guide for focused interviews with 9th grade students

Family

1) What is a name of you home city/town/village?

2) How long has your family been here?

3) Could you please describe your family (extended or nuclear, type of house, monthly income, education and occupation of family members etc)?

4) How many siblings do you have? How old are they? Where do they work/study?

Educational path of the respondent

5) When did you begin studying at school (how old were you)?

6) What is a name/location of your primary school?

7) Why did your family choose this primary school for you?

8) What is a name/location of your current school?

9) How many schools have you changed before started studying at this school? Why?

10) Why did your family choose this school for you?

Attitudes toward school

11) Do you like the school you are currently studying in? Like/don't like, why?

12) What do you like most about your school? What do you dislike most about your school?

13) How often do you miss class? What is a reason (reasons)?

14) If you have an opportunity to study at any school in this district which school would you choose?

15) What subjects do you like most? Why this subjects?

Achievements

16) What were/are your grades like in school?

17) Have you ever participated in any competitions? What were your results?

18) How important are good grades to you?

Expectations and plans for the future

Where to study

19) What do you plan to do after the 9th grade (work/study, name a population point and school/college)? Do you think it is your final decision? What options have you considered? Which

options were more preferable for you than others? When did you make the decision? Have you changed the decision recently? Why? Have you discussed your decision with your parents/friends/teachers? What is their opinion on your decision? How do you think what chances you have to realize this strategy?

20) Where do children from your school usually continue their education (which population points and colleges)? What do you friends/classmates plan to do after 8th grade?

21) What colleges/universities in your state/districts do you know?

What to study

22) Which field of study do you plan to study in the future? Why this one? Which options have you considered? What do your friends and parents think about your dissection? Do you know any educational institutions which provide such education in your home town (village)/district/state?

Where to work and live

23) Where do you see yourself in 15 years? Where do you plan to work and live? Why these occupation and population point?

Appendix 2. Detailed information on collected interviews

Respondent ID	Basic information about the respondent	Topics covered by the interview
9th grade students		
SS1	Girl, Dushanbe, average school, 2 siblings, father works in Russia, mother is a housewife	All questions covered by the main guide
SS2	Boy, Dushanbe, gymnasium (elite Russian school),1 brother, mother and father are university teachers	All questions covered by the main guide
SS3	Boy, Dushanbe, average school but Russian speaking class, 2 siblings, father is an artist, mother is a primary school teacher	All questions covered by the main guide
SS4	Boy, Dushanbe, average school but Russian speaking class, father works in Russia, mother is a housewife	All questions covered by the main guide
SS5	Boy, Dushanbe, average school, father is a salesman, mother is a housewife	All questions covered by the main guide
SS6	Girl, Gissar, average rural school, 3 sisters, father is a businessmen, mother is a housewife	All questions covered by the main guide
SS7	Girl, Kurgan Tube, average rural	All questions covered by the main guide

	school, 2 siblings, father works in Russia, mother is a housewife	
School teachers		
ST1	Russian language teacher, Dushanbe, average secondary school	Information on educational trajectories on 9th grade graduates, effect of abandoned mothers, effect of migration, effect of gender and religion
ST2	Primary school teacher, Dushanbe, average secondary school but Russian speaking class	Information on socio-economic background of families, effect of abandoned mothers and missing fathers, involving of parents in educational process
ST3	Russian language teacher, Dushanbe, average secondary school	Information on educational trajectories on 9th grade graduates, effect of abandoned mothers, effect of migration, effect of gender
ST4	Chemistry teacher, Dushanbe, Russian gymnasium	Information on educational trajectories on 9th grade graduates, socio-economic background of families
ST5	Russian language teacher, Gissar, average rural school	Information on educational trajectories on 9th grade graduates, effect of abandoned mothers, effect of migration, effect of gender, corruption in education
ST6	School principle, Kurgan Tube, average rural school	Information on educational trajectories on 9th grade graduates, effect of abandoned mothers, effect of migration, effect of gender, corruption in education, migration stories of young people who migrate to Russia
ST7	School teacher, Kurgan Tube, average rural school	Information on educational trajectories on 9th grade graduates
University teachers		
UT1	Tajik National University, Tajik Academy of Science	Information on educational process, corruption, trajectories of alumni
UT2	Tajik National University	Information on educational process, gender differences, trajectories of alumni, effect of migration
UT3	University of Commerce	Information on educational process, gender differences, corruption, trajectories of alumni, effect of migration
UT4	Tajik National University, Center of Educational Studies 'Pulse'	Information on secondary school graduates, main trends in Tajik educational system
University students		
US1	Boy, Tajik National University, graduated from elite school, parents are school teachers	Life story, information on previous educational experience and future plans
US2	Boy, Tajik National University, graduated from average rural school in Pengikent, has worked in Russia as low wage labour (4 months)	Life story, information on previous educational experience and future plans, migrant experience
US3	Boy, Tajik National University, graduated from average rural school close to Dushanbe.	Life story, information on previous educational experience and future plans
US4	Girl, Tajik National University,	Life story, information on previous

	graduated from elite school in Dushanbe	educational experience and future plans
US5	Girl, Tajik National University, graduated from average school in a rural area close to Dushanbe	Life story, information on previous educational experience and future plans
US6	Boy, Kurgan Tube University, graduated from average rural school in Kurgan Tube, works as part time teacher in a rural school	Life story, information on previous educational experience and future plans
Parents		
PR1	Man, Dushanbe, an artist, 3 children, son is a 9th grade student	Information of previous and future education of children, family's assets
PR2	Woman, researcher, Dushanbe, 2 children, son is 9th grade student	Information of previous and future education of children, family's assets
PR3	Woman, Dushanbe, Lawyer , 1 child	Information of previous and future education of children, family's assets
PR4	Man, Kurgan Tube, Director of an NGO, 4 children	Information of previous and future education of children, family's assets
Experts		
EX1	Social worker, orphanage in Dushanbe	Information on life stories and trajectories of Tajik orphans, effect of abandoned mothers and migration
EX2	Lawyer, works for an NGO, specialist on family law	Information on trends in Tajik society, divorces, abandoned mothers and migration
EX3	Lawyer, works for an NGO, specialist on family law	Information on trends in Tajik society, divorces, abandoned mothers and migration
EX4	Lawyer, works for an NGO, specialist on child rights	Information trends in Tajik society, child rights in Tajikistan, orphans, abandoned mothers and migration
EX5	Researcher, a director of the Center of Educational Studies 'Pulse'	Information on main trends in Tajik educational system

Appendix 3. Sampling plan

SAMPLE TYPE: National probability sample

SAMPLE SIZE: 1000 households

NUMBER OF SELECTED INHABITED LOCALITIES: 100 (both rural and urban areas)

EXCLUSIONS:

 Two types of settlements were excluded from the sample:

1) Hard-to-reach areas. This category includes some high-mountainous regions, jamoats and villages, travel to which is complicated because of complex lay of land and absence of the regular transportation (N= 193235 – 3.2% of total population).

2) Sparsely populated – villages with a population less than 500 (N=324962 – 5.3% of total population). Excluded total = 518197 – 8.5 % of total population.

Appendix 4. Questionnaire for Tajik households

1. **What grade or year of school is your child attending?**

Grade	Single answer
6th	1
7th	2
8th	3
9th	4

2. **What is the child's gender?**

Male	1
Female	2

3. **How many children do you have?**_____

4. **Did your child study in any other school, before being enrolled in his/her current school?**

Answer	Single answer	
Yes	1	
No	2	Go to the question **8**

5. **How many years ago did you child change the school?**
   _____

6. **Where did you child study before (name of the school and population point)?**
   _____

7. **Why have you decided to change the school?**

Options	Single answer
It was decision of your child	1
School where he/she is studying now provides better quality of education	2
Previous school provided only primary education	3
Another option _____	4

8. **How much time (in hours) does your child spend each day on travel between home and school?**

Options	Single answer
0,5 hour	1
1,0 hour	2
1,5 hours	3
2,0 hours	4
2,5 hours	5
3,0 hours or more	6

9. **What is his/her current marks for such subjects as (please tell the marks for the last chetvert' (1/4 of the academic year)):**

Options	Single answer
Tajik language	
Literature	
Russian language	
Foreign language (English, German, French)	
Math	
Biology	

10. **Imagine, if your family had everything you wished for and no obstacles/barriers, how far in school would you like your child to go:**

Options	Single answer
Up to 9th grade	1
Up to 11th grade	2
Vocational education	3
Higher education	4
DK/NA	99

11. **What is the level of education which your child most possible will get?**

Options	Single answer
Up to 9th grade	1
Up to 11th grade	2
Vocational education	3
Higher education	4
DK/NA	99

12. **What will your child do after the 9th grade?**

Options	Single answer	
Neither work nor study	1	Go to **14**
Get a job	2	Go to **13**
Study in a vocational college	3	Go to **15**
Study at 10th grade	4	Go to **16**

13. **Where do you think the child will work?**

Options	Single answer

Your home town/village/city	1
Another town city in Tajikistan (name of the PP_____)	2
Another country (name of the country_____)	3
DK/NA	99

14. Why have you decided that your child will not be studying anymore?
Interviewer: Several options are possible!

Options	Multiple answer
The child does not like studying	1
Academic achievements of the child are not high enough	2
The child does not need further education	3
The child prefers work and earn money than studying	4
The child does not think that further education is important	5
The child has to work and help the family	6
Our family has not enough resources to pay for the further education	7
Another option_____	8

GO TO THE QUESTION **21**!

15. Where exactly will your child study after the 9th grade?

Options	Single answer
Vocational college - PTU (location of the college_____)	1
Vocational college SSUZ (location of the college _____)	2
We have not decided yet	5

GO TO THE QUESTION **18**!

16. Which school does your child will continue his/her education in 10th-11 grades?

Options	Single answer
The same school	1
The same population point, but different school	2
Another school in another population point (where exactly _____)	3

17. Where is your child most probably going to study after 11th grade?

Options	Single answer
Vocational college (location of the college_____)	1
University (location of the university_____)	2
Nowhere	3
We have not decided yet	4
Another option(_____)	5

18. What field of study will your child be studying?

Options	Single answer
IT	1
Social sciences (philosophy, economics, sociology)	2
Natural science (physics, chemistry, biology)	3

Medicine	4
Defence	5
Another option_____	6
DK/NA	99

19. Why do you think getting vocational or higher education is important for your child?

Interviewer: more than one answer is possible!

Options	Multiple answer
It is important, because the child will have higher income	1
It is important, because the child will have better carrier opportunities	2
It is important because the child will get higher social status	3
It will help the child to find a better marriage partner	4
Another reason_____	5

20. Where will (most possibly) your child work after getting education?

Options	Single answer
Your home village/town/city	1
Another city in Tajikistan (where exactly_____)	2
Another country (which one _____)	3
DK/NA	99

21. Have any member of your household ever worked in another country?

Options	Single answer	
Yes	1	
No	2	Go to the question **24**

22. What was the country?

_____

___

23. How does your household perceive the experience?

Options	Single answer
Mostly positive	1
Mostly negative	2
Ambivalent	3
DK/NA	99

24. According to your plans what kind of occupation your child will have in 10 years?

_____

_____

Don't know – 99

25. What is the level of education of the child's mother?

Options	Single answer
9th grade or less	1
11th grade	2

Vocational education	3
Higher education	4
DK/NA	99

26. What is the level of education the child's father?

Options	Single answer
9th grade or less	1
11th grade	2
Vocational education	3
Higher education	4
DK/NA	99

27. Where does your family get the resources to live (may answer more than one)?

Options	Multiple answer
Full time job (official or unofficial)	1
Part time Job (official or unofficial)	2
Home business	3
Pension	4
Money from abroad	5
Government assistance	6
Assistance from family	7
Other charitable assistance	8
Crime	9
Other (record:_____)	10
DK/NA	99

28. How many people live in your household including yourself?

	Numeric answer
RECORD number of RESIDENTs	_____
DK/NA	98

29. Here is a scale with a range of monthly household incomes. We would like to know to which group your household belongs, counting all wages, salaries, child allowances, pensions and any other income that you receive. Please give me the letter of the group that corresponds to last month's household income before tax and other deductions.

Less than 300 TJS	01
301-600 TJS	02
601-900 TJS	03
601-800 TJS	04
901-1500 TJS	05
1501-2200 TJS	06
2201-3000 TJS	07
3001-4000 TJS	08
4001 or more	09
DN/NA	99

30. Please look at this card and tell me which answer best reflects your family's financial situation.

Options	Single answer
We don't have enough money even for food	1
We have enough money for food, but buying clothes is difficult	2
We have enough money for food and clothes and can save a bit, but not enough to buy expensive goods (such as a TV or refrigerator)	3
We can afford to buy certain expensive goods (such as a TV or refrigerator)	4
We can afford to buy whatever we want	5
DK/NA	6

31. How is the person who answered the questions related to the child

Options	Single answer
Mother	1
Father	2
Grandparent	3
Aunt/uncle	4
Other relative (specify_____)	5

Appendix 5. Ordinal regression: reasons to apply the analysis, main assumptions and quality of the estimated models

For the purpose of the study, the expectations of parents were coded into an ordinal variable where 1 = 9th grade; 2 = 11th grade; 3 = vocational education and 4 = higher education. There were three possible ways how to apply regression analysis to estimate the effect of family, region and child related factors on the variable. The first option was to threat the variable as a continuous variable and apply linear regression analysis. Another way would be to cut the distribution of the variable at some key points (for example, 9th grade or higher, higher education or less etc.) and perform a series of logistic regressions. The third option would be to apply the ordinal regression analysis. After consideration of the distribution of the variable and overall goals of the analysis, the third method was chosen as the most relevant one. In particular, performing ordinal analysis allows us estimating not a series, but a single model of the effect of our dependent variables on the outcome which recognises the ordinal nature of the dependent variable.

Basically, ordinal regression is an extension of the logistic regression analysis that is based on the model called proportional odds model. The model transforms the ordinal scale in a number of binary cut-off points. The number of cut-off points equals to the number of categories of the dependent variable minus one. In our case, 3 cut-off points were generated: cut-off point 1 – 9th grade or below; cut-off point 2 – 11th grade or below; cut off point 3 – vocational education or below. Then we estimate separate binary regression models (in our case there are three models) by the following formula[8]:

$$\text{logit}(p_1) \equiv \log \frac{p_1}{1 - p_1} = \alpha_1 + \beta' x$$

$$\text{logit}(p_1 + p_2) \equiv \log \frac{p_1 + p_2}{1 - p_1 - p_2} = \alpha_2 + \beta' x$$

$$\cdot$$
$$\cdot$$

$$\text{logit}(p_1 + p_2 + \ldots + p_k) \equiv \log \frac{p_1 + p_2 + \cdots + p_k}{1 - p_1 - p_2 - \cdots - p_k} = \alpha_k + \beta' x$$

$$\text{and } p_1 + p_2 + \cdots + p_{k+1} = 1$$

The proportional odds model assumes that Beta coefficients are the same in all three models, but coefficients Alfa are different in all three models. It means that coefficients from three binary models can provide just one set of coefficient (for example, see results for the model "All" in

---

[8]Source: http://www.indiana.edu/~statmath/stat/all/cat/2b1.html , accessed on 20.03.12

Table 5: Alfa-coefficient is different for each of cut-off points, but Beta-coefficients are the same)

Several tests have been performed in order to assess the quality of the estimated models. First of all, it was checked if the model improves our ability to predict the outcome. We can do it by comparing the -2 log-likelihood values for the model when only intercept and no dependent variables are included and the model where all dependent variables are included in the analysis. The result of the test for each of three estimated equations is provided in Table 5 (see model sig. row). If the statistics is significant ($p<0,05$), it means that the model provides significant improvement in comparison with the model with intercept only. The statistics is significant for all estimated models; it means that all three models improve our ability to predict parents' educational expectations.

Another test that provides information on the quality of our models is the Goodness-of-Fit statistics. The statistics indicates whether the observed data are consistent with the estimated model. The null hypothesis for the test is that the fit is good; the observed data fit well to the model. As can be seen in Table 5, that a p-value of the statistics for all three models is large, it means that we do not reject the null-hypothesis and our models are valid for further analysis.

The final test is the Nagelkerke R Square indicates the proportion of variance of the dependent variable explained by our independent variables. In our case (see Table 5), the Nagelkerke R Square shows that our independent variables explains a relatively large proportion of the variation of the dependent variable.