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RESEARCH ARTICLE

SKILLED LABOR'S TEST WITH BECOMING CHEAP LABOR IN NEOLIBERAL PROCESS: A FIELD STUDY ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT

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ABSTRACT

One of the most important problems of employment in Turkey is the employment of graduates in fields other than they studied. In other words, it is understood that the bound between education and employment has been weakened. Although the individuals begin their undergraduate education with the anticipation and hope to be employed in the field they study, they encounter with a reality that is different from their anticipations and hopes when they graduate and become obliged to work at jobs they are able to find rather than the fields they studied. The most important reason behind this situation is the unemployment issue. High rates and duration of unemployment lead individuals to receive more education to postpone the job-seeking and unemployment process. Increasing unemployment in neoliberal process of capitalist system provides the capital with opportunity to satisfy its need for cheap labor with educated-skilled individuals and makes it possible to benefit from the skilled labor's potential to learn the job more easily by reducing the costs of training employers on the job. Within the scope of this study, interview form consisting 25 items was administered to 22 volunteers who were working in at jobs other than they studied in Tokat. The participants' opinions were taken in written forms, and they were analyzed using categorical analysis technique of content analysis method. In this study, it is seen that university graduates who work in jobs that are not related to the education they receive in higher education have to work in temporary and precarious jobs, and they have very low hopes for the future and hopes of doing a job related to their profession. In addition, it is seen that the state employment of university graduates and employment policies developed accordingly have not found any hope.

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INTRODUCTION

UNEMPLOYMENT IN CAPITALIST FUNCTION

One of the most important problems created by capitalism is unemployment. The human has had to work to maintain his life throughout his life. However, the Industrial Revolution has radically changed the entire flow of human history and has made the unemployment concept the most important problem of today's people. When someone was called unemployed in the 19th century, he was considered a lazy man who could not find a job because of his incompetence or who could not find a job because of his incompatibility (Zaim, 1986: 156). As can be seen from this definition, the causal origins of unemployment at that time were completely reduced to individual inadequacies and pathological disorders of the individual. (Aslan and Aslan, 2017:141).

Today, unemployment cannot be reduced to only individual dimension because unemployment is a structural problem, and that structure is capitalism itself. As a result of the neo-liberal policies of capitalism, which began to be implemented in Turkey in the 1980s and in the world in the 1970s, labor markets have been restructured/differentiated, with all educated and non-educated individuals facing long-term unemployment. Long-term unemployed people lose their professional skills and self-confidence due to the long process of unemployment, and cannot easily adapt to working life when they are re-employed (Alabaş, 2007: 1 as cited in Aslan and Aslan, 2017: 142). The attitudes of individuals exposed to long-term unemployment to employment are weakened and their relations with the labor market are cut off (Aslan and Aslan, 2017: 141).

The concept of social state, which is one of the forms of capitalism, has influenced the development process of social and economic rights by supporting the citizen rights-oriented forms of existence. As a result of this situation, the concept of right to work has emerged. However, the concept of the right

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to work has evaporated in the neo-liberal phase of capitalism; unemployment began to be perceived as an ordinary phenomenon of everyday life. The failure to find the opportunity to work despite the willingness to work creates deep economic, social, and psychological impacts on people. Unemployment causes economic exclusion, weakening social relations, lack of social support, and lack of institutional support for people especially from lower socioeconomic classes. The negative effects of unemployment on the people have also spiraled people with high education levels; unemployment of higher education graduates is deeply felt as a social problem (Kiraz and Kurul, 2018, 270-271).

The OECD has developed three key indicators to explain the relationship between education, employment, and unemployment. These are labor force participation rates by education level, unemployment rates by sex and age, and unemployment rates by education level. The first indicator is related to the labor force participation rate and the structure of education. The structure and frequency of unemployment as a whole depends on this indicator. The second indicator shows the negative effects of inadequate education on particular groups. This indicator can also be interpreted as an output indicator when focusing on generations and gender differences and similarities in terms of the level of education and employment. The third indicator indicates whether the inadequacy of education is related to unaccepted business conditions. It also reflects the level of unemployment at different levels of education (Kavak, 1997, 21). As can be seen here, there is a strong relationship between education and employment.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF EDUCATION-EMPLOYMENT RELATIONSHIP

Many studies have been conducted on the causes of unemployment in capitalism. In some of these studies, opposing views were put forward. In many studies, low education level is shown as one of the most important reasons of unemployment and it is suggested that unemployment can be prevented by raising the level of education. Human Capital Theory and other educational economics hypotheses, which are the extensions of neoclassical economics, state that unemployment is related to education. According to the Human Capital Theory, with the increase of investments in education, the productivity of the people will increase and cause them to gain higher profits. In this context, while other factors are constant (*ceteris paribus*), the more efficient labor force obtain higher wage income and it requires more education investment to make labor more efficient (Ünal, 1992). In other words, individuals with higher levels of education have higher productivity according to Human Capital Theory. Therefore, it is suggested that the graduates of the highest education level will be employed more easily and faster in the employment process. In the screening hypothesis, it is stated that education does not lead to an increase in the productivity of individuals; instead, it is an elimination mechanism that signals to the employers about their productive qualities (Aslan, 1998, 309). In other words, it is argued that education plays a role as a sifting mechanism that helps employers expose people with skills such as punctuality, job care and motivation to work. In short, according to the screening hypothesis, the graduates of higher education levels are recruited with the thought that they can be productive on the job until their performances appear after they start work. In

the queue hypothesis, those who can be raised most are placed at the top of the queue while those who can be raised least are placed in the end of the queue. Employees are distributed to jobs according to their position in the queue. Those who are at the top of the queue are considered to be the most efficient by employers and are assigned to the jobs with the highest wages. The most important factor that determines individuals' potential to be raised is education (Ünal, 1991, 761). In other words, the queue hypothesis is based on the idea that individuals who are recruited need to be raised on the job regardless of which level of education they have, and therefore, those with higher levels of education should be given priority when they are employed because they are more easily educated. As Braverman (2008) pointed out "long-term education has lost its influence in the recruitment policy of many companies. The idea that getting higher education will eliminate unemployment for everyone was widespread in the 1950s and 1960s but this view reflects a narrow point of view".

UNEMPLOYMENT OF SKILLED LABOR AND TURKEY

It has always been stated that education and training is an investment in human (human capital theory) and it is emphasized that education has an economic value. "Labor force quality considered with the economic value of education and the concept of efficiency at work is interpreted as vocational knowledge and skills" (Ünal, 1988; 88). Research has been made on the features of the economic value of education but a common opinion has not been reached. What the labor force accepted as qualified and efficient gains during education process requires being explained (Ünal, 1985; 28). It can also be stated that education can be used by governments as a tool that makes unemployment invisible. For example, according to the view approaching the relationship between unemployment and education from a financial opportunist perspective, the state's support of higher education especially in disadvantaged regions removes the people who are referred to university education from the unemployed list and they are counted in the student status. Thus, unemployment seems to be reduced for a certain age group, and this is a relief for governments (Karakul, 2012). When the higher education discourse becomes more widespread in the society as a solution to unemployment, the value given to education has increased and the education system has started to be seen as a way of vertical mobility especially for social sections from lower and middle classes when the education is evaluated together with its effect on social vertical mobility. Against the common belief that education will provide employment, there are also some opinions arguing that employment is dependent on many variables, some of which are from birth and some of which are acquired later; therefore, unemployment cannot be avoided through pure training by ignoring these variables. Significant decrease of the effect of education on employment provision, the fact that unemployed university graduates become widespread in the society and the education level is not as effective as in the past on vertical mobility shows us that the value of education, university and school decreased in society (Bora and Erdoğan, 2011). Considering the higher education's function to provide people with occupation, one of the most important problems of higher education graduates in the labor market in Turkey is that they cannot work in jobs related to the field they graduated. In particular, the high unemployment rate weakens the link between education and employment. Considering the socio-economic status of

individuals, higher education institutions become a tool for individuals to acquire a job or a profession. The restructuring of higher education in line with the demands of capital is quite controversial. Stating that “the main function of the university is now not to raise educated people who are capable of reasoning, but to raise wage earners who will function in commodity production and circulation processes” (Mandel, 1975: 260-261), Mandel says that educational institutions now serve to meet the skilled wage earners of the capitalist production process. In the process of rebuilding neoliberalism, many public services have been marketed based on the marketization logic. In this process, the state creates and protects the institutional framework that will introduce areas such as education, health, social security, and the environment that have the potential to create new profit opportunities for capital (Harvey, 2005: 10). In this process, education is seen as a tool that serves the labor market. In the twentieth century, when the work was trivialized, being educated stopped providing jobs for people. Today, the unemployment of educated individuals is very high. According to the May 2018 TSI data, higher education unemployment was 11.4 percent (TÜİK, 2018).

FIELD STUDY

The aim of the Study: The purpose of this study was to reveal the value of the education of university graduates employed in jobs that were not related to the education they attained in higher education, their reasons to work at those jobs, their hopes for future work in their respective fields, cheap labor handicap, obligation to work in temporary and precarious jobs, and their thoughts about the relationship between education and employment

MATERIALS AND METHODS

In this research, with the goal of collecting detailed and in-depth data, a qualitative research approach has been adopted in order to reveal the participants' personal perceptions, experiences, and perspectives and to understand and explain the current situations (Yıldırım and Şimşek, 2006). Phenomenology design was used in the research. The most distinctive feature of phenomenology is that it is a method used to express how multiple individuals perceive and make sense of certain events and phenomena (Merriam, 1998).

Participants: The participants of the study involved of 22 participants (8 female and 14 male), who were employed in Tokat and who were selected using maximum variation sampling technique among the employees working in fields other than those in which they studied at higher education. The main purpose of this sampling method is to create a relative small sample and to provide the maximum level of diversity of individuals who may be a party to the problem. The distribution of the participants in terms of their departments they studied is given in Table 1.

Data Collection: The research was conducted between December 2017 and March 2018 using a semi-structured interview form. Interview data were collected through in-depth interview method. The interview, which is a frequently used data collection technique in qualitative research, gives interviewees the opportunity to express themselves while it gives the researcher the opportunity to understand the feelings, viewpoints, thoughts and experiences of the interviewees

(McCreeken, 1998). For this reason, data were obtained through in-depth interview technique. Thus, detailed information about the subject of the study was tried to be obtained and the information gathered was reported within the framework of qualitative research principles.

Procedure: The data were collected by face-to-face interviews with the participants using a semi-structured interview form. The interviews were carried out by the researcher with the interviewees in person in Tokat Province. At the beginning of the interview, the interviewee was informed about the purpose, content and duration of the interview. After that, interview questions were started. During the interview, mostly the order of questions in the interview form were not adhered to, and the interview was held in the mood of free speech. However, the researcher was able to direct new questions to the participant in addition to the questions included in the interview form depending on the situation during the interview. The researcher paid attention to the fact that the meeting was within the framework of the subject matter. The recording of the data was made under the responsibility of the researcher. For this purpose, the researcher used a voice recorder at the time of interview. Thus, both the interview process was not interrupted and an appropriate document was obtained for further evaluation of the interview results in the future (Kerlinger, 1964; Borg, 1963; Madge, 1965; Kahn and Cannel, 1957; Rummel, 1970; Özgüven, 1980 as cited in Karasar, 2004). Each interview lasted about an hour.

Data Analysis: Interview records and forms were analyzed by the researcher and converted into interview texts in computer environment. The data obtained from the interviews were evaluated by using descriptive content analysis, which is one of the qualitative data analysis techniques. Accordingly, descriptive analysis is based on the words, expressions, language, dialogues, structure, characteristics, symbolic expressions, and metaphors used in the interviews (Kümbetoğlu, 2005). In order to ensure the validity of the research, the findings were presented using direct quotations under separate titles without any interpretation, and they were discussed in the discussion section. Validity in studies using interview technique is taking a position for the responses of the interviewee and the information and judgments presented to the reader after the analysis of these responses. Kvale (1996) defines the validity as the collection of data obtained by the interview technique, their coding to categories, their analysis, and finally the continuous control of the reliability and acceptability of the strategies used in its presentation. While presenting direct quotations, the participants were coded as NFEM1, NFEM1 ... NFEF1, NFEF2.... (F: Female, M: Male; NF: Non-Field, E: Employee; numbers represent different interviewee

RESULTS

Findings Regarding the Participants' Demographics: When the distribution of participants was examined in terms of gender, it was seen that two of them were female and five were male. The age of five participants working in fields other than those in which they studied ranged between 24 and 29 while the age of two participants ranged from 30 to 35. Participants, who cannot find a job in the public or private sector in accordance with the field of their education, tend to work in any job in order to maintain their lives and thus turn into cheap labor. When the parents' educational level was examined, it was observed that three fathers graduated from primary school,

eight from elementary school, seven from high school, and four from university.

Table 1. Distribution of Participants in terms of the Departments

Departments	Female	Male	Total
Economics	-	2	2
Accounting	-	1	1
Social Studies Education	-	1	1
Sociology	1	2	3
Physical Education Teaching	1	2	3
Banking and Insurance	-	1	1
Business Administration	1	2	3
Public Administration	1	2	3
Science Education	1	-	1
Recreation	1	-	1
Labor Economics	2	1	3
Total	8	14	22

Table 2. Participants' Average Monthly Income per Capita

Monthly Household Income (TL)	The Number of People at Home	Average Monthly Income per Capita (TL)
1500	6	250
1600	5	320
1600	4	400
1800	3	600
2000	4	500
2000	2	1000
2500	3	833
2700	5	540
3000	5	600
3000	4	750
3000	2	1500
3200	3	1066
3400	5	680
3500	6	583
3500	4	875
3600	3	1200
4000	5	800
5000	4	1250
5000	5	1000
5500	5	1100
6000	4	1500
6000	7	857

Three mothers were illiterate; one was literate but never went to school; nine graduated from elementary school; five graduated from lower secondary school; and four graduated from high school. Parents' jobs gave clues about which socioeconomic class they were from. The mothers of the vast majority of the participants were domestic workers and their fathers were from the paid/salaried group, which showed that their socioeconomic origins were the lower class. It is important not to consider the household income independent from the number of people living together in that house. Because the average monthly income per person will give us the information about the life of the participants. The average monthly income per capita obtained from dividing the household income to the number of people living in that house is given in Table 2. When the average monthly income per capita distribution of participants who responded the question about monthly household income was examined, it was observed that monthly income per capita ranged from 250 TL to 1500 TL. More than half of the participants who did not find a job in the field they graduated from had a monthly income share of less than TL 1000 and less than half of the participants had a monthly income share of 1000 TL or more. It can be stated that more than half of the participants who did not find a job in the field they graduated from faced with serious poverty and tried to cope with this situation.

Findings Regarding Employment Efforts after University Graduation: Participants who could not find a job in their field have been graduated 2 to 13 years ago. During this time, they have been working in various jobs. We can say that their work was temporary and precarious and many of them provided short-term employment.

NFEM1: 2011. I was unemployed for a while. Then we sold something in the market with a brother from the neighborhood. **NFEF1:** I graduated in 2016. I worked as a promotional staff in the stores. I did not work at a job about the field I studied.

NFEM2: 2015- Pastry, clerks, marketers. They are not related to my department.

NFEM4: I graduated in 2013. In 2014, I was a paid teacher. I studied for public personnel selection examination for 2 years. Until then, I worked at jobs related to my education. In September 2017, I applied to private schools. However, I was not hired because they were looking for experience criteria. I came to Tokat at the end of September and started working in the photographer. I have been doing this for about five months. It is understood that the participants, who could not find a job in the field they graduated from, worked as short-term and cheap labor force in private and public sectors (usually paid tuition) and found these works by using various channels.

NFEM1: I did not do anything about the field I graduated. I work in the private sector. Friends were always helpful. When the Turkish Employment Agency did not help, I asked for a job from acquaintances. My monthly fee is 1950 TL. I am security personnel. I have been working for 2 years.

NFEF1: I did not do anything about the field I studied. I saw a job advert on the door of a grocery. Friends and neighbors tell me about jobs. My monthly income is 1.600 TL. I am a cashier. I have been working for about 1 year.

NFEF2: I worked as a paid teacher. I got in touch with the Ministry of National Education. My sister and brother-in-law are teachers and they were helpful. My monthly income is the minimum wage. I have been working for about two months.

Findings Regarding the Efforts to Work in the Field of Education: It is seen that the participants made an effort to work in the field they graduated from. However, after a certain amount of effort, it is understood that they gave up hope of working in the field they graduated from.

NFEM1: It is difficult at this age. I tried public personnel selection examination. I went to private courses. I have no luck. If I had a chance, I would be born in a rich family.

NFEF1: I took public personnel selection examination so that I could be a teacher. But nothing. I have no hope at all. If I had a little savings, I would open a gym. My father did not want me to work in someone else's gym because men run them mostly.

NFEM2: I have been looking for a job for 3 years. I have no more hope. I am going to be a master in pastry and continue to make pie. I was prepared for public personnel selection examination. I applied to the private sector. None of them worked.

NFEM4: In fact, I want to make an effort on this issue but you get alienated from exams and the profession as you cannot be appointed. I graduated in 2013. I had been looking for work in my field until 2017, I could not find. I prepared for public personnel selection examination, worked as a paid teacher, and I prepared for interviews to get a teaching job at private schools. It is observed that it affected participants' emotions negatively not to work in the fields they graduated.

NFEM1: I blamed myself a lot. I wish I could proudly say that I was working in that bank. I am ashamed when they ask my profession. I mean, this job is good, and when you do it with dignity, all jobs are good, but it is not my profession. It was a pity for my efforts.

NFEF9: I am unhappy. Thank God, I have an income, but that is not my profession. I constantly find myself asking why I studied then.

NFEM2: I am sure I would do my job with love. I would be happy because it was a department I went to willingly.

NFEF21: Life and living, and even living in this world is really hard.

Findings Regarding Their Thoughts about whether Employability in the Field of Their Education is Possible in the Future: Participants consider the possibility of being employed at a public institution in the field they graduated from is very low or even impossible in the future or now.

NFEF1: I have no hope today. I wish I had. It is hard when there is so many unemployed people. Everything gets worse.

NFEM1: Maybe if the state assumes its responsibility. If they do not waste money, you can do everything with taxes in this country. It is possible if the government would like to. I do not have much hope.

NFEM20: Now for me, zero percent. Because more people are graduating each year.

NFEM4: The year I graduated, it was 90% and as of this time, it fell to 10%. I do not see such a possibility anymore.

NFEF2: It is difficult to be a teacher because the number of appointments is very low. However, there is possibility to be a civil servant thanks to different branches of the department. My goal is to do so. Similarly, they consider the possibility of being employed in the private sector in the field they graduated from is low.

NFEM2: In private sector, maybe 5 percent.

NFEF1: I might be a sports coach in gyms, but gyms are also full of physical education graduates. Working hours are too long and employees are not insured.

NFEM14: The likelihood of this is very low, because madly they want "experience". Give me a job so that I can get experience, you know.

NFEF2: It is hard in the city I live in because there is not much opportunity.

It is seen that all the participants want to work in the public sector if possible. We can state that the reason why participants who could not find a job in the field they graduated from want to work in the public sector is that they have a willingness to work at regular and secure jobs.

NFEM1: I would like to work in the public, but it is difficult. I would be happier than now if I had a job in my field in a company or a good bank in private sector.

NFEF1: Of course in the public. If I was a physical education teacher, I would be happy.

NFEM2: I want it in the public. You do not have a future in private sector. Your business may bankrupt at any moment.

NFEM3: I would love to work in my own field. It is understood that the participants who could not find a job in their own field found it sufficient to have a wage that is slightly above the wages they had and the working conditions that could be provided by a social state.

NFEM1: Finance or budget works in public or private banks. 3000 would be nice. 8 hours at most. But it should be less for women because both work and home are difficult.

NFEF1: I would like to be a teacher or open my own gym. But opening a gym is costly and risky. If you do not make profit, all of your efforts are vain. You run into debt. I would like to earn 2.500 TL per month. But it's not enough if I pay the rent of the house and everything by myself not to mention the children. 6 hours per day is good. I am working 12 hours a day at least.

NFEM2: I would like to be a senior executive at the bank. I am not stingy. 3.000 TL would be enough. 8 hours a day is ideal because I work 12 hours currently.

Findings Regarding Unemployment Policies of State and Capital Groups: It is understood that the participants found employment of the university graduates by the state and the employment policies developed accordingly not promising.

NFEM1: In my opinion, the state is trying to increase the number of unemployed people. How many million men are unemployed? Most of the employed people are those who work at areas irrelevant to their education like me.

NFEF11: I am surrounded by unemployed people. Four years of schooling, most of us are unemployed. If you graduate so many students, how many of them can find a job? Does the state not examine what areas require staff and does not it determine the quota for schools? Now that the graduates are unemployed, why do they get more students every year? The more unemployed people, the more uninsured employers they employ. How will we exist as women if we do not work?.

NFEM2: No, I do not think the state's policies on unemployment are positive because there are many graduates. It is impossible for everyone's turn to come. If you have many graduates in a department, then those departments should have few students. The reason for unemployment is the existence of many graduates.

NFEM14: I see this situation as devastating not hopeful. They have to decide to appoint 500-600 people so that I can have a

chance for interview. Not to mention being eliminated after interview. Considering that an important way for women to exist without male domination is to work, the female workers' reactions to this issue become clearer (Özdemir, B.G., 2017: 108). Participants think that private sector's policies on employing graduates are market-based.

It would not be an exaggeration to say that the private sector considers university graduates to be cheap labor potential.

NFEM1: It should be both graduate of 4-year faculty and work for a cheaper fee. Everyone thinks his/her own profit.

NFEF1: They are competing to employ for low fee.

NFEM4: The private sector is a selfish sector.

They hire a graduate from any degree; maybe this is a sufficient factor in getting into the job because graduates are learning faster. However, they use it for low wages. You do not know the job, so we are offering you very low wages to teach you.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

For many years, the basic functions of higher education and universities are an important topic of discussion. As Mandel pointed out, is the main function of the university no longer training educated people who are capable of reasoning, but training highly educated wage earners who will function in commodity production and circulation processes? Although it is ideal to educate people who have reasoning skills, it was seen as the basic function of universities to educate wage earners with high intellectual capability who would function in commodity production and circulation processes as Mandel stated in the 1970s. Today, it seems possible to turn Mandel's statement "wage earners with high intellectual capability" to "low wage earners with high intellectual capability". In fact, the possibility of working in the fields of specialization in which they are educated is very low and working in temporary/precarious jobs are new negativities added to this negativity. Today, unemployment in the world is a major problem that has a profound impact on social life.

The capitalist system's periodic crises and after each crises, the capital's disruption in labor costs as the way out of the crisis and making only one worker to do a job requiring a few workers not only increases unemployment but also forcing a large mass of unemployed people to accept jobs outside the fields of their expertise. The size of this unemployed population, which Marx described as the reserve army of labor, has a facilitating effect on reducing wages. Workers are forced to remain silent against all precarity under the threat of unemployment including to work at jobs that save the day, to accept an income that will ensure the survival, and to accept unregistered employment. High unemployment rates provide the opportunity for capital to meet the needs of the cheap labor force through the graduates of higher education and the individuals selected from a group of unemployed people who are specialized in certain areas and can be regarded as skilled. Participants who cannot find work for a while in their area of study tend to work in any job to maintain their lives and thus become cheap labor force. It is seen that the participants have an average monthly income between 250 TL and 1500 TL per

person. A significant portion of the participants who have not been able to find a job in the field that they have graduated from are trying to maintain their lives with a monthly income share of less than 1000 TL. More than half of the respondents face serious poverty and struggle to cope with this situation. Living with such a poverty also affects the psychology and social relations of the person negatively. In the studies conducted by Talas (1997), Ceylan- Ataman (1998), Aytaç&Aşkın (2002), Yüksel (2003), and Kayahan-Karakul (2012), the authors emphasized that unemployment is a multi-faceted phenomenon with social and personal aspects beyond being an economic problem, and similar results were found such as the fear and deterioration of physical and mental health of unemployed people.

Participants make an important effort to work in the field they graduated from. This effort sometimes lasts for two years and occasionally lasts for 13 years. After a certain period of effort, they have no hope of being able to work in their own field of study, and this adversely affects their emotions. Participants who have not found a job in the field of graduation work as short-term and cheap labor force in the private sector or public sector. They find these works very difficult by using various references. Karahan Karakul (2012) reached similar findings in her study and expressed that "decrease of hopes about finding a job in the age of 40 may mean that the criteria of the quality of the job are reduced". An individual who cannot find work in his/her field for a long time gets willing to do any work in order to survive and maintain his/her life, does not get picky about the quality and the duration of the work, and tries to save the day. Participants want to work in the public sector. The reason behind this situation is that they want to work in a permanent and relatively secure job because they find the approach of the private sector to employ university graduates as market-centered. They say that the private sector considers university graduates to be cheap labor potential. Participants agree with the working conditions offered by the social state approach and a low but regular income. However, it is thought that the state will not even make efforts to create this level of employment for university graduates.

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