

The role of education and gender in shaping career paths of Polish millennials: a shared frailty survival model analysis

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Abstract

Our study aims to examine the influence of gender and the level of education on job mobility among young employees, using the Polish labor market as an example. When analyzing job changes, we go beyond previous studies by considering the duration of individual job episodes and the time-varying nature of some characteristics in young people, such as the level of education or the marital status. Our analysis was based on survival analysis methods, including frailty models. Using data from the Generation and Gender Survey, we found that the impact of the examined factors on job mobility varied by gender. We observed that the influence of having a child on job mobility was significant only for women. Mothers had a lower risk of job changes than childless women. The stabilization of men's careers takes place over time and is associated with leaving the family home and marriage. Moreover, having higher education has a greater impact on the risk of job changes for men than for women.

Keywords: education, gender, job mobility, survival analysis.

1. Introduction

Millennials, known as the Y generation, consider work less significant in their lives, prioritize leisure to a greater extent, and exhibit a weaker work ethic compared to individuals from the Baby Boomers and Generation X (Twenge, 2010). Moreover, Millennials are perceived as people who are motivated by higher pay, quickly become dissatisfied and leave their jobs (AbouAssi et al., 2021). Simultaneously, young employees expect job stability as much or even more than their counterparts from the Baby Boomer and Generation X generations at the same age (Twenge, 2010). Larasati and Aryanto (2020) point to Generation Y as a generation that, despite many advantages,

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such as self-confidence, independence and social activity, has a poor reputation as job-hoppers. Job-hopping refers to an employee's frequent and voluntary inter-organizational transitions, not necessarily related to a change in the nature of work itself (Steenackers and Guerry, 2016; Lake et al., 2018). This phenomenon was initially referred to as the 'hobo syndrome' in the 1970s and was explained as the tendency for an employee to migrate between organizations, driven not necessarily by rational motives but rather by a sudden urge for change (Ghiselli, 1974). The purpose of such behavior is to find the best job to meet some subjective criteria. One of them may be a willingness to increase earnings that can be obtained by offering one's work experience to another employer. The Redmond and McGuinness (2019) study results confirm that previous status employment influences future employee wage increases. However, the impact of job mobility on wage growth depends on gender and education (Pearlman, 2018).

Analyses of young people's behavior in the labor market indicate a negative correlation between a person's age and their propensity to switch employers. At the beginning of their careers, young people are more likely to switch jobs than their older colleagues (Steenackers and Guerry, 2016). Moreover, young women tend to job-hop significantly more than young men. Also, Larasati and Aryanto (2020), based on a literature review, conclude that young women change jobs more often than young men. The objective of our study is to examine the influence of gender and education on job mobility among people from Generation Y. Furthermore, as we analyze the factors influencing gender-related job changes, we investigate the causes of excessive job mobility and discuss the consequences of job-hopping.

In our study, we focus on Poland as an example of a country where unemployment among young people is particularly low compared to other European countries (Eurostat, 2023). However, traditional gender-based social roles in this country are still considered important (Kasprzak, 2023). Moreover, research shows that professional and family careers are interdependent (Landmesser, 2013; Grzenda, 2019). We used data from the first and second waves of the Polish Generations and Gender Survey (GGS), which were conducted in 2010–2011 and 2014–2015, respectively. While the realm of Millennials' behavior in the job market has been thoroughly explored, there are still some gaps that lead us to the following research questions: (Q1) What are the differences in the impact of factors determining job mobility based on gender? (Q2) What impact does education have on the risk of job changes?

Our contribution to the literature is twofold. First, we aim to go beyond previous studies by identifying differences by gender in the impact of factors such as education, age, and having a child on the risk of job mobility. Second, we make full use of the

longitudinal approach, taking into account in the analysis not only job changes but also the duration of each job episode as well as changes over time in the values of other characteristics, such as education or marital status. Thus, the results of our study contribute to research on the importance of the role of gender and education in the employment decisions of young people and on the factors that predispose individuals to follow a specific career path.

2. Review of the literature

2.1. Labor turnover and job mobility

The primary driver for job changes among Millennials is the pursuit of job satisfaction (Campione 2015; Hassan et al., 2020). However, as highlighted by Campione (2015), the factors that push them away tend to carry more weight than the positive factors that draw them in. One of the factors influencing the retention of Millennials in a company is pay. Redmond and McGuinness (2019) show that individuals who have worked for another employer before taking up their current position are more likely to receive pay raises than people who were previously unemployed. However, too frequent job changes do not necessarily yield positive outcomes. Yankow (2022) found that individuals who exhibit moderate job changes within the first 2 years of entering the labor market but subsequently reduce their mobility actually achieve higher wages compared to both those who remain in the same job and those who consistently change jobs. Generation Y's inclination for frequent job changes in pursuit of fulfilling work challenges employers in retaining skilled labor and coping with high turnover within this generation (Hassan et al., 2020). According to the human capital theory, the departure of an experienced or skilled worker may result in a decrease in future productivity (Becker, 1964). It is claimed that apart from the loss of tacit knowledge and experience, employee turnover is also associated with excessive costs related to HR administration and recruitment and training costs of new workers (Huang and Zhang, 2016). The consequences of losing an employee, especially management staff, are so great that companies, after losing executives to other companies, significantly increase their incumbent executives' pay (Gao et al., 2015). Furthermore, the departure of one employee might have a negative impact on the job satisfaction and productivity of other employees who stay within the organization (Steenackers and Guerry, 2016). Companies wishing to retain Millennials in the organization should focus primarily on work-life balance issues, flexible time, and paid leave, and avoid extreme hours and irregular hours schedules worked (Twenge, 2010; Campione, 2015).

2.2. Job mobility and gender

The research results on the behavior of young people in the labor market do not indicate clear conclusions regarding the tendency toward job mobility by gender. There has been a long-standing debate in the literature about the gender differences in employment and wage (Wootton, 1997; Pedulla 2016; Blau and Kahn, 2017; Reichelt et al., 2021; Zamarro and Prados, 2021) as well as the relationships between paid work and motherhood (Boeckmann et al., 2015; Zhou, 2017; Cabello-Hutt, 2020; Cukrowska-Torzewska and Matysiak 2020; Schmitt, 2021). Based on the above literature, it can be concluded that gender inequality in the labor market is a consequence of various factors and does not necessarily reflect the biological roles fulfilled by women. According to Boeckmann et al. (2015), maternal employment is shaped by institutional and cultural contexts, which make men less involved in caring for small children than women. Looze (2017) found that preschool-age children largely immobilize white American women, as they discourage these women from making types of voluntary job changes. On the other hand, in the initial stages of their careers, women are more likely than men to change employers (Steenackers and Guerry, 2016). This is related to the search for a rewarding and stable job that will allow for childcare after starting a family. Similar conclusions are provided by the results of earlier research by Matysiak (2009) on fertility and female employment in Poland. It was found that young Polish women, before starting a family, are highly active in their search for a stable position in the labor market that would enable them to pursue their professional lives and have children (Matysiak, 2009). Also, Kaufman and White (2015), when examining gender differences among Swedish workers, showed that having secure employment is more important for women than for men. The lower willingness of women to quit their jobs has also been confirmed by Moynihan and Landuyt (2008) when examining state government jobs. Disparities in career path patterns and tendencies to change employers based on gender and parental status influence one's professional career trajectory, and consequently, disparities in current and future wages. Reshid (2019) found that although men and women change jobs and occupations simultaneously, women receive a significantly lower wage return on mobility than men. Moreover, differences in women's professional mobility, particularly concerning their maternal status, lead to disparities in their earnings and negatively impact their future professional careers (Looze, 2017).

2.3. Job mobility and education

The individual labor market behavior is significantly influenced by the acquired human capital, and one of its main indicators is education. The Millennial Generation is reporting higher levels of educational attainment than earlier generations (Ng and

Johnson, 2015). However, the research results on the relationship between education level and job changes are not fully consistent. Grosemans et al. (2020) primarily focused their research on the transition from higher education to the workforce and concluded that increased occupational mobility is observed during this period. However, they emphasize the importance of distinguishing between deliberate exploration and floundering. Based on the research by Ignaczak et al. (2022), it can be concluded that higher education affects professional careers in two different ways. Well-educated employees are in demand by companies, which makes it easier for such people to find a job that meets their expectations and, at the same time, lowers the risk of future dismissal. On the other hand, higher demand in the labor market makes such people more confident when deciding to change employers, because the action is less risky. Thus, workers with a college degree have a higher tendency to job-hopping than individuals with a relatively low education level (Ignaczak et al., 2022). Also, Ng and Johnson (2015) reported that the increased level of education, notably in the field of graduate management education, among Millennials, is instrumental in enhancing their capacity for career mobility, with a particular emphasis on transitioning between sectors. In contrast, Steenackers and Guerry (2016) in their study of the Belgian labor market state that the level of education has no impact on the job-hopping behavior of an employee and having more job alternatives is not always connected to an increased tendency of job switching.

3. Data

To model the employment trajectories of young individuals in the Polish labor market, we used data from Wave 1 and Wave 2 of the Generations and Gender Survey Poland (GGSP-PL). The GGSP-PL survey is part of an international research the Generations and Gender Programme (GGP) designed to obtain information on demographic processes with consideration of the economic, social, and cultural context. In our analysis, we included respondents who, at the time of the second survey, were aged between 18 and 29 and had previously undertaken at least one job in the private or public sector (excluding self-employment). The upper age limit of the respondents was based on Arnett's (1998; 2006) findings, in which he states that young people reach full social maturity around the age of 30. Given the assumptions adopted in our study, the total number of participants was 543, with 49.63% being women (270) and 50.37% men (273). Employment history was reconstructed based on the first and second waves of the GGSP survey. The statistics on respondents' number of jobs are presented in Table 1. It was found that the maximum number of job changes by respondents was 7. Furthermore, more women than men had only one job. Biemann et al. (2012) indicated that a career path is significantly influenced not only by gender, but

also by age, marital status, having a child, education, and employment sector. In our study, we also consider these characteristics to see to what extent they are related to the job changes of Polish millennials.

Table 1. Number of respondent's jobs undertaken until Wave 2 of the GGS-PL by gender

Number of jobs	Number of respondents			Per cent		
	Women	Man	Total	Women	Man	Total
1	156	145	301	57.78	53.11	55.43
2	61	70	131	22.59	25.64	24.13
3	36	34	70	13.33	12.45	12.89
4	10	11	21	3.70	4.03	3.87
5	3	6	9	1.11	2.20	1.66
6	2	7	9	0.74	2.57	1.66
7	2	0	2	0.74	0.00	0.36

Source: own calculations; data from Generations and Gender Survey Poland.

The dependent variable, which in survival analysis is the time to failure, for each respondent and each his/her job was defined as the number of months from the start of this job to its termination in the case of employment termination. In the case of people who had not terminated their employment relationship with their last employer at the time of the second wave of the study, the time was counted until Wave 2 of the GGS. In addition, a censoring variable was created and assigned a value of 1 if the event occurred, that is, if the respondent terminated the employment relationship, and 0 otherwise.

In the next stage of the research, we verified which of the considered demographic, socio-economic, and work-related characteristics changed over time. It was obtained that only attributes such as the respondent's sex, place of residence in childhood, and father's and mother's education level are constant in time. The remaining characteristics, such as the respondent's age group, education level, marital status, sector of employment, and information on whether the respondent has at least one child and whether he or she has ever lived without parents, are time-varying. In addition, the new variable describing the age group was created by categorizing the respondent based on his/her date of birth. The first category (18-24 years) is the age range into which adolescents are classified, while the second group (25-29 years) is those in the so-called emerging adulthood stage (Arnett, 2006). The set of potential independent variables selected for modelling is presented in Tables 2 and 3.

Table 2. Sample characteristics by gender – variables constant in time

Variable	Categories	Per cent		
		Women	Men	Total
Place of residence in childhood	A city of 100,000 or more residents	24.07	27.01	25.55
	A city of under 100,000 residents	37.78	35.40	36.58
	Rural areas	38.15	37.59	37.87
Father's education level	Basic vocational, lower secondary, primary, incomplete primary	70.00	67.15	68.57
	Higher, postsecondary and vocational secondary, general secondary	30.00	32.85	31.43
Mother's education level	Basic vocational, lower secondary, primary, incomplete primary	53.70	54.38	54.04
	Higher, postsecondary and vocational secondary, general secondary	46.30	45.62	45.96

Source: own calculations; data from Generations and Gender Survey Poland.

Table 3. Sample characteristics by gender – time-varying variables

Variable	Categories	Per cent					
		At the beginning			At the end		
		Women	Men	Total	Women	Men	Total
Age group	18-24 years	99.26	99.27	99.26	48.89	41.97	45.40
	25-29 years	0.74	0.73	0.74	51.11	58.03	54.60
Education level	Lower secondary, primary, incomplete primary	17.78	23.08	20.44	4.44	9.12	6.80
	Basic vocational	6.67	21.61	14.18	8.89	25.18	17.10
	General secondary	28.52	23.81	26.15	14.81	14.23	14.52
	The first stage of tertiary, postsecondary and vocational secondary	34.07	25.64	29.83	44.44	37.59	40.99
	The second stage of tertiary and higher	12.96	5.86	9.39	27.41	13.87	20.59
Is married	No	100.00	99.63	99.82	70.37	81.02	75.74
	Yes	0.00	0.37	0.18	29.63	18.98	24.26
Has at least one child	No	100.00	99.63	99.82	71.11	77.74	74.45
	Yes	0.00	0.37	0.18	28.89	22.26	25.55
Has ever lived without parents	No	24.81	49.08	37.02	24.81	49.27	37.13
	Yes	75.19	50.92	62.98	75.19	50.73	62.87
Sector of employment	Public	24.44	15.75	20.07	19.26	16.79	18.01
	Private	75.56	84.25	79.93	80.74	83.21	81.99

Source: own calculations; data from Generations and Gender Survey Poland.

4. Methods

In our study, we used generalization of the Cox proportional hazard model. For each individual i , let $\mathbf{x} = [x_1, \dots, x_k]^T$ denote the vector of independent variables, and $\boldsymbol{\beta} = [\beta_1, \dots, \beta_k]$ denote the vector of regression coefficients, then the hazard function for the model of proportional hazards takes the form:

$$h_i(t) = h_0(t) \exp(\mathbf{x}_i \boldsymbol{\beta}), \quad (1)$$

where $h_0(t)$ denotes baseline hazard. Given the non-parametric form of the baseline hazard, the partial likelihood method is used to estimate model parameters (Cox, 1972; Cox, 1975, Cox and Oakes, 1984). This form of the Cox model is dedicated to estimating the occurrence of a single event. In the case of multiple events, it is required to adjust the formula. In 1982 Andersen and Gill proposed a generalized version of the Cox proportional hazards model dedicated to recurring event data called the Andersen-Gill model or intensity model (Andersen and Gill, 1982). This model relates the event recurrence intensity function to the covariates in a multiplicative manner. The method uses a counting process approach, treating each individual as a process of counting multiple events with essentially independent increments. The model assumption is that the risk of an event occurrence in time t does not change regardless of whether past events have occurred or not, which implies the independence of recurring events.

Let $h_{ik}(t)$ represent the hazard function of the k -th event for i -th individual at time t and $h_0(t)$ represent the common baseline hazard for all events/individuals. The hazard function for the Andersen-Gill model then takes the form:

$$h_{ik}(t) = h_0(t) \exp(\mathbf{x}_i \boldsymbol{\beta}). \quad (2)$$

When the assumption of recurring events independence is met, it is possible to estimate the risk of all events using the event times of each observed event. The Andersen-Gill model aims to estimate the same quantity as the Cox proportional hazard model, but the estimation is based on more information because the person who experienced the event remains at risk of subsequent events. Consequently, the corresponding partial probability is based on a larger number of events and a modified set of risks. If this assumption is not met, the Andersen-Gill model is still applicable, but it requires some modification known as the proportional means model (Lin et al., 2000).

The other option is to extend the Andersen-Gill model into the frailty model by adding random effects to it, which would allow us to consider the unobservable heterogeneity of individuals. The model created in such a way is called the shared frailty model. It is assumed that for each individual, there is more than one observation within each cluster, and all the observations within the cluster share the same level of frailty. Using the frailty term makes it possible to correct some or all of the errors in the coefficients caused by unobserved heterogeneity. The model is estimated with the use

of the penalized partial likelihood method (Ripatti, Palmgren, 2000); thus, the parameter estimates for the fixed effects obtained from the shared frailty model differ from the proportional means model (Allison, 2010). The hazard function of the k -th event for i -th individual (in the i -th cluster) takes the form:

$$h_{ik}(t) = h_0(t) \exp(\mathbf{x}_i \boldsymbol{\beta}) + \gamma_i, \quad (3)$$

where γ_i is a random effect for the i -th individual. The random components are assumed to be independent and distributed identically.

The generalized version of the frailty model is a model that includes both time-independent and time-dependent covariates:

$$h_{ik}(t) = h_0(t) \exp(\mathbf{x}_i \boldsymbol{\beta} + \mathbf{z}_i(t) \boldsymbol{\delta}) + \gamma_i, \quad (4)$$

where \mathbf{x}_i is a vector of time-independent covariates, $\boldsymbol{\beta}$ is a coefficient vector for time-independent covariates, \mathbf{z}_i denotes a vector of time-dependent covariates, and $\boldsymbol{\delta}$ is a coefficient vector for time-dependent covariates.

Given that the shared frailty model is estimated using the penalized partial likelihood method, it is recommended to use a suitably modified test when fitting the model. One of the recommended methods is to use the Wald test with generalized degrees of freedom (Gray, 1992; Therneau and Grambsch, 2000), which was also used in this work.

5. Results

Given that the results of previous research indicate the existence of some differences in labor market behavior patterns between men and women (Moynihan and Landuyt, 2008; Matysiak, 2009; Kaufman and White, 2015; Steenackers and Guerry, 2016), we built three models: a general model for all respondents and two additional models by gender.

Based on the assumption that there may be notable differences between individuals in their behavior in the labor market, in the first stage of the research, we assessed the statistical significance of the random effect to verify if the shared frailty model is justified for our study. It was obtained that the random effect is statistically significant for each of the three models.

Based on the preliminary data analysis, it was determined that most of the respondents' characteristics vary over time. Therefore, to construct the model, the waiting time for the occurrence of an event for each respondent was divided into subintervals, ensuring that all examined features remain constant within these designated subperiods.

Following the analysis of the available data and the Wald test, the set of covariates for the main model was established. The study aimed to investigate gender differences in labor market behavior; therefore, an identical specification of explanatory variables was applied in the models for women and men. The results obtained from the shared frailty are presented in Table 4 (all respondents) and Table 5 (women and men separately).

Table 4. Estimated parameters with standard error, p-value and hazard ratio – general model

Covariate	Parameter estimate	Standard error	p-value	Hazard ratio
Age (<i>ref. 18–24 years</i>)				
25-29 years	-0.578	0.363	0.112	0.561
Education level (<i>ref. Lower secondary, primary, incomplete primary</i>)				
Basic vocational	-0.104	0.212	0.624	0.901
General secondary	0.006	0.194	0.976	1.006
The first stage of tertiary, postsecondary and vocational secondary	0.321	0.189	0.090	1.379
The second stage of tertiary and higher	1.205	0.233	<.001	3.337
Is married (<i>ref. No</i>)				
Yes	-0.470	0.222	0.034	0.625
Has at least one child (<i>ref. No</i>)				
Yes	-0.380	0.256	0.137	0.684
Has ever lived without parents (<i>ref. No</i>)				
Yes	-0.155	0.122	0.204	0.856
Sector of employment (<i>ref. Public</i>)				
Private	-0.271	0.124	0.029	0.763
Sex (<i>ref. Man</i>)				
Woman	0.059	0.119	0.623	1.060

Source: own calculations; data from *Generations and Gender Survey Poland*.

The first shared frailty model included all respondents. We found that older respondents have a lower risk of job mobility. People aged 25 to 29 had a 43.9% lower hazard of job mobility than people aged 18 to 25. However, based on the obtained p-value, it cannot be concluded that this characteristic is statistically significant. Analyzing the variable describing the respondents' education, we found that this factor influences the risk of job mobility. Respondents with a first stage of tertiary, postsecondary, and vocational secondary level of education had a 37.9% greater hazard of job mobility compared to lower secondary, primary, and incomplete primary education. In contrast, respondents with at least a second stage of tertiary education had more than 3 times higher hazard of job mobility than the least educated respondents. Furthermore, married people had a 37.5% lower hazard of job mobility than other respondents. In addition, the results show that the sector of employment is a statistically significant factor too. Young people working in the private sector had

a 23.7% lower hazard of job mobility in comparison to people working in the public sector. In the case of the first shared frailty model, characteristics such as having at least one child or ever living without parents proved to be statistically insignificant. Presented interpretations remain valid under the *ceteris paribus* assumption.

In the subsequent research stage, two models were constructed - one including only women and the other including only men, to better understand gender differences in the behavior of young individuals in the labor market. Comparing the results of these two models, it can be concluded that age was an important factor only in the case of men. Male respondents in the older age group (25-29 years) had a 65.4% lower hazard of job mobility compared to the younger group.

Table 5. Estimated parameters with standard error, p-value and hazard ratio – model for women and model for men

Covariate	Women				Men			
	Parameter estimate	Standard error	p-value	Hazard ratio	Parameter estimate	Standard error	p-value	Hazard ratio
Age (<i>ref. 18–24 years</i>)								
25-29 years	-0.120	0.465	0.797	0.887	-1.060	0.609	0.082	0.346
Education level (<i>ref. Lower secondary, primary, incomplete primary</i>)								
Basic vocational	0.122	0.366	0.739	1.129	-0.047	0.286	0.869	0.954
General secondary	-0.206	0.282	0.464	0.814	0.105	0.293	0.719	1.111
The first stage of tertiary, postsecondary and vocational secondary	0.050	0.287	0.863	1.051	0.572	0.273	0.037	1.771
The second stage of tertiary and higher	0.756	0.327	0.021	2.130	1.953	0.388	<.001	7.047
Is married (<i>ref. No</i>)								
Yes	-0.336	0.273	0.219	0.714	-0.632	0.400	0.115	0.532
Has at least one child (<i>ref. No</i>)								
Yes	-0.672	0.406	0.098	0.511	-0.123	0.352	0.726	0.884
Has ever lived without parents (<i>ref. No</i>)								
Yes	-0.141	0.190	0.458	0.869	-0.230	0.178	0.197	0.794
Sector of employment (<i>ref. Public</i>)								
Private	-0.365	0.167	0.029	0.694	-0.143	0.200	0.474	0.866

Source: own calculations; data from Generations and Gender Survey Poland.

The results also indicate that the level of education was a factor that more strongly differentiated the employment of men than that of women. Both the first stage of tertiary, postsecondary and vocational secondary and the second stage of tertiary and higher education levels had a positive effect on the risk of job mobility. Male respondents with the first stage of tertiary, postsecondary and vocational secondary education had a 77.1% higher hazard of terminating their jobs compared to the least educated group, and respondents with the highest education level had more than 7 times higher hazard of job mobility compared to the least educated group of male respondents. In the case of female respondents, it was revealed that only women with at least a second stage of tertiary or higher education had statistically significant, more than 2 times higher hazard of job mobility compared to the least educated female respondents.

Other statistically significant factors influencing the risk of job mobility in the case of female respondents were having a child, as well as the employment sector. Women who had at least one child had a 48.9% lower hazard of job mobility compared to women without children. Females working in the private sector had job mobility hazard lower by 30.6% compared to those working in the public sector. These factors were statistically insignificant in the case of male respondents.

Moreover, based on the results of the Wald test with generalized degrees of freedom, it can be concluded that in the case of men, the marital status and the history of living accommodation also influenced the risk of job mobility. Men who were married had a 46.8% lower hazard of job mobility compared to those unmarried. If the male respondent had ever lived without parents, his hazard of job mobility was lower by 20.6% compared to those who had lived with their parents all their lives. All interpretations remain valid under the *ceteris paribus* assumption.

6. Discussion and Conclusions

Our study focuses on Generation Y, which has a significantly different approach to employment than the earlier Generation X (Twenge, 2010). People from Generation Y often live in a hurry and focus on their development, which makes them less loyal to their employers (Robak, 2017). Millennials exhibit a higher propensity for changing jobs and employers more frequently than their predecessors, and they also display a greater readiness to embrace career shifts that may not necessarily involve upward mobility (Lyons et al., 2012). Our study aimed to examine the influence of gender (Q1) and education (Q2) on job mobility among young individuals. We revealed that, among Polish Millennials, gender did not influence the risk of job change, whereas it did play a significant role in determining the impact of other factors on job mobility, including education level.

Gender disparities in the labor market often stem from traditionally held social roles for women, with motherhood being a key aspect (Kaufman and White, 2015; Steenackers and Guerry, 2016; Cukrowska-Torzewska and Matysiak, 2020). This is confirmed by the results of our research, which indicate that the impact of having a child on job mobility was significant only for women. Furthermore, women with at least one child had a lower risk of job changes compared to childless women. The recognition of incongruity between women's careers and their duties as mothers, as well as the consequent adjustments they make, influences women's gender role perceptions as they transition into motherhood. This is reflected in women's different attitudes towards job mobility both before and after the birth of a child (Zhou, 2017). Furthermore, Bass (2015) demonstrates that gendered expectations related to parenthood may play a significant role in perpetuating patterns of labor market inequality, even before the practical constraints of parenthood come into play. Based on our findings, it can be concluded that, in the case of men, having a child does not directly impact professional mobility. However, the stabilization of men's careers occurs with age and is associated with leaving the family home as well as marriage. In the case of women, these factors had no impact on professional mobility. In conclusion, we agree with Boeckmann et al. (2015) that women's employment patterns are determined more by motherhood than gender. Moreover, we show that this finding also applies to career mobility.

While women are, on average, better educated than men (Cukrowska-Torzewska and Lovasz, 2016), their employment situation is not necessarily more favorable. We found that the level of education mattered for job mobility for Polish Millennials, but this factor shaped the labor market behavior of men more strongly than that of women. For women, only having at least a second stage of tertiary education statistically significantly reduced the risk of job changes compared to women with the lowest level of education, while for men this risk was also reduced by having a first stage of tertiary, postsecondary or vocational secondary education, likewise versus the least educated men. Nevertheless, our findings are in line with previous research, indicating that individuals with higher education exhibit a stronger inclination toward professional mobility compared to those with relatively lower levels of education (Ignaczak et al., 2022; Ng and Johnson, 2015).

Considering the employment sector, AbouAssi et al. (2021) note that American youth tend to change jobs frequently, but only within a given sector, not across sectors. Moreover, the strongest predictor of public sector employees changing jobs within the sector is job dissatisfaction. In the case of Polish Millennials, the employment sector was significant only for women, with the risk of changing jobs being lower for women employed in the private sector. It can, therefore, be concluded that the public sector, previously associated with employment stability, is no longer attractive to young

people. Taking into account the results of previous research indicating the impact of salary on the choice of career path (Redmond and McGuinness, 2019; Pearlman, 2018) in the case of Poland, this may be related to lower salaries offered in the public sector compared to the private sector.

Millennials, when changing employers, seek a satisfying job to meet their subjective criteria (Campione 2015; Hassan et al., 2020). Polish Millennials had average cross-organizational mobility, with approximately half of them still in their first work at the time of the second wave of the GGS. Our evidence suggests that there are differences in the patterns of job mobility of young women and men in the Polish job market. Job changes early in one's professional career have both advantages and disadvantages. On the one hand, more frequent transitions can provide diverse professional experience and facilitate the discovery of a satisfying job, which may serve as a stepping stone to a successful future career. On the other hand, the lack of professional stability can hinder leaving the parental home and starting a family.

Simultaneously, frequent job changes among young individuals pose a significant challenge for employers. Considering the costs of turnover, employers have to make every effort to attract and retain valuable employees, particularly Millennials (Campione, 2015). The findings we have obtained can provide decision-makers with valuable insights for shaping strategies aimed at reducing employee turnover among Generation Y.

7. Limitations

This study has some limitations. First, the GGS-PL survey does not provide information on whether stopping work resulted from voluntary reasons or was determined by other factors. Moreover, we lacked detailed job-specific information, apart from the sector in which each individual was employed. Such details could have provided additional insights into gender-based disparities in the professional mobility of young individuals.

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