

**UNEMPLOYMENT EXPERIENCE OF YOUTH IN ANKARA AND
SANLIURFA**

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Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences Institute

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ABSTRACT

UNEMPLOYMENT EXPERIENCE OF YOUTH IN ANKARA AND SANLIURFA

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This thesis aims to analyse how joblessness is experienced by unemployed youth, which factors are involved in this experience, what are their coping strategies and results. Final objective is to understand the relationship between wage work and adulthood for young people who are in the process of learning how to be adult. The study is based on the interviews conducted in Ankara and Şanlıurfa with 329 young people, who had registered to İŞKUR in the last quarter of 2003 and who were approached after six months of registration, 30 families of the unemployed youth and 21 decision-makers of both provinces. The results of the study represent only the survey group.

The study found that ‘family’ is the most important institution in the experience of unemployed youth due to the scarce welfare state implementation and limited number and low quality of jobs created in the labour market. Therefore, family resources are crucial in the management of unemployment experience. It is not a reason itself for unemployment, but poor resources increase the need for wage work of youth labour. Youth who are heavily dependent on family support cope with unemployment in two ways: early adulthood or postponed adulthood. They try to overcome their unclear stage between childhood and adulthood through finding a job accompanied by other criteria of being adult. The former leads to the reproduction of earlier family patterns and intergenerational transfer of poverty, while the latter means to postpone the exercise of adult rights.

With heavy dependence on family, unemployed youth learn to be ‘good family members’. This has an eroding effect on their trust and respect towards the state and its institutions as expressed by one interviewee, “my State is my father”. As a result, their chance to become active, participatory, responsible, entrepreneur individuals as required by new system decrease dramatically.

Keywords: Wage work, youth unemployment, experience of unemployment.

ÖZ

ANKARA VE ŞANLIURFA'DAKİ GENÇLERİN İŞSİZLİK DENEYİMİ

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Bu çalışma; gençlerin işsizliği nasıl deneyimlediklerini, bu deneyimde etkili olan faktörleri, işsizlikle baş etme stratejileri ile olası sonuçlarını ortaya koymayı hedeflemiştir. Nihai amaç; ücretli iş-yetişkin olma halleri arasındaki ilişkinin yetişkinliği öğrenme sürecindeki gençler için önemini göstermektir. Çalışma, 2003 yılının son üç ayında Ankara ve Şanlıurfa'da Türkiye İş Kurumu'na kayıt yaptırmış ve kaydının üzerinden 6 ay geçmiş olan 329 genç, aileleri (30 aile) ve 21 karar verici ile yapılan görüşmelere dayanmakta ve çalışmanın sonuçları sadece bu grubu temsil etmektedir.

Çalışmada gençlerin işsizlik deneyiminde, sosyal devlet uygulamalarının sınırlı, iş piyasası ve ürettiği işlerin deneyimi güçleştirici nitelikte olduğu, ve süreçteki en önemli yapının aile olduğu görülmüştür. Ailenin işsizlik deneyimini nasıl yönettiği ise ailenin olanakları ile şekillenmektedir. Aile kaynakları kendi başına bir işsizlik nedeni olmaz iken, ailenin yoksulluğu gencin ücretli emeğine olan gereksinimi artırmaktadır. Aile desteğine bağımlı olan ve işsizlikle baş etmeye çalışan gençlerin deneyimleri iki şekilde sonuçlanmaktadır: erken/çabuk yetişkin olma veya yetişkin olmayı erteleme. İş piyasasına giren genç; çocukluk-yetişkinlik arasındaki konumunu iş sahibi olma ile netleştirmeye çalışmakta ve buna yetişkin olma halinin diğer kriterleri eşlik etmektedir. Erken yetişkin olma hali, gencin kendi ailesine oldukça benzer aile kurmasına ve yoksulluğun ailesel bir miras olarak aktarılmasına yol açmaktadır. Diğer yandan yetişkinliği erteleme, yetişkin haklarını kullanmayı ertelemeye neden olmaktadır.

Ailenin yönettiği işsizlik deneyimi gençlerin 'iyi aile üyesi' olmayı öğrenmesine yol açmaktadır. Bu durum; devlete ve devletin kurumlarına olan inanç ve güveni düşürmekte ve "benim devletim babam" algısını doğurmaktadır. Ayrıca yeni ekonomi-politiğin istediği kendi sorumluluğunu üstlenen, girişimci, fırsatları iyi kollayan, aktif, katılımcı birey olabilme şansını düşürmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Ücretli iş, genç işsizliği, işsizlik deneyimi.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Youth is that ill-defined stage between childhood and adulthood; between dependence and independence. The idea of youth...like that of retirement is not simply a reference to some objective natural state of being; it is a social construction which has its origins in the capitalist division of labour (Dean, 1997: 55).

The core subject matter of the present study is “why work to become adult?”; “Is it possible to become an adult without work?”; “how is life constructed without work and which mechanisms are used by unemployed youth?”; “As a learner, does a young person have a chance for transition to the next stage of their life without work?” To understand these relationships and find possible answers to these questions, this thesis focuses on *‘unemployment experiences of youth’*. Unemployment studies are relatively scarce/new in Turkey and they often tend to be a part of broader economic studies. Yet it is quite important in both political and social terms to discuss how the process of joblessness is experienced and which main factors are involved.

Finding a job, especially for young people, may be the only way for a person to be an ‘individual’, leaving his/her family, getting married, establishing a separate household, in short, becoming an independent adult. Without employment, the young person continues to lead a dependent life out of necessity (dependency may be on family, close community and/or the state). Youth can be defined as the stage in the life cycle before adult life begins; the parameters of this stage may be defined but such factors as the average age at which young people complete education and initial training and the average age at which they are expected to start holding adult roles in the community. The theory of age stratification assumes that age locates individuals or groups of people in the social structure (Riley et al, 1972). Each age group is composed of people similar in age or life stage, who tend to share capacities, abilities, and motivations related to age. In this approach, age is a criterion for entering or leaving roles, and for different rights and obligations associated with these roles. On the basis of ‘structured social inequality’, young people are taken to be those in the age group between fifteen and twenty-four. However, this definition of youth may vary widely

from country to country depending on cultural, institutional and political factors as it is socially and ideologically constructed. The legal status of youth can also vary within countries for such reasons as marriage, voting rights, land rights, criminal offences, and eligibility for military service or consent for medical services (ILO, 2005).

Youth as a phase of life in its own right has emerged within the past century as a consequence of changes both in the economic sector and in the educational system. With industrialization, growing numbers of workers have found employment leading to the prolongation of the youth period due to an increase in the time required for professional training. Life is thought of as an ordered sequence of developmental tasks; the failure to fulfil age-specific tasks is the main obstacle for making a transition to the next stage of life. Being young is seen as a transitional stage between childhood and adulthood where young people either learn about becoming adults or they pass through certain rites of passage. A key experience of being young is being responsible (Lister, 2002).

Although mostly accepted as a demographic category, the definition of youth is problematic as their dependency relations remain unclear. Since young people are not exactly children they cannot be placed in the category of complete dependence. In the same way, they cannot be accepted as independent adults either. They hold a position between dependence and independence, between childhood and adulthood, between immaturity and maturity. This ambivalent position of young people may lead to confusion. The transition to adulthood implies processes of initiation into two adult roles: family roles and work roles (Fend, 1994: 80). The survival of humankind is dependent upon both. Biological reproduction is tied to some kind of family role; physical survival is tied to economic subsistence through some kind of work role. In addition to physical survival, work or lack thereof also affects consumption patterns. Consumption has become an integrating force in contemporary societies and may dramatically affect identity construction, another crucial aspect of the transition to adulthood.

Work could be understood from a practical standpoint as a necessary evil to ensure survival. However, work provides not only financial resources but also a means to self-realisation.

For the purpose of this study, the instrumental value of work is accepted, and it refers to paid work¹. Work is the main orientation point in reference to which all other life pursuits can be planned and ordered. Industrialization and urbanization throughout the past three hundred years created paid work as a dominant form and with these radical changes in the modern era; people's worth has been measured by the market value of their labour (Gallie, 2002). Thus, paid work is seen very much as a major stepping stone *into the* adult world (France, 1998:107). Having an income allows young people to gain access to independence through leaving the family house and setting up their own home (Jones & Wallace, 1992). It also gives them opportunities to participate in adult forms of leisure and consumption. For these reasons, work is a major criterion of adulthood.

In considering work further, the role of the State as regards employment and unemployment trends over time must not be overlooked. The State has influenced the changes in work, wage work, individual status, and family formation in a number of ways. First, the State organized and determined access to adult citizenship rights, not only in terms of employment rights but also social, political and civil rights. This function on the part of the State brought about changes in employment because the State strove to socially integrate young people into society through greater employment opportunities and increased assistance in the transition from school to work, thus aiding them in becoming adult citizens. Furthermore, the social rights that accompanied these citizenship rights also affected the relationship between employment and the welfare state in the following way: Welfare states may be differentiated from one another by the extent to which they lead to '*de-commodification*', that is to say the progressive detachment of the individual's status from the logic of the market. With the introduction of modern social rights in the post-war period, societies have helped to give people resources that are independent from the market, thereby making them more than merely an exchangeable commodity.

¹ Unpaid and voluntary work is irrelevant for my aim in this thesis. But, theories on work have included broader definitions. With societal development, conditions of work, rewards of work and incentives to work have changed greatly and I will mention its historical development in the third chapter. Paid work has different categories including precarious and low-paid jobs.

A second way in which the state has historically affected changes in work, wage work, individual status and family formation was through the adopting of greater State responsibility for the management of individual risk and security by offering universal social services and education. Full employment and state responsibility toward society created the '*golden age of the welfare state*' during the post-war period. One aspect of this increased responsibility was the concept of '*de-familization*' which ensures the independence of the individual from reliance on other family members. Under these circumstances, the family was mainly considered a residue of traditional societies predating the formation of the welfare state. It was perceived as an out of date institution, less and less responsible for the production of welfare.

However, the consensus on the welfare state and its responsibility over its citizens has broken down during the last two decades in the Western developed world due to different social, political, and economic developments, such as: ageing populations, changing family patterns, new gender roles, decreasing economic growth rates, rapid technological changes, internationalization of the economy, the changing relations between nation-states as a result of the end of the Cold War and European political-economic integration. With the rise of globalisation and adoption of neo-liberal economic policies, the welfare state has been losing ground. This trend away from the welfare state became popular in the late 1980s, encouraging greater individualism and less state intervention in the provision of social welfare and benefits. In this new age, neo-conservatives or neo-liberals argue that labour should become more 'flexible' - more part time jobs, less protection against lay-offs, lower employment-related benefits, lower payroll taxes- and that the welfare state should be changed from 'passive' to 'active' to provide incentives for the socially excluded to enter into the labour market.. According to this new approach, not only individuals, but also the state has to be active. Indeed, the neo-liberals have argued that social rights undermine formal legal rights since they create dependency on the state (Hayek 1944; Friedman 1962; Mead 1986; Murray 1989).

This has led, not to adult independence, but greater dependence on the family and higher expectations by both the state and adults that the young should undertake certain duties

before they become full citizens (France, 1996). Recently, Esping-Andersen recognised that the family is “an all-important actor”, “... perhaps the single most important social foundation of post-industrial economics” (2000: 67). The family is therefore a key institution together with the market and the state when it comes to providing social welfare. With these radical changes in the redefinition of responsibilities, the macro level structure of society impacts the micro level growing-up of the individual. In this new environment, work as a major means of existence of the modern individual and that individual’s placement in the labour market emerges again as a significant issue; however the understanding of the relationship between work and citizenship has changed within the neo-liberal approach. Nonetheless, the labour market still plays a central role in people’s lives. It is the major source of income for most people, and a person’s employment status is often linked to its social status.

Work and its content, context, regulations, meaning and responses to it are defined by other parts of life like economy, labour market, and society at large, as discussed above. In turn, the meaning and content of unemployment, its context, regulations and responses to it are defined by the policies of work. The definition of unemployment is not easy whatever its degree of sophistication. Employment and the labour force include work done for economic gain. The unemployed are not simply all those not in employment, for those who are ill, retired, in prison, or in full-time education are not considered unemployed. Houseworkers are neither part of the labour force nor unemployed. Discouraged workers who are willing to work at the going wage but have given up looking actively for work because they do not expect to find a job, are actually unemployed but are not counted as unemployed.

Underemployment, which is taking a job below someone’s level of skills, is also problematic while counting the unemployed. Unemployment may be due to seasonal layoffs (e.g. in agricultural jobs), technological changes in industry (particularly by increased automation), racial discrimination, lack of adequate skills by the worker, or fluctuations in the economy. Thus, the definition of unemployment is not straightforward. Its meaning does not remain constant, varying from country to country and from time to time, even in the same country.

Very broadly, it can be defined as the condition of one who is able to work but unable to find work.

Young people are at a point in their lives where issues of independence, identity, differentiation from parents, sense of self and autonomy are very important. Moreover, young people are in the process of learning how to be good citizens and understanding their social responsibilities (France, 1998:97). Therefore, the first assumption of this thesis is that work and employment has profound effects at all ages, but the implications are particularly significant for young people. Youth unemployment is particularly problematic because the most important sign of the end of youth is only possible with paid work. Being unemployed is not only a question of being left outside of wage earning and the incapacity to take part in leisure or free time activities; it also means continuing a dependent lifestyle. Being dependent and being adult simultaneously is difficult. When the literature on unemployment is reviewed, it is full of discussions about not only income loss, but also the far-reaching negative effects of unemployment on self-confidence, motivation, basic competence, social integration, racial harmony, gender equality, and the application and use of individual freedom and responsibility. Unemployment seriously interrupts the evolution of young people towards becoming responsible adults in society.

A number of studies (MacDonald 1997; Gallie & Paugam 2000; Bay & Blekesaune 2002; Hammer 2003) on the impact of unemployment indicate that the experience of unemployment depends on such dimensions as state, family, labour market and their interrelations. How these structures affect the person concerned in specific and concrete terms, on the other hand, depend on individual characteristics. While the concept of unemployment has its place in the realm of economics and politics, the concept 'unemployed' is a singular and individual-based one corresponding to the agent. Disclosing the relationship between unemployment and the transformation of the economic or political structures, as well as understanding how the process of this transformation affects unemployment, requires a political perspective. However, understanding how the relationship between these things affects the unemployed requires a 'reading' over a specific

individual. Thus, the link between individual and structure -between employment and unemployed- is the institution which is defined by the state.

Thus, in trying to find possible answers and understand the experiences of unemployed youth, I have two different viewpoints in my mind: from a policy perspective I am interested in the interaction between youth and the state; from a sociological perspective, I am more concerned with analysing the experience of youth unemployment and their relationship with their families. Thus I selected a method and research design which takes both of these viewpoints into account. Hence the core subject matter of the present study is 'unemployment and the unemployment experience of youth'.

With the policy perspective, I try to understand the structure of the state (institutional and regulatory framework) and the policy implementation level concerning the unemployment issue. Policy as a public regulation system can be defined as the protection of individuals and the maintenance of social cohesion through intervention (by legal and redistributive measures) in the economic, domestic and community spheres (Esping-Andersen 1990; Gallie 2001). Economic structure, labour market policies and regulations, education and training, policies on social insurance, assistance and provision are accepted as '*macro level*'. Policy and legislation does not always guarantee adequate implementation. While the policy could allow opportunities and freedoms in unemployment related issues, the actual procedures and the barriers that people face could be very different, or vice versa. Furthermore, macro level is too abstract for understanding its effects on individual experiences. Thus policy implementations were accepted as '*mezzo level*', or a middle level, between macro-level structure and micro-level experience. Decision-makers of state institutions, employers' associations and trade unions are considered, for this study, the three parties of work life who decide on issues related to work and employment. Realization of the policy can be understood by looking at what is really happening on unemployment issues at the macro and micro levels.

With the sociological perspective, I try to understand the individual experiences of unemployment. People cope with unemployment in many different ways, and individual

experience is heterogeneous. Coping is, to a large extent, related to gender, age, qualifications, one's financial situation, level of activity, and social networks. Furthermore, individuals are not isolated from their families which are understood to be the primary institution determining how young people experience unemployment. The experience of unemployment and the way in which an individual responds to such a situation depends to a large extent on the support offered by his or her society. Thus unemployment, more than mere individual context, should be understood in a social context. With a sociological perspective, therefore, family, close relatives, neighbours, friends, social support, income sources, networks, and values about work, paid work and unemployment are investigated at the '*micro level*'. For understanding different arrangements in coping with unemployment and also to see regional differences, two provinces are selected (Ankara and Şanlıurfa). By including two provinces in the study, different opportunities, facilities, implementations and/or obstacles etc. can be distinguished at the *mezzo level*, helping us to explain the different types of experiences.

The second assumption of this thesis is that a study which intends to understand experience has to be retrospective. Experience can be defined as an accumulation of knowledge, memory and/or skill that results from direct participation in events or activities. To this end, a group of young people who had been officially registered with the Turkish Employment Agency (İŞKUR) as 'unemployed' within the last quarter of 2003 was selected and they were approached six months after their registration date. This duration (six months) was thus considered the unemployment experience of youth to be studied. Possible outcomes of this unemployment duration (still unemployed, securing a job, continuing a training scheme, returning to education etc.) and related mechanisms used to cope or end this experience were analyzed.

Organization of the study

The next Chapter (Chapter 2) starts with discussing the concepts and history of work, employment, and unemployment. The aim is to understand the relationship between work and employment, between employment and unemployment, and between work and the status of adulthood. The concepts of work, employment, unemployment and inactivity

gained new meanings with ‘industrialization’, ‘capitalism’, and ‘growth of the nation-state’. These three important developments can be defined as the ‘creative destruction’ that caused changes in social structure. The most important change is the relocation of work from the home to the factory. Urbanization, factory production and wage work characterized this new society and its origins were based on the capitalist division of labour. This is a time when the nation-building process on the one hand, and re-definition of citizenship on the other as a result of Enlightenment started. The individual was transformed into ‘citizen’, was redefined by the welfare-state policies and guaranteed by its legal system during 20th century. After the 1970s, however, various political, cultural, technical, economic and social changes had occurred. This period was characterized by a transition from an ‘old industrial to a new service society’. In such a turbulent labour market, individual’s employment histories become increasingly unpredictable and chaotic compared with those of the past (Rifkin, 1995; Sennett 1998; Bauman 1998). Giddens (1991) and Beck (1992) classified this new period as the growth of the ‘risk society’. Both globalization and technological change have led to decreased labour market security. While full employment was the main aim of the producer society, late modern societies are now characterized by unpredictable levels of employment and unemployment. The chapter particularly focuses on paradigm shifts on work and related issues, rather than giving full history of the changes mentioned-above.

In Chapter 3, the social, economic and political framework of Turkey is presented. This chapter is divided into two parts. The first part is organized as three historical periods: a historical overview until the 1950s including late Ottoman and early Republican periods focusing on the growth of Turkish nation-state; the period between 1950 and 1980 focusing on urbanization and industrialization efforts; and developments since the 1980s to the present linking the historical developments of first two periods with the current situation. The situations related to work, employment and unemployment, the regulatory and institutional framework of the country, and the policies and practices regarding employment and unemployment are analysed in an historical perspective. Following the historical account of developments in the first part, the second part turns to define the role of labour market, the state and family, their interaction with each other and level of support provided

to the young people during their unemployment experiences. The macro level structure of Turkey on employment and unemployment is discussed in this chapter.

In Chapter 4, the methodology used in this study is explained. As two view points – political and sociological – are kept throughout the study, the method selected had to be suited to these perspectives. The main objective of the methodology is to consider all the factors that may influence the process by which the young person experiences unemployment. A field survey targeting three groups (young unemployed, their families and relevant policy-makers) was conducted in two cities –Ankara and Şanlıurfa- in order to understand regional, economic and sectoral differences in youth unemployment. To gain insight into individual experiences of unemployment, a group of young people, who had been unemployed during the last three months of the 2003, was selected as a sample. Six months after their registration to İŞKUR as ‘unemployed’, a standard questionnaire was applied through face-to-face interviews to a total of 329 persons, 244 in Ankara and 85 in Şanlıurfa. Sample access was 75.3% for Ankara and 78.0% for Şanlıurfa. Family dynamics and its effects on the unemployment experience were investigated by the in-depth interviews with 30 families in both cities. Finally, 21 decision-makers were interviewed to discuss policy implementation, its effects on youth unemployment and related problems. This chapter explains the three steps of the method used in detail.

Chapter 5 includes the results of the questionnaires applied to the sample group under seven sub-headings. The first and second sub-headings address the socio-demographic characteristics of the unemployed youth and families covered by the survey, and discuss the effect of these characteristics on the experience of unemployment. The third sub-heading is related to determining the extent to which the welfare regime provisions are visible and felt during the experience of the youth’s unemployment duration. Under the fourth sub-heading ‘individual experiences of unemployed youth in the labour market’, I investigate the unemployment history of the survey group, such as their registration to public employment agencies, the duration of unemployment, opinions and attitudes related to being unemployed, support received during unemployment, personal health status, problems caused by unemployment and reasons for failing to find a job. The financial situation of

unemployed young people is important because it promotes a feeling of control over their life and increases their independence. It is a well-known fact that unemployment is a social problem, and when we analyze the experience of unemployment, it is necessary to bear in mind the context in which the person lives. The experience of unemployment and the way in which an individual responds to such a situation depends to a large extent on the support offered by his or her society. These issues are covered under the fifth sub-heading ‘surviving unemployment’. Recognition of citizenship status by the unemployed youth is investigated under the sixth sub-heading. Finally, the young people’s opinions about the solution of unemployment, their life satisfaction and their future expectations are addressed under the last sub-heading.

In Chapter 6, I look at the family and their relationship with the unemployed youth. The ways in which young people experience unemployment has direct bearings on family life. Today, the young face a restructured labour market, an increased demand for qualifications and flexibility in the workplace, and cuts in social benefits that extend the period in which they remain dependent on their families. In Turkey, most young unemployed people are not entitled to unemployment benefits because they lack work experience, and even if they receive such benefits, they are low due to low previous incomes. Furthermore, there is no systematic and established assistance/service scheme for unemployed youth and available assistance is family-focused. A limited number of available jobs as well as their low wage and incidental character further add to the importance of family and family solidarity. In this chapter the experience of unemployment within families, family support during spells of unemployment and their coping strategies are explored.

In Chapter 7 the results of decision-maker interviews are presented. They indicate that policy is actually made in the course of implementation. The perceptions, opinions, projects and future expectations of those holding posts in and exercising state power as well as workers’ and employers’ organizations as actors in the labour market are discussed in this chapter.

The thesis ends with some general evaluations and conclusions in Chapter 8. The unemployment experience of youth is found to be fully dependent on the unemployed youth's family. Financial dependence is the key dependence during unemployment experience. The most important finding of this study is that financial dependence is not experienced as isolated from other types of dependence. Financial dependence leads to other types of dependence, thus becoming an adult or learning adulthood, is very difficult. The second important finding of the study is that the unemployment experience is not homogenous: significant differences are experienced according to gender, education status, duration of unemployment, region, marital status, etc. The third important finding of this study is that the duration of unemployment depends on family income, leading to two different results: early adulthood or postponed adulthood. The most vulnerable group in the unemployment experience is the poor and unskilled youth. Youth are not politically marginalized, but their trust in state institutions is very low. They are dependent on their families, not the state. If social participation and active citizenship of the young are to be increased, certain contractual relationships between the state and youth need to be created, based on rights and responsibilities. Without adequate rights and opportunities available for young people, they do not feel any desire to undertake social responsibilities and this is well-illustrated with the statement "my state is my father" by one interviewee. Therefore, they continue to live dependent on their families, instead of becoming mature, independent adults.

CHAPTER 2

WORK, EMPLOYMENT AND UNEMPLOYMENT IN HISTORY

“Labour keeps us from doing other foolish things” (Voltaire).

This chapter will review the history of work, employment and unemployment to understand the relationship between ‘work and employment’, ‘employment and unemployment’, and ‘work and adulthood’. The development of an individual’s concept of work is a critical personal, social and political issue (Pahl, 1988:1) and plays an important role in understanding the issues involved with unemployment. Indeed, one may make the case that unemployment is actually defined against institutionalized norms of what kinds of work constitute legitimate employment (Baxandall, 2002:1).

Two basic paradigm shifts related with work are explained in this chapter to understand the above mentioned relationships: the shift from agrarian to industrial and from industrial to service production in modern societies. Different names are given to both phases. The first phase of industrial society was referred to as ‘capitalist society’, ‘industrial society’, or ‘modern society’. Descriptors for the second phase include terms like ‘post-industrial society’, ‘information society’, ‘knowledge society’, ‘post-modern society’, ‘late capitalism’, ‘flexible capitalism’. Whatever name is given to them, these two phases have been accepted as turning points which led to radical changes in the social, economic and political components of society.

In the first phase, modernity refers to the introduction of three main developments: ‘industrialism’, ‘capitalism’ and ‘growth of the nation State’. Industrial capitalism connected the growth of manufacturing with the growth of the town. With the industrial revolution the great majority of the population moved to the cities and started to work in factories. With these dramatic changes work, wage work, individual status, and family formation started to change radically. The nation State aided this process in a number of ways: it supported the notion of ‘full employment’, increased the possibilities for inclusion by expanding citizenship rights, not only in terms of employment rights but also social,

political and civil rights and finally, the State took greater responsibility for the management of individual security by offering universal social services and education.

After the 1970s, however, various political, cultural, technical, economic and social changes had occurred: The increasing participation of women in the labour market, educational expansion, changes in organization of production. These alterations led to fundamental shifts in the societal schema including the transition ‘from nationalization to globalisation’, ‘from industry to service’, and ‘from a responsible State to a minimal State’, all of which were brought about by the change from an ‘old industrial to a new service society’. In such a turbulent labour market, individual’s employment histories became increasingly unpredictable and chaotic compared with those of the past, this change constituting the growth of the ‘risk society’. The key area where risk has most drastically increased is the labour market. Indeed it has even been acknowledged that full employment may be unsustainable and thus unemployment may be in part due to structural factors.

The aim of this chapter is to give an overview of the changing definitions of work and worklessness in the context of evolving societies by focusing on modern society and particularly the situation of the youth in these periods of transition. Rather than giving the full history of these two paradigm shifts and related developments, the chapter will instead focus on the most relevant topics under the following sub-headings: the significance of work in modern society, work and the welfare state, changes in work and the welfare state after the 1980s, the absence of unemployment, unemployment in history, and unemployment and youth after the 1980s.

2.1 The Significance of Work in Modern Society

Freud argued that the two great wellsprings of mental health are love and work. If this is true, the loss of one's work or/and the absence of work must create disruption and pain worthy of our attention and understanding. Studies of attitudes toward employment show that while paid work is seen as crucial in a practical sense because it provides essential income, it also has psychological benefits in that it provides a recognised role in society and

contributes to a sense of personal and social identity (Jahoda, 1979; Hartley, 1992). Access to employment and the wages that accompany it contribute to feelings of self-esteem and a sense of being socially useful. An individual's employment may further be understood simultaneously as the expression and the construction of one's personality. Work determines not just the rights and duties directly relevant to the work process, but also shapes the patterns of the family, social life, leisure, norms of propriety and daily routine. Work is therefore the main orientation point, in reference to which all other life pursuits are planned and ordered (Bauman, 1998:17); it is the central process around which society is structured.

Work is a socially constructed phenomenon without a fixed or universal meaning across space and time. No unambiguous or objective definition of work is possible (Grint, 1991). There are two contrasting ideological approaches in thinking about work: the Aristotelian approach which sees work/labour as toil and trouble and the enlightenment approach which connects labour to the possibility of emancipation (GanBmann, 1994). The historian of work, Applebaum (1992:1), considered that "work is like the spine which structures the way people live, how they make contact with material and social reality, and how they achieve status and self-esteem. Work is basic to the human condition, to the creation of the human environment, and to the context of human relationships".

Work is a social institution and like all such institutions, it has a history as well as an ideology (Kumar, 1984). For most of the world's history, all societies accepted the necessity of work in order to survive (Manning & Shaw, 1998). Biological reproduction and physical survival is tied to economic subsistence in some kind of work role (Fend, 1994). On the other hand, from a historical perspective, the cultural norm placing a positive moral value on doing a good job, because work has intrinsic value for its own sake, is a relatively recent development (Lipset, 1990). Work, for much of the ancient history of the human race, has been hard and degrading (Rose, 1985). Working hard, in the absence of compulsion, was not the norm for classical or medieval cultures. For a large portion of written history, work generally has been accepted as a necessity which allows for the prevention of poverty and

destitution, not an activity in which one would find joy. Furthermore, there was a definite division between manual and mental labour.

With the development of society, however, the conditions of work, rewards of work and incentives to work have changed. Yet one constant has remained: from the Palaeolithic hunter/gatherer and Neolithic farmer to the medieval craftsman and assembly line worker of the past century, work has been an integral part of daily life (Rifkin, 1995:3).

In modern societies Grint sees employment as a type of work, but not the only type. Work is usually considered to be paid employment (in Haeorth & Lewis, 2005), however it also includes unpaid work such as domestic and childcare work and voluntary work. Work has often been equated with labour, in line with the Protestant view that work was of service to God. Yet, as noted in Haworth & Smith (1975:1), if a restricted definition of work is used, such as 'to earn a living', this can equally restrict the constructs which are used to study work and thus have important theoretical significance. Work might be any form of transformative activity, but what is deemed work depends upon the social context within which that transformative activity occurs. Work can be defined as an activity that produced something of value for other people. It may be defined as any activity, or expenditure of energy, that produces services and products of value to other people (Grint, 1991:50). If work is simply the way in which a person earns a living, 'work equals employment'. The connection between work and employment is payment. In the context of this study, however, we must expand the definition of work further. Work is more than employment but less than all forms of social activity; employment is one form of work but not all work is employment. From a broader perspective, a person works in order to maintain or enhance any of his/her statuses that are possessed by virtue of his/her membership in a multiplicity of groups.

Work, and the value attributed to it, has changed in the past, it is changing now, and it will continue to change in the future. The industrialisation process during the late 18th century brought on massive economic and social changes in the structure of work. All changes related with work were generally explained with the development of modernity in industrial

society. Modernity refers to modes of social life or organisation which emerged in Europe from about the 17th century onwards and which subsequently became more or less world-wide in their influence (Giddens, 1990). When, how and why did modern societies emerge? Why did they assume the forms and structures which they did? What were the key processes that shaped their development? The origins of modern societies, whose formation constituted a break with tradition, may be found in the rapid and extensive social and economic development which followed the decline of feudalism in Western Europe. Modern societies as a global phenomenon and the modern world itself was the unexpected and unpredicted outcome of, not one, but a series of major historical transitions.

As David Held observes: “the stress is on processes, factors and causal patterns.... There is no mono-causal explanation -no single phenomenon or set of phenomena- which fully explains their rise... it is in a combination of factors that the beginnings of an explanation...can be found” (Held, 1989:75). Thus modernity came about as the product of a combination of factors to form a new life pattern which influences everything from institutional changes to daily life. Diffused in every corner of life, its implications are numerous. It is well known fact that cities somehow embodied the core features this new life pattern. It was a new kind of society which contrasted sharply with the previous, more communally solidaristic social orders (Calhoun, 1992:209).

Analytically several traits of the new social order come to the fore: (1) concentration of the labour force in urban centres, (2) the organisation of work guided by effectiveness and profit, (3) the application of science and technology to production, (4) the appearance of a latent or manifest antagonism between employers and employees, (5) growing social contrasts and inequalities, (6) an economic system based on free enterprise and open competition. Thus, modernity is broadly about the massive social, economic and cultural changes which took place from the middle of the 16th century, and it is consequently and necessarily bound up with the analysis of industrial capitalist society as a revolutionary break with tradition and a social stability founded on a relatively stagnant agrarian civilisation (Turner, 1992:2-4).

The break with the tradition and the rural community meant the break with established identity-giving authority as well. The new individuals, freed from the traditional collective, were free to reorient themselves and reconstruct their world under this climate. Paradoxically, the social changes associated with modernity, industrialisation, and especially urbanisation were neither chosen nor directed by the individuals involved in these demographic changes (Eyerman, 1992:38). For Weber and Simmel, modern society is constituted by individuals; it is the product of their interactions rather than a traditional form of social organisation. Thus, modernity entails new possibilities for the expression of human subjectivity in forms of social interaction that are not entirely a product of tradition. Centralization of government, the growth of trade, and the establishment of economically powerful towns during that century, provided alternative choices for subsistence, and thereby for identity. The feudal system died out and a new system emerged.

In these times, three classical sociological theorists put forth their ideas about the meaning of work, Karl Marx (1818-1883) in his theory of alienation, Max Weber (1864-1920) in his ideas about rationalisation, and Emile Durkheim (1858-1917) in his focus on societal integration by division of labour. They identified work and employment as central to an understanding of industrial societies, both for understanding social action and in explaining social change. In particular, they explored the relationship between the organisation of employment and production, social stability, disorder and conflict, and the centrality of work in the development of individual identity and social integration. There is a very real sense in which a society is, by its division of labour, reproduced daily and inter-generationally in the structures and processes of its economic and social interdependencies. Each theorist explained the new phenomena from a different focus: Marx focused on increasing social inequality between the owners and workers, concluding that after struggle equality would be reached; Durkheim focused on increasing division of labour, reaching relatively positive conclusions; and Weber focused on increasing bureaucratization, concluding that this trend was unlikely to change.

Marx regarded the economic system as the infrastructure, the foundation of society, which ultimately shaped all other aspects of social life. Infrastructure can be divided into two

parts: the means of production and the relation of production. According to Marx, means of production is very important, because the social relations within which individuals produce, the social relations of production, are transformed with the change and development of material means of production. Marx's view of the importance of work stemmed from his notion that productive relationships were the most important ties in modern society. He stated that by acting upon nature through work mankind creates its own nature (Coser, 1977). Marx saw work as the creative process constituting man and a means for expressing his inner essence, and he assumed that working creatively on the external world, finding pleasure in working with other people, is an essential part of what it is to be 'human'. On the other hand, he saw labour within the capitalist mode of production, which increased the division of labour, as alienating the worker through the distortion of four relations: the worker and work itself, the worker and the product, the worker and his/her fellows, and the worker and his/her inner being, resulting in a purely instrumental attitude toward work (Tucker, 1978).

Durkheim saw a fundamental difference between pre-industrial and industrial societies. In pre-industrial societies, there is relatively little social differentiation. In modern societies, social solidarity is dependent upon individual autonomy of conduct. With the division of labour, he argues, people's actions are complementary and interdependent. The division of labour creates not simply exchange relationships in a market system, but a feeling of solidarity that becomes an essential factor in the integration of the society as a whole. Social solidarity consists of the integration of individuals into social groups and their regulation by shared norms. (Durkheim, 1964). He discusses the problematic anomic division of labour, when the relationship between work and capital is insufficiently regulated, or when such a relation is not perceived as legitimate. Urbanisation and industrialisation broke down traditional ways of living, with their ideas and moral values about right and wrong. No new, clear set of values or norms developed in the new situation; that is there were no generally accepted rules about how to live which were shared among people. Thus, people tend to find themselves lacking purpose, feeling meaningless, suffering from anomie.

The central theme in Weber's analysis of modern society was the process of rationalization. With rationalisation, traditional modes of thinking were being replaced by an ends/means analysis concerned with efficiency and formalized social control. This process was defined as bureaucracy; a large, formal organization characterized by a hierarchical authority structure, well-established division of labour, written rules and regulations, impersonality and a concern for technical competence. Bureaucratic organizations not only represent the process of rationalization, they also represent the process of rationalization at the individual level which affected human interaction and thinking and thereby all aspects of everyday life (Rose, 1985).

In the classic tradition of the social theory, social changes in the mode of production (Marx), in the rationalisation process (Weber), and in the development of division of labour (Durkheim) have all been used to explain this newly emerged society. Work and its organization are crucial for understanding society and social change. All of them argued that throughout the 18th and 19th centuries religious aspects of work were replaced by secular values of opportunity and self-improvement; work became a means of gaining independence, wealth, and status rather than salvation. Greater concentrations of productive forces and capital investment seemed to lead modern industry, business, and agriculture toward greater separation and specialization of occupations and even a greater interdependence among the products themselves. In general, this separation built upon the nineteenth century idea of 'separate spheres' of work, that is, 'the occupational domain of paid work where we "produce things"', and home, 'the domestic domain of family and community where we "grow people"' (Bailyn and Fletcher 2002, 6). With this separation, work at home, unpaid work and voluntary work are not recognized in economic terms. Only work in the public sphere enables one to acquire a social existence and a social identity. It becomes part of a network of exchanges, in which persons are measured against each other. Gorz identified industrial society as distinguished from all earlier forms of society in that it is a 'society of workers' (Applebaum, 1992).

Thus, work in modern society holds a central place in the life of individuals and belongs to the public sphere where it is wage work. In the emerging new system, the perception of

work also changed to being characterized as ‘good’. Work satisfied the economic interests of an increasing number of people and it became a social duty -a norm. Hard work brought respect and contributed to the social order and well being of the community. The idea of work as a calling had been replaced by the concept of public usefulness. Economists warned of the poverty and decay that would be experienced in the country if people failed to work hard, and moralists stressed the social duty of each person to be productive (Rodgers, 1978). For the whole of the modern era, people’s worth has been measured by the market value of their labour. With the importance of wage work for the majority of the population, the organization of employment becomes a political issue.

Nation-States took greater responsibility for the organization relationships between ‘work and employment’, between ‘employment and unemployment’, and between ‘work and adulthood’. Employment policy in the 1900s can be roughly divided into three periods: 1901 to 1939, 1941 to 1975, and 1975 to the present (Harris, 2001:5-7). Each of these periods, separated by differing politico-economic circumstances, can be associated with particular welfare rationality. If each welfare rationality from each of these periods were to be encapsulated in one word, the period from 1900 to the mid-1930s would be the period of ‘relief’, the period from the 1940s to 1960s would be the period of ‘full employment’, and the period from the 1970s to present would be the period of ‘mutual obligation’. This does not mean that these rationalities were fully or consciously articulated throughout each of their periods. ‘Relief’ was regularly challenged by reform proposals of quite a different kind, ‘full employment’ arose during the war years and was modified during the rest of its term, ‘mutual obligation’ only came to full fruition after two decades of various attempts to reframe responsibility in the face of globalizing forces. The following section gives attention to the boundaries within the State formation process in a historical perspective, and to the degrees of responsibility shared among worker, firm and State that defines the particular boundaries of employment.

2.2 Work and the Welfare State

In pre-industrial society, demographic, social and cultural factors combined to produce only a minimal differentiation in the stages of life. Childhood and adolescence were not regarded as distinct stages. Every member of the family including children had to contribute to the

struggle for survival as early as their physical abilities permitted. Their economic value was unquestioned. In this way, many children contributed to family survival by taking care of themselves (Fend, 1994:79-81). The care of dependent, sick, delinquent, and elderly members of community had been considered part of the family's obligation. Thus the family was the major agency of welfare and social control.²

The changing social composition of the population was accompanied by a rapid growth of population and other demographic changes. These led to changing patterns of family and community life, and a growing division between working and non-working populations, between 'home' and 'work'. All these changed the family structure and its functioning; family became a more isolated unit, relatively separate from wider sets of kin, and functioning chiefly as a conjugal or nuclear unit. It lost its central function as a productive unit in the wider economy. With the invention of the printing-press a new kind of adulthood was also invented. The children and the young would have to become adults by learning to read, which requires education. Education became compulsory in preparation for adult's roles, leading to the separation of education and work. Thus, the State began to take over responsibilities from families in various ways. Therefore, "rapid industrialization, population growth and the changing social composition of population gave way to the growth of nation-State and of political democracy/the rise of political citizenship" (Pierson, 1996:12-13).

Technological, cultural, political and economic advances fostered the tendency towards nationalism. Improvements in communications extended the knowledge of people beyond their province. The spread of education to lower-income groups cultivated a feeling of common cultural heritage. War and the struggle for political rights gave peoples the sense of

² In those times, charity was the only form of social responsibility to the poor. In medieval Europe the Church bore the responsibility for organizing and promoting poor relief and it was not until the 16th century that the State began to take over this responsibility. Relief however was directed not at the population at large but at the poor and disabled and the method employed was to place responsibility on the parishes which were helped by a poor rate. The concept of 'poor relief' can be taken very broadly to include all forms of aid, charity, and public assistance to the poor at all times, in all places. But here the focus will be on the modern, Western concept that emerged at the end of the middle ages and was to a large extent superseded by the modern welfare state.

sharing in the responsibility for the future of their nation. At the same time the growth of trade and industry laid the basis for economic units larger than traditional cities. The traditional 'liberal' (or enlightenment) view is that rights and freedoms are inextricably linked to the modern nation-State.

Thus, the nation-State is a function of the logic of industrialism. The modern State is marked by a recognizable separate institution, sovereign within its territory, extending to all the individuals within a given territory. Most importantly, the State has the capacity to extract monetary revenues (taxation) to finance its activities from its subject population (Dunleavy & O'Leary, 1987:2). In this way, the growth of the nation-State, the growth of political democracy, and the rise of citizenship were inextricably linked.

These developments required the establishment of a new relationship between the State and individuals, a relationship whose parameters were set by the State on the basis of age, gender and work status through a process called citizenship formation. However, citizenship is not a clear-cut analytical concept. It is generally agreed that citizenship is an interface relating the State and civil society (Giesen & Eder, 2001). The characteristics of this relationship is based on "a defined legal status, a means of political identity, a focus of loyalty, a requirement of duties, an expectation of rights and a yardstick of a good social behaviour" (Heater, 1990:163). Therefore, citizenship is commonly considered as an interface relating government and its people, the local political organization and its members.

Citizenship and its rights and privileges have expanded in waves, with changes in how the national public is defined in relation to class, gender, and age. Each wave has represented the entry of a new segment of population into the national polity; workers, women, and children were eventually included in the definition of citizenship. So the rights of men, women, and children as individuals were defined with respect to their membership in a particular nation-State. The original source of social rights was membership in local communities and functional associations. These communities and associations were supplemented and eventually replaced by Poor Law and a system of wage regulation which

were nationally conceived and locally administered. Therefore, citizenship was shaped as a status which guarantees equality with respect to the rights and duties with which that status is endowed.

The concept of social citizenship developed in Western Europe in the decades following World War II, now referred to as the '*Golden Age*'. The initial formulation of social citizenship is attributed to Marshall. In his thesis, Marshall establishes a connection between the historical development of citizenship and that of capitalism, suggesting a kind of solution to inequalities inherent in capitalism through citizenship rights which he regards as a system of equality. According to Marshall, civil rights ensure the individual's freedom of 'thought, expression, faith, and rule of law and property and to engage in various agreements'. In the western tradition, these civil rights were recognised and implemented in the 18th century. Political rights, on the other hand, entitle citizens to take part in political power, to elect and to be elected. Achievements in this field, however, had to wait until the 20th century when the 'equal right to vote' was legally adopted. Social rights too were not fully ensured until this century or, to be more precise, with the rise of the welfare state (Marshall, 1973). Social rights entail equal access to compulsory education, health and social services and ensuring civil and quality life confirming to high standards to future generations as a social legacy. Therefore, citizenship-adulthood-independence was combined and put together.

Under these aged-base rights, children were guaranteed protection and provision, while young and their transition from dependence to independence was not well defined. In the late 1950s and early 1960s the 'teenager' was discovered and adolescence or young adulthood was created as an autonomous category. This newly defined category came about largely as a result of the success of modernity because of the increases in educational opportunities and full employment which gave young people greater autonomy, both as thinkers and consumers (Hobsbawm, 1994).

As mentioned before, with the welfare model responsibilities for social protection were shifted from families and communities to the nation-State (Pierson, 1998). A typical

definition of the welfare state was “a State commitment of some degree which modifies the play of market forces in the attempt to achieve a greater measure of social equality” (Ruggie, 1984). In the discussion of welfare state and its relation with (un)employment, the concept of *de-commodification*³ is an important dimension to be included. Welfare states are differentiated by the extent to which they lead to ‘de-commodification’, that is the progressive detachment of the individual’s status from the logic of the market. The introduction of modern social rights in capitalist societies has helped to give people resources that are independent from the market, thereby making them more than an exchangeable commodity. *De-familialization*⁴ is another important concept for understanding the welfare state and its relation with unemployment. ‘De-familization’ ensures the independence of individual from reliance on other family members. Thus, family was perceived as a residual institution of traditional societies predating the formation of the welfare state and was becoming less and less responsible for the protection of an individual’s welfare. In regard to both de-familialization and de-commodification, the relative dependence or independence of individuals, the role and position of adults, and the age of the individual concerned had implications for the treatment of children and youth (Hareven, 1982). The necessary condition of dependence on the part of children, youth, the elderly and some adults who are not suitable for working was thereby defined.

The social responsibility of the State in reference to employment and unemployment is understood to conform to one of two models: the Bismarck model and the Beveridge model. The first model is based on Bismarck’s policies in Germany by which employees and employers founded together a social security fund, the *Social Insurance Model*. In this model, social insurance funds (old age pension, health, unemployment and accident insurance) were established so that work performance and status were rewarded. Generally, a female

³ The concept of de-commodification represents the idea that social policies of modern welfare state provide a level of income maintenance, which allows individuals to ‘opt-out of work’, thereby reducing the necessity to sell their labor at any price in order to survive (Van Voorhis, 2002).

⁴ De-familialization refers to the degree to which households’ welfare and caring responsibilities are relaxed – either via welfare provision or market provision, while familialism refers to a system where public policy assumes – indeed insists – that households must carry the principal responsibility for their members’ welfare (Esping- Andersen 1999:51).

spouse would gain access to these funds only through the male bread winner, thus ensuring the stability of the traditional family. The role of the State is limited to providing a guarantee and regulation of these funds. This system is totally based on the premium paid by workers and their employers. Though some scholars, such as Offe (2000), have highlighted the model's limitations, it is still one of the key elements of the modern understanding of the welfare state and it also represents the first model of social security. The social insurance approach is socially specific, unconditional and market oriented. Overall the system initiated by Bismarck includes decentralized funds and the collection of proportional contributions from salaries. Thus the whole system is conditional upon employment. While people have the right to access the social security system at an efficient level based on their position in the job market, outsiders of this market are only eligible for limited protection by the State.

The second model, the Beveridge model, emerged in Britain as a response to certain historical conditions. After two world wars, despite the economic boom in developed countries, the effects of the wars and the 1929 Great Depression remained. This condition highlighted the inherent risks in the capitalist system and raised the issue of who or what should protect citizens against these risks. Two solutions were posed to address this issue. The first, presented by Keynes, suggested planned economy under the supervision of the State. The Classical view assumed that in a recession, wages and prices would decline to restore full employment. Keynes held that the opposite was true. Falling prices and wages, by depressing people's incomes, would prevent a revival of spending. He insisted that direct government intervention was necessary to increase total spending. Keynes' arguments provided the modern rationale for the use of government spending and taxing to stabilize the economy. The government increases spending and decreases taxes when private spending is insufficient and a recession is eminent; conversely, the government reduces spending and increases taxes when private spending is too high and inflation portends. His analytic framework, focusing on the factors that determine total spending, remains the core of modern macroeconomic analysis: It offers full employment, a reduction of economic inequalities, a total elimination of poverty and a provision of basic needs to all members of

society (Judge, 1987). In Keynes' scheme, the State is the main actor creating sustainable economic growth (Pierson, 1996).

Beveridge, on the other hand, presented a different perspective on government involvement in the economy and thereby formulated the second major model, after Bismarck's, for the welfare state. Beveridge claimed that "everyone was vulnerable and that the statutory provision of welfare was needed not only for the deserving poor or manual workers, but also for the population as a whole" (cited in Paci, 1993:193). Beveridge's system is universal in terms of beneficiaries and it is financed through taxes under the control of the State. Bismarck and Beveridge attempted to endow the State with different responsibilities regarding social policy. For Bismarck, welfare state provisions are mainly based on the working status, income level and the amount of premium paid during the employment, which is referred to as an 'earning related system' (Clasen & Oorschot, 2002) or a social insurance model based on work experience and proven need and differentiated by occupational structure (Esping-Andersen, 1996:72). For Andersen, the aim of Bismarck is not to form a welfare state but a welfare monarchy based on authoritarianism, etatism and corporatism (1996). In contrast to Bismarck's, Beveridge's model offers a safe haven for all citizens of the nation at a time of crisis.

The concept of the welfare state remains extremely controversial, and there is continuing debate over governments' responsibility for citizens' well being. While the term welfare state can be understood in its broadest definitions as the transfer of resources by the State, the underlying rationale is to prevent the exploitation of the weakest members of an unequal society (Hartman, 2005). The principle is that the State and not the individual should bear primary responsibility for personal well-being. According to Esping-Andersen (1999: 34-5), a welfare regime is "the combined, interdependent way in which welfare is produced and allocated between State, market and family". Different welfare regimes shape different types of de-commodification and de-familiarization. Welfare regimes are characterised by a) different patterns of State, market and household forms of social provision; b) different welfare outcomes, assessed according to the degree to which labour is 'de-commodified' or shielded from market forces; and c) different stratification outcomes. The stratification

outcomes shape class coalitions, which tend to reproduce or intensify the original institutional matrix and welfare outcomes (Esping-Andersen 1990: chp.1-3)⁵. “Existing institutional arrangements heavily determine, maybe even over-determine, national trajectories” (Esping-Andersen 1999: 4).

For analytical comparisons, it has proven useful to distinguish between a limited number of types of welfare states, characterised, in particular, by the different modes and actors that balance social welfare against pure market forces. Titmus, Esping-Anderson and Lessenich/Ostner developed models of welfare state that are distinguished as ideal types of liberal, conservative, social-democratic, and familistic.

The liberal model is characterised by the slight involvement of the State in the provision of social welfare. Social security is regarded as being a matter of individual responsibility. As the State has not been involved in the provision of vocational training, the general skill level is relatively low. The conservative model functions on the idea of a subsidiary. Social security is financed mainly by contributions from dependent workers. Institutions provide incentives for the one-breadwinner family model and the State takes some responsibility for vocational training. The social-democratic model secures a high level of (tax-financed) social welfare for all citizens as characterized by State engagement in training, a large share of public sector employment and investments in social infrastructure; these features of the social-democratic model result in a high rate of labour market participation and a highly-skilled workforce. Finally, in the familistic model, the State takes responsibility only for securing a basic level of social security. It is assumed that family networks will provide informal assistance.

Another important aspect of the question of the relationship between an individual's welfare and employment is the debate to determine what constitutes ‘decent work.’ The

⁵ Esping-Andersen (1990:69-77) used seven indicators for his typology: the number of occupationally distinct pension schemes, insurance coverage in the population, the difference between average and maximum benefit levels, and the size of expenditures in terms of the relative size of government employee pensions, means-tested benefits, private sector pensions, and private sector health care.

definition of 'decent work' necessarily integrates both social and economic goals, bringing together employment, rights, security and representation into one concept. Promoting employment without considering the quality and content of those jobs, for example, is no recipe for progress. The Universal Declaration addresses the issue of 'decent work' by upholding the view that society must afford all its members access to the opportunities for self-support and personal development that paid employment provides: the right to work and the right of persons unable to work to adequate financial support. The central tenet strives to insert people into employment based upon the belief that employment equals social inclusion and unemployment social exclusion. The Fordist regime, which became fully developed after the Second World War, was based on mass production, mass labour and mass consumption, involved 'workforce participation, free collective bargaining, strong trade unions, government intervention and Keynesian macro-economic policies' (Beck 1997: 69). It aimed to sustain full employment and a welfare state, and it meant that paid work could be and was the prime source of activity and identity in society.

2.3 Changes in Work and the Welfare State after 1980s

The welfare states in Western European countries began to reach maturity in the early 1970s with some troubling results. Most of these countries experienced high levels of unemployment, including higher rates of long-term unemployment, an increasing volume of part-time work with little job protection, and an increasing number of people in precarious labour market positions. The presence of these socio-economic conditions started to erode the consensus on the welfare state and in the mid-seventies it increasingly became the target of debate. Both rightist and leftist thinkers criticized the role of State in welfare provisions.

Rightist critiques revolved around the loss of freedom in market relations. According to Hayek, the existing social policy mechanism limits the individual freedom and this causes the loss of responsibility. They emphasise the moral decline of individuals under the protection of welfare benefits and the emergence of a 'dependence culture' (Murray, 1990). They even make a distinction between citizens and welfare dependants, and propose to turn to traditional institutions like family and community as care givers. The role of the State shifts from provider to organiser, legislator or planner in these services (Judge, 1987) and

the involvement of private sector in the welfare economy is supported and encouraged as well.

The left also declares the crisis of welfare state. The existence of the welfare state is closely linked to the maintenance of the capitalist system with its modification of the reproduction of labour power and the protection of the non-working population. This is a contradiction between relations of production and forces of production, as Marx indicated. Each class has its own ideas, concerns and priorities on the issues related to the welfare state, mainly the social policies. While the welfare state symbolises this main contradiction between the capitalist and labour, it also hides this contradiction in order to sustain the capitalist social order. Within the principles of liberal democracy, the welfare state has been the legitimate ground for realisation of the interests of each class. For example, the capitalist State provided the basic needs for the social reproduction of labour and a socially controlled and secure labour market for the capitalist on the one hand and the social services for labouring class on the other. So the post-war consensus between classes on sustained economic growth and between parties on the roles of political game started to collapse (Pierson, 1998). Another critique to the Keynesian welfare state came from O'Brien & Penna (1998) because of its acceptance of stratified equality.

In this new age the role of the welfare state is still being debated. Conservatives or neo-liberals argue that labour should become more 'flexible', meaning that there should be more part-time jobs, less protection against lay-offs, lower employment-related benefits, and lower payroll taxes. They maintain that the welfare state has to be changed from 'passive' to 'active' role to provide incentives for the socially excluded to enter into the labour market. Flexibilisation, growth of service employment, and the end of life-long careers are indicators of a crisis of industrial relations. During this process of re-definition, particularly in the 1980s, many sociologists and other social scientists argued that industrial society had been transformed in a fundamental way and was converging into a new society which featured an increased share of service jobs in labour markets and an increased need for knowledge and human capital for professional and technical occupations. Bell (1976:127) however, emphasizes that such a post-industrial situation does not displace the industrial

society but rather brings a thickening of societal texture when more people are brought into service work as well as into highly specialised professional occupations.

Bauman describes the changes in society not in terms of industrial and post-industrial but rather in terms of a shift from a producer society to a consumer society. Production and consumption, of course, are the engines of capitalist growth. There is nothing ‘wrong’ with either production or consumption. Bauman (1998) identifies industrial modern society as ‘producer society’ because of the way it shaped its members to play a role in production. On the other hand in consumer society, there is a very different emphasis on what role people are groomed to play, namely that of buyers and users.

Beck (1999) and Bauman (1998) argue that modern citizens derive their identity from their consumption rather than their production. The effects of this paradigm shift from production to consumption have an effect on work ethic and personal character. As contemporary capitalism alters the conditions of work, our connection to the workplace becomes more tenuous. As observed by Sennett in *The Corrosion of Character: The Personal Consequences of Work in the New Capitalism* (1998), ‘new capitalism’ is turning work from something that was once considered stable and predictable into a source of profound insecurity. As the workforce becomes increasingly contingent and people change jobs more frequently, employees are told there is ‘no long term’. He concludes that the new conditions of work –insecure, flexible, no jobs for life- are fragmenting and corroding key elements of human character, such as our capacity to build bonds of trust, loyalty, and mutual commitment.

Beck in his book *Risk Society*, defined the importance of a productive role in identity construction as:

...the meaning of wage labour for people’s lives in the industrial world is so clear as in the situation where two strangers meet and ask each other ‘what are you?’ They do not answer with their hobby, ‘pigeon fancier’, or with their religious identity, ‘Catholic’, or with reference to ideals of beauty, ‘well, you can see I’m a redhead with a full bosom’, but with all the certainty in the world with their occupation: ‘skilled worker for Siemens’. If we know our interlocutor’s occupation then we think we know him or her. The occupation serves as a mutual identification pattern, with the help of which we can assess personal needs and abilities as well as economic and social position (Beck:1999:1).

In his essay *The System of Objects* Baudrillard identifies consumption as the new basis of the social order, replacing the productive order of an earlier phase of capitalism:

We can conceive of consumption as a characteristic mode of industrial civilization on the condition that we separate it fundamentally from its current meaning as a process of satisfaction of needs. Consumption is not a passive mode of assimilation and appropriation which we can oppose to an active mode of production, in order to bring to bear naive concepts of action (and alienation). From the outset, we must clearly State that consumption is an active mode of relations (not only to objects, but to the collectively and to the world), a systematic mode of activity and a global response on which our whole cultural system is founded (1996: 21).

In fact, such changes signal the shift to a new welfare rationality underpinned by the notion of obligation as opposed to entitlement (Harris, 2001). The debate around welfare was expressed in terms of citizenship rights; now the language used revolves around the notion of contract and the mutual obligation of both parties (Harris, 2001).

The early 1990s witnessed a number of new socio-political assessments of welfare policies labelled 'social liberalism', 'third way', or 'asset-based welfare' (Giddens 1998, 2000, 2001; Myles & Quadagno 2000). These diagnoses and propositions argue that the existing welfare systems do not leave adequate room for individual responsibility and initiative. They call for a new form of public intervention that combines the traditional functions of redistribution and control with the new role of the State as an investor making 'social investments'. The State should offer extensive access to employment opportunities through professional training. It should no longer compensate for the effects of inequality or poverty, but rather invest in human capital, thereby enabling individuals, through the use of their skills and abilities, to become responsible for their own career path. In the past work was a means of identity construction, but now individuals need to consume to construct their identity and to be included in the society. In Sennett's words (1998), new forms of work have destroyed the coherent self-identities and life-narratives which were associated with older forms of work. Therefore, work and its meaning changed radically by shifting from producer to consumer society. As a result, the role allocation between the State, family and market has started to change again, requiring the family and the citizen to take more responsibilities for their well-being. The consequences of changes in work and State ideologies after 1980s are reflected in the labour market in the following ways: improper jobs, increasing informality,

low pay and insecure jobs. Additionally a high unemployment risk is experienced by everybody but mostly by the youth, whether qualified or not.

2.4 The Appearance of Unemployment

While the history of work and its perceptions is long and complex, as outlined above, the realities and hardships of unemployment have only captured the attention of economists and social scientists relatively recently. The explanation for the previous absence and subsequent “appearance” of unemployment, the perception of abnormality which succeeded this appearance, and the ways in which unemployment and the experience of the unemployed, especially unemployed youth, has transformed over time will be addressed in the sections that follow.

2.4.1 Unemployment in History

Because the agricultural mode of production did not lend itself to unemployment, joblessness is a fairly new phenomenon. The population was not divided according to their employment status; neither was the labour market divided into the categories like ‘inactive’, ‘employed’ and ‘unemployed’. There was inactive population of course, but these populations were defined as the poor. Unemployment was not invented; it existed, whether society or the individual was conscious of it or not (Perry, 2000:2), however it did not emerge as a category until the transition from pre-industrial to industrial society took place. Pahl characterizes this transition as the emergence of the male chief earner supporting ‘his’ dependent family, the socialization of workers, and the breaking down of pre-industrial customary forms of behaviour into the time disciplines of industrial capitalism. In the midst of these changes a new social category -the unemployed- surfaces (Pahl, 1988). Dependence on wage work as opposed to agricultural labour made unemployment an abnormality, creating the sense of frustration and exclusion that cause unemployed people to describe their situation as a ‘nightmare’. Therefore unemployment can be seen as the child of industrial capitalism.

Even though wage-labour had existed from antiquity, it acquired an increasingly important role in Western Europe starting in the 17th century (Perry, 2000:11-12). The growth of the market, commodification and the increasing division of labour also prepared the way for unemployment, which emerged in those regions that had undergone industrialisation. In this historical frame, it can be argued that the meaning of unemployment depends largely on the meaning of employment. When work was slack in the early industrial mills, for example, there was always farming to be done as well as the household tasks of one's relatives. Thus the significance of unemployment has been historically linked to the emergence of industrial employment. As Piore writes:

The modern concept of unemployment derives from one particular employment relationship, that of the large, permanent manufacturing establishment. Employment in such institutions involves a radical separation in time and in space from family and leisure time activity and was (and is) relatively permanent. When employment ties of this kind are severed, there is an empty space in the worker's life which is sharply defined and that space is what is meant by unemployment (1987: 1835).

The history of unemployment makes it clear that 'unemployment' is not a timeless category with universal characteristics. Unemployment is a social invention that has been continually revised. Numerous historical studies recount how unemployment as a distinct and important social problem emerged alongside industrialisation. Unemployment was only created as a conceptual and linguistic category with the emergence of certain kinds of industrial employment, and only when the State began to regard it as a social rather than purely individual problem. Before the mid-1890s the term 'unemployment' was virtually non-existent, even in the European languages (Garraty, 1979). There was talk only of individuals being without a job, at leisure, or idle. Well into the industrial era the term unemployment had no special meaning apart from the more general notion of unoccupied. As Garraty argues:

Unemployment connotes a certain kind of relationship to one's work. Slaves can not properly be called unemployed, nor can truly independent artisans, writers, shopkeepers or farmers. It is too hard to imagine that these groups want to work but can not connect with the means to do so. In order to be unemployed labour must be free, yet dependent. The worker who absolutely must be under hire to have any means of livelihood typifies it. One must be free to quit work and also liable to be dismissed, but in doing so lost the means for livelihood (1979:5).

What to do about unemployment has always been a difficult and controversial public issue. Unemployed persons have been treated as criminals who must be isolated from society or driven to hard labour, and as sinners to be regenerated by exhortation and prayer (their own as well as those of

their betters). They have been viewed as wayward children who must be taught how to work, as lazy incompetent's best left to suffer the consequences of their sloth, and as innocent victims of forces beyond their control. Nearly every scheme for both improving their lot and sustaining them in their misery that is currently in vogue, along with many no longer considered workable, was known and debated at least as far back as the 16th century. What actually has been done for the unemployed and about unemployment has depended upon the interaction of moral and religious attitudes, the sense of what is economically possible, the locus of power in society, and the extent to which those who possess the power are aware of how unemployment affects both its victims and their own interests (1979, p.9).

For many years economists were blind to the existence of unemployment. Modern economic thought emerged in the 17th and 18th centuries as the Western world began its transformation from an agrarian to an industrial society. The Classical School of economic theory began with the publication in 1776 of Adam Smith's monumental work, *The Wealth of Nations*, which identified land, labour, and capital as the three factors of production and the major contributors to a nation's wealth. In Smith's view, the ideal economy is a self-regulating market system that automatically satisfies the economic needs of the population. He described the market mechanism as an 'invisible hand' that leads all individuals, in pursuit of their own self-interests, to produce the greatest benefit for society as a whole. According to this logic, unemployment should not, theoretically speaking, exist. Therefore, Smith, and with him the other classical economists – Ricardo and Mill – did not address unemployment, recession or the business cycle in their explanation of the economy. Until the beginning of the 20th century economists did not consider unemployment seriously.

The Marxist School challenged the foundations of the Classical theory. They rejected the abstract individualism of liberalism, and instead understood human behaviour in its societal context, whereby people's actions are shaped by their place in the economic system. The State must either promote their divisions, or attempt to reconcile them in the interests of the long-term continuation of capitalism. An advocate of a labour theory of value, Marx believed that all production belongs to labour because workers produce all value within society. He believed that the market system allows capitalists, the owners of machinery and factories, to exploit workers by denying them a fair share of what they produce. Marx predicted that capitalism would produce growing misery for workers as competition for profit led capitalists to adopt labour-saving machinery, creating a 'reserve army of the unemployed' who would eventually rise up and seize the means of production.

Marx argued that a relative surplus population is a necessary condition of modern industry. According to him, the source of this 'industrial reserve army' was threefold. First, employers are able to replace labourers by machines through new technology. Second, employers can extract more work from their existing labour force, either by extending the working day or intensifying work. Third, this reserve, made possible by the first two factors, has a cyclical character due to the fluctuations in industrial activity. Garraty (1979) argued that Marx put unemployment in a new context as an entirely normal and necessary aspect of capitalism.

With all these transitions and new norms, being out of work -unemployed- was perceived to be an abnormality. 'Get to work' and 'get people to work' were the twin exhortations addressed simultaneously to personal troubles and shared, social ills (Bauman, 1998:15). The category of unemployment shapes the boundary between, on the one side, the expectations that citizens must work to sustain themselves, and on the other side, the government's commitments toward those who are legitimately without work. These boundaries of unemployment have important consequences in defining the lines of responsibility between worker, firm and State. Thus employment and unemployment are social categories and like all other social categories their context, content and perception have changed over time.

Studies on unemployment indicate that unemployment has economic, social, political and psychological costs. Its economic costs include the reduction of economic well being, the decline in output, and the erosion human capital. In terms of social costs, unemployment leads to social exclusion, the deterioration of family life, and an increase in grievances and cynicism, which may be responsible for the supposed link between unemployment and crime. The hardships of unemployment are not limited to income loss, but also include the far-reaching negative effects it may have on self-confidence, work motivation, basic competence, social integration, racial harmony, gender justice, and the application and use of individual freedom and responsibility (Sen, 1997). In addition to economic and social challenges, unemployment also invites psychological trials as it has been confirmed that employment is very important for identity construction. Because employment is an

important source of identity and also the source of a crucial organizational frame for daily life, unemployed individuals suffer psychological distress along with the more obvious interruption of income and loss of status (Freud, 1962; Jahoda, 1979). Freud argued that employment is virtually equated with one's identity and social place, “no other technique for the conduct of life attaches the individual so firmly to reality as laying emphasis on work; for this work at least gives him a secure place in a portion of reality, in the human community”.

The influential unemployment studies of the 1930s documented the psychological effects of unemployment on the individual and upon communities and their findings that people go through a predictable series of responses, ranging from initial shock, energetic attempts to find alternative employment, pessimism engendered by repeated failure and ultimately, fatalism and resignation, were taken as axiomatic until recently. Bakke in his book *The Unemployed Man: A Social Study* (1933:72), said that “with a job, there is a future; without a job, there is slow death of all that makes a man ambitious, industrious, and glad to be alive”. Another classical study (Jahoda 1979: 309) says that the work environment provides not only opportunities but also functions as a crucial source of structure, social contact, identity, purpose and security. According to Jahoda, employment:

- Imposes time structure on the day,
- Permits regularly shared experiences and contacts with others,
- Links an individual to goals and purposes that transcend his/her own,
- Defines aspects of personal status and identity,
- Enforces activities, and
- Provides security.

Furthermore, there is a persistent belief that paid employment is a socially acceptable means of earning a living although there is a wide range of activities outside paid work that may be equally rewarding.

Just as employment functions in many positive ways to maintain economic, social, and psychological well-being, unemployment detracts from overall health in all of these

categories. Indeed all types of unemployment have negative consequences and it affects are not only individual, but also felt by society at large. The followings can be listed as the main consequences of unemployment (Sen, 1997:155-171):

A loss of current output and a fiscal burden: Unemployment involves wasting productive power since a part of the potential national output is not realised because of unemployment. Unemployment hits the incomes of others in two distinct and mutually reinforcing ways: it cuts down the national output and increases the share of the output that has to be devoted to income transfers.

Loss of freedom and social exclusion: Taking a broader view of poverty, the nature of the deprivation of the unemployed includes loss of freedom that goes well beyond the decline in income. Unemployment can be a major causal factor predisposing people to social exclusion. The exclusion applies not only to economic opportunities, such as job-related insurance, and to pension and medical entitlement, but also to social activities, such as participation in the life of the community, which may be quite problematic for jobless people.

Skill loss and long-run damage: Just as people learn by doing they also unlearn by not doing. Unemployment may generate a loss of cognitive abilities as a result of unemployed person's loss of confidence and sense of control.

Psychological harm: Unemployment can play havoc with the lives of the jobless, and cause intense suffering and mental agony.

Ill health and mortality: This can, to some extent, be the result of loss of income and material means, but the connection also works through dejection, a lack of self-respect and a collapse of motivation generated by persistent unemployment.

Motivational loss and future work: The discouragement that is induced by unemployment can lead to a weakening of motivation and make the long-term unemployed more resigned and passive. The motivational loss resulting from high levels of unemployment can be very detrimental to the search for future employment.

Loss of human relations and family life: Unemployment can be very disruptive of social relations. It may also weaken the harmony and coherence within the family. To some extent

these consequences relate to the decline of self-confidence, but the loss of an organised working life can itself be a serious deprivation.

Racial and gender inequality: When jobs are scarce, the groups most affected are often the minorities, especially immigrant communities. Unemployment feeds the politics of intolerance and racism. Gender divisions too are hardened by extensive unemployment, especially because the entry of women into the labour force is often particularly hindered in times of general unemployment.

Loss of social values and responsibility: People in continued unemployment can develop cynicism about the fairness of social arrangements, and also a perception of dependence on others.

Organisational inflexibility and technical conservatism: In a situation of widespread unemployment, when displacement from one's present job can lead to a long period of joblessness, the resistance to any economic reorganisation involving job loss can be particularly strong.

It is clearly the case that unemployment will affect different people in different ways. Unemployment is really not a problem of statistics or economics; it is a problem about people. Unemployment is very important for everyone but it is especially important for young people. Since young people lack work experience, seniority, a lobby, and networks, they have experienced higher rates of unemployment than have other age groups. Thus, in almost all countries, youth unemployment is recognised as a serious societal problem.

Over the last 30 years unemployment in general and youth unemployment in particular has been a major problem in many countries. Increasing unemployment is connected with negative impacts on the unemployed person's perspectives of life, political opposition and integration problems, but also with increasing readiness to resort to violence and delinquency (DIW Berlin, 2002). Hence all types of unemployment have negative consequences and it affects not only individuals, but also society at large. In almost all countries, young people have experienced higher rates of unemployment than other age

groups. For young people, unemployment particularly means failure to obtain independence and selfhood, failure to experience one's value and social competence, difficulties in establishing the structure of daily time, restrictions in social interaction, and difficulties in forming plans for the future, frustration, direct and covert aggression, and deviant behaviour. Additionally youth unemployment leads not only to social problems on the personal level, but also to wider societal issues such as a lack of orientation, hostility towards foreigners and the State, drug abuse, homelessness and crime. Finally, unemployment surfaces in the arena of politics as well, resulting in a decrease of political interest, blaming of the respective government, intensified identification with clientele ties, or a turn towards extreme parties or movements. Recently Sen also stressed the costs of unemployment that goes beyond income loss.

2.4.2 Unemployment and Youth after the 1980s

Work or paid employment was the defining factor in the identification of the citizen in the first phase of industrialism and capitalism and the nation-State aided this process with full employment, citizenships rights and a responsible State. Young people and their social integration was also a central aim of the State. The assumption was that the young are in the process of learning how to be good citizens and understanding their social responsibilities (France, 1996:97). Their transition to adulthood can be understood as a process of developing citizenship by which, over time, young people become eligible to enjoy the rights and to exercise the necessary obligations and responsibilities of a citizen. Youth has similarly been described as the pivotal period in the process of 'citizenship-identity formation', a period during which young people have been described as 'learner citizens' (Arnot & Dillabough 2000:12) or 'citizens in the making' (Marshall 1950:25; Hall & Williamson, 1999). Along with the other negative impacts of unemployment outlined above, it also seriously interrupts youth's evolution towards becoming responsible (and active) citizens of society, thereby increasing their chances to be excluded in the realm of citizenship as well. For inclusion of young into the society was to be achieved by greater employment opportunities and the improvement of transition from school to work, access to adult citizenship was organized by the State.

It would seem, then, that the inclusion of youth in society as active citizens should be an area of high concern and would add to the list of reasons to fight against youth unemployment. However, with the restructuring of paid work and the changing citizen/State relationship, other notions of inclusion have been prioritized. Consumption and lifestyle have become important indicators of personal and collective identity. Giddens, for example, argues that in late modernity 'lifestyle' takes on a particular significance in which individuals have to negotiate a diversity of options. The opportunity to do this arises as social life is made more 'open' and lifestyle choice becomes increasingly important in the construction of self-identity and daily activity. Inclusion, therefore, becomes possible through what we consume.

There is also a fundamental difference related to the type of production in consumer society: new service production is more suited to women while old factory production was more suited to men. Factory production needed space and time organization and fixation and created strong organized labour -unionization. Service production is more flexible; however, its time and space relationships are weak and fluid. Women and youth who dominated service production do not have past experience about organized labour.

Service jobs have traditionally offered limited job security, are often part-time, sometimes subcontracted, often unskilled, and provide limited opportunities for career advancement and development. Also, they are frequently culturally perceived as women's jobs (France & Wiles, 1997:65).

Under these circumstances, young people have become particularly susceptible to the growth of exclusion. As the State reduces its responsibilities for inclusion, the pathways to adult status and autonomy are being replaced with extended forms of dependency for young people (Jones & Wallace 1992; France 1996). Whilst historically it has always been unclear how young people's rights help them gain adult citizenship, many legal rights of the young have been removed since the early 1980s. Furthermore, in late modernity political rights have been separated from social rights. Political rights have become a formal status separated from any notion of substantive rights to social justice. Citizenship is now attached to formal legal rights (such as voting or legal due process) but separated from any notion of social rights (such as a right to work or welfare). In other words, the welfare state is being

replaced by a liberal state with its strictly limited involvement in civil society. Indeed, the neo-liberals have argued that social rights undermine formal legal rights since they create dependency on the State (Hayek 1944; Friedman 1962; Mead 1986; Murray 1990). The result of this shift has been a reduction of young people's social rights in areas such as housing, employment and social insurance. This has led, not to adult independence, but to greater dependence on family and higher expectations by the State and adults that the young should undertake certain obligation duties before they become full citizens (France, 1996).

Labour market participation is also an important means of social integration. In an individualised society, lack of work holds a danger of social exclusion and detachment from the prevailing life-style and culture in society (Sen, 1997). As discussed earlier, according to Durkheim the foundations of social cohesion consist in mutual interdependencies that are created through work. As work implies cooperation with and for others, it is through work that one becomes aware of mutual dependency and becomes more closely involved in broader and more abstract social relations, whereby the foundations are laid for social cohesion and solidarity.

Youth's exclusion from the labour market not only leads to exclusion from citizenship but also seriously exacerbates problems of transition to adulthood. Hindrances in this transition to mature adulthood results in various forms of dependence, all of which undermine the attempts made to protect the unemployed person. Dependence on state welfare leads to workfare that is work for welfare; de commodification leads to re-commodification, that is more dependence on labour market; and de-familialisation leads to re-familialization that is more dependence on family members. A vicious cycle results in which the efforts made to aid the unemployed actually encourage unhealthy patterns of dependence, resulting in an even slimmer possibility that this young person will become independent, responsible and stable adults.

Though the negative aspects of unemployment in general and youth unemployment in particular have been clearly established above, the solution to this issue is not easily found.

One of the more difficult areas of youth unemployment to resolve is the reduction in the demand for youth labour. This reduction is the result of multiple factors. First, technical advances have reduced the dependency on the traditional utility of youth labour, that is active muscle power. Second, international competition and globalization of production ensures that cheap labour can be gained from other sources. Finally, what employer's desire in this day and age is not single-skilled permanent employees but flexible, multi-skilled workers who can be brought into the production process as and when demand requires (Wyn & White, 1997). The high participation of females in the labour market further exacerbated the difficulty of first access to (decent) jobs by youth. Thus the return to fulltime secure employment for the young seems unlikely (Beasley, 1991).

To summarise briefly, the first phase of industrial society was based on extensive social regulation that replaced traditional social institutions with others to ensure social order in the face of the spread of individualism, monetary consumption and wage work. During these times intensive social regulation, a selective social regime (family wages, stable adult male employment, breadwinning assets) compatible with the expansion of large manufacturing industry and rising labour productivity was perfected. It is since the crises of the 1970s that a new phase may have begun, based on flexible or fragmented social regulation, characterised by deregulation, unstable family and work regimes, and the replacement of the quantity-profitability combination with that of quality-consumption and global financial and communication flows as hegemonic economic factors (Mingione, 1997).

In this complex environment, paid work is still considered the second most important domain of life after the family, weighing in as more important than friends and leisure time (Atkinson et al, 2002:138), but not all jobs offer good working conditions and scope for personal development and social orientation. Semi and non-skilled workers in particular are often deprived of job characteristics associated with personal development and enhanced opportunities for social participation (Gallie & Paugam, 2002). Consequently, the quality of work and working conditions are becoming increasingly important. Thus, the role of employment in directly addressing social exclusion needs to be interpreted carefully. The

extent to which employment offers a solution for social exclusion depends critically on the quality of jobs. The two quotes below, the former from the beginning of 20th century and the later from the beginning of 21st century, clearly show the how radically the attitudes and approaches towards unemployment and unemployed people changed in one century:

Society is built upon labour; it lays upon its members' responsibilities which in the majority of cases can be met only from the reward of labour...its ideal unit is the household of man, wife and children maintained by the earnings of the first alone. The household should have at all times sufficient room and air according to its size –but how, if the income is too irregular always to pay the rent? The children, till they themselves can work, should be supported by the parents- but how, unless the father was unemployed? The wife, so long at least as she is bearing and bringing up children, should have no other task – but how, if the husband's earnings fail and she has to go out to work? Everywhere the same difficulty recurs. Everywhere reasonable security of employment for the bread-winners is the basis of all private duties and all sound action (Beveridge, 1909:1).

Men fought the right to live from their labour, not to be supported by the Welfare state. Thus, progress demands reinventing the idea of the right to work, rather than shaping a right to income (Rosanvallon, 2000).

The effects of these changes on youth and their unemployment experience are the main subject matter of this thesis. Particularly exclusion from adulthood affects young people differently. Those most affected are the youth already on the margins. For example, being poor, working-class and with limited education or employment opportunities significantly increase the experience of exclusion (France 1996; Coles 1995; Jones & Wallace 1992; Lister 2002). The State, family and labour market together determine the life opportunities of these youth and are thereby taken as the three critical actors in this thesis. Considering all these dimensions, the next chapter investigates work, employment and unemployment in Turkey and reviews the role allocation of the three actors (the State, family, and market) and their impact on the outcome of the fight with youth unemployment in Turkey.

CHAPTER 3

WORK, EMPLOYMENT AND UNEMPLOYMENT IN TURKEY

As discussed in the previous chapter in detail, the first phase of modernity refers to the introduction of three consecutive developments: industrialisation, urbanisation and the growth of nation-state. With this transformation, feudal hierarchical structures and their social, economic, and political system were destroyed. The break with the tradition and rural community meant the break with established identity giving authority as well. New mechanisms and institutions, instead of church, charity and family, were needed. Cit(y)izen (as an individual who lives in city) and their relationship with work were organized by newly emerged nation-states. The modern concept of citizenship was emerged under these circumstances, and work or paid employment became the defining factor in the identification of the citizen. The nation-state aided this process in a number of ways (the notion of full employment, gradual involvement of political, economic and social rights, and welfare state). Young people and their social integration was also central aim of the state at that time. After 1970s, however, various political, cultural, technical, economic and social changes had been occurred. With increasing tertiarisation and technological advances, the period between 1970s and the 2000s was characterized by a transition from 'old industrial to new service society'. With these radical changes, the tradition of first phase of modernity was broken, and new ones started to emerge. Under these circumstances, the meaning of work, employment, unemployment and citizenship are in the process of being reconstructed again.

The dominant mode of production is very important for understanding other parts of society. Because historical evolution of the distribution of labour force to the sectors of agriculture, industry and services follows almost a universal law. Under this law, as the share of agriculture steadily falls, the share of industry rises continuously for some time, then experiences a period of stagnancy and then gradually declines though at very small rates. The services sector appears to be the one whose share is on continuous rise. On the other hand, the absolute decline in the share of labour force employed in agriculture displays

different patterns depending on demographic factors, socioeconomic context of development, economic policies and finally on the pattern of land proprietorship (Gürsel & Ulusoy 1999:17). Surplus population in agriculture move out for subsistence either voluntarily or by force and consequently there comes a change in the urban-rural distribution of people. As urbanisation gains pace and large masses moving in cities seek wage work for their subsistence, it becomes necessary to develop relevant social policies by the state.

Following the same logic, this chapter on Turkey has two aims. The first aim is to give the social, economic and political framework of Turkey, by focusing particularly on the key turning points of recent Turkish history regarding industrialisation, urbanisation and the growth of nation-state, which eventually shape the phenomena of work, employment and unemployment, citizenship and youth. Two basic paradigm shifts -from agrarian to industrial and from industrial to service- related with work is also relevant for understanding the relationship between 'employment and unemployment' and 'work and citizenship' status in the Turkish context. Although the order is different in this Chapter (the growth of nation-state, urbanisation and industrialisation), the social, economic and political framework of Turkey is presented in three historical periods: i) a historical overview until 1950s including late Ottoman and early Republican periods focusing on the growth of Turkish nation-state; ii) the period of 1950-1980 focusing on urbanisation and industrialisation efforts, iii) developments after 1980s to the present linking the historical developments of first two periods with the current situation.

While the first period corresponds to the growth of the nation-state in Turkish history, the second one refers to the start of urbanisation and industrialisation efforts which have not been completed yet until today. Before 1950s, majority of the population (80%) were living in rural areas and engaging in agricultural production which prevented the visibility of open unemployment. The large scale urbanisation with significant population movements from rural to urban areas started after 1950s and then industrialisation initiatives in the western sense followed. However, since the formation of the nation-state was completed during the early Republican period, a historical overview until 1950s is necessary to understand leading

factors to these changes. The second period includes the introduction of mechanization in agriculture, planned economy, direct state economic enterprises and social state policies. Mechanization in agriculture had lead to surplus population and the immigration started. With increasing population in the urban places, the state started to use import substitution policies and this was institutionalised along with the introduction of planning and other institutional and legislative arrangements. The state wanted to monitor urbanization and industrialisation process. The third period corresponds to the global changes which led to a transition from old industrial to new service society. With increasing globalization and technological changes, the mode of production was changed radically. In parallel to these changes in the world, various political, cultural, technical, economic and social changes had been occurred in Turkey after 1980s. Turkey shifted the economic policies from import substitution to export-oriented growth and it led to the new arrangements/regulations related to industrial relations. Its historical process of transformation where employment shifts from agriculture to industry and services still continue.

The second aim of the chapter is to set the focus on the current developments in the country and look at the role allocation of the (labour) market, the state and family related to the unemployment experience of young people. Following the historical account of developments in the first part, the chapter turns to define the role/impact of each three actors (labour market, the state and family), their interaction with each other, and the level of support provided in relation to the Turkish youth and their unemployment experience. First, main characteristics of the Turkish labour market are described, then welfare regime type of the country as regards unemployment is identified using the typology developed by Gallie and Paugam (2000), and finally the substituting role of family in the provision of welfare is highlighted. Last but not least, the situation of youth as a specific category and their unemployment situation are included. The overall aim is to understand macro level determinants of the unemployed youth's life in Turkey as all the features and structures have their effects on employment and unemployment, and the situation of youth.

3.1 Historical Overview until 1950s

3.1.1 Inheritance from the Ottoman Past

A fundamentally agrarian economy with a negligible industrial sector, exporting agricultural commodities and raw materials to pay for its import of manufactured goods, was accepted as the basic characteristic of the late Ottoman period (Margulies & Yıldızoğlu, 1987:272). The state had its foundations in a kind of ‘wartime economy’. Limited Ottoman industry did not derive from market demand, but consisted of plants opened by the state effort for the state. Thus, they were isolated from free-market conditions and produced the essential goods consumed by the army (cloth, leather, guns and gunpowder etc.). As there were very few people who worked in industry because of under-development, neither established trade unions, nor labour law and labour insurance existed in the Ottoman State. According to İnalçık (1994), charity was the most important instrument for redistribution of wealth and protection of agrarian society in Ottoman period, which was similar to the Western period before its industrialisation.

The period of 1839-1923 is marked not only by the reform attempts to save the state and the final dissolution of the empire but also coincides with the late emergence of first Ottoman industries which were concentrated in three big cities: İstanbul, Selanik and İzmir (Karakışla, 1995:34). The competitive forces of the larger world started an inevitable transformation of traditional Ottoman production structures and newly opened railways and harbours brought new jobs as well as workforce into the cities. Thus this period saw the emergence of first urban workforce and industrial wage labourers, most of which were of rural origin and to an extent, they kept their ties with their villages in the provinces⁶. However industry and industrial work force were very limited and agricultural type of production was dominant. It was only in the mid-20th century that one could observe arrangements targeting improvements in working conditions and institutionalisation of the concept of welfare which had hitherto been confined to voluntary, personal, temporary and

⁶ According to one estimate, there were 200.000 - 250.000 industrial workers in the Ottoman Empire in 1908 (Karakışla, 1995: 30).

local cases when the state took the lead in introducing social security schemes (Sallan Gül 2004: 144-163). Three social institutions played role in safeguarding individuals against social and occupational risks in the Ottoman period: *family*ⁱ, *occupational organisations*ⁱⁱ and *foundation*ⁱⁱⁱ. In other words, the state was not a significant and directly involved actor in the welfare.

Therefore, lack of industrialisation and dominance of agricultural work prevented the development of the new concepts of work life (like ‘job’ and ‘jobless’) in parallel to their Western meanings in the Ottoman society. The concept and practice of social protection mainly manifested itself along traditional solidarity lines until the end of the 18th century. Starting from the early 19th century the first seeds of social state emerged as the empire sought to modernise itself and the first steps were taken through arrangements in the fields of public health and education. These were, however, not the end results of industrialisation, welfare sharing, class struggles or social consensus of redistribution. They were rather limited outcomes of the modernisation efforts of a group of civilian and military intellectual that was influential in the state affairs (Işıklı 1987; Sallan Gül 2004). The idea of intervention in welfare issues reached to the Ottoman Empire elite in its last century, but the provision of both social and health services was not counted among the main responsibilities of the state during that period (Kalaycıoğlu, 2006: 230). With the formation of the Turkish nation-state in the early Republican period, the state assumed the responsibility of providing governance and protection to the population.

3.1.2 Early Republican Period: the Growth of the Nation-state

The establishment of the Republic of Turkey in 1923 was simultaneously an endeavour in state building, political institutionalisation, nation building, cultural revolution and far-reaching social and economic changes by a political and military elite (Kramer, 2000:3). After building a Turkish nation-state, a Turkish nation as such had to be created. Thus, the status of people from being a Muslim subject was radically changed into Turkish people as nation and Turks as citizens with a civic identity. Republicanism, nationalism, and populism were at the core of this ideology (Kramer, 2000:5). The nation was not defined as a coalition of

classes, sects, or otherwise segregated groups but based on a unity. A concept of nationalism was developed that rejected ethnic and cultural differences.

There was no class whose economic interests could be described by the adjective bourgeois, or which could be differentiated as a social class standing between the people and the aristocracy (soylular); there was not even an aristocracy in Turkey, only the people and the Palace (Ahmad, 1993:79).

The new Turk or Turkish citizens had to be, first of all, 'civilised' and 'patriotic' that are tied together by a common language, culture and collective consciousness and ideals. This definition contains no explicit reference to religion – Islam- or tradition and ignores ethnic and sub-cultural identities. However, openness of the new constructed Turkish culture to non-Turkish Muslim groups (Bosnians, Albanians, Macedonians, Caucasus) but uneasy relationship with non-Muslim groups (Greeks, Armenians, Jews) indicate that in determining the nature of Turkish nationality, religion implicitly appeared as a significant element together with ethnicity (Icduygu et al 1999). The aim of the modernist Turkish nationalists was not limited to industrialization and economic development, but included the desire to create 'civilized', Westernized, modern citizens. The idea of the fundamental equality of citizens, introduced by the French Revolution was accepted by the Turkish modernists and used to effect a 'uniform incorporation' by which recognition of the ethnic, linguistic and religious heterogeneity of the population was avoided. Turkish Republicans were interested in creating a 'modern society' in which all the citizens not only would be equal, but would be equally modern. Turkish citizenship thus appears as a notion defined from above by the state authorities (Kadıoğlu, 2005) and based more on duties than on rights. The republican elite defined not only the public duties of the citizens but also their private roles, dress codes, and recreational activities. Marshall's three types of rights –civil, political and social- associated with citizenship were not acquired as a result of struggles from below in the Turkish case.

The transformation of social structures that had already begun in the last century of the empire accelerated in early Republican era, seeing the introduction of western-type institutions, establishment of legal procedures and development of statism or state

controlled economic development. The first step towards the creation of a new Turkey was the elimination of religious factors in the legislation and give way to new secular principles, which were desired to direct the new social life. The state's authority was placed over religion, and it was given major role of controlling and carrying on reforms. Reforms during the early years of Republic (the adaptation of Civil Code, Penal Code and Trade Law, the right to vote, unified education, etc.) and arrangements related to the establishment and functioning of social institutions and family included measures in direct contradiction with the norms of Ottoman past. The first constitution of the republic, enacted in 1924, and legal reforms mentioned above included the seeds of the state's social responsibilities. Following the principles of secularism, modernism and westernisation (Gül & Gül, 2000:6), the Republic followed a similar path as the West in the conception of nation-state formation as well as in the definition of citizenship. Civic nationalism of the republic was based on 'every Turkish citizen is a first class citizen who enjoys the same rights and has the same obligations'. New Turkish Republic, following the western model had started all such institutional and structural reforms, which would help the state to control, direct, and reshape all areas of social life.

This model mainly aimed at rising new generations who are loyal to the new nation-state and the guarantee for maintaining the principles of secularism, independence, and unity. The social responsibility of the state was accepted and its role has gradually increased to develop institutional and legal frameworks (Kalaycıoğlu, 2006:230). Social reproduction of society was thought very paramount and children and youth seen as important agents. Youth both as an age group and in transition of their identity –unformed identity– gave the state the opportunity to construct a new citizenship. Their basic duties were defined by Atatürk with his message to youth:

Turkish Youth!

Your first duty is to ever and always protect and defend Turkish Independence and the Turkish republic. This is the main cause of your existence and of your future. This cause is your most valuable treasure. In the future, there will be enemies, both in your homeland and abroad, who will try to deprive you of this treasure. If one day you are compelled to defend the independence and the republic, you shall not hesitate to perform your duty whatever possibilities and circumstances may present themselves. These circumstances may be unfavourable, it may be that the enemies who nurture dessings against your independence and your republic may have won a victory the likes of which have never seen in world history...Turkish youth of the future! Even under these conditions your duty is to save Turkish Independence and the Turkish Republic! The strength you need is present the noble blood that flows through your veins!

Then, 19th May is designated as the *Official Youth Day* by Atatürk to the youth to whom he commended the Republic. To create individuals according to the Republic's needs, free and secular public education was taken as the first and the most important function of the state. Therefore, the most significant development along lines of social state took place in the field of education in 1926. Specific attention was given to free education in order to have the young Republic equipped with a nation-state consciousness and have the people of the country fully grasp the requirements of modernisation.

The new Republic also immediately faced with the task of restructuring and creating a national economy. According to the 1927 census, Turkey was a predominantly agrarian and under-populated society of less than 14 million, only 16.4% of which live in cities and towns over 10.000. Literacy among the population was less than 9% (Ahmad, 1993:74). For the under-population problem pronatalist propaganda was promoted. Since there was no population pressure on the land and land cultivation continued to increase, the increase in population during the next 20 years presented no problem for the towns so that only 18.8% of the population was urban in 1950 (Ahmad, 1993:94). During the period of 1923-1950, low rates of industrialisation on the one hand and impact of policies encouraging rural population to remain where they are on the other -which may be linked to each other- effectively prevented any major population mobility (Buğra, 2004). The weight of agriculture was apparent in the sector-based distribution of labour force, putting Turkey in the category of purely "agricultural economy" until 1950s (Buğra, 2004:75-97).

Since the economy was in a state of chronic underdevelopment, basic aim of economic policies during the early Republican era was to realise national development in all spheres. The republican elite viewed industry as a vital component in the creation of new Turkey (Ahmad, 1993:93). They thought industry and civilisation as synonymous. The state's leading role in economic affairs was combined with concerns related to the development of a market economy. *İzmir Economics Congress* held in February 1923 was the place where these issues were discussed and some formulations were reached including the identification of common goals for economic development, identification of means and methods to be employed in reaching these goals, designing an economic programme for the young

Republic and emphasis on economic independence as a guarantee of political independence. In his opening speech at the Congress, Atatürk said:

There is a reality remaining left after going through the percolator of history and experience: Examining the history of Turkey, we see that periods of retardation and collapse coincide with economic failures. Victories we enjoyed or failures we suffered; all were related to economic factors....Our nation may have destroyed the hostile armies, but there is still a must to do for full independence: National sovereignty should be backed up by economic sovereignty. Economy is the only tool that can carry us to our desired objectives. No matter how glamorous political and military victories may be, they cannot be sustained unless crowned by economic victories (Aydoğan, 2005:41).

The target of westernisation became more pronounced through drives for industrialisation and development. Following a short-lived and unsuccessful experience of liberal economy from 1923 to 1930 in an agrarian society, a state-led development model was adopted in 1930s (Sallan Gül, 2004). Domestic market oriented industrialisation strategies was dominant for the next 50 years. Policies and practices adopted in the period 1930-1946 in particular stemmed from both the proven insufficiency in bringing about industrialisation of earlier liberal policies and efforts to compensate for the shrinking world market and falling raw material prices as a result of the world economic crisis of 1929.

While the consolidation of western-type state formation occurred in the early Republican period, its welfare dimension was quite limited and fragmented, a feature that has affected the history of the Turkish welfare framework. Main development related to work life in this era was the emergence of state-supported industry (very limited compared to the dominant agricultural sector) and an enlarged bureaucracy. In parallel to this, welfare was defined only as provision for the 'social security' of those employed in the state institutions and formal sector^{iv}. This process gradually reinforced the control of the state over labour relations in many ways. Limited social security schemes are based on the payment of contributions by both employers and employees, which are then paid back as retirement pensions and health coverage for employees and dependent family members throughout their lives. Such pension and health coverage schemes varied greatly according to employment status, making the system highly fragmented in terms of coverage. Healthcare provisions were quite limited and poor rural segments of the population hardly had any access to medical

coverage. As in the Bismarckian model (discussed earlier), social policy regulations in this era were used in order to create social solidarity by ignoring class differences and creating a powerful central authority. As Özbek (2002) has discussed, corporatist tendencies and the ‘idea of a classless society’ have been quite influential in terms of social policy interventions in Turkey. Therefore, it is possible to define this welfare-regime period in terms of what Esping-Andersen calls the ‘corporatist model’, in which authoritarianism, statism and corporativism are the important dimensions (Esping-Andersen 1990, 1996).

3.2 The Period between 1950-1980: Urbanization and Industrialization

Following the end of the Second World War, development and democratisation processes – spread of representative democracy based on multi-party regimes and democratic rights – gained speed within the framework of a Keynesian welfare state model in Europe. Similar democratization attempts also began in Turkey paving the way to the multiparty politics in 1946. Changes in economic structure started as the result of economic policies applied in 1950s, particularly with the introduction of agricultural mechanisation and increasing agricultural production, foreign capital coming to the country, increase in credits given to trade sector, increasing business premises, especially small ones in cities. Mechanization in agriculture and the related de-propertisation had led the migration of several agricultural workers who had lost their jobs and small landowners who had lost their lands, to the cities in the search for new means of survival.

Less than 19% of the Turkish population was living in urban settings in 1950. In subsequent years, big populations started to leave rural regions and arrived to big cities such as Istanbul, Izmir and Ankara. The fact that first migrants’ chances of finding regular jobs were relatively more, despite the low level of industrialisation process, had led to the continuation of migration. These population movements from rural to urban areas between 1950-80 are shown in the table below:

Table 1. Urban and rural population in Turkey (1950-1980)

Year	Province and District Centres		Sub-Districts and Villages		Total
	Population	%	Population	%	
1950	5.244.337	25.0	15.702.851	75.0	20.947.188
1955	6.927.343	28.8	17.137.420	71.2	24.064.793
1960	8.859.731	31.9	18.895.089	68.1	27.754.820
1965	10.805.817	34.4	20.585.604	65.6	31.391.421
1970	13.391.101	38.4	21.914.075	61.5	35.605.176
1975	16.869.068	41.8	23.478.651	58.2	40.347.719
1980	19.645.007	43.9	25.091.950	56.1	44.736.957

Source: Keyder, 1987: 297

The 1960s were a period of high rates of economic growth and optimism for the future. 1961 Constitution extended the right to organize the society; the concept of social state was enshrined in the Constitution for the first time. With increasing migration from rural to the urban places, investments in construction and industry absorbed the new entrants to the labour market. The wages and working and living conditions of these migrants under wage employment were much better than the situation in their villages. In the whole literature and discourse level, the situation in villages was taken as the reference point to show people the level of development achieved in the cities. After 1963, import substitution policies were institutionalised along with the introduction of planning and other institutional and legislative arrangements. The state adopted a model of ‘mixed economy’ and this model also found reflection in the targets and strategies of the first Five-Year Development Plan (DPT, 1963-1967): “The Turkish economy is a mixed one where the state and the private sector exist side by side. The activities of the state sector shall be planned in a way to attain the rate of development envisaged in a balanced manner as adopted strategies envisage”. The Plan underlined the importance attached to the state economic enterprises (SEE) by saying “the state has to lead the development in industry by establishing enterprises in new lines of production which require advanced technology and large capital outlay”⁷. In its role as ‘regulator’ of the internal economy, the function of the state consisted principally in the redistribution of income and the extension of the market (Keyder, 1987:299).

⁷ The first plan had set employment as an objective by focusing on four points: a) solving the problem of unemployment, b) raising the occupational qualifications of working people, c) employment of trained labour force through well balanced employment policies, and d) promoting a healthy pattern of social mobility (DPT, p.442).

Unemployment, in particular for skilled workers, was at relatively low and tolerable level. There were a number of reasons for this. The first one is the dominance of agricultural sector in the economy despite ongoing rural-to-urban internal migration movements. Due to the nature of the work, agriculture hides open unemployment and provides subsistence income for the majority of the population. As seen in Table 2, the rate of urbanisation in 1980 was 43.9% in Turkey, still leaving a large population in agricultural areas (56.1%). According to a World Bank study (2006b), 8.4 million people were working in agriculture, 2.3 million people in industry, and 4.1 million people in services in 1980. In spite of some developments in industrial sector, jobs in this sector remained very limited and majority of the population were engaging in agriculture.

The second reason is the *golden age of Turkish emigration abroad* in the period of 1961-1973. Emigration has provided a partial safety valve for excess labour, especially during the period between 1969 and 1973, when more than 100.000 workers left each year to seek jobs abroad. Turkish workers began emigrating to Western Europe in large numbers in the 1960s as the demand for labour increased in northern Europe⁸. Following the oil crisis after 1973 and restricted immigration opportunities to Europe, a shift in Turkish emigration occurred towards the Arab countries. By the early 2000s, there were around 4 million Turkish citizens abroad, constituting more than 5% of the nation's total population: almost 3.5 million live in Europe, more than 110.000 in Arab countries, and some 40.000 Turkish workers in the Commonwealth of Independent States. In addition, about 400.000 Turks are present in other countries, with approximately three-fourths residing in the traditional immigration countries of Australia, Canada, and the United States (Icduygu 2004: 89). Labour emigration has largely been dominated by rural population in Turkey and helped decreasing the pressure of unemployment in stagnating domestic market. As a result of migration, individual migrants had relatively better living conditions and increased earning capacity.

⁸ In the early 1960s immigrant Turks formed a homogeneous group in Europe, mainly as male labourers; by 1961 a total of 7116 Turks had immigrated to Germany to become workers. The number of Turkish workers going abroad peaked near 136.000 in 1973. When Germany was hit by the oil crisis and faced a downturn in its economy in 1973, it was forced to stop the intake of foreign workers; by that time the number of Turkish migrant workers had reached 910.500 (Şen, 2003:208-227).

The other important dynamic of that time was increasing role of public sector as a source of employment. Following the state-led industrialisation and increasing number and capacity of State Economic Enterprises and growing public administration, the state has gradually became the biggest employer in the formal labour market. The state declared herself responsible for social well-being of its citizens with the 1961 Constitution and popular party politics led to huge increases of public employment for political clientalism. Beside civil servants, many low-skilled blue-collar workers were recruited in the public sector. A more active stance concerning the growing labour force through public recruitment contributed to raising the level of wages for unionized workers: the right to strike was granted to unions in 1962, without much of a struggle. As a consequence, real wages increased significantly between 1963-1970, and 1973-1976. Social security and retirement pensions were amended at the same time, allowing workers to retire after 25 years of active employment (20 in the case of women) without any age limit and making for an increased volume of social expenditure out of the government budget (Keyder, 1987:300). Especially after 1955, populist politics counting rural emigrants as “voters” on the one hand and the effects of golden age of Western welfare states on the other helped increasing public spending and state employment. This is also a period when the rights of workers and civil servants were extended and the trade union movement become stronger and more influential. By 1975 more than 79% of all industrial workers had been unionized. Minimum wage legislation has been implemented nationwide for the first time in 1974. The number of wage and salary earners increased rapidly in the 1961-80 period, and the phenomenon which is identified as the ‘artificial proletariat’ becomes quite widespread in this period (Koç, 1999:42).

Considering all these developments, unemployment was not very visible problem during this period. As discussed before, great majority of the population moved to the cities and started to work in factories with the industrial revolution in Europe. In Turkey, however, the population movements started before any large scale industrialisation, and the state tried to develop industry for creating work to the migrated population. Although urbanisation has been viewed as a proper prescription for modernisation in Turkey, its rural character did not change much for a long time. Mostly due to a bottom-up type of socio-economic development, Turkey, with an urban population of 65%, still remains one of the least

urbanised countries on the periphery of Europe (Icduygu 2004: 98). More than a quarter million people move annually to the big cities from rural areas. Because job opportunities, urban services, and infrastructure facilities do not develop fast enough to absorb these former peasants, the heavy migratory flow from the countryside contributes to the emergence of strikingly visible subcultures in the big cities, with social and economic segregation of the newcomers. They create their own adjustment strategies to cope with city life and their own jobs in informal economies. They tend to respond to critical housing shortages by occupying land illegally and building squatter housing, called *gecekondu* (literally, housing built overnight). In spite of all these factors mentioned-above (dominance of agricultural sector, state-led and planned economy, increasing public employment and emigration abroad), the population growth exceeded the scope and level of industrialisation and infrastructure facilities in urban areas of Turkey. Therefore, neither urbanisation nor industrialisation has reached at a level comparable with European societies, and they were not able to absorb huge population increases in a decent way.

3.3 Developments after 1980s to the Present

Until 1980s Turkey's economy was identified with a type of capital accumulation named import-substitution industrialisation. Its basic characteristics were 'protectionism', 'state involvement', and 'regulated markets'. Towards the end of 1970s, crises emerged both in the economic and political areas in Turkey. End of 1970s were difficult times not only for Turkey but also for other countries due to globalization and technologic changes. As discussed earlier it led to changes in mode of production then society as a whole -from production society to the service society. Thus, both national and global crises led to the radical changes in 1980 which shifted the trajectory of economic policies from import substitution to export-oriented growth in Turkey. There has been a widespread restructuring of the economic policy and neo-liberalism has become the new order of this period. This new order brought increasing foreign trade, interest rate liberalization, deregulation, privatization, decreases in state expenditures on social services and a liberal foreign exchange regime instead of the state interventionism of the previous period (Balkan & Savran, 2002). 'Free market economy', 'opening to outside' and 'removing bureaucratic

barriers' became the popular notions in Turkey of 1980s. It was claimed that market forces have their own adjusting capacities and this replaced the idea of a state providing welfare and justice to the people. Instead of a state considering the distribution of income, a free market that is bringing productivity and efficiency was promoted. A powerful bureaucracy was not seen as the precondition of development; it was an obstacle for the operation of the free market (Öncü & Gökçe, 1991).

Parallel to this shift, some de-regulation and privatisation efforts started. It was considered that lower wages would not, by itself, fully ensure lower costs of production; to make it sustainable, it was also necessary to place some control on rights for unionisation and collective bargaining. Such an operation could be managed rather easily under the military regime. Trade union activities were suspended while collective bargaining was replaced by 'compulsory arbitration'. The new Constitution of 1982 introduced new arrangements relating to industrial relations and put some limitations to the exercise of right to strike, which are still disputed today. In addition to the *Labour Act (No 1475)* of 1971, the *Unions Law (No 2821)* and the *Law on Collective Bargaining Agreement, Strike, and Lockout (No 2822)* were enacted in 1983 under this environment. Further, the firm stand of governments to maintain the 'stability package' led to a steadily falling trend in real wages in the period 1980-1988 (Cihangir, 1996:145).

At present, Turkey is in a historical process of transformation where employment shifts from agriculture to industry and services still continue. Linked to this process, it has experienced increasing unemployment in the last two decades. Leaving aside marginal drops in the early 80s and 90s, the rates of unemployment in Turkey is on continuous rise throughout the planned period. Specific factors contributing to this picture can be listed as rapid population growth, poor arrangements regarding labour markets, weakness of vocational training, high rates of urbanisation observable from the early 50s, obstacles in front of investment that may generate employment and low levels of productivity and economic growth. Particularly working age population is increasing more rapidly than natural population growth due to demographic transformation process, which first started in the 50s and continued up to the 80s despite some significant regional variations. In

addition to this demographic factor, the structure of land proprietorship explains a large but unproductive agricultural employment. The structure dominant in the Turkish rural sector is that of small proprietorship. Since this structure is not conducive to economies of scale and full mechanisation, labour productivity could increase only marginally and wage labour remained extremely limited. State protection and agricultural subsidies also played their role in keeping the fall in the share of rural population at slow rates. Recent withdrawal of the state from its traditional role as a 'sponge' absorbing surplus labour in the labour market leads to further shrinks in government employment and therefore aggravates the problem of unemployment. The short citation from Demirel below, summarising the long history of Turkey's economic and social developments, argued that employment/unemployment issue is a development problem of the country:

Turkey has had unemployment problem in every period of her history. After all, unemployment is a development problem and Turkey has never had enough resources to fully develop on its own. The country faced the problem of unemployment right after the victory gained over invading armies, I mean after the War of Liberation won on 9 September 1922. This military achievement had to be crowned with a victory in development in such a poverty-stricken country. As stated by our great leader Atatürk, "a hand holding a plough is superior to that holding a gun." To fight poverty, the Economics Congress was convened in İzmir from 24 February to 4 March 1923, shortly after liberation. This was a congress to find the ways of development and eliminating poverty. Unemployment and poverty are the features of the same phenomenon, which is underdevelopment. The congress in İzmir discussed many issues and set some targets in production, employment generation and development. But after a decade we see none of these targets achieved. In other words there is a loss of a decade and this loss had really serious consequences. Why these targets could not be met? Firstly, there were no entrepreneurs to force the gates of development. Secondly, there was a shortage of technicians, engineers and economists to function as the driving force of development. Thirdly, Turkey was devoid of skilled, well-trained and qualified labour force. And fourthly, there was lack of investment funds, infrastructure and social capital. All these determined the fate of the young republic. If you ask me when we did first encounter the problem of unemployment, it is right the beginning of our republic. Turkey is still waging efforts to develop. But the point is that this development should take place along with democracy, I mean, the people should be the sole sovereign on this land. In the past 80 years the Republic channelled all resources it could find to development. Was that enough? Absolutely not. I tell you why: What we lacked in the early years of the Republic were also lacking in the 1950s. Moreover, some of those essential factors I mentioned earlier were lacking even in the mid-60s. But the country could make jumps forward with the 70s, 80s and 90s. Today, we have entrepreneurs, qualified managers and well-trained and skilled labour force; what we still don't have enough is investment capital (from the interview with Süleyman Demirel, 9th President of the Republic).

The solution to unemployment problem was indexed solely to economic growth. While expecting the issue to be settled automatically parallel to economic growth, it was soon found out that the problem gained chronic character due to failures in reaching targeted growth rates and ensuring the structural transformation in employment. Drift away from

limited social state policies, seeing the solution of the problem merely in dynamism expected from the private sector, and state's abstinence from active policies after 1980s in this regard added further to the dimensions and seriousness of the problem.

Against these problems, some changes have been introduced with important implications for young people and their employment opportunities in this period. In 1997, the government increased the duration of compulsory education from five to eight years (*Basic Education Law No.4306*), which is expected to have positive impact on the educational status of the population. In this context, more emphasis was placed on vocational training in order to facilitate young people's integration into the workforce. Of the laws and decrees that regulate technical and vocational education and training (TVET), three are worth mentioning: formal, apprenticeship and non-formal vocational and technical training regulated under the *Apprenticeship and Vocational Education Law (No 3308)* enacted in 1986 and amended in 1997 and 2001. Its purpose was to promote vocational and technical education through formal channels as well as through apprenticeships and non-formal education, with the ultimate objective of augmenting the number and quality of the trained labour force. However, the education system in Turkey is based on competitive exams and general education-oriented due to high aspirations for university education by students and families. The competition between general and vocational and technical high schools in placing students in higher education programs has led the latter to change their curricula so that they resemble those of general high schools. The loss in the direction of vocational and technical schools has been a factor among others in the decision of the Higher Education Council to take action to re-direct the graduates to their field of specialization. In spite of different measures introduced to make TVET system more attractive for youth, a majority of students continue to enrol in secondary general education (68.6% in 2003-2004) while the government's goal was to reduce the share to 35% (OECD, 2005).

According to *Apprenticeship and Vocational Education Law*, the option of non-formal education (primarily provided by vocational education centres) also exists for school-drop outs. After completing their basic education (typically at age 15), the out-of-school youth can apply for apprenticeship training. With the change in the law in 2001, the upper age limit of 19 years

for admittance into apprenticeship training has been abolished so that young adults can technically participate in the program as well. Despite this change, the program still mainly attracts younger individuals who have dropped out of the schooling system after the completion of basic compulsory education. Overall, the demand for formal apprenticeship training is low.

Other important legislative change worth to mention is the new *Labour Act (No 4857)* introduced in 2003 for balancing job security and flexibility of employment contracts in line with EU requirements. In view of modernising public employment services, Turkish Employment Agency was also reorganised and its responsibilities were increased by *ISKUR Law (No 4903)* in 2003: managing the unemployment insurance system, providing training and job counselling to job-seekers, delivering active labour market programmes, job brokerage, regulating private employment services – but also the analysis of labour market needs and development of a national employment policy. However, the institutional capacity of ISKUR is not strong enough to take over and implement all these responsibilities⁹. As of November 2005 ISKUR had 515 employees at the headquarters in Ankara and 2381 employees at provincial offices. The number of registered unemployed per ISKUR staff was 365 (EC, 2006). For the sake of comparison it should be noted that the number of total staff in a similar population size country is around 80.000 in Germany. Today as a candidate country, Turkey is to develop and improve its employment policy and institutions in line with *European Employment Strategy (EES)* that was developed in order to ensure converging employment policies within the union with the participation of social partners.

⁹ ISKUR received 885 thousand applications from job-seekers in 2003 and managed to place a total of 76 thousand people. In total, 44% were given a job in the private sector. A substantial majority of those who were placed at a job in the private sector (around 65%) were made up of individuals with disabilities and ex-convicts. When the registers of job seekers in ISKUR records are examined by provinces, we see Istanbul leading the list with 84.545 applications followed by Ankara (49.554) and Bursa (31.959). The distribution of applicants by age group is as follows: 20-24 (123.058 applicants, 20.9% of total) and 25-29 (170.320, 28.9%). Those with primary school education (221.201 applicants) has the highest share in applications (37.6%) followed by those graduated from high school and its equivalents (119.461 applicants or 20.3% of total) and graduates of secondary school and its equivalents (82.013 applicants, 13.9% of total) (ISKUR 2004).

Following sections will have a closer look at the current situation of the three actors (labour market, the state and family) describing and classifying their characteristics and role allocation in relation to the unemployment experience of young people in Turkey.

3.3.1 Market: Main Characteristics of Turkish Labour Market

Bulutay (1995:61) describes the principle characteristics of the Turkish labour market as regards employment, unemployment and wages in the following way: i) there is a high rate of population growth and a large population. ii) A large proportion of the population lives in rural areas and work in agriculture with low productivity. iii) As a result, there is a serious employment problem, with the unpaid family workers having a special weight in the economy. iv) Transformation of the population to the cities and replacement of agricultural work with wage work which is a necessity for the development of the country has not completed yet. v) The job-creating capacities of cities and industry are limited. vi) There is, thus, also a serious unemployment problem in the cities. vii) The labour market is segmented in several ways. viii) Labour is heterogeneous with large wage differentials. ix) The economy and the labour market are somewhat insensitive to trade cycles. x) The inadequacy of new job creation is more important for the Turkish labour market than the destruction of jobs. Over the last century, Turkey has experienced an important internal migration flow from rural to urban areas, considerable amount of population still lives in the rural areas. Although the employment share of agriculture has declined from 60% in 1975 to 35% in 2003, it remains a significant sector in terms of its share in overall employment. Over time, industry and services have gained importance. While in 1975, 14% of the workforce was in industry and 27% in services, by 2003 these figures had become 19% and 47% respectively. The share of industry has remained stable around 20%, and the fastest growing sector in the past decade has been services (Tunali, 2003).

Table 2. Employment by sector in Turkey (1980 and 2004)

Sector	1980	2004
Employment (15 years and over) (million)	15.7	21.7
Employment in agriculture (million)	8.4	7.4
Employment in industry (million)	2.3	4.0
Employment in construction (million)	0.9	1.0
Employment in services (million)	4.1	9.4

Source: World Bank, 2006b.

Very roughly, Turkey's labour market is characterized by low employment rates, reflecting a large non-participation and relatively high unemployment and declining labour force participation rates (WB 2006b: 61). The relatively young and dynamic population of Turkey is quite large about 70 million, and still growing. The current annual population growth rate is estimated at 1.5%, while the rate of growth in the potential labour force (ages 15-64) at 2.0% over the current decade, corresponding to a yearly increase of over 800.000 (EC, 2006:8). DIE estimates the potential labour force defined as the non-institutional civilian population aged 15-65 as 44.2 million. It grew by 23 million from 1980 to 2004; while only 6 million jobs were created in the same period. Of the former, only a half (23.8 million) joins the labour market. As a result, the employment rate (the percentage of adult population that is employed) is one of the lowest in the world. It was only 43.2% (62.9% in males and 23.9% in females) in 2005, while most countries have employment rates above 50% and the EU-15 average is 67%. Labour force participation rate (including unemployed) is 48.3% (70.4% in males and 26.6% in females). Total number of employed is 21.993.000 persons, while total number of unemployed is 2.439.000. The rate of unemployment is 10.5% (10.1% for females and 10.7% for males), 12.6% of which is in urban areas and 6.4% in rural. The share of underemployment in total labour force is 4.8% (EC, 2006).

Participation rates between the EU countries and Turkey differ primarily because of the low labour market participation of women. While the participation rate of men is slightly higher than 70%, the participation rate of women lags considerably behind, having being recorded at 26.6% in 2005. A closer examination indicates that marital status and years of schooling play important roles in determining the labour market participation of urban women. While single urban women have participation profiles that are considerably higher than their married counterparts (though still lower than men), education plays the role of increasing participation regardless of women's marital status. While in 2003, the participation rate of single urban women was recorded at 33%, the corresponding figure for married women was less than half this rate recorded at 15%. Having high educational credentials play an even more important role in attracting women to the labour market. While, on average, women with university education residing in urban areas have participation rates in the order of 70%, the corresponding rate for a woman with a primary school diploma, which represents

the highest educational attainment for almost half the urban female population, is 13%. So, although being married adversely affects the likelihood of women's labour market participation, the impact of schooling seems to be high enough to negate the negative impact of marriage (EC, 2006).

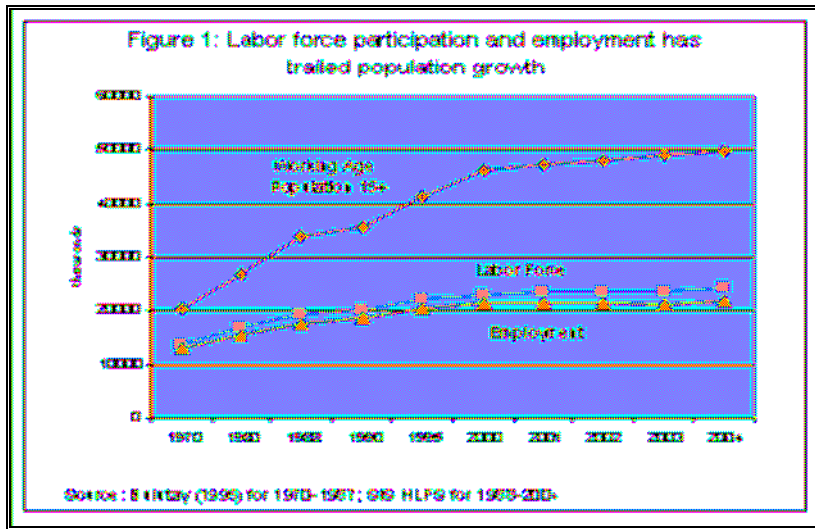


Figure 1. Working age population, labour force participation and employment in Turkey (1970-2004)

In comparison to the EU-15, the educational attainment of the labour force is quite low in Turkey. Over 60% of the labour force has primary or less than primary school education. The proportion with higher education, on the other hand, is limited to 10%. In urban areas educational attainment is higher with 45% of the participants having primary or less than primary school education. Those with higher education in urban areas are recorded at 16% in 2002 as opposed to 3% in rural areas. In 2002, while 47% of the male participants had primary or less than primary school education, the corresponding rate for women was 36%. Likewise, while 13% of men had higher education, this figure was recorded at 26% for women. The higher education levels of the urban female workforce stems not from the better educational attainment of the female population but rather because it is the more educated women who choose to enter the labour market. In this sense, the low educational attainment of women is an important impediment for their labour market entry.

Another important labour market characteristic of the Turkish labour market is related with the informal sector¹⁰. While employment share of agriculture is around 35% which is significant, its contribution to GNP is around 12%. This means that productivity is very low in Turkish agriculture. This low productivity and huge population constitute the main reason of the informal sector (Bulutay & Tasti, 2004). There are numerous studies attempting to estimate the size of the informal sector in Turkey. Since there is neither a common definition for the informal sector nor a common approach to measure it, there are sizeable differences among the estimates. Studies conducted in the early 1990s suggest that the size of the informal economy was in the range of 7-23% of GDP. Recent studies seem to indicate that the informal sector has expanded. For example, a study by IMF conducted in 2003 estimates the size of the informal (unrecorded) economy between 25 and 33% of GDP (EC, 2006:17). Based on a comparison between employed persons registered at social security institutions and actual employment measured by the labour force surveys, the informal (unregistered) sector is estimated to represent around 52% of total employment and 37% of private sector employment without agriculture (EC, 2006:18). Official figures based on labour force statistics put the number of workers engaged in the informal sector (excluding agriculture) in urban areas at 1.3 million making up 12.5% of the urban non-agricultural employment¹¹. According to the DİE data, total number of informal workers in Turkey (including agriculture) rose from 10.170 million in January 2005 to 11.150 million in April 2005.

Apart from agriculture (90% of workers are unregistered and most of them are family workers); construction, retail trade, restaurants and hotels and transport/communication have all a substantial share of informal employment ranging from 42% to 60%. There is no

¹⁰ The International Labour Organization introduced the concept of the informal sector more than 25 years ago. A 1972 ILO employment mission report on Kenya found that migration from the countryside to the city did not result in urban unemployment. When the modern sector does not provide enough job opportunities, rural migrants and urban dwellers alike find employment in small-scale and micro-level production and distribution of goods and services. These largely unrecognised, unrecorded and unregulated small-scale activities constitute the informal sector.

¹¹ The State Institute of Statistics defines the 'informal sector' as "all non-agricultural economic units which are unincorporated (establishments whose legal position is individual ownership or simple partnership), paying lump sum tax or no tax at all, not paying social security contributions, and employing 1-9 persons" (<http://www.die.gov.tr>).

sign of reduction of the informal segment, in the contrary the informal sector has been the major source of employment during the economic crisis in 2001. While the share of employees without any social security coverage was 36.3% in private urban employment in 2000, the share of the informal employment jumped to 39.5% in 2001 and 41.9% in 2002. Unregistered businesses (outside agriculture) represented a higher share of employment in 2002 than in 1988 in construction, manufacturing and retail trade and hotels restaurants.

When we try to define what the informal sector is with the words of ILO (1993, p.7-8):

... generally work at a low level of organisation, have little or no division between labour and capital, and carry on their activities on a small scale. They are run by self-employed persons working alone, with the help of unpaid family members or, in some cases, a few hired workers or apprentices ... Informal sector units can adapt quickly to changing economic conditions because they can lay off workers easily or hire additional workers; labour relations are based on personal and social relations rather than formal guarantees.

ILO defined the basic characteristics of the informal sector as follows: i) Informal sector enterprises usually employ fewer than ten workers, mostly family members. ii) it is heterogeneous, major activities are retail trade, transport, repair and maintenance, construction, personal and domestic services and manufacturing. iii) entry and exit is easier than in the formal sector. iv) capital investment is generally minimal. v) work is mostly labour intensive, requiring low skills. vi) workers learn skills on the job. vii) the employer-employee relationship is often unwritten and informal, with little or no appreciation of industrial relations and worker's rights. viii) the informal sector works in conjunction with the informal economy. It has increasingly become integrated into the global economy (ILO, 2002). Bulutay and Taştı (2004) studied informal sector in the Turkish labour market and they came out with the followings: i) Self-employment dominates in the informal sector. ii) Young people dominate in the informal sector employees. The age distribution is more even in the self-employed. iii) As a basic characteristic, women's share is quite low in the Turkish informal sector. As a related important fact, in urban areas the second breadwinners of the families are boys instead of females among less educated people. iv) the education level in the informal sector is lower than that of the Turkish urban workplaces. v) the education/skill level of women in the informal sector is higher than that of men. vi) concentration of work in certain sectors is also higher in women's employment in the informal sector. When employed persons were examined by the status of social security

registration in their current job, 25% of total employed persons were registered to Social Insurance Institution (SSK), 9.1% of them were registered to Civil Service Retirement Fund and 11.4% of them were registered to self-employment insurance organization (BAG-KUR). Therefore, 54.4% of total employed persons are not registered to any social security institution in Turkey, 60.9% of which is male. This rate is 33.7% for urban areas and is 76.4% for rural areas.

The public sector (including state administration and public economic enterprises) has been an important source of employment generation, but its role in the labour market has gradually diminished over time. As a result of substantial labour adjustment and privatisation process of state economic enterprises, in 2004 the public sector overall employed around 2.5 million persons (roughly 12% of total employment). Public administration represented the major share with 82% of total (2 million employees), SEEs 15% (around 370.000 employees) and social security institutions a further 3% (77.000 employees). The share of the public sector in total employment is higher in urban (21%) than rural areas (9%). It has a considerable share in services employing 27% of male and 41% of the total female employment¹², while its contribution to agricultural employment is negligible (less than 0.5%) (EC, 2006: 12-13). The share of the public sector in manufacturing industries has dramatically reduced from 44% in 1963 to 26% in 1990, and then to 15.2% in 2001 (Kepenek & Yentürk, 2000).

3.3.2 State: Turkish Welfare Regime as Regards Unemployment

The experience of unemployment is not as something homogeneous, but as a phenomenon that takes place within particular economic, social and political structures. Because of this, it may have a different dynamic within each national culture and each locality within the same nation as well. The experience of unemployment has close relationship with the welfare system¹³ of the countries. The conception of welfare regime, on the other hand, is taken in a

¹² Health and education sectors account for a sizeable share of female employment.

broad sense. “It refers to a system of public regulation that is concerned to assure the protection of individuals and to maintain social cohesion by intervening, through both legal measures and the distribution of resources, in the economic, domestic and community spheres” (Gallie&Paugam, 2000:3-4) In this wider issue, how does it possible to use the concept of the welfare regime related with the unemployment?

Responsibilities of nation-states for social protection refer to arrangements in place to help their citizens manage labour market-related risks, including unemployment, underemployment, low incomes, disability and threats to health. A framework setting minimum norms and standards for social security is given by the ILO Convention no. 102 (1952) which lists 9 different social and economic risks that must be covered by any social security scheme: old age, disability, death, work accidents, occupational diseases, illness, maternity, and unemployment and family provisions. For the aim of this thesis, I focus on unemployment risk and investigate social protection provided for the unemployed in Turkey. It is known that social protection instruments can come from various sources, including families, communities, NGOs, unions, market mechanisms, and government. This section will concentrate on state protection instruments on unemployment. According to World Bank (2006b) government’s risk management instruments for labour market related risks can be summarised below:

Table 3 Government’s risk management instruments for labour market related risks

For risk reduction	Education and training Labour market regulation Collective bargaining framework Non-discriminatory access to education and labour markets
For risk mitigation	Social security (including UI)
For risk coping	Social assistance transfers Active Labour Market Programs

¹³ “Talking about the welfare system instead of simply the welfare state or social policies means expanding the analytical framework to a great extent. Thus, many elements take their rightful place in the analysis: cultural heritage, the relationship between public and private, the power structure, social stratification, the system of social obligations, the regulation of the labour market, the education system, religion, voluntary organizations, associations, etc. The combination of these elements results in a regular pattern of occurrence or action and, as many studies and research findings have demonstrated, makes it possible to give a concise description of the welfare systems found in different countries or clusters of countries” (Esping-Andersen, 1990) or different “families of nations” (Castles, 1998).

The social security system in Turkey is composed mainly of two different programmes. The first one comprises social assistance and services targeting elderly people without any caretaker, widows and orphans of deceased persons and children in need of protection, financed by general budgets, local governments, various foundations and voluntary organisations. However, the GDP share of related expenditures is only 1% and assistance and services provided under this scheme is too limited. The second programme is the premium or contribution scheme arranged on the basis of social insurance. The premium system is essentially financed through the contributions of persons covered and based upon the principle that benefits run parallel to what has been contributed. The system is managed by three major institutions in Turkey: Civil Service Retirement Fund (ES), Social Security Institution (SSK) and BAG-KUR for artisans, shopkeepers and other self-employed persons. Apart from these major institutions, there are also various funds that can be regarded as professional social security arrangements and private life insurance schemes based on the voluntary engagement of individuals, but the share of this second group in the overall security scheme is very limited.

Under this limited framework, I use unemployment insurance, social assistance transfers and active labour market policies as an instrument to understand Turkey welfare state's situation in relation with unemployment and to give name the welfare regime type of Turkey. Generally, these instruments are named as state-sponsored employment programs (active and passive). My basic question is whether there is any relationship between welfare regime type of country and unemployment. Gallie&Paugam (2000) developed a research model related with the welfare regime type about unemployment. They believed that welfare regime and its indicators are very huge. They also accepted that the usefulness of any regime model for understanding the empirical pattern of welfare provision may differ between welfare domains, either because of the distinctiveness of the problems addressed or because of the specific historical conditions at the time of institutional formation.

Considering all these limitations, they tried to develop a typology of welfare regimes based on different protection systems for the unemployed. It is concerned with three central questions in their mind about the way such regimes affect the experience of unemployment.

The first is how far they protect the quality of life of unemployed people with respect to living standards and the experience of financial hardship. The second is their role in mediating the impact of unemployment on the individual's longer-term position in the labour market. The third is how far such regimes mediate the impact of unemployment on social integration in the community. Then, they selected and used three dimensions -*coverage, level of compensation and expenditure on active employment policies*- for naming the welfare regime of the country. By taking these three criteria, according to Gallie & Paugam, it is possible to distinguish at least four 'unemployment welfare regimes' in Europe: the sub-protective regime, the liberal/minimal regime, the employment centred regime, and the universalistic regime. Basic characteristics of these regimes are summarized in the table below:

Table 4. Unemployment welfare regimes

Regime	Coverage	Level & duration of cover	Active employment policy
Sub-protective*	Very incomplete	Very weak	Quasi non-existent
Liberal/minimal**	Incomplete	Weak	Weak
Employment-centred***	Variable	Unequal	Extensive
Universalistic****	Comprehensive	High	Very extensive

* Greece, Italy, Portugal, Spain ** UK, Ireland ***France, Germany, Netherlands

****Denmark, Sweden

Source: Gallie & Paugam, 2000.

In considering this typology, Gallie and Paugam admitted that this model is accepted as the ideal-type. It means, in reality, the welfare regimes of specific societies are likely to reflect, albeit to different degrees, a mixture of these different logics, and indeed their relative importance may change over time. Their model is accepted as ideal type and the three criteria used in this model were applied into the Turkish case for understanding the welfare regime type of the country. This exercise gives only a clue for a better understanding of the Turkish system.

i) Coverage: The degree of *coverage* is likely to be a critical factor for the way the welfare state affects the experience of unemployment. Coverage includes both those who receive insurance benefits and those who rely upon means-tested benefits. Before the application of the first criterion to the Turkish case, some limitations coming from the Turkish labour market and its coverage system should be specified: i) Unemployment insurance scheme is

new in Turkey. The system was established in 1999 with the passage of *Unemployment Insurance Law No.4447*. Collection of premiums began in mid-2000 and the first benefit payments were made in March 2002. The system covers workers registered with SSK and does not include civil servants or the self-employed. ii) Family enterprise model is very common in agriculture, small industries and commerce. iii) The large informal sector and limited capacity of employment offices to monitor the current status of recipients, including their job search behaviour are well known. iv) Unemployed workers who are registered in SSK may not be claiming unemployment benefits because they would not be involuntarily laid off; they would not meet the qualification period; or they would not apply to ISKUR (WB, 2006b). The official reports regarding unemployment rates in Turkey does not reflect the full picture of real unemployment problem (Bulutay, 1995). Time series are different and some data are not replied truly, but my effort is to find some clues. With these limitations, the numbers related with the coverage level is given below in a comparative table:

Table 5. Proportion of unemployed in receipt of benefit (%)

Country	Men	Women	Total
Belgium	81.3	81.6	81.5
Denmark	66.9	66.2	66.5
France	47.6	42.8	45.0
Germany	75.4	65.7	70.5
Greece	10.6	7.1	8.6
Ireland	81.4	42.8	66.8
Italy	7.7	6.0	6.8
Netherlands	64.3	35.0	49.6
Portugal	29.2	25.5	27.3
Spain	32.3	15.6	23.8
Sweden	86.6	85.1	86.0
UK	71.8	36.6	59.4
Turkey	n.a.	n.a.	3.5*

* According to the World Bank study (2006b), less than 4% of the unemployed workers are getting benefits in Turkey. The distribution of the benefit recipients by gender (men/women) was not available.

Social assistance (means-tested benefits): Social protection in Turkey consists primarily of limited formal systems of pensions and social assistance, supplemented greatly by informal mechanisms. The role of informal coping mechanisms, particularly inter-household transfers of food and other assistance is documented in the joint World Bank &

SIS's report (2005). For social insurance, the primary informal mechanism is the extended family, with elderly members receiving significant support from children and other relatives. This mechanism works well to keep most elderly from poverty in general, as documented in the poverty profile chapter, but is under increasing pressure, particularly in urban areas (UNDP 2003; WB & SIS 2005).

Formal element of social protection in Turkey is the pension system paid from Treasury to elderly people without any caretaker, widows and orphans of deceased persons and children in need of protection. Additional social assistance and services targeting these groups are financed by general budgets, local governments, various foundations and voluntary organisations. However, the GDP share of related expenditures is only 1% and assistance and services provided under this scheme is too limited. An important actor of this system is the *Social Assistance and Solidarity Encouragement Fund (SYDTEF)*¹⁴ and *Social Assistance and Solidarity Foundation (SYDV)* with 931 affiliated offices across the country. Turkey's social assistance system, provided by the SYDVs with financing from the SYDTEF, recently underwent an important innovation. Under a loan financed by the World Bank (*Social Risk Mitigation Project*), Turkey began a national program of conditional cash transfers. Expenditures through the SYDTEF, which until 2002 were fully funded through an extra budgetary fund receiving specified percentages of a diverse array of government revenue flows, have fluctuated between 0.19 and 0.32% of GNP. This is very low by comparator standards-in many OECD countries, child benefits alone account for over 0.70% of GNP, with total social assistance rising sometimes to 2% of GNP (WB&SIS, 2005: 45-48).

Social assistance and social services deliver means-tested and income-related benefits for those with low capital resources require no social insurance coverage or with other categorical conditions (WB & SIS, 2005). It is available to all eligible people in Turkey, not just the unemployed. The payments depend on decisions of local governments which acted as a provider of last resort for the claimant to secure a basic standard of living. Only

¹⁴ The Social Assistance and Solidarity Encouragement Fund/Foundation (SYDTEF) was established in 1986 as an umbrella organization and financing entity with 931 regional affiliate offices (under Law No. 3294, which entered into effect on May 14, 1986).

requirement is passing a means-test, however it is paid to the entire household and the assets of the entire household are considered for the means-test assessment. These benefits, which are administered at the discretion of central government and local authorities (e.g. Provincial Administration)¹⁵ as well as voluntary organisations (e.g. Red-Crescent) take the form of ‘general’, ‘categorical’ and ‘tied assistance’ (Gough, 2000). The social assistance and solidarity fund illustrates ‘general assistance’ which delivers cash benefits to almost all people below a certain income threshold. Old age, disability and veteran pension schemes exemplify ‘categorical assistance’, and finally, the green card scheme illustrates ‘tied assistance’ which enables access to specific goods and services, in this case, free hospital care.

ii) Level of compensation: The level of *financial compensation* is likely to have an important effect on the experience of unemployment. In countries where a high level of replacement of earnings is provided over a relatively long period, the unemployed are more likely to be able to live in similar conditions to when they were in work. The maximum potential duration of unemployment benefit payments in Turkey is 180 days for those with 600–899 days of covered employment in the previous three years; 240 days for those with 900–1079 days; and 300 days for those with 1,080 days or more of covered employment (WB 2006b). After intermittent employment spells (those that do not qualify the worker for a benefit), the recipients can collect an unemployment benefit for the unused period from previous unemployment spell. Benefits are set at 50% of net earnings (from the average of the previous four months). The ceiling for benefits is the official minimum wage for workers above 16 years of age and the benefits are tax free. Therefore, young unemployed who did not work before or only worked in informal sector is not eligible for the unemployment insurance.

¹⁵ Though it remains outside the social assistance and social services, Greater and District Municipalities also distribute means-tested benefits such as food, coal, educational aid, etc.

Table 6. Expenditure on unemployment benefits per unemployed person

Country	1980	1990	1993
Belgium	65.3	59.6	48.2
Denmark	88.0	61.3	61.8
France	38.6	33.2	36.1
Germany (West)	58.7	36.0	45.0
Germany	-	-	46.8
Greece	64.9	32.6	31.1
Ireland	51.9	35.8	35.8
Italy	14.6	5.1	6.2
Netherlands	83.5	107.5	108.5
Portugal	13.2	9.4	23.7
Spain	79.6	52.5	73.7
Sweden	n.a.**	n.a.	n.a.
UK	48.1	29.8	34.9
Turkey	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.*

* 50% in relation to individual's gross earning (World Bank, 2006b: 106)

** n.a.: data not available.

iii). Expenditure on active employment policies: The extent of development of *active employment policies* is likely to have an effect on the experience of unemployment, given that these can reduce the risk of long-term marginalisation from the labour market (Varçın, 2005). When the unemployed have the possibility of improving their skills through training, they are likely to be in a better position to find a job. *Active labour market programs (ALMPs)* include a wide range of activities: public works, micro-credit and other forms of self-employment support; wage and employment subsidies; training and retraining; and pro-active employment services, including job research and placement, career guidance and counselling, and labour market information. ALMPs can increase the quality of labour supply (for example, through retraining); increase labour demand (through direct job creation); or improve the matching of workers and jobs (through job search assistance). Compared to other OECD countries and many middle-income countries, Turkey has a very limited experience and capacity in the area of active labour market programs. Starting in the mid-1990s, some initiatives were introduced, funded largely by the World Bank and the European Union. An important institutional development took place in 2000 with the establishment of ISKUR, but its institutional capacity has not developed yet to fulfil its tasks.

When we look at the expenditure on ALMPs in Turkey, it is difficult to pinpoint all of the public resources directed to different ALMPs because there are various sources. Vocational

training, including apprenticeship training schemes, is under the responsibility of the Ministry of National Education and implemented by public and private institutions, enterprises, municipalities, NGOs, and ISKUR. KOSGEB administers programs for the self-employed and small businesses, and the World Bank supports the financing of ALMPs for laid-off workers and workers registered with ISKUR under the *Privatization Social Support Project*. However ISKUR has very few funds available for financing ALMPs. Total ISKUR expenditures in 2003 were 42 trillion TL (\$US30 million) and only a small part of this involves direct allocations to program delivery. In addition to the limited capacity of ISKUR to design and implement an active labour market programmes, private employment agencies do not yet have an important function in the labour market¹⁶. When calculated the total expenditure on ALMPs to the GDP, this percentage is very limited (00.14%) as seen in the table below.

Table 7. Expenditure on active employment policies (% of GDP)

Country	1985	1990	1996
Belgium	1.3	1.2	1.4
Denmark	1.2	1.3	2.3
France	0.7	0.8	1.3
Germany	0.8	1.0	1.4
Greece	0.2	0.4	0.3
Ireland	1.5	1.4	1.7
Italy	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Netherlands	1.3	1.2	1.4
Portugal	0.4	0.6	1.1
Spain	0.3	0.8	0.7
Sweden	2.2	1.6	3.2
UK	0.7	0.6	0.4
Turkey	n.a.	n.a.	00.14*

* This percentage represents the 2004 expenditure; it was given by ISKUR General Director during the interview.

¹⁶ *The 2003 Labour Code* authorizes private agencies for the first time. *Private employment offices (PEOs)* can find jobs and employees (except for the public sector) on condition that they receive a licence from İŞKUR. Founders of PEOs need to fulfil certain conditions, such as possessing a university degree, not having a criminal record, keeping financial documents, and employing experts. Permission is given for three years and can be extended for three years. Directors of İŞKUR take the decisions on giving permissions, renewals and cancelling permissions. Private employment offices cannot demand any benefits or fees from workers; fees for employment activities can only be charged to employers. PEOs cannot make contracts that include clauses on employment without insurance, not being a member of a trade union, or paying less than the minimum wage (EC 2004: 26).

Considering these three criteria and my research data –I will discuss it later- together, in spite of the above mentioned limitations; Turkey is a good representative of the sub-protective welfare regime. To remember the basic characteristics of this kind of regime, a sub-protective regime is a system that offers the unemployed less than minimum level of protection needed for substance. Few of the unemployed receive benefits, and when they do the amount is low. Active employment policies are virtually non-existent. In this type of regime, it could be expected that the unemployed will experience severe financial difficulty and live under the poverty threshold. The probability of long-term unemployment is also high, even though this is also likely to be conditioned by other factors such as the level and patterns of economic development (Gallie & Paugam, 2000).

3.3.3 Family: Substituting Role of Turkish Family for Welfare Provision

As a basic unit of society, family can be found everywhere, family is expression of basic and universal biological needs, and performs basic social functions. Comparatively and historically, how the family is linked to and located in wider social networks and structures and how it ultimately forms part, often discordant or contradictory part, of society as a whole is a matter of change (Kandiyoti, 1995). During in pre-industrial societies, the family unit was the main unit of production holding and working the land together. There was no childhood or youth as age categories at that time. It had included several functions in its body, almost without differentiation in all traditional societies, but began to change radically in modern industrial society. When industrialization separated work into factories and offices family life becomes confined to the home. Work is carried out more efficiently and rationally in the new industrial units and productivity increases, while the family fulfils its socialisation functions more efficiently when it stripped its economic function (Parsons, 1962).

According to Marxists, family, labour force and the capitalist system as a whole reproduce itself over generations since new members are born into it and are socialized, in later years in association with the educational system, into accepting the values of hierarchy and obedience so essential for the maintenance of capitalism. Many family sociologists generally

agree that with the urbanization family changed dramatically. Family has become more isolated unit, relatively separable wider sets of kin, and functioning chiefly as a conjugal or nuclear unit. Thus the family has lost its central functions as a productive unit in the wider society. Economic function has become limited and instead of it family has become a unit of consumption. For example, production, education, social security are given gradually to the more specialized agencies. Therefore, as a result of industrialization and urbanization, especially after welfare state policies in Europe, family and its functions changed and it became the residue of the past society as the welfare provider.

When we look at the basic characteristic of the traditional family in the social context of the Turkish family system, it is based on close group ties, accountability, loyalty, and interdependence rather than autonomy and individualism (Okman & Fisek, 1982). The Turkish socio-cultural context has been characterized by close interpersonal relationships (Imamoğlu, 1987; Kağıtçıbaşı, 1984). The individual has a network of close ties, including the nuclear family, relatives, and close neighbours. The traditional socialization processes emphasize obedience, closeness, and loyalty to parents rather than independence and self-reliance (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1984). Despite regional differences, obedience is still a highly valued characteristic in Turkish culture (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1996). However with social change, different living styles and orientations toward life began to emerge. Although the basic family structure appears to be nuclear, it serves the functions of an extended family in terms of providing social, emotional, and material support and, thus, may be regarded as a functionally extended family.

After 1950s with the urbanization, industrialization and the growth of the state, Turkish families have started to change and become urbanised. They tried to adopt themselves in different ways. This adaptation was not homogenous experience, depend on many dimensions. There are variations such as families who have migrated from rural areas, families of former artisans and handicrafts and families of groups that are extremely specialised. All types of families, in differentiated, specialised and organised environment of the city, are living surrounded with institutions formed by effective technologies, and all of

them are changing to this or that degree under the influence of new conditions (Kıray, 1984).

Growth of the nation-state was accompanied by the 'limited industrialization' and 'limited urbanization' in Turkey, and then faced with 'rapid urbanization', 'limited industrialization' and 'globalization', leading to weak social state developments. Owing to limited resources, the Turkish welfare state was able to provide only limited social benefits and demand was too great to be met. Thus, individual survival strategies and family/kin networks of economic and social solidarity became the primary sources of support (Kalaycıoğlu, 2006). Traditional networks thus continued to provide support to their members, not only in situations of risk and destitution, but at a more general level in a way to facilitate socioeconomic integration in the urban society (Buğra & Keyder, 2003). Thus, family never become the residue of the past tradition.

Time spent in urban areas is a very significant variable affecting the culture experienced and transmitted in the families. Upon arrival in the city, the pioneer first sought refuge in the house of a relative or village-mate. Often this was in the squatter housing areas (*gecekondu*) surrounding the urban centres. Such networks were the main source for finding accommodation, given that the state had no (social) housing policies. In fact, the state institutions behaved as if there was no housing problem and individuals seemed to be able to solve the housing needs in their own way (Rittersberger-Tılıç & Kalaycıoğlu 1998; Tekeli et al 1992; Keles, 2000).

All in all, the Turkish welfare regime can be defined as "an articulation of a relatively modernised institutional body together with strong family/kin networks which can be seen as an alternative means of social control and organization" (Rittersberger-Tılıç & Kalaycıoğlu 1998: 78). Therefore, mutual help between family members, inter-generational transfers and reciprocity in kinship networks are still very dominant in Turkey (Kalaycıoğlu & Rittersberger-Tılıç 2000), and this includes welfare-related spheres as well. The role of the family actually encourages the limited development of the welfare state in Turkey -even enabling the state to act as a 'big family' (Buğra, 2004) while at the same time, the state's

weak welfare provision (since its inception) has kept and even increased the need for a ‘strong family’. With limited welfare-state experience which is mainly based on fragmented retirement pensions and healthcare provisions for limited section of society, the loss or weakening of the survival/coping strategies based on kinship and *hemseri* support creates new social risks (Ayata 1991; Ayata & Ayata 1996). There still seems to be a predominant understanding within Turkish society that people are responsible for their own welfare provision and for their children’s future prospects. Therefore, people have traditionally developed their own survival strategies and the family pool is the most solid support system existed for individuals in Turkey (Buğra & Keyder 2003; Kalaycıoğlu & Rittersberger-Tılıç 2000).

3.4 The Situation of Youth: Youth (Un)employment as a Specific Category

There are basically three institutions in Turkey gathering data and conducting studies on the Turkish labour market: The State Institute of Statistics (DİE), the State Planning Organisation (DPT) and the Turkish Employment Agency (İŞKUR). There are significant differences in the number of unemployed as measured by DİE and İŞKUR. According to DİE, “unemployed population covers all persons aged 15-65 who are unemployed in the reference period (and unrelated to any job for profit, wage, with or without remuneration), who have used at least one channel of seeking job within the last 3 months and who are ready to take a job within 15 days at most”. Furthermore, unemployed population also covers those, who have found a job or started their own business, but waiting for some formalities to be completed to start that job and ready to do so within 15 days at most. According to İŞKUR, on the other hand, registered unemployment is defined those who “appear in active records as persons who are at working age, willing to work, who had no income generating job at minimum wage level when they applied to the agency and for whom the Agency has yet not found a job”. This definition does not include those who are seeking better jobs, seeking jobs after retirement or others desiring to work at a specific workplace.

The difference between the declared numbers of unemployed can also be explained by the fact that the unemployment insurance scheme is rather new in Turkey. However, despite some narrowing of the difference, it cannot be expected to disappear, even after some time has passed in the implementation of the new scheme, since the scope of the scheme is quite limited (Gündoğan, 2001). As the definition of DİE clearly shows, those who have worked even for one hour in a paid or unpaid job within one week prior to the survey are not registered as unemployed. However, it may be quite misleading in countries like Turkey where the family enterprise model and unpaid work by family members are very common in agriculture, small industries and commerce (Serter, 1998).

Turkey is a country with a rather young demographic composition. The country has been facing problems such as lower-than-desired rates of economic growth, limited investment opportunities and a labour force mainly at low qualification level. As mentioned in historical overview section, unemployment in Turkey has reserved its place as an ever-aggravating problem throughout the years. The governments and state bureaucracy wanted to plan national development and starting from 1963 until today, *Five-Year Development Plans* have been drafted for implementation. For the aim of this thesis, eight development plans are reviewed in terms of employment promotion and measures to combat unemployment and particularly youth unemployment^{17v}.

Considering all development plans drafted so far, it can be concluded that these plans failed to attach required importance to the issues of employment and unemployment in general and youth unemployment in particular. There are some other factors making unemployment a significant problem for Turkey, including low rates of economic growth, dependence of economic growth to increases in productivity rather than employment expansion, the implementation of structural adjustment programmes and neo-liberal economic policies, the changing patterns of the global economy and capital (i.e. both foreign and domestic capital preferring cheap labour resources such as those found in

¹⁷ The brief review of eight development plans to understand how employment/unemployment and especially youth unemployment was seen by the state, and what kind of policies and measures were foreseen to tackle them can be seen at the end note of this chapter.

Eastern Europe or East Asia) and the narrowing of regular cash-earning opportunities for the young, and economic crises of the last 10 years (Gürsel & Ulusoy, 1999). The number of jobs in the formal sector, both public and private, began to shrink and urban poverty began to rise. Accumulated problems associated with bad economic management (which led to the recent economic crises of 2000 and 2001) also contributed to rising poverty. In addition, the fragmented structure of the social security system and its failure to adapt to the new situation has accentuated these problems.

However, there are problems in gauging the real dimensions of this phenomenon due to various reasons including the combined presence of various types of unemployment, difficulties faced in measuring some types of unemployment and dearth of data. The youth in the age group 15-24 represent that section of the society most affected by unemployment. Unemployment rates are especially high for educated young people. Both demand and supply factors are likely to matter. The economy may not be generating jobs that can absorb educated young, but also the educated young may not be well-suited to the job market. Older workers appear to find jobs more readily than younger workers, independent of education level.

The stage in life cycle, years of education and training and marital status are among the most important factors affecting the labour market participation of men and women. When we look at the Turkish situation considering individual background factors, we can say that labour market participation increases generally with age, reaches a maximum during prime-age years, and declines from there on. During the prime age of 25-45 years, the participation of men exceeds 90%. For women in rural areas, participation during prime age years exceeds 40%, nearing 50% towards the end of prime age years. According to 2005 data, the composition of the unemployed by age groups shows the following pattern: 15-19 age group (12.8% - share of the unemployed in this age group in total unemployed population); 20-24 age group (26.2%); 25-34 age group (33.9%); 35-54 age group (24.6%); and 55 and above (2.2%). Thus, almost 40% of all the unemployed falls in the age group 15-24. The rate of unemployment for educated young population is 27.8%. The combined share of persons with education lower than high school level and no education at all in total

unemployment is 65%. 11.6% of the unemployed are at education level higher than high school and 23.3% are high school graduates. Some comparative studies suggest that although expansion in employment is observed marginally in Turkey, considering increasing numbers of new labour force entrants, this expansion had no ameliorating effect on the unemployed. Leaving aside the dimensions of informal employment, economic growth combined with some increase in productivity, only marginal expansion in employment and with high youth unemployment rates in Turkey (Aslantepe, 2005) seems to run parallel to the trends in Europe as marked by the ILO Report (2004).

Youth unemployment (15-24) had been steadily increasing since 2000 and reached 20.5% in 2003. It has been slightly declining since, to 19.7% in 2004 and 19.0% for 2005. Over time, increased school enrolment rates have been instrumental in reducing the unemployment rate among the 15-19 year age group. However, educational attainment does not appear to improve access to employment for the younger generations, a situation which may reflect both the lack of suitable job opportunities and some inadequacy in educational qualifications. For the age group 20-24, the unemployment rate is as high for those having tertiary education as for those having no diploma (38.5% and 37.5% respectively) and three times as high as for those with only primary education. The situation is similar for the younger age group (15-19) with unemployment rates of 29.5% and 27.7% for those with secondary education and without any diploma respectively against 13.7% for those with primary education (WB, 2006b).

Following all the information given in this chapter, it can be concluded that the state seems to withdraw from economic life as an employer as a result of privatisations and leaving the issue of employment almost solely to the whims of private employers. Dropping the state from the list of actors addressing this issue with its planning and relevant interventions brought along the aggravation of the problem of unemployment (Ersel, 1999:80). Although encouragement of entrepreneurship and promotion of small scale enterprises, which have been specifically emphasised in the development plans after 1980 come to the fore as significant headways for preventing unemployment and expanding employment, it is quite difficult to say that entrepreneurial spirit and initiatives could be promoted as desired. It is

actually the consequence of these restrictive policies that entrepreneurs have chosen to prefer trade in a “quick way to make money” instead of moving to productive and employment creating investments (Demirkan, 1999:59).

Due to the lack of a structured state support for youth, unemployed young population is exposed to a particular vulnerability which is compensated to a great extent by families in Turkey. As they are in a specific period of transition between ‘dependence-independence’, ‘childhood-adulthood’, ‘immature-mature’ depending on their employment situation, unemployed youth also constitute the most fragile group vis-à-vis their families. With a state leaving the responsibility of the youth to families; reproduction of social, political and cultural aspects of society is also left only to families and the relationship of young people with their families, peer groups, and close environment is left as the only determinant in citizenship formation process. Chapter 7 has a closer look at this substituting role of family for the welfare provision in the case of our survey group.

In every country, the fundamental institutions that mark the transition to adulthood are family, the state and work. Each of them is capable of encouraging or slowing down the conclusion of the journey; the result depends not only on their characteristics and their operation, but above all on their interaction (Sgritta, 2001). The young increasingly face a restructured labour market, an increased demand for qualifications and flexibility in the workplace, and cuts in social benefits that extend the period in which they remain dependent on their families (Hammer & Julkunen, 2003). Young people cope with unemployment in many different ways. Coping is, to a large extent, related to gender, age, qualifications, financial situation of the family, level of activity and social network, local and national government regulations and implementations, and labour market conditions. Chapters 5, 6, and 7 aim to understand the roles of each dimension in the life of unemployed youth in their way to become ‘*independent/adult/citizen*’ in the case of our survey group.

3.5 Notes

ⁱ Familial and traditional kinship ties were the basis of social assistance and solidarity relations. Besides family, the religious practice of *zekat* (alms to the poor) made it a religious and ethical obligation for the well-off to help the poorer. This idea that the rich should assist the poor as a part of their religious and ethic obligations was further promoted by some religious values and rituals, but such assistance remained limited. “Thus, interpreted within the religious duty of alms giving, or *sadaka*, charity is highly meritorious behaviour in Islam” (İnalçık, 1994: 47).

ⁱⁱ The needs of working people and their protection against possible occupational risks were mainly addressed by the occupational organisations of the time. *Abi organisations* of traditional handicrafts and artisans helped their members in various ways including a new business start, material support in difficult times, sharing funeral expenses, etc. However, the entry of the western industrial goods and companies to the Anatolian market towards the end of the 17th century and spread of capitulations led to the dissolution of the *Abi* organisations. “Up to the 19th century we see no formal arrangement regarding social protection of working people” (Sallan Gül, 2004: 262).

ⁱⁱⁱ Foundations, however, were important in assisting the poor. They indeed undertook various and significant functions including provision of meals, material assistance and other facilities for the poor, widowed, orphans, elderly people (forms of assistance include boarding for travellers, assistance to those losing their cash on their way to *hajj*, etc.). During the Ottoman era these foundations had assumed a purely religious character (Dilik, 1992: 34-38).

^{iv} First legislative arrangements of the Republic in the field of social protection was the *General Law on Welfare and Public Health* (1930, no.1683) which arranged public health, social assistance and retirement payments. The new system adopted with this law envisaged the payment to the retired, widowed and orphaned from the Treasury. The scope of this law, however, was limited; benefiting only those public servants employed in state’s institutions. In 1932, Turkey joined International Labour Organization, and the first *Labour Act* (*İş Kanunu*) was enacted in 1936 (Yavuz, 1995). As it excluded agricultural workers and some other categories, the coverage of the law was quite limited. The issue of “social insurance” incorporated to this law under the title “social benefits” heralded that the state was going to introduce further arrangements in this field. Two objectives were the establishment of a workers’ insurance scheme and the management of the labour market through state regulation. The implementation of social security measures for civil servants and military personnel, which had already begun during the Ottoman period, was reorganized in the late 1940s. In 1945 the Social Insurance Institution (SSK) was established for wage workers in the formal sector. Same year the Turkish Employment Institution (İİBK) was established for labour mediation.

^{vvv} **I. Five-Year Development Plan** (1963-1967): The employment targets of the first plan focused on four points: a) solving the problem of unemployment, b) raising the occupational qualifications of working people, c) employment of trained labour force through well balanced employment policies, and d) promoting a healthy pattern of social mobility (DPT, p.442). The plan admits that a rate of growth of 7 % cannot solve the problem of unemployment unless some other measures are taken. Following points were particularly emphasised to solve the problem of unemployment: giving priority to employment creating projects and sectors; focusing on labour-intensive technologies in specific sectors including construction, and promotion of non-agricultural economic activities in rural areas in order to curb excessive migration from rural areas to urban centres.

II. Five-Year Development Plan (1968-1972): The solution to the problem of unemployment is tied to economic growth: “based on the expansion of economic and social activities with 7% growth rate and concomitant job opportunities, employment will be raised up to the highest possible level, special measures will be taken to ensure the expansion of the economy in a way to create more jobs and special attention will be given to those regions where unemployment is specifically an acute problem” (DPT, p.631). The plan categorised the age group 15-24 as “young population” and a specific section was devoted to some policy

measures related to youth employment: "Through extended education programmes, young people living in rural areas, especially girls, will be supported to adopt to the requirements of developing economic and social life, and education-training opportunities and guidance will be provided to new urban migrants and others already employed in cities" (DPT, p.641). "Young people in secondary and high schools will be provided social and vocational guidance services. These services will help young people in their private problems, participation in extra curricular activities, finding opportunities for higher education depending on talents or shifting to employment for those who have dropped out and arrangements for apprenticeship in vacations."(DPT, p.258).

III. Five-Year Development Plan (1973-1977): "Efforts to solve the problem of unemployment in short-term by shifting to labour intensive technologies or by establishing a system of unemployment insurance will run counter to the objective of development by industrialisation and will also destroy the long-term chances of expanding employment. The solution to unemployment must be sought in rapid industrialisation. Even accelerated efforts of development and industrialisation would solve this problem only in the 90s. This plan addresses the problems of young people only with broad approaches and states that economic and social problems confronted by youth can be solved through youth-oriented education and training, and guidance (DPT, p.791).

The 4th Five-Year Development Plan (1979-1983) explains employment problem of Turkey partly by referring to the level of development and demographic factors and partly by structural distortions caused by earlier policies. "Priority will be given in employment and wage policies to allocate labour force to appropriate sectors and to eliminate unbalances in the distribution of labour force to different sectors and regions" (p.271). This plan makes no reference specific to the youth in employment section leaving aside some general comments taken from earlier plans.

The development plans drafted in the period 1960-1980 saw the solution of unemployment problem in restructuring production activities towards industry and industrialisation. In other words, assuming that unemployment is structural in nature, these plans assert that the problem can be solved only in longer term, by radically changing the given structure of production (Gündoğan, 2001:128).

The 5th Five Year Development Plan (1985-1989) aims to "creating employment opportunities through the outward opening of economy, development in those branches in which the country has favourable resource endowments, use of more labour-intensive technologies on the basis of realistic factor prices, enhancing capacity utilisation, maintaining peace in industrial relations, accelerating the inflow of foreign capital and promotion of free trade zones; mitigating regional unemployment where it is acute through public infrastructure and public work projects and promoting small businesses and enterprises based on local entrepreneurs and workforce" (DPT, p. 128). This is the first plan that specifically addressed the issue of youth unemployment. The plan underlines that the proportion of youth among the unemployed is remarkably rising and foresees some specific and more concrete policies going beyond the general expressions found in earlier plans (Gündoğan, 2001:131). It is stated that "employers providing jobs or training opportunities to young people to enhance the employability of young people will be encouraged through tax abatements and other instruments. Starting from secondary education, occupational guidance services will be provided to all adolescents. Annual programmes organised for young people without jobs will provide employment opportunities" (DPT, p.133).

According to the **6th Five-Year Development Plan (1990-1994)**, "it is essential to create and sustain an environment conducive to the growth of employment. In this context, the basic principles of an employment policy would include encouraging investment along major targets; developing entrepreneurial spirit; supporting small and medium size enterprises; training of qualified labour force; improving the qualifications of already active labour force; and elimination of elements and flaws in the labour market that adversely affect the growth of employment" (DPT, p. -302). What these actually mean is that the government chose to leave the solution of unemployment problem to market conditions and adopt a "supply-driven" approach to labour market instead of pursuing a proactive policy"(Cihangir, 1996:148). The plan states that special programmes are to be phased in to help youth acquire occupational skills, new projects will be developed to conduct

surveys to depict the social and economic situation of young population better, learn more about their problems as well as their expectations” (Gündoğan, 2001:132).

The 7th Five-Year Development Plan (1996-2000) makes employment growth conditional upon the “attainment of high growth rates based on stable, investment oriented and competitive economic conditions”. This, in turn, will be achieved mainly by the “realisation of high-tech based and internationally competitive investments in industry and services. With the development of high value added sectors based on high-tech, employment of qualified labour force will gain momentum” (DPT, p.62). It also envisages the contribution of local economic potentials to employment through small and medium size enterprises. To this end, “indirect incentives and support of the public sector will be mobilised at initial stages to guide local economic potentials along this line and local natural, human and funding resources too will be mobilised to create burgeoning enterprises capable of competing in the market. Specific projects that promise productive economic activities and employment creation will be realised through a small, flexible and effective unit that takes local needs and capacities into account”. This plan further states that active labour market policy measures will be given weight to better align with the process of globalisation and EU accession and the public employment service will be reformed to have better and modern services (Gündoğan, 2001:134).

The 8th Five-Year Development Plan, which covers the present period, sees the solution of unemployment problem in “enhancing productive investments and ensuring sustained economic growth”. The requirements of information age will be observed by shifting employment from agriculture to non-agricultural sectors and an effectively working labour market will be created. As earlier plans, this plan too assigns specific importance to small and medium size enterprises: "Utmost utilisation will be made of the employment creating potential of SMEs which are already important in creating employment, reducing unemployment and supporting the development of industry by providing inputs. To this end, there will be more support to small and medium size enterprises in terms of training, financing, organisation, marketing and technology” (DPT, p.104). Although the plan reminds that youth unemployment is still an important problem and that the rate of unemployment among young people especially in urban centres has reached 30%, it has no mention of any specific programme or policy regarding youth unemployment leaving aside the statement that both active and passive employment policies will be pursued regarding groups facing the risk of unemployment: "specific measures will be adopted to prevent unemployment especially for youth, women and the disabled” (DPT, p.104).

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Unemployment studies are relatively new in Turkey and they often tend to be a part of broader economic studies. Yet it is quite important in both political and social terms how the process of joblessness is experienced and which factors are involved in this experience. Hence the core subject matter of the present study is ‘unemployment and the unemployment experiences of youth’.

4.1 Definition of the Basic Concepts

Experience: In this study, I define experience as the accumulation of knowledge, memory and/or skill that results from direct participation in events or activities.

Unemployment experience: In order for a person’s experience to qualify as an ‘unemployment experience’ for this study, the person must have remained unemployed for at least six months, the starting date of this unemployment period being the point at which they officially registered with the Turkish Employment Organisation (İŞKUR). All people considered in this study registered with İŞKUR sometime in the last quarter of 2003.

Youth: In this study, I accepted that the definition of youth varies widely from country to country depending on cultural, institutional and political factors. Thus, I use the standard definition of United Nations (UN) which states that youth comprises the age-group fifteen to twenty-four (inclusive). However, after adopting the UN parameters, it was discovered that there were very few İŞKUR registries from the group 15-18 it was decided to exclude this population group from the survey sample. Thus, although the concept ‘youth’ is still based on the demographic definition of the UN and ‘youth unemployment’ in general related to the age group 15-24, the survey group comprises people in the age group 18-24.

Unemployment: For the definition of unemployment, I use the standard ILO definition which is used in Household Labour Force Surveys in Turkey. According to this definition, to be classified as unemployed, an individual has to satisfy three criteria: (i) not working during the reference week; (ii) searched actively for a job during the past three months; and (iii) being ready to start work in 15 days. According to this definition those who have found a job and are about to start working are classified as unemployed. In Turkey the reference week was a fixed week in April and October in the biannual surveys (1988-99). The quarterly surveys conducted since 2000 rely on continuous sampling, whereby the reference week evolves with the timing of the survey.

Unemployed youth: This group is constituted of young people between the ages of 18-24 who are unemployed and have registered with İŞKUR during the last three months of 2003. Furthermore, these young people must have remain unemployed for a period of at least six months, have been living in either of Ankara or Şanlıurfa, and have agreed to participate in the study to be considered in the results.

İŞKUR (Turkish Employment Agency): İŞKUR is the public employment service responsible for contributing to the determination and implementation of employment policy in Turkey. İŞKUR was established in July 2003 with the Law No 4904, following the dismantling of the old Employment Agency (IIBK) which was unable to keep up with changes in the labour market. It has 81 offices, one in each province in Turkey.

4.2 Method of the Study

This study seeks to find out how unemployment is experienced by young people, how it affects routine processes and how related mechanisms work during this process. While I am trying to find possible answers and understand the experience of unemployed youth, I had two different viewpoints in my mind: a policy perspective and a sociological perspective. From the policy angle, I was interested in the interaction between youth and the state. The sociological angle, on the other hand, was more concerned with analysing the experience of

youth unemployment and their relationship with their families. In order to address both of these perspectives, I used triangulation to combine my research methods. The combination of multiple methods helps to overcome the weakness or intrinsic biases and the problems that come from a single method, single-observer, and single-theory studies. There are five basic types of triangulation; methodological triangulation was used in this study which involves using more than one method and may include within-method or between-method strategies. When doing triangulation, it is important to remember two things: first, it is only possible if different methods, instruments, sources and investigators are being used to 'measure the same thing' and thereby to increase the trustworthiness and validity of the researcher's findings. Second, when analysing and writing up the results, the researcher has to actually relate the findings from the different methods, sources or investigators to each other (Yin, R. K., 1989:86). Thus, I selected both qualitative and quantitative research methods, taking both perspectives into account. Under the policy perspective I used three research tools in three steps:

- i) Documentary study
- ii) Interview
- iii) Model Testing

The first tool, documentary study, was the contextual mapping of youth unemployment making use of official statistics about education, employment/unemployment, demographic trends, and policy documents related to the subject. ***The second tool, interview***, was collecting qualitative data via interviews with the decision-makers of both provinces. As the purpose was to study how youth unemployment is experienced, it was considered meaningful to interview decision-makers or those having some role in the decision-making processes regarding employment/unemployment policy in order to fully understand this dimension of the experience. ***The third tool, model testing***, involved identifying the welfare regime of Turkey as it relates to unemployment. In this step I used a model which was developed by Gallie and Paugam (2000) on the welfare regime type of European countries about unemployment.

Under the sociological perspective, I used two research tools:

- i) Questionnaire
- ii) In-depth Interview

A questionnaire was developed by reviewing earlier local, national and international surveys relating to the subject. Based on these materials, a questionnaire including open and closed-ended questions (82 total questions) was developed. The questionnaire was designed to depict the unemployment experience of respondents under seven sub-headings.¹⁸ In considering the possible impact of the family on unemployment experiences, I used the *in-depth interview technique* for understanding the nature of the relationship between the family and the unemployed individual in the two cities.

Table 8: Organisation of the survey

Issues	Aim	Method and Technique
The State	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> contextual mapping of youth unemployment collecting qualitative data via interviews with the decision-makers of both provinces identifying the welfare regime of Turkey as it relates to unemployment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Documentary Study Interview Model testing
Youth	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> How young people experience unemployment? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Quantitative Research: Questionnaire
The Family	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> What is the role of family in unemployment and unemployed people's lives? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Qualitative Method: In-depth Interview

My results in this study are obviously not representative of Turkey's unemployed youth as a whole on a national level but are limited to the unemployed registered with ISKUR during the last three months of 2003 in Ankara and Şanlıurfa. It is only representative of registered youth unemployed in two provinces and for defined periods. Thus it is a modest but powerful attempt to gain insights into unemployment

¹⁸ See Appendix B: Questionnaire for the unemployed youth

4.3 Research Questions

Since studies focusing on and examining youth unemployment as a social issue are rather limited in Turkey, the present study opted to concentrate on some starting questions, including:

- Is there any relationship between how unemployment is experienced by young people and such factors as educational level, marital status, birthplace, place of residence and number of siblings? Are these relationships different for males and females?
- Is there any relationship between how unemployment is experienced by young people and such family characteristics as education and occupational status of parents, ownership status of present residence and resources of parents?
- Is there any relationship between how unemployment is experienced by young people and such factors as the number of family members, the number of dependent family members and the availability of family support or support from relatives and neighbours?
- Do policies and practices of assistance by the state in relation to youth unemployment affect the ways in which young people experience unemployment?
- Does unemployment cause financial dependence? If yes, how are they experiencing this dependence and what kind of coping strategies do they utilize?
- How do young unemployed people meet their financial needs?
- Which mechanisms work or do not work during the spell of unemployment?
- Does unemployment cause political marginalisation? Is there any relationship between youth unemployment and marginalisation?
- Does the place of residence, level of development of a given locality, availability of health and education services, labour markets or jobs offered or any combination thereof affect the modes of unemployment experienced?
- Is there any relationship between how unemployment is experienced by young people and such further factors as gender, traditions and cultural structures?

4.4 Study Site

It is generally accepted that unemployment affects different people in different ways depending on their economic and demographic conditions, sources of income and activity, and the values and expectations of their culture and close groups concerning work and employment. Therefore, a study on unemployment should be a comparative one. To make a comparative study I decided to choose two provinces in Turkey in which different opportunities for employment are available and, as a result, different profiles of unemployment. Spatial and regional locations in the West and East of Turkey can differ on the basis of:

- rates of immigration and emigration
- metropolitan cities versus small cities
- distribution of different employment sectors (industry, services, and agriculture)
- location in the centre of the country versus location on the periphery

Therefore, I decided to select two provinces, one from the developed West and one from the less developed East. Ankara and Şanlıurfa, were thus selected based on the State Planning Organisation's (DPT) *Socio-economic Development Index*¹⁹. In this index, Ankara is among the developed western provinces of Turkey. It is a metropolis having large-scale immigration and offers a variety of employment opportunities. On the other hand, in the east, Şanlıurfa has recently started to show some progress but is still considered an underdeveloped town in the index. Both of these provinces have a variety of employment opportunities, different health and education facilities, different opportunities in the public and private sectors and diverse labour market conditions. In sum, I selected these two cities in order to understand regional, economic and sectoral differences regarding youth unemployment. Additionally, some practical reasons are also important in this selection process.

Ankara is the capital of the country and a big metropolitan city. It hosts the central bureaucracy of the country, a significant amount of health and education services and many cultural activities. Compared to Ankara, Şanlıurfa is a small city on the southeast periphery

¹⁹ While Ankara is included into the first level highly developed areas in the national development index, Şanlıurfa is classified under the fifth level of development (DPT, 2003).

of the country. It is assumed that all of these differences have an impact on the employment situation and youth's experience of unemployment. By choosing such cities, it is hoped that the differences may be represented and even crystallised in the survey group, enabling us to understand and analyse the subject better.

According to the results of the 2000 census, the total population of Şanlıurfa is 1.443.422, 58.4% of whom live in the city (urban) centre. It is 9th highest populated city out of 81 provinces in Turkey. With the annual population growth rate of 3.6%, it is the second highest province in terms of population increase among the 81 provinces. The average number of child per women is very high (4.83), therefore the average size of family is also high (6.93 persons). High population growth and large family size contributes to the poor health indicators of the province, with 3.7% infant mortality rate and the presence of 42 physicians per 10.000. It is also at the bottom of the list of provinces regarding the availability of enough dentists, pharmacists, hospital beds, etc. per person. As regards education indicators, the literacy rate in the province is 67.67%, making it the second lowest province out of 81 provinces. Female literacy is even worse (52.19%), and the university graduates constitute only 4.43% of the provincial population. Enrolment rates of primary education, general secondary education and vocational secondary education are also very low in the province compared to the country average (82.35%, 17.80% and 4.03% respectively).

Looking at the sectoral distribution of local employment, the rate of agriculture is by far the highest (72.80%), followed by petit trade (5.24%) and industry (3.47%). The share of agriculture has recently increased due to irrigation projects. The rate of wage workers in overall employment is 24.30%, and female wage workers are almost non-existent (2.75%). The rate of employers is also very low (1.08%) in the province ranking it 62nd out of 81 provinces. In terms of industrialisation level, the total number of enterprises in the small industrial sites is 1205, while the number of manufacturing enterprises is 33. The annual average for the total number of manufacturing workers is 1338 persons placing it in 60th as a province in the country. The financial share of the province in gross domestic production (GDP) is 0.93% 26th in the country, while it is 68th in GDP per capita share.

Looking at the socio-economic development index of Ankara, the total population of the province is 4.007.060 persons according to the 2000 census. It is the second largest city after İstanbul. The urbanisation rate of the province is 84.34%, again the second most highly urbanised city following İstanbul. With the annual population growth rate of 2.1%, it is the 19th province in population increase among 81 provinces. The average family size is 3.82 persons in Ankara, placing it in 59th in the country. In terms of health indicators, infant mortality rate is 3.6%, while there are 32 physicians per 10.000 persons in the province. In regard to education indicators, literacy rate in the province is 93.20% and female literacy is 89.32%. These rates make the Ankara province the second best in Turkey. Enrolment rates of primary education, general secondary education and vocational secondary education are 92.95%, 41.58% and 21.69% respectively.

As regards sectoral distribution of employment, the rate of the agricultural sector is by far the lowest (16.21%) in Turkey. The rate of industrial employment is 13.41% (17th among 81 provinces), while employment rate in trades is 13.81% (4th out of 81 provinces). The rate of wage workers in overall employment is 72.06%, and the same rate for female wage workers is 16.86%. The percentage of employers in the total employment pool is 3.93% in the province. In terms of industrialisation level, the number of all enterprises in the small industrial sites is 2526, putting the province in 8th place, while the number of manufacturing enterprises is 850. The annual number of manufacturing workers is 59.127 persons on average. The financial share of the province in gross domestic production (GDP) is 8.33%, and GDP per capita is 2588 million. The number of car owners per 10.000 persons is the highest in Turkey (1614 cars).

4.5 Sample

In this study, unemployed youth (aged 18-24) and their experiences in two cities in Turkey have been studied. To understand the experiences of unemployment, a group of young people, who had registered to the Turkish Employment Agency as ‘unemployed’ during the last quarter of 2003, was selected as a sample. They were approached six months after this

registration. Thus, this part of the study is **cross-sectional**²⁰. The survey pool consists of persons resident in the central districts of Ankara and Şanlıurfa, who officially registered as unemployed to İŞKUR within the last quarter of 2003. The number of such persons is 2.297 in Ankara and 152 in Şanlıurfa. Then the number of persons to be covered as a sample from each of these sub-pools was calculated through the optimum sample size formula and 316 persons from Ankara and 109 from Şanlıurfa were actually covered. Stratified random sampling was the method used in selecting persons. Relevant variables of stratification were the administrative district, gender, the last school finished and age in Ankara; and gender, the last school finished and age in Şanlıurfa. The number of persons who could not be reached was 72 in Ankara and 24 in Şanlıurfa, for the following reasons: wrong address statement, moving to another city and being in military service. Eventually questionnaires were given through face-to-face interviews to a total of 329 persons, 244 in Ankara and 85 in Şanlıurfa. Thus, the sample access rate was 75.3% for Ankara and 78.0% for Şanlıurfa.

The state (welfare state provisions) and family are also important in this phase. The aim, therefore was to ascertain the perceptions, opinions, projects and future expectations of those holding posts in and exercising state power as well as workers' and employers' organizations as actors in the labour market. To this end, interviews with 21 people, who are in decision-making positions in Ankara and Şanlıurfa were conducted. The nature of the family also has an effect on the experience of unemployment. I investigated, in addition, the role of the family in unemployment and unemployed people's life. In-depth interviews with 30 families were conducted to fulfil this objective (15 families in Ankara, 15 families in Şanlıurfa).

4.6 Collection of the Data

Data collection was done in three stages, each corresponding to one of the three respective issues identified before (the state, unemployed youth, and the family). **For the first stage,**

²⁰ A (prospective or retrospective) observational study in which a group is chosen (sometimes as a random sample) from a certain larger population, and the exposures of people in the group to an intervention and outcomes of interest are determined.

the conception of the welfare regime is taken in a broad sense: “It refers to a system of public regulation that is concerned to assure the protection of individuals and to maintain social cohesion by intervening, through both legal measures and the distribution of resources, in the economic, domestic and community spheres” (Duncan & Paugam, 2000:4). In order to connect the concept of the welfare regime with unemployment, I followed three steps: documentary study, interview with the decision-makers and model testing.

Documentary study: The contextual mapping of youth unemployment by utilizing official statistics about education, employment/unemployment and demographic trends, and policy documents related to the subject was done in the documentary study.

Interview with the decision-makers: There were 8 interviews conducted in Şanlıurfa. Interviewees included the Governor of the province, Provincial Directors of İŞKUR (Turkish Employment Agency), National Education and Social Services, Regional Director of GAP (The Southeast Anatolia Project), Regional Development Administration, the Mayor of the Greater Municipality, the President of the Chamber of Industry and Commerce and the President of ŞURKAV (Foundation for Culture and Research in Şanlıurfa)²¹. In Ankara, 13 persons were interviewed. The Governor, Provincial Directors of National Education, Police Forces, İŞKUR, representatives from workers’ and employers’ organizations including TİSK (Turkish Confederation of Employer Associations), TOBB (Turkish Union of Chambers and Exchange Commodities), TESK (Confederation of Turkish Craftsmen and Artisans), TÜRK-İŞ (The Confederation of Turkish Trade Unions), HAK-İŞ (The Confederation of Turkish Real Trade Unions) and DİSK (Confederation of Revolutionary Workers Unions), and Süleyman Demirel, the 9th President of the Republic²². In Ankara, no interview could be held with the Mayor of the

²¹ The aim of the foundation was the conservation of the architectural heritage, which was becoming the victim of an increasingly rapid migration into the old town of Şanlıurfa, caused by the displacement of tens of thousands of villagers after the flooding of the Atatürk Dam reservoir. The second aim was the publication of material on the architecture and the history of Şanlıurfa.

²² Süleyman Demirel was born in Isparta, Turkey, in 1924 and earned a civil engineering degree at Istanbul Technical University. Demirel entered Turkish politics in 1961 and rose to chairman of the Justice Party in 1964. He became deputy prime minister in 1964 and prime minister in 1965. He returned as the prime minister three more times, 1975-77, 1979-

Greater Municipality in spite of insistent efforts. Although an appointment had been made earlier, the President of the Chamber of Commerce declined to give any interview and insisted on having ‘written questions forwarded’. The author emphasized by stressing the open-ended nature of interviews and advantages of vivid conversation in probing into issues not originally considered by the interviewer. Upon refusal, questions were left to the secretary of the President. The author later picked up the written answers of the President.

Table 9. List of decision-makers interviewed

Şanlıurfa	Ankara	Workers’ and employers’ organizations
Governor	Governor	TİSK
Director of Employment Agency	Director of Employment Agency	TESK
Director of National Education	Director of National Education	TÜRK-İŞ
Director of Social Services	Director of Security Forces (Police)	HAK-İŞ
Director of GAP ²³	President of the Chamber of Industry	TOBB
Mayor of the Greater Municipality		DİSK
President of the Chamber of Industry and Commerce		İŞKUR
President of ŞURKAV Foundation		
Süleyman Demirel, the 9 th President of the Republic (1993-2000)		
Total: 21		

With this exception, all other interviews were personal and face-to-face. There was also an ‘interview form’ used in these contacts. This form included questions regarding the overall opinion of respondents about the province concerned, their personal opinions about the causes of unemployment in general and youth unemployment in particular and what responsibilities could be undertaken by the state, private sector, local governments and the youth for the solution of this problem²⁴.

80 and 1991-93. 1993-2000 he was 9th president of Turkey. He pursued an aggressive economic growth policy and is credited with accelerating the development and industrialization of Turkey. He is a very important person to interview in order to better understand recent Turkish history.

²³ The Southeast Anatolia Project (the Turkish acronym being GAP) is a monumental project consisting of 22 dams, 12 Hydroelectric power plants and vast irrigation schemes, and complemented by social development measures, which will fundamentally change the economic, social and landownership structure of the region.

Interviews in Şanlıurfa were conducted during June 1st to 30th and in Ankara during July 1st to August 30th 2004. All interviews were recorded upon the permission of interviewees. Since interviews were made during working hours, their length differed depending on the schedule of the person interviewed. However, an average length of 90 minutes can be given for each interview. The author conducted all interviews by herself.

Model testing: For identifying the welfare regime of Turkey related to unemployment, I used a model which was developed by Gallie and Paugam on the welfare regime type of the countries regarding unemployment (Gallie & Paugam, 2000:3-4). They believed that the implications of the welfare regime and its indicators on the experience of unemployment are very significant. They tried to develop a typology using three criteria -*coverage, level of compensation and expenditure on active employment policies*- of welfare regimes based on different protection systems for the unemployed. Using the Gallie and Paugam research model, in order to understand the welfare regime related with the unemployment in Turkey, I employed these three criteria. This allowed me to draw conclusions about welfare regime of Turkey with regard to the policies towards the unemployed youth. I use statistical data and the expenditure figures of the state on unemployment and unemployed people.

The second stage focuses on the unemployed young person and how he/she experiences unemployment. It has two stages: First, a questionnaire was developed for this purpose. The questionnaire was designed to depict the unemployment experience of respondents under 7 sub-headings:

²⁴ See Appendix A: Interview Form given to the decision makers.

Table 10: Sub-headings of the questionnaire

Assumption	Headings	Aim	Number in questions
Individual background and family background have an effect on experience	1. About the young person and family	Questions relating to sex, age, birthplace, place of residence, marital status, number of siblings, education, education and occupational status of parents, ownership status of present residence and family subsistence	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24
Finding a job is very important for young people to escape from their dependent position	2. About work	Whether he/she is seeking job, what kind of jobs are sought, desired level of wage and place of workplace, ways and channels of job seeking, ideas about wage work and past experience of employment as wage worker	25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46
State and its implementations have an effect on experience	3. State financed training and employment programmes and assistance	Whether the person has taken part in such programmes and received state assistance	47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54
Unemployed youth and their access to paid work which is decent and productive is limited	4. About unemployment	About the duration of unemployment, ideas and attitudes relating to being unemployed, family support provided during unemployment, personal health status, problems that unemployment may possibly cause and reasons for failing to find a job	55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69
How people experience unemployment depends on the availability of financial and social resources.	5. The source of coping strategies	Subsistence during the spell of unemployment and distress experienced as a result of short finances	70, 71, 72, 73, 74
Unemployment leads to difficulties to reach full citizenship	6. Recognition of citizenship	Political engagement, if there was any, of the young person concerned and what kind of society he/she would struggle for in line with adopted ideas	75, 76, 77
Unemployment may have a negative effect on perceptions about the future	7. About future	Perspectives and ideas of the person concerned relating to the future	78, 79, 80, 81, 82

After developing the questionnaire, a visit was made to İŞKUR's headquarters in Ankara. Since the official permission was granted before, it was possible to conduct an interview with the General-Director explaining that the objective was to conduct a pilot work with young people in the age group 18-24 who had visited the institution to be registered as

unemployed. Upon receiving permission, the institution was visited on 10 working days and a pilot work was carried out with 20 unemployed young persons in the specified age group. After this pilot work, some questions were dropped and some others were reformulated. Besides testing the viability of the questionnaire, some informal talks were also made with these young people to get some idea about their experience in unemployment.

Having finalised the content of the questionnaire, forms were multiplied to suffice for respondents in both provinces. Then, starting first with Ankara, the addresses of persons in the sample were arranged by administrative districts and a substitute address was given for each person. Considering the size of Ankara as a metropolitan centre and given time limitations, the work was conducted with six interviewers. These interviewers were first asked to fill in the questionnaire themselves, to find out if there were any ambiguous questions and to make an overall evaluation about the questionnaire. After giving each interviewer sufficient information about the conduct of the survey, fieldwork was begun by assigning different districts to interviewers. The fieldwork in Ankara took place from June 15th to July 15th. Similarly, four interviewers were employed in Şanlıurfa from 1st to 15th June 2004.

It seems that the nature of the family has an effect on the experience of unemployment. For example it seems probable that an unemployed person who lives alone, one who lives with his/her parents or one who has responsibility for his/her own family with children will not have the same experience (Duncan & Paugam, 2000). One point that is often forgotten in economic debates is that while unemployment is a personal/individual problem, poverty is one touching the family. It is individuals who are unemployed, but families who suffer from the costs of unemployment. A key question in understanding the experience of unemployment in families is: who is unemployed? The effect of unemployment on families depends on which member of the family is unemployed. If it is the main breadwinner, the impact is likely to be different than if it is the 'second' income earner, a sole parent or a young person. That is, the family circumstances of the unemployed person are an important determinant of the costs.

In identifying the families to be interviewed, the following question was added at the end of the questionnaire designed for unemployed young persons: “Would you accept a more detailed interview with your family members at a time convenient for you?” Telephone numbers of those who responded positively were taken. Then a list of young persons accepting this interview was taken respectively in Şanlıurfa and Ankara. Thirty in-depth family interviews were conducted, each family having been selected from among the accessible respondents of the questionnaires in the two cities. I had a general framework for discussion, which included these headings:

- Socio-demographic backgrounds of the family: education, immigration, and work experience, number and employment status of the family members, type of the family, economic, cultural and symbolic capitals of the family
- Employment and unemployment history of the family
- State provisions and family expectations from the state
- Financial situation of the family and coping strategies, solidarity among relatives and neighbours
- Their social networks
- Their relation with the unemployed youth members of the family
- Their expectation from unemployed youth and his/her future

Interviews with families were carried out in order to find out whether the experience of youth unemployment varies with respect to:

- Educational status,
- Gender
- Marital status of the young person concerned.

While assessing the variable ‘educational status’ as a factor affecting how unemployment is experienced, primary, secondary (general and vocational high schools) and higher education (colleges and universities) were relevant categories. Male/female were the categories for the gender variable and married/unmarried for the marital status variable. Families identified

with respect to these criteria were called by phone and, if they accepted, a date and time were set for interviews. The author personally conducted all interviews. Interviews in Şanlıurfa took place from June 1st to 30th whereas those in Ankara started on July 1st and lasted until August 30th 2004.

An interview form was developed to ensure a standard flow in interviews.²⁵ This form was designed as a way to extract as much information as possible about the status of families in terms of migratory behaviour, occupation and educational background. The objective was to see whether these have any effect on unemployment experience. Next information about the daily subsistence of the family concerned, its 'breadwinners', ownership (house, land, car, etc.) was collected to have some indication as to the family's economic status. This was followed by questions about what it means to have a job or to be unemployed and how they cope with negative situations in general. How unemployment affects family relations and the relations between the unemployed person and the rest of the family was the next heading. Finally, the interviews were completed by soliciting the opinions of interviewees on unemployment and future prospects. The interviews lasted two hours on average.²⁶

There were some difficulties faced during the planning and execution of the interviews. These include: some addresses were hard to find and there were some language barriers. But the most difficult of all was to give satisfactory responses to some expectations of the families. The most frequent questions posed both during telephone calls and interviews were "How did you find us?" and "Will this interview be of any benefit to us or our child for finding a job?" Families were informed about how we found them since it was important in terms of research ethics. They were told that this research is an academic thesis on youth unemployment, that İSKUR was visited and information about unemployed youth was obtained from this agency. In spite of all efforts for strictness and clarity, it was

²⁵ See Appendix C: Family Interview Form

²⁶ Since it was the author's first visit to Şanlıurfa, a student in Harran University who is from Şanlıurfa was found to help in family interviews. Since the languages of Kurdish and Arabic are also used beside Turkish in the area it was necessary to have this assistance. The assistant was present in all family interviews and 4 family interviews took place by translations from Kurdish to Turkish and vice versa.

not possible to keep families and young persons away from some expectations. This is quite natural since most of them had not received any feedback from the agency even after seven months of registration. The name of the agency hence gave rise to some expectations. Consequently, although young persons accepted a more detailed interview while filling out forms, many refusals took place after talking with families and explaining to them the purpose of the interview.

The question “will it be of any benefit to us?” was obviously asked to learn if there was going to be any job offer. Refusals followed after receiving the following response, “no, it won’t be of any immediate benefit to you. But maybe the outcomes of this study will help future generations. We are not finding jobs for your children, it is just research”. Even those who were willing to be interviewed shared similar expectations and it was only after recurrent explanations that they finally realized that it was research. 15 days after the completion of interviews in Şanlıurfa, an unemployed young person who had not been there when his family was interviewed called by phone. Before interviewing this family, the purpose was clearly explained and they were reminded that they could refuse. After their agreement the interview was conducted. The son of this family called and said, “Yes, you explained it to me and to my family, but I am still waiting. After all I was selected among so many unemployed, this must have a meaning...”

Initially, it was planned to conduct family interviews with the mother of the unemployed young person, and the unemployed youth’s wife, if married. This preference was based on the assumption that women are better equipped to relate family life and affairs since they remained mostly at home. Furthermore, the researcher too was female and this would make female interviewees more at ease. Nevertheless, there were also interviews made with fathers in both Şanlıurfa (4 fathers) and Ankara (2 fathers). As far as Şanlıurfa is concerned this divergence from the plan related to language problems. If the father was at home during the interview and if women had language problems, he was interviewed rather than his wife. The second reason is the fact that some fathers were insistent that interviews should be conducted with them. Since they are better informed about the public sphere, they did not want to leave their wives alone with an alien person and they remained present

even if they did not intervene in interview. Especially retired fathers were at home and they had some worries about security matters. There were cases where fathers were absent and the interview with women proved to be difficult due to language barriers (4 cases). Translations helped in these cases. For married young men, efforts were made to interview their wives too, but this could be possible in only one case in Şanlıurfa. Unlike Şanlıurfa there were interviews directly with three young persons in Ankara. In one case this was due to the absence of the mother whereas in the other two cases the young people insisted on being interviewed.

Interviews generally took place in open, frank and relaxed settings. All interviews were recorded with the permission of the interviewees. Cassettes were then deciphered and analyzed. Apart from recordings, general notes were taken on the overall condition of the house, its dwellers and the neighbourhood.

CHAPTER 5

THE EXPERIENCE OF UNEMPLOYED YOUTH IN ANKARA AND ŞANLIURFA

Young people's life transitions can be envisaged as the pathways made when they leave school and encounter different labour market, housing and family-related experiences in their journey towards adulthood (MacDonald & Marsh, 2005:31). The most appropriate means to describe this is as a shift from childhood dependence to adult independence (Jones & Wallace, 1992). To achieve this shift to maturity, the State has traditionally organized access to adult citizenship in different ways including employment opportunities and aid with the transition from school to work. However, since the latter part of the 1990s, the emphasis has transferred from the agency of the state to the agency of the individual in this process as implied by the new terminology which describes this transition, including words like, 'trajectories', 'pathways', 'routes', 'journeys' and 'navigations' (Cieslik & Pollock, 2002). Thus, the goal of welfare state has shifted from one of protection to one of increased individual responsibility. Young people are required to adopt calculative, strategic and reflexive personalised strategies to handle the risks and opportunities of the new world rather than following obsolete transition. This individualised transition has actually become predominant to the extent that it has created its own new tradition focusing on improved training, enhanced human capital, improved information on market conditions to facilitate job searches and job matching, incentives for self-employment, and an increased entrepreneurial culture. Thus individuals are aided in the enhancement of their own employability. In light of this new tradition, the unemployment experience of youth and the impact of related institutions on these experiences is very important for the aim of this study.

The everyday living experience of unemployed youth will be investigated in this chapter with the overall aim of understanding their daily experiences and the relevant dimensions which can alter these experiences. Experience is defined as the accumulation of knowledge, memory and/or skill that results from direct participation in events or activities. Thus

experience is more than an individual experiment. Its content, context, and frame are defined by larger units. As mentioned earlier, family, the state and the labour market all affect the youth unemployment experience. For the purpose of this study, a group of young unemployed people were selected from two provinces (Şanlıurfa and Ankara) for a period of at least six months to survey the effects of each factor on the youth's experience.

The experiences of unemployed youth are presented under the following sub-headings: Individual background characteristics of the survey group, the family and the state, past and present work experiences of the group, their unemployment experiences, coping and survival strategies, recognition of citizenship, and future perceptions.

5.1 Demographic Characteristics of the Registered Unemployed Youth

Unemployment is not equally high for all young people, but rather depends on various socio-economic and structural factors like gender, education, nationality and region of residence (Isengard, 2003:357). Thus, integration into the labour market was differentially experienced according to gender, age, marital status, and race as well as region and through education linked to class origin (Allen & Watson, 1986). The stage in life cycle, years of education and training and marital status are among the most important factors affecting the labour market participation of men and women. This sub-heading includes individual socio-demographic characteristics of unemployed youth covered by the survey and discusses the possible effect of these characteristics on the experience of unemployment.

Gender

The condition of being a woman and being unemployed is very important for the aim of this study. As discussed earlier, the distinction between productive and unproductive work has been made on the basis of the payment received for the work as reflected in the separation of the work done in the home, which would be considered unproductive, with that done outside the home, the breadwinner's work, which would be productive. However, with the increasing service production, participation of women in the labour force has become widespread opening a door of the discussion of women's civil, political, and social

rights. Thus in this thesis gender is an important dimension in understanding youth's unemployment experience.

Considering the relevant studies conducted in recent years, the question of the existence of any sex-based variation in unemployment and the differences resulting from this variance has been virtually ignored. Much of the previous work on unemployment only deals with men and for the most part it comes to be seen as a problem, by academics, politicians and others, only when able-bodied, adult men cannot find or lose full-time jobs in large numbers (please see the theory chapter). This study addresses whether gender is an important factor in the unemployment experience of the youth and assesses any gender based differences. Being a male or a female is important in the way in which unemployment is experienced and it is therefore taken as a micro variable in all studies. One of the inquiries of this study will thus be to find out how gender differences affect the daily experience of unemployment by young people.

Since gender is a determining variable in the experience of unemployment, it is considered important to have a sample including both sexes: 64 males (75.3%) and 21 females (24.7%) in Şanlıurfa; 163 males (66.8%) and 81 females (33.2) in Ankara (227 males and 102 females total) were included in this survey.

Looking at women's participation in the labour force from a historical perspective, we first observe high participation in rural societies, then a decrease with urbanisation and industrialisation and then a new rise afterwards. Women's participation in the labour force increases especially in urban areas parallel to their increasing educational status. In agriculture, women's participation is 'normal' due to the nature of this work, but this labour mostly assumes the form of 'unpaid family labour'. Since their participation in industrial activities and services is for wages, differences between the domestic and working spaces and the weighty influence of nuclear family tend to reduce women's participation in industry relative to agriculture. However, a higher level of education, higher wages and other factors tend to increase women's participation in the labour force. At present, women's total participation in the labour force varies from 35 to 75% in industrialised

countries, rates which are particularly high considering the drastic decline in agriculture in many of these countries, thus indicating higher numbers of women in industry.

The situation in Turkey is quite different. Within the last decade, women's participation in the labour force in the rural sector has been around 50%. On the other hand, the share of women in the urban labour force is extremely low and, in addition, there is a declining trend. To account for this low rate and its tendency to fall further, various factors affecting female labour supply and their relative importance must be assessed. This is a rather complex task since factors involved are not only economic but also cultural and social.

Age

Unemployment is an important problem for all segments of the society and gives rise to significant consequences for all. Yet, since the young generation is assumed to be a basic resource upon which any given society reproduces itself, youth unemployment influences the society more deeply with its economic, social and psychological implications. Additionally, youth unemployment's immensity and its major implications for the family structure and the state policies gives further weight to its significance. It is the basic objective of this study to grasp how young people, who are in the process of understanding adulthood, experience unemployment and what coping strategies they pursue. Another important issue to consider in discussing age in respect to unemployment is the higher probability that a young unemployed worker will permanently entering long-term unemployment later in life as well (Caroleo & Pastore, 2003: 111). When we look at the age distribution of the survey group^{27vi}, the majority of the group is between 22-23 years old in both cities (51.6% for the males, 38.1% for the females in Şanlıurfa; 58.1% for the males, 48.8 for the females in Ankara).

As mentioned before, the age group of 15-24 years was taken as the acceptable range of young people for survey purposes. However, upon finding out that there were very few

²⁷ End notes signs symbolises detailed tables about the research, and can be seen at the endnote of this chapter.

İŞKUR registries in the 15-18 age range it was decided to exclude this population group from the survey sample. Although the concept of ‘youth’ is still based on the demographic definition of the UN and ‘youth unemployment’ in general is related to the age group 15-24, the survey group comprises people in the age 18-24 range.

Marital status and children

As discussed earlier, marriage is generally accepted as an indication of adulthood. Youth’s ill-defined position between dependence and independence, immaturity and maturity becomes more problematic while discussing marriage. According to the Civil Code, at the age of 18 young people have right to marry. However, being responsible and establishing a family may be quite challenging for young people, especially unemployed youth. Thus the marital status of the survey group is considered important for understanding both their unemployment experiences and their place in the dependence-independence dilemma. Being deprived of any job that brings in some remuneration means dependence on others (the State, family, close circles or all of them to different degrees). The question relating to marital status was considered relevant for this reason and family interviews further revealed the importance of marital status of the youth in this regard.

Looking at the marital status of the youth in the survey group, we see that in Şanlıurfa all the women interviewed were single, whereas 57 (89.1%) of males were single. In Ankara, respective numbers were 67 and 144 (82.7% and 88.3%) single people. As stated earlier, the marriage age is rather low in Turkey²⁸. Although it was predicted that this age might even be lower in Şanlıurfa, it was observed that women registering with İŞKUR and explaining their status as ‘unemployed’ had had more schooling and were more urbanised. There is therefore a relationship between marriage age, the duration of education and the level of urbanisation whereby the marriage age raises parallel to the latter two. Another interesting

²⁸ **Marriage age:** Marriage is demographically important in Turkey for its commonness and the fact that almost all births are wedlock. The marriage age is also important demographically since it is through this event that the risk of pregnancy emerges. The DHS (Demography and Health Survey) 2003 shows that the median age for a first marriage is getting higher. While it is 19.2 for the age group 45-49, it rises to 21 for the age group 25-29. There are also marked differences with respect to educational status. There is a difference of seven years in the marriage age between women who have never been to school and women who are at least high school graduates.

point is that there are no married women in Şanlıurfa who are registered with İŞKUR. As will be addressed later in family interviews, getting married and seeking a job cannot happen simultaneously in Şanlıurfa. ‘Once a woman is married, her husband has to support her’. Therefore, female job seekers in Şanlıurfa are single and educated. The share of married women seeking jobs is also smaller in Ankara, but still higher than that in Şanlıurfa. Hence, we can see a gender difference in terms of registration with İŞKUR.

There are 40 people in the survey group who are married. It was assessed whether there was any correlation between marital status and educational attainment. The result obtained indicates that there is such relationship ($\chi^2=5.58$, $p<0.05$). The number of married people falls as educational status rises.

Having children is as important of a factor as marital status. Being married and having children drastically affect the experience of unemployment. Since having children out of wedlock is not considered ‘normal’ in Turkey, only those who are married responded to the question whether they had children. Having children increases the economic dependence on larger family networks and in this way unemployment effects the family as a whole. As can be seen below in evaluation with respect to immediate living environments, young people stay with their parents irrespective of their marital status. In such cases, an unemployed young person cannot start and/or continue with his nuclear family (his wife and children) and has to live with extended family. Being a member of an extended family may bring some advantages, but it still has negative consequences affecting all family members (see Chapter 7 for a detailed discussion). The extended family, in such cases, takes care of the unemployed young person, his wife and children while the nuclear family becomes completely dependent on the extended one. In Şanlıurfa three of seven married males and in Ankara 13 of 19 married males have children. In Ankara, five out of 14 females who are married have children.

Being married and having children is an important criterion of responsible adulthood. When it is not accompanied by other criteria including having a separate home and being

economically independent, the process of unemployment is experienced in more a drastic way. The person concerned vacillates between being independent and being dependent. This experience gets even worse in cases where total family income is low, the number of dependent people is high and there is more than one unemployed person in the household.

Place of birth

Whether or not childhood was spent in an urban environment was regarded as important in terms of getting used to urban values, making use of urban opportunities and learning some coping strategies. The longer the period of time spent in an urban settlement, the more developed are the skills of integration and coping with urban conditions. Massive movements of migration starting in the 1950s suggest that earlier settlers were able to benefit more from opportunities presented by the private and public sector (discussed under the second period of Turkey's transition) contrary to more recent settlers (Işık & Pınarcıoğlu, 2001). This reality was also observed in the family interviews. Those who had settled earlier in Şanlıurfa and Ankara seemed to be more accustomed to urban expectations and values and were luckier in terms of their employment and adaptation.

Almost a half of those in both groups have been living in their present environment for at least 20 years. A second set have been living in their present environments for 15 years or shorter. A smaller portion of the groups, 12% of young males and 17.8% of females, have settled in the city rather recently and have been living in their present environment for only 1 to 5 years. Taken as a whole, half of the group may be considered recent settlers whereas the other half has been living in the city for a rather long time.

In both cities, more than half of young people were born in the province centre they are living now. In Şanlıurfa a half of parents were also born in the city centre whereas this proportion is lower for parents in Ankara^{vii}. Ankara is a metropolis receiving migration for a long period of time. For Şanlıurfa, on the other hand, this process started 10 years ago with the introduction of large-scale irrigation projects (it is discussed in study site of the thesis).

Living environments

As demographic categories are socially constructed, such categories as ‘childhood’, ‘youth’, ‘elderly’ etc. vary. In this construction, the category ‘youth’ may be defined from different angles, but it is usually understood within some definite age intervals. Although the period of time within which a person may be categorized as ‘young’, as well as the end of this period, may vary, there are some standard signs of the end of this period including ‘having a job’, ‘leaving family home’ and ‘getting married’. But these signs are more fluid under new work related conditions.

In Şanlıurfa, 85.9% of young males and 90.5% of young females and in Ankara 89.6% of young males and 74.1% of young females covered by the survey live together with their parents. The lower figure for males in Ankara is due to the fact that there were proportionally more married females in this city. Living with their parents is the most common living environment for young people in both cities.

Many studies on youth suggest that the age at which young people leave their families varies depending on many factors including individual countries, established culture, economic situation of the country concerned and benefits/services provided by social state. Longer periods spent in education especially within the last two decades, revision of some benefits provided by the State and expanding youth unemployment; however, tend to increase the age at which a young person departs from their family. The proportion of 20-24 year-olds living with their parents has increased since 1983, and possibly for several years earlier for females. This trend is related to a rising marriage age and to longer periods spent in education (Young, 1988). However, anecdotal evidence suggests that since the economic recession of 1990, more of this age group are not able to leave home, or have left and returned, because they are unemployed and cannot afford to move out.

Forming an ongoing sexual relationship, marrying or cohabiting and living physically separate from parents, has historically been one of the clearest markers of adulthood and the most significant statement of independence from parents (Hartley, 1992). However, living with family is not only dependent upon unemployment, but also on the nature of the

job one may acquire. Some young people in my survey group are living with their parents even if they have their own jobs because these jobs are mostly low paying and short term without social security coverage. In many cases, therefore, remuneration from existing jobs does not suffice to start a new life separate from their parents. In addition, many young people choose to have some time for preparing for the responsibilities of an independent family life. Leaving their parents' homes after getting married (or finding a good job in another city) is a normal/acceptable way for young people with jobs. During this time spent living with their parents while working, young people are able to save some money and make other preparations for a separate life.

As will be covered later, decision-makers adopt approaches that take not the individual but the family as their basis. If a young person has his/her parents, the bulk of responsibility is assumed to belong to family. It is assumed that this will not pose any problem given that the family concerned is capable of taking care of its young members. As many studies have shown, young people in Turkey live with their parents regardless of their age. This pattern is reproduced partly under the influence of traditions and given norms and partly because of the lack of arrangements and services that could transform these norms and traditions. In Turkey, families provide for health, education and shelter needs of their young members. It is mostly the families that decide about the duration, field or branch of education that young family members will undergo. Families cover the cost of education and the parents and the young family member make the decisions about educational field by themselves since there is no system orientating young people to various channels of education on the basis of their talents and skills. There is no system of institutionalised and regular assistance and services for young people. Therefore established culture, the economic situation of the country, the benefits/services provided by social state, and the labour market all influence the decision of children to live with their families.

Educational status

Education is major determinant in young people's lives. Education has a profound impact on young people's later lives in terms of personal and professional development, social integration and their participation in democracy; as such, it bears a major long-term

influence on their employment, mobility and life-long learning prospects (Perea, 2003). Determining the relationship between educational status and unemployment is an important endeavour. Various theoretical and empirical studies conducted recently emphasize the positive influence of educational attainment on employment.

Information obtained from the survey group indicates that the females in the group have had more years of education than the males and those living in Ankara have been educated longer than those living in Şanlıurfa. Labour force participation of females with lower educational status is limited in Turkey. Rising levels of education, on the other hand, create prospects of earning which make staying at home more costly because of a missed income opportunity. Consequently it is females with higher levels of education who seek jobs. In both cities, females who are unemployed and have registered with İŞKUR as a formal means of seeking a job have been educated longer than the males. In both cities, again, graduates of regular and vocational high schools form the majority. While there are more males and females in Ankara than Şanlıurfa who are still attending vocational schools, the number of those attending regular high schools is higher in Şanlıurfa. High rates of unemployment among young people with significant levels of education (college or university graduates) are striking^{viii}.

Considering the situation in Turkey, it is first observed that unemployment becomes relatively more common as educational attainment gets higher up to the level of high school. This trend then falls after high school education. In other words, high school graduates constitute a relatively large share of the unemployed. It is widely known that secondary education in Turkey is far from providing the skills that are needed in the labour market. Yet, pay and job quality expectations of high school graduates are higher than others with lower educational status. This further curbs the job finding potential of young high school graduates. According to Gürsel and Ulusoy (1999), contrary to the situation in developed countries, 'low minimum wage and weaker structures to protect those who are employed paradoxically ends up with lower rates of unemployment among those with lower levels of education in Turkey, but almost always in the informal sector'. They are the ones who do not have the luxury of being unemployed due to the lack of support mechanisms by

either family or State resources. Further, the present situation in Turkey can also be explained by the nature of jobs created by the dynamics of the domestic economy: Most of the jobs available do not require a high quality, skilful labour force (Ansal et al 2000: 112).

Evaluations made by decision makers touched upon the very weak link between education and available jobs and the relationship between this problem and the problem of youth unemployment. Since difficulties faced in all types and levels of education prevent the acquisition of desired quality and skills, education is a factor affecting unemployment even when people get their diplomas. A relatively high share of primary school graduates, which is the situation more among males and in Şanlıurfa, end up placed only in some marginal jobs. The high number of young people who are merely primary school graduates must be addressed as an important problem. It should also be born in mind that efforts to extend the duration of education fall short of reducing regional disparities and the number of years spent in schooling still gets lower as one goes from west to east.

It was also asserted during these interviews that Turkey has just the reverse of the situation in advanced countries in terms of the distribution of general/academic versus vocational school graduates. Nevertheless, it should be noted that in our survey the rate of unemployment among vocational school graduates or young people who have acquired skills through other channels are equal to or even higher than the rate of unemployment among regular high school graduates. This situation is explained, by both relevant literature and decision-makers, with reference to the irrelevance of vocational training with respect to skills wanted in the labour market and the problem of ‘matching’ between vocational school training and the labour market.

Nonetheless, accounting for increasing youth unemployment only with reference to ‘matching’ problems or content of education and training received would be an inadequate and oversimplified analysis. Rising unemployment gives employers the chance to elevate their criteria in recruitment and they may, for example, require a university diploma for a job that may well be performed by a high school graduate. These high rates of unemployment also discourage employers from pre-employment or on-the-job training. In

fact, the rate of unemployment is high also among young people with extensive schooling. In light of all of these considerations, it should also be stated that the inability of the economy to create enough jobs cannot be taken as the sole reason for presently high levels of unemployment. Rather, the issue should be addressed by combining all of the factors and analysing their mutual interaction and relationship.

Skills and vocations

As the study is related to unemployed youth, whether they have any skills/qualifications/vocation or profession is important. In both cities, a considerable number of males state that they have some skills. 'Vocational skills' indicate that they have graduated from some type of vocational training or master-apprentice relationship and have had some formal schooling. In this context, jobs requiring vocational skills include 'racking', 'sewing', 'welding', 'turnery and levelling', 'forging', 'plumbing', 'masonry', 'painting', etc in the survey group. Gender is important in being equipped with relevant skills. In both cities there are much lower numbers of females who have vocational skills than males. Females who have vocational skills list them as 'sewing', 'embroidery', 'textiles', 'nursing', 'baby-sitting', etc which corresponds to traditional gender specific jobs and skills.

Professional skills gained through longer periods of education are addressed under the heading 'higher education of two or four years'. The gender factor is pronounced here too in that females acquire professional skills with longer duration in education than males. Associated occupations include 'teaching', 'accounting', 'computer science' and 'economics'. Comparing the two cities we see that females in Ankara have professional skills requiring longer periods of education relative to the males in both cities and to the females in Şanlıurfa.

'Sales', 'hotel-restaurant services', 'marketing of illicitly produced books/cassettes', 'dish washing', 'carriage' and 'peddling' are jobs requiring almost no skill. While females in Şanlıurfa report no such jobs, six of the females in Ankara are doing these or similar jobs. As stated earlier, unemployed young females in Şanlıurfa are almost fully dependent on their parents' decision as to whether they should work or which type of jobs they are

allowed to work. In Şanlıurfa, even if families may be facing economic difficulties, they are still particular about the types of work that their daughters can do. The types of jobs stated above are mostly undesirable both for their low return and because they may be the source of rumours that question the honour of the family (This will be discussed in Chapter 7).

There are a significant number of people claiming no skills at all (in Şanlıurfa 23.5% for males, 42.9% for females, in Ankara 17.8% for males, 24.7 for females)^{ix}. This situation is related to the fact that there are many regular high school graduates²⁹. It is clear that regular high school education instills no employable skill. Females in Şanlıurfa are very different from the male and their gender mates in Ankara. They have education but they have no skills. Therefore, the high number of regular high school graduates is seen as a factor contributing to youth unemployment.

Social security

Social security coverage is another important factor. In the survey group, 85.9% of males and 61.9% of females in Şanlıurfa and 66.9% of males and 43.2% of females are not covered by any security plan. The SSK (social insurance institution for wage workers) is the most common form of security coverage for those who are covered.

While conducting family interviews, one of the expectations of families from the state was related to social security. After the age of 18, young people can not benefit from the security coverage of their fathers if they are not continuing their education. If a young family member is out of school and unemployed, there is no security coverage, including a 'green card'³⁰. Even if the application for a green card is made, he/she will be denied this service too if his/her family elders are covered since his/her situation will be assessed with reference to the security status of the family. As the survey population consisted of young

²⁹ Regular high schools have academic-oriented curricula to prepare students for university education, but majority of the graduates can not secure a place in the national administrated university entrance exam.

³⁰ *Green card* scheme was started in 1992, for provision of free health services for the poor, who can obtain necessary documents to prove their degree of poorness, a procedure somewhat similar to means testing.

people in the 18-24 age range, it can be inferred that they are out of the scope of any security scheme, if there is no schooling, by the age limit set.

For females, however, the limit is set not with respect to age but to marital status. Thus there are more females than males covered by some security plan. Furthermore, there is a higher share of females with security coverage in Şanlıurfa, which may be associated with the urban origin of their families because the fathers are mostly government employees or have had longer schooling. In most cases (28.6% of males and 87.5% of females in Şanlıurfa and 24.5% of males and 60.9% of females in Ankara), the social security benefits are dependent upon the father's status and male children lose this coverage when they pass a specified age.

Thus the individual background characteristics of unemployed youth can be summarized as follows: there is a gender difference in terms of registration with İŞKUR. Women registered with İŞKUR and who have 'unemployed' status have had more years of schooling and are more urbanised. Additionally, there are no married women looking for jobs in Şanlıurfa. There are 40 people in the survey group who are married, 19 of those have children. The number of married people falls as the educational status rises. Around half of the young people were born in the province centre and have been living in their present settlement for at least 20 years. Living with their parents is the most common form of habitation for young people in both cities. The majority of the unemployed youth are graduated from general and vocational high schools. The rate of unemployment among vocational school graduates or young people who have acquired skills through other channels are equal to or even higher than the rate of unemployment among general high school graduates. Finally, the majority of the survey group, especially the males, are not covered by any security scheme.

5.2 Family Background of the Unemployed Youth

There are also indications that family background variables such as family size, income, educational level of parents, and occupational status of parents and property ownership of parents are important predictors of the educational career and subsequent unemployment

of youths. Different aspects of family seem to be important for the aim of this study (see also Chapter 7 where the relationship between youth unemployment and different aspects of family is discussed).

Family size

The number of siblings is important as an indicator of family size and family size in turn is an important factor influencing the education, health and nutrition of children as well as the ways in which family resources are mobilized (this issue was especially emphasized by decision makers in Şanlıurfa). As the number of children that a family has to support increases, available family resources are naturally in greater demand.

Fertility studies conducted to date indicate that fertility tends to decline with transitions from rural to urban life, from agriculture to industry and from shorter to longer education. Therefore, the number of children in a family may provide clues to the characteristics of that family (Çelik, 2001). As will be stated below, it is quite normal that unemployed young family members whose parents have recently moved in from rural areas and who have limited educational backgrounds will have many siblings. This is confirmed by the status of young people in both cities, but there is some variation with respect to the provinces. While young people from Ankara have, on average, three or more siblings, the number of siblings in Şanlıurfa is five or more. In Şanlıurfa, 18 (21.4%) of young people covered have nine or more siblings.

Table 11. Distribution of the survey group by the number of siblings

Number of sibling	Şanlıurfa		Ankara		Total*	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
1-2	2	2.4	75	31.0	77	23.6
3-4	19	22.6	125	51.7	144	44.2
5-6	25	29.8	32	13.2	57	17.5
7-8	20	23.8	7	2.9	27	8.3
9 and over	18	21.4	3	1.2	21	6.4
Total	84	100.0	242	100.0	326	100.0
Mean	6.54		3.32		4.15	
Median	6.00		3.00		3.00	
Mode	5		3		3.00	
Min-Max	2-15		1-12		1-15	

* 3 respondents did not specify the number of their siblings.

$\chi^2=115.66$, $p<0.05$

Table 12. Distribution of the survey group by the number of their siblings and educational level of their mothers

Education level of Mother	Şanlıurfa				Ankara				Total			
	1-4 Sibling		5 and over sibling		1-4 sibling		5 and over siblings		1-4 sibling		5 and over sibling	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Illiterate, Literate, Primary school	12	57.1	62	100.0	158	79.0	38	92.7	170	76.9	100	97.1
Secondary school and over	9	42.9	-	-	42	21.0	3	7.3	51	23.1	3	2.9
Total	21	100.0	62	100.0	200	100.0	41	100.0	221	100.0	103	100.0
Chi-Square	29.80, p<0.05				4.20, p<0.05				20.27, p<0.05			

In our interviews with decision-makers, the present phenomenon of youth unemployment was explained mainly with reference to demographic factors. They asserted that Turkey has a large young population and it is too difficult and costly to provide employment to all of these people. An expanding population has the effect of limiting the quality and quantity of services that can be provided by the state. This factor negatively affects not only the resources of the state but also of the families. As the number of dependent family members' increases, the social, cultural and economic means of the family are compromised and all family members are affected negatively. Education is the area most heavily affected by this situation. Difficulties in school enrolment and attendance as well as the short duration of education associated with larger families create disadvantages in the labour market including unstable and low-paying jobs. Consequent unemployment or low wages makes young people more dependent on their families.

Besides the number of siblings, birth chronology was also considered as a possible factor influencing ways in which family resources were mobilised. It is possible to say, in this respect, a similar situation exists in both cities and for both sexes. In Şanlıurfa 29.7% of males are first sons of their families, 60.9% are in the middle and 9.4% are the last sons. For females, 52.4%, 38.1% and 9.5% are respective percentages of first, middle and last daughters of their families. In Ankara, the distribution of respective percentages is 33.7%, 30.1% and 36.2% (male children) and 37.0%, 40.7% and 22.2% (female children). In both provinces, both male and female family members covered in the survey are the first or middle children of their parents.

Considering that these people are in the age interval 18-24 and the first or middle children of their families, it can be inferred that their parents are mostly in the middle age group. Birth chronology also gives some indications as to other dependent siblings who are in school and living with their parents. Especially in Şanlıurfa, if the young members of large families are the first children of their parents and are also unemployed, this situation affects their younger siblings as well. Such important parameters as duration of education, nutrition and health status are all negatively impacted if the family has too many dependent members.

Educational status of parents

The education level of mothers is influential in shaping expectations and behaviour in relation to education, on the one hand, and in a wide range of other life choices extending from fertility patterns to the reproduction of gender roles. In Şanlıurfa, for example, 60.9% of the mothers of young males and 30% of the mothers of young females are illiterate. These figures are 11.1% and 12.3%, respectively for Ankara. Taking the group as a whole, a primary school diploma is the most common educational attainment level on the part of mothers (in Şanlıurfa 25% of the mothers of both males and females and in Ankara 64.8% of the mothers of males and 65.5% of the mothers of females have a primary school diploma). Besides primary school graduates, there are 28 secondary school, four vocational high school, 14 regular high school, one college and seven university graduate mothers. This distribution shows that educational status of mothers is quite low. There is a direct relationship between the level of education and number of children. While mothers having five or more children are mostly primary school graduates or dropouts, others having nine or more children are all illiterate.

In considering the fathers, 19 are illiterate, six fathers are literate without schooling and 147 fathers are primary school graduates. The rest is distributed as follows: secondary school (60), vocational high school (17), regular high school (48), college (7) and university (22). So the largest group in both mothers and fathers is primary school graduates. However, the educational attainment level of fathers is relatively higher than mothers. Especially in Şanlıurfa fathers of females have had more years of education.

Jobs of parents

Under this heading the jobs of parents and young people will be compared and assessed. Skill and occupations are perhaps the most important criteria affecting the chance of finding a proper job in the labour market. Factors such as the type, validity and associated income of a skill and/or vocation are all important. Many studies on employment, including those focusing on class analyses, investigate whether there is any continuity between the occupational status of parents and their children. It is carefully observed especially in societies with high level of meritocracy when there is education driven mobility.

Looking at the present employment status of mothers of both male and female survey group members, we see that majority of mothers are 'housewives' (93.8% the mothers of males, 88.2% the mothers of female). As referenced earlier while considering the relationship between gender and unemployment, the labour force participation of women for wage work is quite low compared to developed countries and there is, furthermore, a declining trend. One main reason is their low educational attainment, though cultural reasons weigh almost as heavily as the low education factor.

The fathers' occupation is also quite important. This occupation affects/determines the level of income. Since women's labour force participation is very low, it is fathers who have the primary responsibility of providing subsistence to their families and their income status is crucial in terms of the welfare of the family. This study has a particular focus on fathers' educational attainment, occupation and income as factors influencing how youth unemployment is experienced.

Fathers once working in the public or private sector prior to their retirement and who are now economically inactive constitute the first group. In Şanlıurfa, this first group is followed by the group of fathers who have been engaged in low-skill jobs requiring not much qualification. In Ankara, on the other hand, as far as males are concerned the second group is formed by fathers who have held occupations requiring some skills and fathers of young females are observed to have been professionals in their active years. After these categories are the salaries or wage earners in the public or private sector. Although self-

employment on the part of fathers is low in both cities, the fathers of young people living in Şanlıurfa include relatively more self-employed people than their counterparts in Ankara^x.

Subsistence / Income

The family member or members providing support in terms of subsistence is also important. In both cities it is mainly the fathers who support their families because the mothers' employment in paid jobs is rare. Looking at the distribution of young family members reporting to support their families we see the following: The proportion of male family members supporting their families is higher in Şanlıurfa than in Ankara. Looking at the educational status and number of siblings of young males supporting their families, we see that there are more young people with low education level and high number of siblings supporting their families. As will be touched upon later, young members from large families who have low educational attainment and whose total family income is low cannot stay unemployed for too long. Consequently they join the informal sector without paying heed to working conditions and other criteria.

Another point to be observed is that there are more married women in Ankara and, consequently, economic dependence on their husbands is more pronounced. Educational status, marital status and the number of siblings of young family members who support their families economically were considered important and thus relevant inquiries were made. There are 68 young people contributing to family subsistence (18 of whom independently support their families economically). The average monthly income of the families of these supporting/contributing members is 600.12³¹ YTL. The average monthly family income of other who do not support/contribute to family subsistence is 615.64 YTL. There is no statistically significant difference in comparing the wages of those who do and those who don't support their families ($Z=0.88$, $p>0.05$; *Mann-Whitney U test result*). The contributory/supportive position is also tested with respect to marital status. While 18.8% of single young people contribute to family subsistence, the percentage increases to 35.0 % for married people. The difference here is statistically significant ($\chi^2=5.58$, $p<0.05$).

³¹ 1 US Dollar equals 1.455 YTL (New Turkish Lira), and 1 Euro equals 1.875 YTL.

The contributory/ supportive position also varies with respect to educational level ($\chi^2=15.96$, $p<0.05$). While 43.3% of young people with only a primary education contribute to family subsistence, the rate falls to 14.7% among those having at least a university education and further down to 6.3% among two-year college-graduates. While those not supporting/contributing to family subsistence have 3.99 siblings on average, those who are contributing have on average 4.75 siblings. This difference is also statistically significant ($Z=-2.38$, $p<0.05$) (*Mann-Whitney U test result*).

Since young family members covered in this survey are mostly the first or middle children of their parents and since they are presently unemployed, their contribution to family subsistence is rather limited. In Turkey, where female participation in the labour force is very low, family subsistence is undertaken by males. Male children may have to work and contribute to family subsistence depending on the fathers' level of income and the number of children in the family. Female employment strikingly decreases further in Şanlıurfa. In many cases, the employment of girls is almost impossible.

The average monthly income of almost half of the families covered in the survey is in the range 300- 500 YTL. This group is followed by those reporting average monthly family income in the range 501-700 YTL. There are more female members than males reporting average monthly income over 900 YTL. In terms of family income, females were observed to be in relatively wealthier families.

Table 13. Average monthly income distribution of the survey group

Income (YTL)	Şanlıurfa				Ankara				Total*			
	Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	n	%	N	%	N	%
100-300	11	17.2	4	21.0	11	6.8	2	2.4	22	9.9	6	6.1
301-500	29	45.3	4	21.0	74	46.5	36	45.6	103	46.2	40	40.9
501-700	18	28.1	6	31.7	34	21.5	16	20.3	52	23.3	22	22.4
701-900	2	3.1	1	5.3	20	12.6	9	11.4	22	9.9	10	10.2
901 and over	4	6.3	4	21.0	20	12.6	16	20.3	24	10.7	20	20.4
Total	64	100.0	19	100.0	159	100.0	79	100.0	223	100.0	98	100.0
Mean	525.47		702.63		596.50		690.19		576.12		629.60	
Std. Dev.	227.45		509.21		304.83		405.91		286.09		425.01	
Median	500.00		600.00		500.00		580.00		500.00		600.00	
Mode	500		600		500		500		500		500	
Min-Max	100-1500		200-2000		100-2500		100-3000		100-2500		100-3000	

* 8 respondents did not specify their income level.

As will be seen in relation to the education level of fathers, lower education levels are associated with low-paying jobs that can be found in the labour market. A test (ANOVA)³² was applied to check the relationship between the fathers' educational status, city of residence and average monthly income. Results may be interpreted as follows: Average monthly income levels do not vary meaningfully with respect to the city of residence, but do vary with respect to the educational status of fathers. The relationship between the income and the educational status of fathers does not show variance with respect to the city of residence. In other words, there is no interaction between the city of residence and educational status in terms of income level, but there is interaction between fathers' educational status and income. In the group where the majority of fathers are primary schools graduates, their family heads have received the lowest pay for government employees and are receiving the lowest pensions. Consequently, considering their present income levels and family size, these families remain below the poverty line reported in relevant studies³³.

Table 14. Distribution of the survey group by the relationship between income and educational status of father

Father's education	Şanlıurfa			Ankara			Total		
	N	\bar{X}	S	N	\bar{X}	S	N	\bar{X}	S
Illiterate, Literate, Primary school	53	490.2	204.9	115	526.9	254.6	168	515.4	240.0
Secondary school and over	30	700.0	429.9	122	725.0	387.7	152	720.1	395.0
Total	83	566.0	319.8	237	720.1	343.8	320	612.6	338.4

$F_{IL} = 0.53$, $p > 0.05$ F province

$F_{EGTİM} = 22.98$, $p < 0.05$ F education

$F_{IL \times EGTİM} = 0.19$, $p > 0.05$ F provinceXeducation

³² ANOVA stands for *analysis-of-variance*, a statistical model meant to analyze data. Generally the variables in an ANOVA analysis are categorical, not continuous. The term *main effect* is used in the ANOVA context. The *main effect of x* seems to mean the result of an F test to see if the different categories of x have any detectable effect on the dependent variable on average, www.glossarydictionary.com

³³ In 2003, the monthly food poverty line is 168 YTL, whereas the monthly complete poverty line is 417 YTL for a 4-person household.

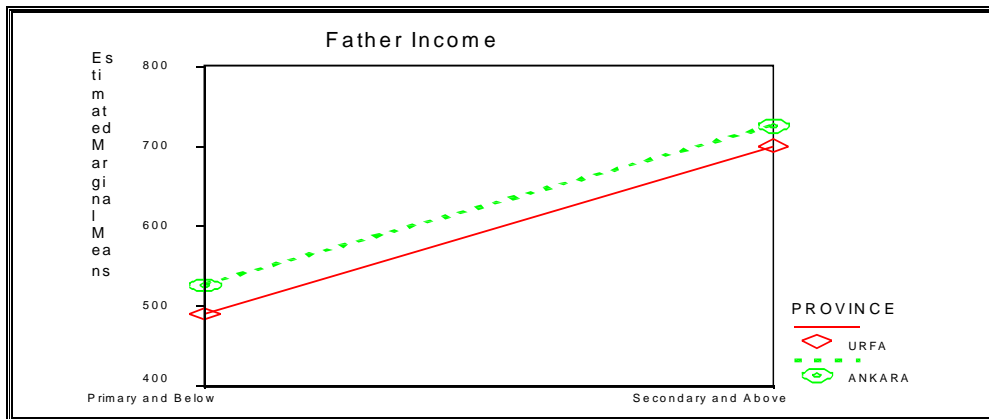


Figure 2. Estimated marginal means of income

House Ownership of Parents

The ownership status of the house where the family is living is also important. As stated frequently in the interviews with both decision-makers and families in the two cities, high rental payments affect especially low income families deeply. Any job that can be found and any decision relating to moving into a separate house is considered first with reference to the amount of rent that is paid or has to be paid. In many cases, married couples live with their parents since their wages are not sufficient to support the family in a separate, rented house. This congestion naturally affects the sharing of household income and further deepens economic difficulties.

Examining the ownership of the house where families are living, we observe that more than half of the families own the houses where they presently live. In Şanlıurfa a large majority of families own their houses whereas rent payers form the majority in Ankara. Looking at the type of house where families live, we see that in both cities they live mostly in apartment flats (the percentage is slightly higher for females). Those living in *gecekondu* type houses³⁴ are more numerous in Ankara^{xi}.

³⁴ *Gecekondu*, a Turkish word born in the 1940s, means 'built overnight' and describes the illegally constructed squatter buildings, which comprise entire neighbourhoods or are scattered individually and run rampant in Turkey's larger cities, especially Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir, and Bursa (Karpat, 1976). According to the official definition, stated in the 1966 Gecekondu Law, these neighbourhoods are typically built on abandoned land or on lands owned by others, without the permission of the landowner, and do not obey the rules and regulations. Many sources have said that 50% of the housing stock and urban population of Turkey, and 60% of Istanbul, are comprised of these settlements.

This emphasizes the different status of those who registered with İŞKUR. A closer look at residences indicates that people in this survey group are not the poorest of the poor but rather have relatively easier access to formal and informal information networks. Many poverty surveys in Turkey have focused on *gecekondu* dwellers. This group, on the other hand, has a lower share of its members living in *gecekondu* while they are clearly low income families. This makes it clear that poverty studies may well need to be conducted in spaces other than *gecekondu* areas, including apartment flats.

Another question of vital importance remains: Does unemployment breed unemployment or not? Whether there is an unemployed family member and, if there is, who experiences this unemployment is a crucial factor to consider. Derks et al. (1996) stressed that the effects of parental unemployment on the employment situation of children are not direct, but are mediated by educational performance. Moreover, when the breadwinner lost their jobs other members of their families began to look for work. They found that the probability of school failure is greater for children of unemployed fathers, with obvious consequences for labour market position. Unemployment may thus be passed on from one generation to the next through the mechanism of the child's educational career.

In Turkey where the number of working women is quite limited, any unemployment on the part of the father who is the 'head' of the family by definition affects all members of the family. Existence of unemployment and the number of family members experiencing unemployment naturally has its implications on family income and the frequency of periods in which family members are unemployed consequently leads to pauperisation and further aggravates other problems associated with poverty. Questions were posed to respondents about their experience of unemployment within the last five years since their responses would give meaningful hints as to the impact of unemployment on family incomes as well as the impact of recent economic crises on the life of families and their members. Since mothers have not been working they have no experience in unemployment. Looking at the unemployment experience of working male and female siblings of young people, we observe that male siblings face unemployment relatively more than female siblings.

In terms of family, it is possible to say that the families of the young people interviewed in both provinces are from low income groups. A primary school level of education is the most common educational attainment for mothers and fathers of the survey group. The proportion of male family members supporting their families is higher in Şanlıurfa than in Ankara. There are more young people with a low education level and a high number of siblings supporting their families in Şanlıurfa. In both cities more than half of families own the houses where they presently live, most of which are apartment flats. There are few members contributing to family subsistence, pay from jobs held is low and there are too many family members sharing this low income. As stated in family interviews, there are cases where a family of 10 tries to subsist on a single pension. This leads to a state of exclusion where unemployed family members have to consider even small transportation costs when they step out of their homes to look for a job. Young women and unemployed males from low income families are most affected by this situation. Low family income means, for many young people, exclusion from social and economic life as well as from given consumption patterns and mobility.

5.3 The State and the Unemployed Youth

Besides using available data (numbers and percentages at the national level) in applying Gallie and Paugam's model to the Turkish case, I added some questions in my questionnaire to see to what extent the welfare regime provisions are visible and felt during experience of my survey group's unemployment duration. These provisions include many vital forms of aid including the creation of jobs for young people, equipping young entrants of the labour force with the skills required by the market, containing the informal sector, supervising the quality and quantity of jobs generated in the labour market, organising training and courses, informing young people about formal channels of job seeking, developing policies for unemployment assistance and making the issue more visible. The questions asked addressed any financial assistance received and participation in any training/employment schemes during their unemployment period, as well as their opinions about the duties of the state.

Financial assistance received

My first question was “have you ever received assistance (including unemployment insurance) from any institution during your unemployment?” A great majority of respondents received no assistance from any institution while they were unemployed^{xii}. Those who did receive some assistance, mainly received unemployment benefits (12 people) or assistance from the *Social Assistance and Solidarity Fund* (seven people). As will be identified later during the section on the interviews with families, unemployment assistance is limited to unemployment insurance and associated benefits. We discussed earlier the eligibility requirements to benefit from this scheme which make receiving aid difficult. Other than these options, there are forms of assistance from other public institutions but these are within the framework of poverty alleviation assistance and one has to prove his/her poverty status in order to be eligible for such assistance.

Participation in any training/employment scheme

The second question was “have you ever participated in a government sponsored training and/or employment scheme during your present or past unemployment?” The majority of young people have not taken part in training and work programmes organised and financed by the State^{xiii}. There were 19 (12 of them are living in Ankara) young respondents stating to have benefited from such State led organisations and they were asked to specify this assistance. Responses show that these respondents have participated “vocational training courses” organised mainly in Ankara. There were five young respondents who participated in a “training for jobs programme” in the past in Şanlıurfa, and two are continuing in a training programme organised by the Apprentice Centre of the Ministry of Education.

Opinions about the duties of the state

The third question was “what do you think of the basic responsibilities of the state; please select the three from the list below which are the most important for you”. Young people were asked their opinion about the duties of the State and which duties they considered most important. For this question, some duties of the state were listed:

- To prevent unemployment by creating jobs
- To prevent corruption
- To provide resources to the private sector for its development
- To collect taxes both systematically and fairly

- To protect all citizens' life and property
- To protect all citizens' basic human rights and freedom
- To behave equally toward all citizens without any kind of discrimination
- To ensure social service benefits for all citizens including education, health and retirement
- To build cheap houses for their citizens
- To represent the country well abroad
- To inform all citizens about its policies and their implementation
- To take measures for decreasing foreign dependence
- To protect the unity of motherland
- To fight against poverty
- To ensure independent and fair functioning of the justice system

To prevent the order of the duties listed from affecting the results, different cards with the duties listed in a different sequence were used in this questioning. According to the responses the primary duty of the state^{xiv} is 'to prevent unemployment by creating jobs'. The respondents think they are unemployed because the state fails to do so. The second most important duty of the state according to the survey is 'to prevent corruption'. Third is 'to ensure social service benefits for all citizens including education, health and retirement.' The least critical duties included 'representing the country well abroad' (0.3%) and 'informing citizens about its policies and their implementation'.

Considering the three criteria of the model and my research data together, in spite of the limitations mentioned before, Turkey is a good representative of the sub-protective welfare regime, whose basic characteristics were discussed earlier. As established previously, the experience of unemployment depends on three important realms of life: the labour market, the type of welfare regime in the country, and the family and their inter-relationships. What is the nature of the link between unemployment, the welfare regime and the type of family? Gallie and Paugam, in researching this question, discovered that there is a very strong correspondence between the sub-protective regime and extended dependence on family. To a certain extent, families fill the gap left by the state. This model characterizes a situation where different generations are brought together in the same household under the wing of the core generation. It is based simultaneously on the reciprocal exchange between members of the household and strict norms defining the obligations of each person within the group (Gallie&Paugam, 2000).

Returning to the survey completed for this study, responses to the last question reveal that youth expectations from the state are very high. Recalling the decision-makers' opinion about the responsibilities of the state, their expectations are also very high. On the other hand, when we look at the reality of the situation, in spite of the intentions of bureaucratic mechanisms, conditions in real life and state provisions to their subjects are very limited.

Similar to other countries in which a sub-protective welfare regime is dominant, such as Italy, Spain and Greece, in Turkey unemployed youth are mostly dependent on their families. Turkey is often associated with the traditional welfare regimes in which the family and wider web of social relationships are expected to shoulder significant responsibility for the provision of welfare (Kalaycıoğlu 2006; Buğra 2001). Consequently, since many young people live with their families and since social assistance is family-centred and not individual-based, young people in our survey remain out of any benefit scheme. The formalities and procedures necessary to acquire benefits are long and difficult to decipher and, in some cases, the amount of assistance is too small to be worth the effort. Since people have to prove they are in 'poverty', related documents and efforts are regarded as a declaration of 'desperation and want' and many families with 'able' males feel humiliated by such a declaration. Therefore, the major expectation from the state is not 'poverty-driven' direct assistance but provision of employment opportunities and using assistance funds to make investments which will open new areas of employment.

5.4 Individual Experiences of Unemployed Youth in the Labour Market

5.4.1 Past and Present Work Experience

As discussed formerly, the transition from school to work is an important inclusion tool for the welfare states. Finding employment after schooling does not simply mean earning an income but, more importantly, constitutes a transition from youth to adulthood. Having a job is significant step in young people becoming economically independent. With this assumption, I consider the employment status of young people immediately after graduating from school. This research indicates that the number of people finding employment immediately after school is smaller than the number who do not find work^{xv}. The number

of those not employed after school is significantly higher in Şanlıurfa. The number of males starting to work after school is higher than females.

The survey group was asked what they had been doing for the last three years. Responses were as follows: 'seeking jobs', 'military service' and 'attending school'. For the last three years, casual jobs combined with part-time work make up a significant number of the responses. While 13.1% of respondents were full-time job holders in 2001 this fell to 7.9% in 2003^{xvi}. It is quite probable that some people lost their jobs as a result of the economic crisis breaking out in 2001 in Turkey.

In the survey group, 28.9% of young males and 40.6% of females are seeking jobs for the first time. There is a correlation between gender and the trends of job hunting. While 32.9% of males have sought jobs on more than one occasion, only 18.8% of females have done so^{xvii}. On the other hand, there are more females than males who have lost their jobs. There are more males than females who have held more than one job and are looking for a better job. As will be frequently repeated in this study, this situation is mainly related to the "casual" and informal nature of jobs found in the labour market. It is interesting to note a gender-based differentiation in this respect. It may be concluded that males are more mobile in pursuing any job while females behave more hesitantly. The higher number of females losing their earlier jobs may be explained by working conditions or requirements unfit for females (i.e. overtime work, night shifts, working conditions bringing pressures on female workers, etc.).

The ages of the group composed of first-time job seekers was analysed as well. The members of this group are, on average, significantly younger than the others. Their unemployment is associated with their first-time status and limited experience in working life. The survey group as a whole also frequently changed their jobs.

Table 15. Distribution of the survey group by present status in labour market and age

Status	Male			Female			Total		
	n	\bar{X}	S	n	\bar{X}	S	n	\bar{X}	S
Jobs for the first time	64	21.8	1.8	40	21.7	1.6	104	21.7	1.7
Jobs for more than one occasion	74	22.7	1.4	19	22.2	1.4	93	22.6	1.4
Lost their jobs	18	22.5	1.7	12	22.3	1.7	30	22.4	1.7
One job and are looking for a better job	68	22.5	1.4	29	22.3	1.4	97	22.4	1.4
Total	224	22.4	1.6	100	22.1	1.5	324	22.3	1.6
Result of the analysis	F=4.68, p<0.05			F=1.19, p>0.05			F=6.17, p<0.05		

Looking at the duration of work in the past, almost half of the males and slightly more than half of the females surveyed have worked for less than a year. For other work duration groups, males seem to have worked longer than females. Therefore, compared to males, there are fewer females who have worked after school and also the duration of their work life is shorter on average. Females have consistently had longer unemployment spells compared to males in Turkey. This might be attributable to the fact that the share of newcomers is considerably higher for females on the grounds that it takes them longer to get their first job (Tunalı, 2003:48).

Looking at sector-based distribution of jobs held by young males and females, the private sector comes first. The private sector wage work is followed by the public sector. Though very few, self-employed people form the third category. It is interesting to note that there are no self-employed female in either city.

Respondents were asked whether they had had any training in their present jobs or the latest jobs they held (56.3% of males and 60.0% of females replied positively in Şanlıurfa and 44.6% of males and 42.9% of females in Ankara)^{xviii}. The rest are those receiving no training in their jobs (43.7% of males and 40.0% of females in Şanlıurfa and 55.4% of males and 57.1% of females in Ankara). Formal education and training institutions are the primary “source” of training in either past or present jobs. In other words, the majority of those receiving job-related training received it in vocational high schools and/or university (52.2%). This formal training is followed by training received at workplaces (21.1%). Apart from these two forms of training, there are very few young people receiving post-graduate or short-term skill-building courses.

Decision makers stressed the importance of on-the-job training in general and the integration of a practise training system with workplaces as a form of employment in particular. But training at the workplace is not the preferred method by employers. Employers favour those who are trained and qualified enough to take on regular jobs as soon as they start rather than having to bear the cost and time loss associated with workplace training.

No respondents are attending or had attended courses organised by municipalities. In fact there is no such training courses organised by the Municipality of Şanlıurfa. In Ankara, however, there are vocational training courses jointly organised by the Ankara Greater Municipality and Vocational College of Gazi University. Still, there has been no participation in these courses by the members of the survey group in Ankara. In discussions with decision makers the question of local government contributions to reduce unemployment arose. They felt that local governments should take over more responsibility in employment issues because related problems could be grasped deeper and viable solutions could be developed more readily at the local level. Indeed, in almost all studies on the problem of unemployment we witness the mention of localities and local governments as points of reference in seeking solution to the problem of unemployment. Yet, in our survey, we see no participation in courses and other training activities organised by local governments within the last three years.

Unemployment can be voluntary or involuntary. Although distinctions are not clear cut, useful inferences can be drawn using the information on the reason for unemployment provided in the HLFS³⁵. After 1999 the percentage of those who lost their jobs steadily increased, and approached 50% in 2001 (Tunalı, 2003:46). The primary reason these people lost or withdrew from their jobs was the ‘temporary’ nature of these jobs. The second reason is ‘military service’. Other reasons include: Discharge for economic reasons, bankruptcy of the firm, dismissal for some reason and termination of employment prior to

³⁵ Starting with 1991, the survey instrument allows us to construct the following categorizations:

1- **Lost job:** (i) worked temporarily, (ii) was dismissed, (iii) business got liquidated or went bankrupt. 2- **Quit the job:** (i) due to insufficient income, (ii) due to unsatisfying working conditions, (iii) retired. 3- **First time job seeker** (or newcomer): (i) just graduated, (ii) just completed his military service, and (iii) other.

some major lay off. This information testifies that jobs in the labour market mostly have long daily working hours, low wages and are of a temporary nature.

Since this question included the option 'other' which might include a wide range of reasons, young respondents were also asked to give these reasons in their own words. This subgroup includes such reasons as 'absence of insurance' (five people), 'wage was too low' (five people), 'disagreement with managers' (four people), 'dislike of the job' (three people), 'too long working hours' (two people), 'for getting sick' (two people), 'I haven't actually quit' (11 people), 'unsuitable working hours' (one person), 'I am on vacation' (one person), 'for being assigned work other than my original assignment' (one person), 'I had to take care of my siblings' (one person), 'payments were delayed' (one person), 'to go and work in Russia' (one person), 'I couldn't get my pay' (one person), and 'workplace was too far' (one person).

Young respondents were asked about their daily working hours in their present or past jobs and what they would consider as 'ideal daily working hours'. In both cities their daily working hours were found to be nine hours or longer. As stated earlier, the majority of employed young people work in the private sector. Working hours are generally longer in this sector, wages are lower and mechanisms to protect workers are either limited or altogether non-existent, which implies informality.

According to young respondents, daily working hours should be ideally eight hours. But there are also some others who think that employed people can work nine hours or longer a day. Variation on the basis of gender and place of residence is striking with respect to 'ideal' working hours. While there is no female regarding nine or more daily working hours as 'ideal' in Şanlıurfa, the percentage of females in Ankara regarding this as 'ideal' is higher than males.

Pay

Looking at the distribution of the survey group with respect to monthly wages, we see that young people in both provinces are ready to accept a job at minimum wage³⁶⁻³⁷ or a pay slightly higher, though expectations are somewhat higher in Ankara (301-500 YTL³⁸). There are more young people in Şanlıurfa ready to work for 150-300 YTL a month. Longer terms of unemployment and labour market conditions pull down the expectations of young people. They come to think that they have no alternative but finding an insurance covered job even at minimum wage. However, as mentioned earlier, higher rentals preclude these young people from moving to separate houses even if they find jobs. The survey further revealed a direct relationship between educational attainment and wage expectations. Naturally, college and university graduates expect higher pay on average ($F=5.79$, $p<0.05$). The level of expected remuneration also changes with respect to provinces ($t=-3.45$, $p<0.05$). The chart below shows this clearly. However, expected remuneration does not vary with respect to sex ($t=1.56$, $p>0.05$) although males expect somewhat higher wages than females, the difference is statistically insignificant.

³⁶ Minimum wage legislation in Turkey dates back to 1967 and has been implemented nationwide since 1974. The old *Labour Act No.1475* stipulates that minimum wages have to be adjusted at least every two years by a Tripartite Committee attached to the Ministry of Labour and Social Security. Turkey's experience with inflation dictated more frequent adjustments. Starting with 1988, the minimum wage has been adjusted every year (in mid year), and starting with 1999, twice a year. Despite the frequent adjustments, real minimum wage has fluctuated over the years. It increased substantially during the 1989-93 period, dropped precipitously to 1989 levels in 1994 (around US\$100), slowly recovered during the second half of the 90s, and peaked at around US\$200 in 1999 before dropping to \$120 per month in 2001 (Tunalı, 2003, p.6).

³⁷ The current monthly gross minimum wage is about 260 US Dollars.

³⁸ In January 2005, a currency reform established the new Turkish Lira, which was worth 1 million of the previous unit, the Turkish Lira. In January 2006, the exchange rate was 1.34 new Turkish Lira to the U.S. Dollar. Thus, in 2005 the new lira was stronger against dollar than old one had been in 2002 and 2003, when the average rate was slightly more than 1.5 million to dollar.

Table 16. Distribution of the survey group by the expected amount of monthly pay

Pay (YTL)	Şanlıurfa				Ankara				Total*			
	Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female	
	n	%	N	%	n	%	N	%	n	%	n	%
150-300	8	12.9	2	10.0	8	5.1	7	8.9	16	7.3	9	9.1
301-500	48	77.4	16	80.0	113	72.0	65	82.3	161	73.5	81	81.8
501-700	5	8.1	-	-	25	15.9	2	2.5	30	13.7	2	2.0
701-900	1	1.6	-	-	7	4.5	5	6.3	8	3.7	5	5.1
901 and over	-	-	2	10.0	4	2.5	-	-	4	1.8	2	2.0
Total	62	100.0	20	100.0	157	100.0	79	100.0	219	100.0	99	100.0
Mean	407.98		431.25		494.53		444.56		470.03		441.87	
Std. Deviation	94.60		207.73		159.19		124.48		148.88		143.97	
Median	400.00		350.00		500.00		400.00		450.00		400.00	
Mode	400		350		500		500		500		500	
Min-Max	200-750		200-1000		150-1500		150-800		150-1500		150-1000	

* 11 respondents did not specify the expected amount of monthly pays, of which they would accept.

Table 17. Distribution of the survey group by the expected amount of monthly pay and their educational status

Pay (YTL)	Secondary school and below		High school (both vocational and general)		Two and four years university		Total	
	N	%	n	%	N	%	n	%
150-300	9	13.8	14	7.5	2	3.1	25	7.9
301-500	47	72.4	147	78.6	48	73.8	242	76.3
501-700	8	12.3	17	9.1	7	10.8	32	10.1
701-900	-	-	7	3.7	5	7.7	12	3.8
901 and over	1	1.5	2	1.1	3	4.6	6	1.9
Total	65	100.0	187	100.0	65	100.0	317	100.0

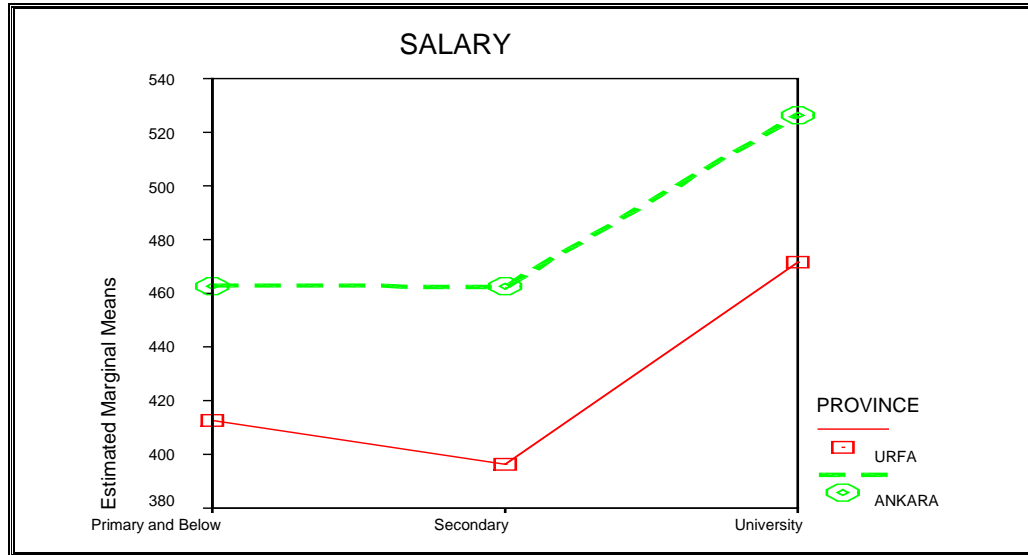


Figure 3. Estimated marginal means of wage

91.2% of males and 89.2% of females are presently seeking jobs^{xix}. Considering that the members of the survey group have registered with İŞKUR within the last 3 months of 2003 and their interviews have taken place in June-July 2004, it can be inferred that a large majority of the group was unemployed for at least 6 months. Further, family interviews gave the impression that registration with İŞKUR was seen as a formal channel and this formal channel was tried only after all other attempts had proven futile. This suggests that long-term unemployment may be a reality for young people as well. Many surveys, on the other hand, report that young people find jobs within shorter periods of time than adults (due to their relative receptiveness to low-paying jobs without insurance and lower job criteria). Nevertheless there are other studies showing that long-term unemployment is becoming more and more relevant for young job-seekers.

There are 31 survey group members presently not seeking jobs. 64.4% of these people state that they have a job at present. Then there are others who are still attending school (16.1%). Longer periods of unemployment and absence of jobs in line with expectations may direct, especially females, back to school. As established in the family interviews, this is a way of coping with unemployment which becomes possible especially in relatively higher income families with fewer numbers of dependent members.

The majority of the survey group are trying to find jobs. On the other hand, many recent efforts to alleviate youth unemployment focus on entrepreneurship. This is one of the first key words mentioned when seeking solutions to this type of unemployment. In fact, entrepreneurship and promotion of entrepreneurial culture formed one of the four pillars³⁹ suggested by the European Employment Strategy. Resort to entrepreneurship as an important instrument in fighting against unemployment requires focus and a presentation of successful models. The labour market and its stability are also important in promoting a culture of entrepreneurship. Frequent crises experienced in the market⁴⁰ and the existence

³⁹ The thematic priorities agreed at Luxembourg summit in 1987 were grouped in four pillars: entrepreneurship, employability, adaptability, and equal opportunities.

⁴⁰ Four events which are responsible for the drops identified in the graph, are worth recounting. In January 1991 the Gulf War started. Turkey's trade with Iraq and other countries in the region was negatively affected. The next crisis was

of unreliable or uncertain environments hinder the development of an atmosphere conducive to entrepreneurial initiatives. This point was stressed by DİSK: “if we examine the number of enterprises launched and closed down within a year we see that there are many people starting various initiatives, but many of them fail within a year for a variety of reasons”.

Considering that the survey group consisted of people ages 18-24, it is quite normal that many members of this group are seeking jobs for the first time. However, almost a half of the group has had the experience of losing their jobs more than once. It is important to note that there are 24 males stating to have lost five or more of their earlier jobs^{xx}. This clearly shows that these young people were once engaged in ‘unstable’ jobs partly or totally lacking established standards. Gender is another factor coming to the fore in this regard. As stated earlier, females do not seek jobs randomly and are careful about the nature of their prospective jobs in an attempt to ease their families. It is actually females with longer educational background who seek jobs and once they find jobs they remain longer in employment since the consent of their families is necessary. In spite of this difference, it is possible to say that what the labour market offers to both males and females are mostly temporary jobs with short-term contracts.

Although first-time job seekers make up the majority of the survey population in both cities, the number of those who have lost their jobs more than two times is still noteworthy. This pattern of ‘repetitive unemployment’ indicates incongruence between the qualifications of job seekers and the nature of jobs they can find on the one hand, and also gives us an idea about available jobs on the other.

homemade. Due to mounting concerns about the Government’s handling of public sector borrowing, the Turkish lira lost 70% of its value against the US Dollar during the first three months of 1994. Inflation and interest rates skyrocketed after the stabilization program was adopted in April. In the early part of 1999, the lagged impact of the Russian crisis was felt in Turkey. In the second half of the year, two earthquakes devastated the eastern part of the Marmara region which accounted for 5% of the establishments, more than 6 percent of the workforce, and about 15% of the value added in Turkish manufacturing in 1997. Finally, 2001 went into the record books as the year of the severest economic crisis in Turkey since the 1950s. Financial markets came to the brink of collapse in November 2000, but the actual crash came in February 2001 (Tunali, 2003, p.3).

The question necessarily arises: Is there any relationship between the experience of repetitive unemployment and the place of residence, sex, educational status or the educational status of the fathers? The surveys indicate that the share of those who have never been unemployed or who have lost their jobs only once is larger in Ankara than in Şanlıurfa. There are more people in Şanlıurfa who have lost their jobs two times or more. In terms of gender, most of the females are in the group of first time job-seekers and females lag behind males in the loss of two or more jobs. Regarding the correlation between educational status and job loss, the experience of losing jobs becomes relatively rare as educational status rises ($\chi^2=13.67$, $p<0.05$). The incidence of losing jobs again tends to decline as the educational status of fathers rises, but this relationship is not significant in statistical terms. As stated earlier, in both industrialized and developing economies, young people are more likely to have intermittent (temporary, part-time, casual) work and insecure arrangements, often in the informal economy with limited protection. The literature also emphasizes that a previous experience with unemployment may influence new job opportunities. An individual's previous unemployment experience has been proven to have implications for future employment chances (ILO, 2004).

Duration of unemployment

Young people tend to be unemployed for shorter periods than adults but the frequency of their unemployment is higher (Isengard, 2003: 361). According to Hans Dietrich, each month of unemployment reduces the probability of employment by approximately 3% (Hammer, 2003). Young people tend not to have accumulated financial resources, and have therefore a high poverty risk (Julkunen, 2002). Thus, duration of unemployment reduces income remarkably month by month and increases economic dependence on others.

As to the duration of unemployment, we see that majority of the group has unemployment periods of longer than a year. While 21.8% of males and 23.5% of females have unemployment periods of shorter than a year, the experience of the rest exceeds one year. It is also striking that the unemployment experience of 17 males and 13 females is longer than 48 months. However, this extreme situation suggests the existence of a rather “subjective experience of unemployment instead of that defined internationally. In line with the

classical definition⁴¹ the duration of unemployment was considered to be the period following the first registry with an employment agency. Nevertheless, even in light of this definition, long-term unemployment is still visible.

It should be noted here that the term 'long-term unemployment' does not denote those who have been unemployed for a year or longer but those seeking jobs for a year or longer. According to the survey respondents, the latest unemployment experience of about one-third of the group is for one year or shorter. The second most numerous group consists of those unemployed for 12-23 months. Examining the most recent unemployment we can conclude that long-term unemployment exists among young population. Indeed two-thirds of the group claim that the duration of their unemployment is longer than a year. Females have longer duration of unemployment for reasons stated earlier. Usually, long-term unemployment leads to poverty and social exclusion, and this tends to further undermine future chances of finding a new job. Long durations of unemployment spells indicate a stagnant labour market, where chances to escape unemployment are limited (ILO, 2004: 16).

'Seeking jobs', 'military service' and 'attending school' were three activities that had been done for the last three years by the survey group. A smooth transition from school to work was not possible for the majority of them. Looking at the 'source' of training in either present or past jobs, formal education and training institutions are at the top of the list. Past work experience shows that daily working hours were nine hours or longer. Among the reasons people lost or withdrew from their jobs, the 'temporary' nature of jobs is the leading one. The survey group as a whole frequently changed their jobs. Long-term

⁴¹HÍAs (Household Labour Force Surveys) use the ILO definition of unemployment. In HÍAs, open unemployment is used to denote those people (who "are at economically active ages, not employed in the reference period, but who have tried at least one channel of job-seeking within the last 3 months – within the last 6 months prior to 2000- and who are ready to take on a job within 15 days." This definition also covers those who have found a job or established their own business, but waiting to complete some preliminary procedures in case they are ready to start within 15 days. This definition suggests three criteria for being considered as unemployed: Not being employed; active job-seeking and being ready to start working. All of these criteria must be satisfied by a person to be considered as unemployed. The proportion of these people to total labour force is known as unemployment rate.

unemployment is relevant for the survey group and young people in both provinces are ready to accept jobs at minimum wage.

Looking at the age at which young people in the survey group first applied to the public employment agency, we see that it is 20-21 in females and 22-23 in males. The difference is due to the compulsory military service that young males have to complete. Fulfilling the required military service and holding a job are two crucial indicators of being a 'full man' in Turkey. Consequently many young people behave more seriously in their post-military service job seeking, including registry with İŞKUR. Females, on the other hand, start seeking jobs immediately after finishing school. However, the concentration of females are ages 20-21, implying a delay of a few years after the completion of secondary education, probably attributable to multiple attempts over those few years to be admitted to university by retaking the university entrance exam, which is difficult to pass on the first sitting. As stated earlier, young people first try informal methods to find a job and then shift to İŞKUR if these informal methods do not work. In most cases, however, these methods are not mutually exclusive and may be tried together in the same period.

As in most of the developing countries including Turkey, formal job-search methods such as the use of an employment office, may not be relevant in urban labour markets where labour absorption is low, and in rural markets where self-employed and unpaid family work (especially for women) are common (Husmann et al, 1990). The methods or channels of job seeking may be divided in two broad categories as 'formal' and 'informal'. As it will be mentioned in Chapter 7 on family interviews, informal methods are used first in both cities. These include asking relatives and close acquaintances and applying to local political leaders. Formal methods are tried if earlier informal ways prove to be futile. Such formal methods of job seeking as following job vacancies published in newspapers, registry with private employment agencies, applying to skill building courses and training programmes, preparing CVs and using the internet to contact with firms are used relatively more in Ankara as compared with Şanlıurfa ($p < 0.05$).

The place of residence apparently becomes a determining factor in the choice between formal and informal⁴² methods of job seeking. Young people in Ankara resort to both formal and informal methods more frequently than their peers in Şanlıurfa^{xxi}. It may be recalled that in interviews with both decision makers and families, respondents considered the causes of unemployment in Şanlıurfa mostly in the context of local conditions. The lack of state initiatives to create employment in the province, poor supervision of investment incentives granted to local entrepreneurs and the failure of the local rich to invest in employment generating areas were explanations made by respondents. It is true that this perception of external sources of blame prevents the emergence of the feeling of social and familial exclusion; however, it may also create frustration and weaken the efforts to change the situation. Indeed, young people living in Şanlıurfa are relatively more passive than their peers in Ankara when it comes to trying various methods for finding jobs.

Some institutional structures may also influence this situation. For example, at present there are no private employment agencies in Şanlıurfa and there are few vocational training programmes with employment guarantee. Furthermore, families interviewed in Şanlıurfa are large families with a higher number of dependent members. The resulting tight economic situation of these families may also be an inhibiting factor in formal job seeking because these methods require the funds to access a computer for the internet or follow daily papers regularly.

Those surveyed indicate that few young people spend their time in unemployment in such activities as attending apprenticeship training, special unemployment courses or other courses (drivers licence, English, computer, etc.). The number of young people attending training courses organised by İŞKUR is also very limited. İŞKUR in particular could provide training to only a small number of young people, a limitation that became clear during both family interviews and interviews conducted with young survey group members.

⁴² Informal methods: seeking jobs by asking close relatives, friends, etc.; having appointments with mayors, deputies or ministers. Formal methods: Registry with public and private employment agency, following newspaper ads, applying for declared vacancies, personal ads on papers, sending CVs to various firms, initiatives to start own business, enrolment to vocational training and skill building courses (including those with employment guarantee), taking admission tests given by public and private enterprises, etc.

İŞKUR is not functional in this regard and indeed the expectations of young people from this institution are very low. Except disabled people, many job seekers apply to this institution with the motive to 'try this one too' rather than any genuine hope of finding jobs through this channel. During interviews with decision makers, the General Director of İŞKUR spoke of these limitations and gave personnel and budget restraints as reasons for the present bottleneck of the institution.

Reconsidering these findings in the light of family interviews and the opinions of decision makers, we observe that those with an educational status lower than high school resort to formal channels of job seeking less than others. Two factors may explain this: Since chances of finding a good job in the formal labour market are generally associated with a higher educational status, young people in this category may be more likely to move toward the informal sector. Secondly, lower educational status also corresponds with slimmer means and skills to get information and reach/use formal channels of job seeking. At high school and higher educational levels, better endowment with information about formal channels of job seeking as well as higher expectations make registration with İŞKUR a plausible alternative. However, it is not the only alternative. Since these people with higher educational attainment have more self-confidence they may try to seek jobs on their own without any mediation. Consequently, those registering with İŞKUR are mostly young people who are high school graduates.

The methods adopted to find employment is dependent upon many factors. The relevant literature suggests that there is relationship between job seeking and income. In countries without effective unemployment support mechanisms, concentrating on unemployment figures risks excluding from the analysis the less privileged groups who simply cannot afford to be unemployed and therefore accept any form of work they can find. In several developing countries, young people of higher socio-economic backgrounds are overrepresented in unemployment numbers because they are the only ones who can afford to spend time looking for work, without incoming wages (ILO, 2004). In my study, the entire survey group had registered with İŞKUR, a formal job-seeking method. On the other hand when I consider the entirety of the data collected in this study, there is a relationship

between job seeking and the income of the unemployed youth's family. The level of income and the province where they live shapes the means of job hunting used by the unemployed youth.

5.4.2 Opinions/thoughts of the Survey Group on their Unemployment

In order to assess the subjective unemployment experiences of the youth, they were asked to determine the level to which they agreed with given statements. This portion of the survey highlighted several important points. First, an overwhelming majority of young respondents fully agree with the statement "I was economically dependent on others"^{xxii}. This point will be taken up again while evaluating responses to open-ended questions and repeated often throughout the thesis. For young people, the most important point in experiencing unemployment is dependency on others. As stated earlier, since these people seek jobs for the first time and since many of them have been in unstable jobs, they are out of any social security coverage and they are economically dependent on their families. This dependency also determines the framework of activities in which they can be engaged during the period of unemployment. In other words, their dependency on others makes it more difficult to spend their time in 'personal hobbies' and plan for their future. In this state of dependency, young people try to cope up with these difficulties, their success varying with respect to family income and the number and sex of other dependent members of the family.

However, as will be touched upon later during family interviews, young people themselves, their families and even decision makers tend to explain present unemployment as a result of factors 'exogenous' to young people themselves and therefore the level of agreement with such statements as those relating to 'self confidence' and 'feeling of exclusion from the society' remains low. In other words, young people try to maintain their self confidence and mental health by explaining their unemployment with 'outer' factors. Since other members of the society also tend to explain social problems with such exogenous factors, the feeling of isolation or exclusion is limited.

While more than two-thirds of young respondents state that they have more spare time for their families and friends while unemployed, a half of them say they could not manage to fulfil any of their goals in this period. One of the important conclusions reached by Johado (1982)⁴³ in his classical work on unemployment is related to the use of time. Work is an activity that gives a specific order to life and fixes daily hours as to their use. When unemployed, however, there is no job to go to after getting up in the morning which prevents the planning of time; time is not used wisely but in a disorganised fashion thus hindering the completion of what needs to be done.

Another noteworthy response to the survey was the level of agreement with the statement: “it was easier to accept jobs without a formal work contract and social security”. 44.3% of respondents fully agree; 41.8% did not agree with this statement; and 17.1% remained undecided. This point is especially relevant for young people whose family income is lower, the number of dependent family members higher or the father is absent either as a result of divorce or death. Young people in this position feel the necessity of keeping their unemployment spell as short as possible. So jobs without social security and a work contract may be taken by young people as a means of coping with their difficult situation. Young people want a job mostly to terminate their dependency on their families. In other words, ending economic dependency is a factor motivating young people to take jobs more than desire to get ‘autonomy’.

Health status

There is abundance of studies on the impact of unemployment a person’s mental health, especially in the western literature. Since the first studies on the psychosocial effects of unemployment were carried out in the 1930s, one of the most closely studied aspects of unemployment has been its influence on health. As stated earlier, explaining unemployment with exogenous factors help the unemployed to maintain their mental health and avoid further problems.

⁴³ According to Jahoda (1982) employment (even bad jobs) can provide latent benefits, including: a time structure for the waking day, regular contact with people outside the nuclear family, involvement in shared goals, a sense of identity, enforced activity.

Relevant literature in the west mostly focuses on stress, depression and desperation at the individual level together with health problems created by them. Previous research has documented higher levels of anxiety and depression among unemployed youth than among youth in employment or education. On the other hand, unemployed young people do not form a homogenous group; how they cope with unemployment depends on the social and cultural context, and differences among youth can highlight the ways in which such cultural differences have an impact on health (Hammer, 2003).

Assessing the existence of such mental health problems in the survey group both provides a basis for comparison with other cultures and also unearths the deeper, more subtle effects of unemployment on the youth. The most common psychological effect identified by the youth in the survey group is 'stress'^{xxiii}. Economic dependency on families seriously narrows the domain of young people. Since young family members have to rely on their elders even for such basic needs as public transportation funds (getting on a *dolmuş*), buying a newspaper or going out with friends, the economic situation of families may bar even these routine activities and the resulting isolation may lead to stress. Apart from the stress due to an insufficient family income, young women may experience stress as a result of their gender. Independent of considerations of family income or place of residence, young women remain at home. They cannot go out as freely as their male counterparts simply because they are women. They are not allowed to do any job they can find and they can go out only with the permission of family elders. This immobility also has roots in young women's own preferences: Thinking that they already put a burden on their families, unemployed young women tend to minimise their expenditures even at the cost of remaining at home.

The second common feeling is 'hopelessness'. Place of residence and gender surface as interesting variables under this heading. The percentage of unemployed women in Ankara who think the situation is 'hopeless' is higher than both males and young women in Şanlıurfa. Other less common problems include 'alienation', loss of self-respect, health problems/bad habits and unrest within the family. Unemployment is the leading factor disturbing established balances within the family since it prevents the crystallisation of

definite functions, introducing ambiguity to long established roles in families. This becomes more pronounced in the case of unemployed youth who live in families with many children and other unemployed members. Although families avoid blaming their children for not having jobs, domestic unrest arises if this unemployment causes pauperisation, an experience far more likely in families of unemployed young people who are married and have children. Contrary to what one might assume, the marital status of young people does not seem to contribute to whether or not there will be familial unrest. 27.7% of singles and 27.5% of married people claim to have domestic disturbances and clashes within their home. Thus there is no statistically significant correlation between domestic unrest and marital status ($\chi^2=0.01$, $p>0.05$).

Opinions about what defines a good job

It is also important to have some understanding of what young people consider a 'good job' to be. To ascertain this definition, merits that can be attributed to a good job were listed (see below) and respondents were asked to check the three of them that they considered 'most important'.

• Good pay	• Taking responsibilities
• Job security	• Providing power and prestige
• Using latest technology/knowledge	• Possibility of taking initiatives
• Giving the possibility for self-realisation	• Good and tolerant employer
• Job well-respected by the society	• Allowing independence
• Job within honesty and moral frame	• Giving the possibility to learn new things
• Good working conditions	• Good workmates
• Providing status	• Useful for the society

As was the case with assessing the duties of the state discussed in 5.3, any potential for the order of these merits to affect the results was avoided by using various cards with the same merits listed in a different sequence. The first criterion for a 'good job' was determined to be job security. Job security was particularly important to those in Ankara and more so to women in both cities than to the men. The second key indicator of a good job was 'good pay'. This criterion was likewise more essential to those in Ankara, but, unlike the first, was considered more imperative by the males than the females. The third merit chosen was 'good working conditions'. With the exception of females in Şanlıurfa, this was the third

most important criterion for all. For unemployed women in Şanlıurfa the third most essential virtue was the presence of ‘good workmates’. For males in both Ankara and Şanlıurfa the ‘possibility of taking initiative’ remained at the bottom of the list^{xxiv}.

According to the families of young people ‘State jobs’ are the best jobs that can be found because, as expressed during the family interviews, these jobs provide security and certainty. Yet, it is quite challenging to find jobs in the public sector, a difficulty which is understood to have two main sources. First, worldwide developments taking place after the 1980s and gradually developing objections to the welfare state model have led to a fall in the share of the public sector in employment (discussed in chapter 3). The second, in the opinion of the families interviewed, is the existence of nepotism in the distribution of jobs in the State sector.

The respondents were also asked to comment on the links between unemployment and different social phenomena given in the questionnaire. The phenomenon most closely associated with unemployment was a ‘higher tendency to commit. The phenomenon least connected to unemployment was the ‘spread of prostitution’. In both cities, young respondents think that there is no direct link between unemployment and prostitution. Other phenomena perceived to have a weak correlation with unemployment include ‘higher incidence of divorce’ and ‘disruption of families’^{xxv}.

As stated above respondents often associate unemployment with the tendency to commit offences. Decision makers likewise expressed the opinion that it is easier to recruit unemployed young people for extreme ideas and activities. Decision makers in Şanlıurfa in particular stressed the relationship between unemployment and terrorist activities, stating that people with jobs would have no serious motive to engage in such behaviour. Contrary to the supposed link between young female unemployment and prostitution, both decision makers and young respondents displayed approaches within the boundaries of existing stigmatising information (employment-inclusion, unemployment-exclusion). As will be addressed in more detail later, almost all unemployed people included in the survey were politically inactive and far removed from any irregular or criminal activity.

An increasing proportion of young people are currently exposed to such social and economic risks as educational failure, unemployment and homelessness. According to Murray (1990), this deterioration of young people's material well-being in turn engenders a deterioration of their mental well-being. As a consequence, today's youth run a greater risk of alcoholism, drug dependency and psychological dysfunction. In deprived areas, several young men and women displaying symptoms of such psychological distresses and material hardship end up engaging in irresponsible sex, thus producing high rates of teenage pregnancy and fatherless children. Consequently, this abets the formation of an underclass reproduced over time. However, surveys regarding poverty, social exclusion and unemployment suggest that young people who fall into such deprived conditions will not necessarily become permanently trapped in them. In other words, the experience of socio-economic exclusion and psychological distress quite often represent a mere episode in an individual's life history. Moreover, recent research actually records a decreasing tendency, as reported by young people themselves, to engage in non-conformist behaviour (Schizzerotto, 2001).

Yet another objective of the survey was to determine what young people perceive to be the cause of their unemployed status. The first source of unemployment, according to young respondents, is the 'failure of the state to provide jobs'^{xxxvi}. The place of residence appears to sway the extent to which the culpability is placed on the State. Young people in Şanlıurfa tend to blame the State more readily for their unemployment. 'I have no strong backing' is the second cause of unemployment endorsed by the respondents while the third is 'insufficient educational attainment'. Young people in Şanlıurfa consider themselves less fortunate than their counterparts in Ankara in terms of education because they find the existing system insufficient. Young people in Şanlıurfa explain their failure in university admittance tests by the absence of appropriate teachers in some important courses and even the absence of any teacher at all. The fourth and fifth most common causes for unemployment identified by the surveys were 'I have no specific occupation' and 'I have no luck'. The top three causes are exogenous, leaving only 'no luck' as a factor which may be considered 'indigenous', which suggests that young people tend to associate their present status with outside factors. There is of course some truth in this approach since the level of

economic development, growth rate of the economy and overall development all play a part in unemployment. Furthermore, technological advances, shrinking of labour intensive trades and information technologies lead to a shortened demand for plain labour and contribute further to unemployment. Alternatively, the least cited sources of unemployment were the irrelevance of some occupations in the labour market and gender discrimination.

As documented above, young people view job security as the primary indicator of a good job. Considering this perspective along with the expectations that young people hold for the State, one may conclude that what the youth desire from their government is not assistance but stable, available employment; the families desire the same, as was discussed later. Another desire that the families especially focus on relates to one of the inhibitors to finding employment, the need for wealth or influence to get a job, or, as the survey expresses it, the need for 'strong backing'. As families get poorer and their economic means get shorter, they explain their lack of access to all kinds of services by their low income status and resulting weakness of social networks. They would like to see employment and services based on abilities and needs, not who you know.

It is utterly important in the context of this study to find out how these young people feel about their status as jobless people and to this end relevant, open-ended questions were raised. Some of their emotions and states of mind were expressed in the following ways: Not having a job is an 'awful/very bad' feeling. "Dependency on my family means making no contribution to others, facing economic difficulties and not being able to do enjoyable things since there is no money". Joblessness "is the feeling of vacuum without any objective and a feeling of unworthiness"; it means "being a person not heeded and respected by others". Unemployment "makes you feel pain, it gives you unrest and puts you under stress". Joblessness is a hard experience giving rise to injurious and troublesome feelings. Though the modes of expression differ from person to person, essentially the respondents express feelings of frustration due to their dependency on others, feelings of emptiness and isolation compared to that of a vacuum and feelings of worthlessness because they are not being esteemed or valued by others around them.

The following statistics from the surveys further emphasize how difficult unemployment is for these young people and how much they would like to have a job: 96.4% of respondents fully agree with the statement “having a job is very important for me”^{xxvii}. 90.6% of respondents fully agree with the statement “I hate being unemployed”. 65.3% of respondents agree with the statement “having a job is the most important thing for me in life”, while 16.7% disagree and 17.9% remain undecided. 248 respondents fully agree with the statement “I’d be still working even if I had a lot of money” while only 42 young respondents disagree.

Taking the group as a whole we may conclude that young people do want to have an occupation and that they dislike being unemployed. On the other hand, ‘having a job’ is not the most important thing in life for a considerable number of young people and one-third of the group wouldn’t work if they were rich.

A further review of some of the other questions broached on the survey will help to broaden our understand of the feelings, beliefs and perceptions of unemployed youth. The following statements are listed in order of those which received the most concurrence by respondents. 76.6% of respondents fully agreed with the statement that “there are very few jobs that an unemployed person can take to develop his capacities”^{xxviii}. 64.9% believe that “my family thinks that I should be more active in seeking a job or taking part in various courses”. 62.2% feel that “Many people blame us for being unemployed”. Alternatively, 51.7% of the youth found that “Friends of unemployed young people think that their unemployed peers are genuinely making efforts to find jobs”. More than half of all respondents (57.7%) fully agree with the statement that “there are many people who have prejudices against unemployed people”. Similarly, half of the group (50.9%) have discovered that “many people think laziness is the cause of unemployment”.

One critical aspect of unemployment highlighted by the approval of the statements above is what these assertions, particularly the first one, reveal about the nature of jobs available in the labour market. The majority of respondents think that there are few jobs in the market

through which they can develop themselves. It is of course important to provide jobs in fighting unemployment; but the quality of these jobs is as important as the quantity. The European Commission acknowledges that there is a close linkage between job quality and social exclusion. Those employed in jobs of poor quality are also at much higher risk of becoming unemployed or of dropping out of the labour force (EC 2003). Low quality jobs both prevent the acquisition of new and more advanced skills and qualification and provide low incomes to their holders. Indeed, this situation makes it very challenging for young family members to be 'autonomous' even when they work; the family cannot avoid becoming the 'working poor' even if all of the members have jobs.

If youth connotes a period of transition, the transition from dependence to independence, then success occurs with the acquisition of self-sufficiency. Unemployment therefore translates into the lack of success due to continued reliance on others and thereby weakens the self-confidence of the people concerned. In order to explore this tension between success and lack of success, young respondents were requested, in an open-ended question, to define 'success' in their own lives. For these young people success in life principally means 'to be happy, peaceful, healthy, respected by others and having a good spouse'. The second most frequent definition of success was 'to be determined, firm and industrious and to achieve through work'. The third classification identifies success as 'having a good education and a good job'. And finally the fourth description of a successful life is 'to be independent, stand on one's own feet without being in need of help; to look confidently to the future'.

The meanings attributed to 'success' do not vary significantly with respect to gender but there is some variation with respect to provinces. While 'success' is associated more with 'being happy, in peace, healthy, respected by others and having a good spouse' by respondents in Ankara, those in Şanlıurfa give more emphasis to being 'firm, determined, industrious and achieving through work'. Success as being 'independent, standing on one's own feet without being in need of help; looking confidently to the future' was expressed more frequently by males in both cities. Though few in numbers there were also some who interpreted 'success' as being 'rich and having a good career'.

As observed earlier in responses to questions posed to explore the work commitment of young people, success in life is seen by many as working and reaping the rewards of labour. It should be noted here that some studies of not fully scientific origin conducted recently assert that the generations following 1980 in particular tend to take the easy way out and try to make money without working in Turkey. The young people of this survey, however, attribute high value to work and want to make their living by working. Considering the findings of this survey it is difficult to accept individual-centred approaches to unemployment including 'laziness' or 'excessive selectivity despite plenty of jobs on the market'.

Having defined success in their own lives, the young people were also asked to cite some people whom they found successful. After grouping the names given, it was observed that young respondents first and foremost considered politicians successful, including three outstanding figures: *Mustafa Kemal Atatürk*, the founder of the Turkish Republic, *Abmet Necdet Sezer*, the President of the Turkish Republic, and *Tayyip Erdoğan*, Prime Minister in the ruling government. The second group of successful people consists of businessmen in Turkey with *Sakıp Sabancı* leading the list and *Vehbi Koç* and *Cem Boyner* coming in a distant second and third respectively. The third cluster of successful people consists of parents and some close relatives (fathers, uncles, etc.). Respondents citing parents and relatives as successful people are higher in number in Ankara than in Şanlıurfa, probably because the families of registered unemployed youth in Ankara are at an advantage both in terms of economic resources and family solidarity.

Having thoroughly contemplated the meaning of success, respondents were asked to list three occupations which they saw as 'ideal' or most desirable and then to explain their choices. The survey indicates that young people mostly regard occupations or professions which require longer educational background, have higher prestige in society and which offer job security as the most ideal including 'doctor', 'lawyer', 'teacher' and 'engineer'. These occupations are followed by posts in public service at any level, which also coincides with their notions of a 'good/secure job'.

Young respondents did not choose those jobs which fit their aptitudes or which they take delight in, but rather those which are attributed high prestige by societal standards and which guarantee good money. Although somewhat higher among males, the number of respondents citing self-employment or free lance working as 'ideal' is very low. Thus, the conceptions young people have about jobs are shaped not by entrepreneurial considerations or personal likes or talents, but by the societal values of a job which commands respect and ensures social security.

As shown by many studies, unemployment is not an issue related only to economics but a life experience affecting unemployed people and their families deeply. Recalling the introduction about work and its place and importance in individuals' lives may allow for a fuller understanding of what it means to be unemployed. As wage work became the basic means of subsistence, labour was reduced to wage work and activities other than wage work were not regarded as legitimate 'jobs'. Working is an activity which entails functions beyond subsistence. It continues to be the most important criterion in determining income, consumption, and place of residence, social prestige and status of citizenship. Indeed the second or third question one poses to a person with whom they are newly acquainted is 'what is your job'? The answer, then, provides indications as to the educational background, income level, prestige and status of the respondent.

In modern times work is presented as a normal and necessary form of life. Accordingly unemployment is regarded as a pathological situation which should not exist. Since having no job is tantamount to having no income and forces one to rely upon assistance and State benefits, those who work have excluded and stigmatised the unemployed, seeing them as lazy, worthless, or even parasitic, and unemployment has earned the reputation of being an unwanted and gruesome situation.

For most young people, finding productive and decent work is a coming-of-age symbol that marks the transition from childhood to adulthood. In finding employment, young people should gain independence and a freedom of choice about their lives. Unfortunately, the employment opportunities available to millions of young people are limited, making it

inevitable that youth remain dependent on their families for a longer period of time. Evidence suggests that temporary work is disproportionately filled by younger, less educated workers (OECD, 2002:130). Workers in such employment not only face “considerably higher risk of job loss and labour market exclusion they also ... receive lower wages than permanent employees with the same qualifications who are doing the same job” (EC 2003: 179). As one would expect, temporary work in developing regions is not a question of choice but of economic necessity and a lack of alternatives. Based on the current knowledge of developing economies, it is safe to say that employment is very often characterized by scant security. In both industrialized and developing economies, young people are more likely to have intermittent (temporary, part-time, casual) work and insecure arrangements, oftentimes in the informal economy with limited or no labour protection (ILO, 2004). People can easily lose their jobs without the right or the voice to fight or demand remuneration. Given that young workers are less likely to be unionized and that they are lacking experience compared to adults, they are also more likely to be affected by temporary, unstable employment.

All too often, their full potential is not realized because they do not have access to decent and productive work. Joblessness among young people is indeed a problem, but equally troubling is the fact that working conditions of employed young people are often substandard. Young workers are more likely to find themselves working long hours, on short-term and/or informal contracts, with low pay and little or no social protection. If family ties do not exist or if they break down, young people become increasingly exposed to the risks of leaving school prematurely and of being exploited in the labour force. Therefore, the most important factor determining how unemployment is experienced is the way by which basic subsistence is attained during unemployment.

5.5 Surviving Unemployment

How the young unemployed meet their financial needs and which mechanisms work or do not work to endure the trials of unemployment also merits consideration. The primary source of income of young people for the last 12 months, and social activities and hobbies given up by them due to lack of money during their unemployment periods will be examined.

The experience of unemployment varies depending on the availability of financial resources. Sufficient funds make it possible to stabilize and maintain an established lifestyle and to uphold and extend social relations, which are often a prerequisite for taking part in social activities. The financial situation of unemployed young people is important because it promotes a feeling of control over their lives and increases their independence, a value which many young people highly treasure, as do many parents in bringing up their children. Most parents encourage independence and look forward to the time when their children are autonomous. Earning a wage is part of becoming independent, as it allows a greater range of choices and decisions about one's life (Alwin, 1988). Because the type of work one does in our society colours all of life, it determines not just the rights and duties directly relevant to the work process, but also the expected standard of living, the pattern of the family, social life and leisure, norms of propriety and daily routine. In other words, 'work [is] the main orientation point, in reference to which all other life pursuits [can] be planned and ordered' (Bauman, 1998:17).

As discussed in earlier Chapter 3, the State in Turkey has had a limited role in curbing the negative consequences of unemployment and, consequently, family-based welfare models have been relied upon to combat the effects of unemployment. When we look at the survey group's basic subsistence during their unemployment, close relatives (i.e. parents) are the first provider^{xxix}. The second provider is said to be 'no one' at all; there are no other options. In respect to this notion of a lack of options, there is difference between Ankara and Şanlıurfa and between male and female youth. 31 men in Şanlıurfa and 24 men in Ankara state that they have no provider. Thus, these young people are more likely to have intermittent (temporary, part-time, casual) work and insecure arrangements, often in the informal economy with limited protection. On the other hand, only 4 females in Şanlıurfa and 15 females in Ankara claim that they have no one to provide for them. This differentiation underscores the reality that officially registered unemployed females in Şanlıurfa have more well-off families than their male counterparts. On the other hand, the percentage of females in Ankara who have no provider is higher than that of Ankara males due to the marital status of these women. To determine the ways in which the youth have

subsisted during their period of unemployment the following classifications identify their primary source of income over the last 12 months:

Possible Sources for Income			
Work	Family	Immediate environments	The state
From any job, income from informal activities, income from unstable or temporary work, income from work performed for neighbours or friends and their own savings	Money from parents and close relatives	Money from neighbours and friends	Unemployment benefits, scholarships/loans , stipends paid in training programmes, Social Solidarity Fund

Considering all these sources, it becomes apparent that unemployed young people are mostly dependent on their families^{xxx}, as almost all personal expenses are covered by the families. The second most common source is the young person's own work. The third source is an occasional/temporary job and the fourth source is the state, its assistance and benefits in various forms. However, we noted earlier that majority of these young people are out of the coverage plan of any protection scheme. In fact, there are only six people benefiting from unemployment insurance. It was also stated earlier that the Social Solidarity Fund takes the family as an assistance unit, not the individual and moreover that İŞKUR found it difficult to reach youth for various reasons. Taking all of these things into account, it becomes clear that young people are mainly dependent on their families with meagre economic support from other sources. Indeed, parental support may be essential to the prevention of poverty among unemployed youth. On the other hand, parental dependency may reinforce the process of the inter-generational transmission of poverty as well.

In their attempts to survive unemployment, young people also abstain from certain activities or desires for the duration of unemployment to help maintain a low cost of living. This issue is important, because being deprived once derived its meaning from the conditions of being unemployed, whereas today it derives its meaning from inequalities in consumption and consumerism (Bauman, 1998). The social activities/hobbies considered below which were given up by the respondents were indicated on the survey by marking

‘often,’ in that they frequently chose to abstain from these luxuries, or in some cases, necessities. 4.3% of respondents had to give up regular meals; 6.5% timely payment of house rent and bills; 9% refrained from buying new clothes; 11.1% from buying newspapers regularly; 12.7% saved on healthcare expenses; 19.4% from inviting friends home; 28.9% from going to bars/restaurants; 29.5% from various hobbies and leisure time activities; 30.9% from going to cinema, theatre, concerts; 32.5% from giving presents to friends and family members on special days and 46.1% from going to vacation.

These figures demonstrate^{xxxi} that unemployed youth are experiencing unemployment as a passive family member. The activities they gave up are basically those related with the public space which requires money. Their financial dependence on their families causes to ‘isolation’. I will discuss this isolation more widely in the chapter on families.

Unemployment is a social problem, and when we analyze the experience of unemployment, it is necessary to bear in mind the context in which the person lives. The experience of unemployment and the way in which an individual responds to such a situation depends to a large extent on the support offered by his or her society (Alvaro & Garrido, 2003). A range of some variables has been shown to moderate the negative effects of unemployment including age, sex, ethnic origin, socio-economic status, financial strain, social support, employment commitment, time use and attributional style (Winefield et al 1993).

The concept of social support refers to different types of help received from other people. The relationship between the degree of social support and wellbeing of young unemployed people has been analyzed in some studies (Cohen & Wills 1985; Banks & Ullah 1987; Hammer 2000; Sigurdardottir & Bjarnason 2000). These studies show that social support has a significant effect on the well-being of unemployed people. However, contrary to what was expected, an increase in parental social support was related to a decrease in mental health, a surprising and seemingly contradictory result which can be explained as follows. First, it is possible that the social support received from parents corresponds to the degree of control they exert over their child’s life, thus creating an increased sense of dependency and negatively affecting the youth’s mental well-being. Another possible explanation is that

not all forms of social support have the same effect on psychological wellbeing. Some researchers have emphasised the need to distinguish between and classify different types of help, such as the distinction between emotional support, like understanding, acceptance and affection, and instrumental support, which provides practical help to solve everyday problems. Some studies on the effect of social support on the mental health of unemployed young people indicate that the young people with the greatest psychological wellbeing are those that have someone to help them economically, someone to suggest interesting things to do and someone to provide practical support in the search for employment. Third, it is useful to distinguish between different types of support on the basis of the social context in which it is received. Studies show that the effects of social support are particularly noticeable when such support comes from groups with which the person has strong emotional attachments, such as the family or friends. In conclusion, there are many factors that may contribute to differences and similarities in the experience of unemployment, depending on the social and cultural context. The degree of social and family protection, the degree of social and family integration, the degree of friends' support and the degree of social activities may influence the unemployment experience.

Considering the possible impact of the family on the unemployment experience, the first factor that needs to be taken into account is the degree of stability and economic power of the family as an institution. Responses suggest that parents extend much support to their unemployed sons and daughters in the form of affection, warmer approaches, giving pocket money, offering advice about possible jobs and financial matters and utilizing contacts with the outside environment to find jobs for their children. The support young people receive from their families and friends can be divided into two parts: emotional support and instrumental support.

Emotional support (understanding, acceptance and affection)	Instrumental support (in the solution of everyday problems)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Giving advice regarding study or work • Speaking to them about personal matters • Showing warmth or/and affection 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Providing money • Providing help in practical matters • Doing other favours for finding a job • Giving advice about economic matters

When we look at the social support of young unemployed people provided by their families, we can say that families assist and support their young members mostly through emotional support^{xxxii}. ‘Affection and understanding’ is the most common expression used by young respondents in describing the attitude of their parents. Another important point is that parents monitor and steer the unemployment experience of their children by instrumental supports. In order to buffer the crisis of transition, families have become major fall-back institutions of support (Koncz, 2000). Families assume an increasing role in providing social services and securing survival.

There are cases when young people find support from their intimate friends. As is the case with family members, it is ‘close interest and affection’ that they can get from such friends^{xxxiii}. In fact, these intimate friends are mostly unemployed people too, or people with unstable or non-contract jobs. Therefore young people prefer to support each other instead of competing. During interviews in Ankara such issues as whether there was competition among young people with more significant educational backgrounds; whether unemployed people were envious of their employed peers; or whether they exchanged information were raised. Responses suggest that these friends are mostly unemployed too and mutual understanding and support outweigh any rivalry or competition.

From these two sources of social supports, family and friends, received by unemployed young people we can reach two important conclusions: First, parental support is greater than that received from friends. Second, emotional support is higher than economic support.

In moderating the negative effects of unemployment, how unemployed people spend their time becomes an important issue. Unemployed people who participate regularly in social life are less likely to be excluded due to their lack of work. On the other hand, unemployment -interlaced with poverty- may restrict people’s social activities. The psychological impact of unemployment appears to be related to how unemployed people use their time. Specifically, those who cope best are engaged in purposeful activity and

maintain regular contact with people outside the nuclear family (Julkunen, 2001). The organization of life and time on a daily basis likewise contributes to the ability of young people to cope with joblessness and enhances their mental well-being.

According to Bauman (1998), in a contemporary society, consumption has become an integrating force. It has a central role in the construction of identity. Thus, poverty among the unemployed is not only a question of being left outside of wage earning and experiencing financial misery. It also implies the incapacity to take part in leisure or free time activities, because today nearly all such activities are dependent on having money (Hammer & Julkunen, 2003).

When we look at the unemployed youth's social activities^{xxxiv}, watching TV and listening to music are the major activities. Both of these activities require no money or leaving the house thus activities are considered passive and domestic as well. Other possible activities include 'going around with friends, sports and reading books'.

The economic difficulties and pressures experienced by young people constitute an important dimension of this study. Especially unemployed young females are more affected by such difficulties and pressures and they tend to be isolated more in their homes. Going out somewhere, getting on a *dolmuş*, sitting in a café, etc. means spending money and so they prefer to stay at home. Young people staying longer in the parental household might lead to their lower visibility and activity in the public sphere. As expected this leads to some stress in young people. As touched upon during family interviews, staying home too long may lead to psychosomatic complaints particularly among females and to oversleeping. Isolation resulting from economic difficulties is observed least among the poorest. The poorest have little chance of further extending their period of unemployment and they are usually ready to take up any job without much concern about the nature, pay, burden etc. of the work concerned. Consequently they face problem such as isolation, distortion of time orientation, feeling of 'uselessness' or worthlessness to a relatively lesser degree compared with others. Activities commonly taken up by unemployed young people indicate that their isolation is of a material nature directly related to economic difficulties.

Examining individual activities we find that while those requiring little or no monetary expense are taken up more frequently, others (going out to coffee houses, attending training courses) are rare. As will be addressed in the next section on political activities, engagement in political or religious activities is not considered in the context of routine expenses but still this type of engagement is also rare most likely because of the high degree of emotional support received from family which may also translate into a high degree of control.

Another rarity in the lives of unemployed youth is involvement in 'voluntary work in the community'. Though unusual in both cities, it is even less common in Şanlıurfa than in Ankara. Voluntary associations play a primary role in social networks. They also play a rather important role in modern democratic societies as they are the foundation of civil society (Richter, 2001). The Report on the *Social Situation of Youth in Europe* shows that, on average, half of the EU population do volunteer work though there are clear differences between North and South Europe. In the Northern countries, the rate is 80% or more, while it is lower than 30% in Southern Member States. The social structure in Turkey is closer to Southern European countries in many dimensions and doing voluntary work in the community is one of those areas of resemblance. While generally considered a positive thing, volunteer work can also have a negative side in that social expenditures and comprehensive social programs 'crowd out' informal caring relations and social networks, as well as familial, communal and occupational systems of self-help and reciprocity, thereby fostering social isolation, anomie and self-centeredness, and leading to a general decline of commitment to civil norms, of participation in civil society, and trust in fellow citizens and social institutions (Putnam, 2000).

5.6 Recognition of Citizenship Status

This section aims to understand the recognition of the citizenship status among unemployed young people. As discussed earlier, young people's transitions to adulthood can be understood as a process of developing citizenship in which, over time, young people become eligible to enjoy the rights and to exercise the obligations and responsibilities associated with citizenship. It is also a pivotal period in the process of 'citizenship-identity

formation', a period during which young people have been described as 'learner citizens' (Arnot & Dillabough 2000) or 'citizens in the making' (Marshall 1950; Hall & Williamson 1999). Citizenship as participation can be understood as representing an expression of human agency in the political arena: broadly defined, the rights that come with citizenship enable people to act as agents. But in this stage it is necessary to make a distinction between 'being a citizen' and 'acting as a citizen'. To be a citizen, in the sociological sense, means to enjoy the rights necessary for agency and social and political participation. To act as a citizen involves failing to fulfilling the full potential of the status. Those who do not fulfil that potential do not cease to be citizens in either the formal, legal or more substantive sociological and political sense (Lister, 2002).

With these things in mind, this study now turns to the relationship between youth unemployment on the one hand and political tendencies on the other. Questions posed in other similar studies are used in this study. To ascertain the nature of this relationship, I asked three questions regarding the unemployed youth's political actions, attitudes and views.

In the first question the respondents were asked about their participation in political activities including the following pre-specified possibilities: signing a petition, taking part in product boycotts, taking part in legal/official strikes or a demonstration, occupying factories or other buildings, schools, carrying a badge to show support for a cause, voting in elections, attending a political meeting, attending a union meeting, attending a religious meeting. Political activities are classified in two groups as regular and irregular⁴⁴. 'Voting', 'membership in political parties' and 'taking part in activities organised by trade unions and religious groups' are understood to be regular activities, because they are legal and participation is not problematic but to the contrary necessary for young people who are learning to be full citizens.

⁴⁴ **Irregular political activities:** Signing a petition, taking part in boycotts, taking part in legal demonstrations, taking part in wildcat/illegal strikes, occupying buildings or factories, wearing a badge to show support for a cause, etc.

Regular political activities: Voting in elections, attending meetings organised by political parties, attending meetings organised by trade unions, attending meetings organised by religious organisations, etc.

To give an overall picture, young people in both Ankara and Şanlıurfa take part in what are called ‘regular’ political activities whereas engagement in ‘irregular’ activities is quite rare. In both cities, the most common form of political participation is voting^{xxxv}, though it is slightly higher in Ankara. The second most frequent involves ‘participation in meetings organised by religious organisations’ which is higher in Şanlıurfa⁴⁵.

Previous research has found that unemployment is related to political marginalization. Bynner and Ashford (1994) found that unemployed youth were less interested in politics and were less likely to vote in elections compared with youth in employment. Data based on the Euro-barometer surveys show that unemployed youth have less trust in the political system (Bay & Blekesaune, 2002). They found that such differences between unemployed youth and those in employment were especially strong in the UK compared with other European countries. That unemployment goes hand in hand with mistrust in the political system is to be expected. The important question is whether there is a basis for the political mobilisation of this group. Research seems to indicate that this is not the case among unemployed youth. In countries with very high youth unemployment, such as Southern Europe, unemployed youth reported no more interest in politics than those in employment, compared with countries with a lower youth unemployment rate. However, unemployed youth in Europe have a stronger left-wing orientation compared with employed youth. On the other hand, the *Turkish Youth 98 study* (1998:117), shows that the tendency to participate in organized political activity is very weak among young people. Only 3.7% of the young people indicated membership in a political party. Other than these, only 2.5% of the youth are members of a political, social or cultural organization. And only 10% of the respondents discuss politics among friends.

The second question presented to the youth was “what kind of society do you think we should be working for?” Seven different types of societies were listed and respondents marked on a three-point scale how strongly they agreed or disagreed^{xxxvi}. 97.2% of respondents say this should be a ‘society of peace and order where the rule of law reigns’. It

⁴⁵ Religious activities are included in the list of political actions, because secularism/anti-secularism is one of the main political cleavages in Turkey and some religious groups are found politicised in this context.

is interesting to note that the second most common response to the question is ‘a society where there is full gender equality’. However, a reservation must be noted regarding the significance of this response: This was the choice which had very limited political connotations compared to other choices; consequently young respondents may have opted for this choice either because they have no political convictions or because they do not want to express these convictions.

The least chosen response was related to a society where computers and robots do many things on behalf of human beings. The reason why the young people responded in this way may be two-fold: First, it may be that young respondents do not consider themselves qualified for a society where high-technology reigns. This explanation becomes more plausible considering that it is chosen less in Şanlıurfa than in Ankara. Another explanation may be that young respondents consider such a future and society unrealistic.

In both cities young people display a favourable approach to free market economy and the private sector. Nevertheless, as stated earlier, they still have high expectations from the State. They think that the most important duty of the State is to open new fields of employment and prevent unemployment. Consequently, they explain their present joblessness by the failure of the State to provide employment for its citizens. And their perception of a ‘good job’ is still a job in the government sector. These high expectations from the state seem somewhat in contrast with their statements favouring the private sector. In their mind, the state should support the private sector while providing government jobs to its citizens.

The third question asked in reference to citizenship was “how would you classify your own political opinions?” Political ideas of respondents are important in the sense that they show whether unemployed young people have some tendency to marginal political parties and groups^{xxxvii}. About three-fourths of respondents say either they have no political ideas or they don’t want to share them. The second largest group says they are ‘neither on the right nor left’ which can also be interpreted as having no political opinion. 11 respondents stated

that they were on the right. With the exception of these respondents, very few claimed to hold political views. In fact these responses are closely related to responses given in relation to engagement in political activities. People having no political ideas or who are hesitant to declare them cannot be expected to take part in political activities except basic ones like voting.

What these questions and responses reveal is that they do not take part in irregular activities or engage in political ideas, but that they want to live in a society where order and the rule of law reign. They want to live as passive citizens without taking part in regular or irregular political activities, which points out the tendency for people to regard citizenship bearing not responsibilities and participation but only bearing rights.

It is therefore possible to give negative answers, at least in the context of this study, to such questions as “does unemployment push young people to marginal ends?”, “do unemployed young people take part in irregular activities?” and “do they move to marginal political views?” As taken up in detail in family interviews, unemployed young people live somewhat isolated and with family support. Both young people and their families explained unemployment by some outer factors, including the State. Thus one might expect these people to be more furious or at least more active since they blame the State, the labour market, the education system, nepotism, bad luck and poverty for their joblessness, though certainly not themselves. However, quite to the contrary, they are silent and inactive in terms of political participation.

Unemployment is seen as a personal issue without of any political notions of the right to work. There is no ambition to change the political situation. Holding political views and political participation is very rare, especially among those living with the support of their families. Although the rate of unemployment and youth unemployment in particular is high, this is seen merely as one of the problems related to the economy and addressed within the confines of pure economic considerations and is isolated from its political and social dimensions; where this is the case the likelihood of political marginalisation is scant. Instead of political orientations, unemployment in the context of poverty is associated more with

delinquency (theft, etc.) in the case of males and prostitution in the case of females. In other words, there is no need for 'concern' about extreme political tendencies. One of the main assertions of this study is that the almost full dependence of the unemployed on their families creates passive attitudes: seeing their paths to full citizenship closed, unemployed young people find comfort in remaining as members of their families. Thus this dependency limits the political consciousness and orientation of young people.

5.7 Future Perceptions

Under this sub-heading, the future perceptions of young people are discussed. Young people's mobility, their opinion about the solutions of unemployment and their life satisfaction and expectations are addressed.

One of the expectations of present day life is that people should be prepared to move geographically to where there are jobs (Jones, 2000). Migration is likely to increase as a means of escaping the lack of jobs in specific local areas. Urry (1995) stresses that in conditions of post-modernity, cultural capital needs to be transferable. Geographic mobility has long been associated with upward social mobility and thus with the middle class, with the result that middle-class families in particular have geographically spread kinship networks. Elliott (1997) suggests that where downward social mobility is treated or upward mobility blocked, a family's cultural capital may be mobilised. He argues that youth migration can form part of a family mobility project, involving the mobilisation of family resources. Entry into the job market is a time when young people may need to mobilise many forms of support, including knowledge and guidance. Parents are able to pass on relevant knowledge to young people who may be socially as well as geographically mobile. Thus in geographical mobility, the family can be an obstructer or a facilitator, depending on all kinds of family resources. It was discovered that young people from low income families and with low educational attainment mostly refused job offers from workplaces distant from their immediate environments because they think such distant jobs may disrupt their family ties and solidarity.

Thus, the question of whether members of the survey group could go to other towns for jobs was considered to determine whether the families would function as obstructers or facilitators. In both cities, there is a significantly higher number of males than females ready to move to other places for jobs. The family interviews also confirmed higher male mobility. A regional difference between responses in Ankara and in Şanlıurfa was also observed. According to those in Şanlıurfa, their town is small and opportunities are limited; jobs in the labour market are low-paying and do not include social security coverage. The people in this town consequently tend to think that other places may have better opportunities in this regard. Ankara, on the other hand, is a big metropolis; it has higher living standards and also higher cost of living including rental payments. Consequently, people who cannot find jobs in this city do not tend to think that other cities may have more promising opportunities.

The primary reason for a reluctance to move for a job is unwillingness on the part of young people to leave their families. Interviews with families suggest that, according to their elders, young family members are right to hesitate since it is quite difficult for them to find jobs and support their own nuclear families elsewhere away from their parents. Gender is another factor which influences immobility. Indeed it is more difficult for females to be mobile in job seeking unless it is for jobs in the public sector; otherwise, families do not want their daughters moving far from home for work. While this matter is explained in the context of 'family honour' and strong traditions in Şanlıurfa, for females in Ankara the material difficulties of living somewhere else come to the fore.

Another question for consideration regarding mobility and employment was whether education level affected the mobility of young people. Relevant investigations showed that there is no meaningful relationship between the level of education and tendencies of mobility ($\chi^2=5.47$, $p>0.05$). Although the percentage of those ready to move out for jobs seems to be increasing, this difference is still insignificant in statistical terms.

Disability, like gender, is a further factor affecting mobility, although the number of disabled respondents was quite limited. If the young member of the family has any

disability, his or her family takes over the responsibility of care without much trust in any other institution. Thus families do not want their disabled children to move out to other places even if it is for jobs in public sector because there would be no one to care for them properly.

Table 18. Distribution of the survey group by reasons of immobility*

Reasons of immobility	n	%
Unwillingness to part from their families	106	79.7
Being female	15	11.3
There is no relatives/familiar people in another town	11	8.3
Financial reasons	17	12.8
Unwillingness to part from their friends	3	2.3
Being disabled	5	3.8
Other	4	3.0

* Percentages were taken from a group of 133 respondents and they could choose more than one option.

When the question shifts from coping with youth unemployment on a personal level to actually solving the problem in a general sense, most respondents focus first on the interventions of the state. They believe the role of the State is to “build up factories, support the private sector, provide credit, rule out nepotism and behave in equal terms to all citizens”. The second group of possible solutions to this issue centres on the theme of “private entrepreneurship, further investments and an increase in the number of workplaces and business firms”. The third group takes the individual as its focal point and argues that people must be “working hard, getting good training and being productive” in order for the unemployment dilemma to come to an end. Thus, overall the State is referenced most frequently in the solution of the problem of unemployment while focuses on the efforts of the private sector and the efforts of the individual follow suit respectively. Although few in numbers, there are some who do not believe that this problem can be solved, at least not ‘with the present ruling cadres’.

The great majority of respondents, however, do think that the problem of unemployment can be solved and that the bulk of this burden lies on the State. The decision makers also responded to this question in kind, identifying the State as the major mechanism for solution. Thus the private sector, young people and families all have expectations from the state. All believe that the State should “take a more active part in working life, allocate more

resources, introduce facilitating procedures and try to solve the problem of unemployment”. Even liberal approaches advocating minimum state intervention to markets have high expectations from the State when it comes to the problem of unemployment.

Another aspect of the future perceptions of the unemployed revolves around their assessment of their current situation and their present state of satisfaction with their lives, which has a dramatic impact on how they view not only the present but also the future. Evidence in Clark & Oswald (1994) suggests that the unemployed are substantively, i.e. to a statistically significant degree, less happy than the employed. This evidence, coming from a survey of 12 European countries and from the US, may also be taken as an indication that unemployment must be involuntary because people would not voluntarily choose to be unhappy.

To ascertain whether unemployed youth in Turkey have a response similar to those in Europe and the US regarding happiness and satisfaction, respondents were asked how they felt considering the life experience they were going through^{xxxviii}. More than half of the group is not happy about their lives. As stated earlier, being unemployed is a difficult and painful experience which leads to dependency. While trying to learn how to be good adults, these young people are unhappy about their present dependency on their families. This is the major reason why they want to be employed as soon as possible. Uncertainty regarding the future, absence of a job and therefore of income lead these young people to discouragement and despair. About one-third of the group stated they were happy about their life (very happy: 3.0%; happy: 36.5%). Variation with respect to the provinces is noteworthy here. Ankara has higher number of respondents who are happy or unhappy while Şanlıurfa has a higher number of completely discontent respondents.

Having established a high level of unhappiness or discontentment with their current life situations, young people were then asked to comment on their expectations for the future, i.e. the ways in which they hope to see change come about in their lives. The most common expectation expressed is the desire to continue their education (23.4%). Furthering their

education is seen as one of the ways to fight the problem of unemployment, as stated earlier. In addition, since the majority of the group consists of plain high school graduates without any specific job qualification, such a future expectation should be anticipated. Because they are unable, with their given level and quality of education, to secure a suitable job, they think better education is the key to better employment, be that formal education, vocational training programmes or courses in disciplines like foreign languages, computers, or driving. However, continuing their education is not dependent only to the will of young people. Since it is their families who will support them and bear the cost of education, such decisions must be made by the family unit on the basis of their economic means. Young people may continue their education if the family concerned has a regular source of income. The young members of poor families, on the other hand, have no chance of extending their periods of unemployment even for the sake of education and are therefore ready to take on any job offered.

When asked specifically about what they perceive to be their future chances of obtaining employment, most respondents were optimistic. 88.9% believe that they will have a job in the coming years while the remaining 11.1% think they will not. This shows that, by and large, young respondents are not frustrated about their job perspectives. Even if their unemployment spells may be long, they have high hopes for the future.

Young people were also asked to comment on whether they thought they would remain in their same environment in the future. 90.1% think they will be living in the same city in which they are living now. Moving to another city, even if attractive job opportunities exist, is a limited consideration especially with gender related reasons. Consequently, young people want to stay in a familiar environment and close to their families while making plans for future. Since the future means 'being an adult', getting married and having children, family life also holds an important place in the imagined future of young people. 88% plan to live together with their children.

The overwhelming desire of the respondents to remain where they are, in a familiar environment has significant ramifications for assessing the possible impact of EU accession

on jobs and employment. Although young people think that Turkey's EU membership will provide new employment opportunities where it will be possible to move to other European countries for jobs, this perspective does not have much weight in their future plans. Indeed, none of the respondents imagine living in another country in the future. This hesitation to plan on European job options may be the result of suspicions about the viability of Turkey's EU membership or worries about the limitations which will be placed on labour mobility even when Turkey becomes a member of the EU.

Meanwhile, studies conducted in the EU countries suggest that labour mobility is in fact more limited than it is usually assumed. In EU countries people too prefer to live in familiar environments and close to their relatives and friends. Mobility perspectives may be further limited by such facts that there is limited demand for unqualified jobs in these countries and unemployment, especially among young people, is already high in most EU countries. All these factors shape the vision of young people about spatial mobility and consequently moving to other countries does not factor into their future plans. In a similar vein, there are also very limited expectations in terms of future 'travelling'. Unemployed young people already facing financial strain in leaving their home for outdoor activities seem to find travel to another country unimaginable.

5.8 Concluding Remarks

This chapter expounded upon the unemployment experiences of youth under six sub-headings. To review, among the survey group's sources of basic subsistence during their unemployment, close relatives (i.e. their parents) are the first provider. Young people tend to explain present unemployment as a result of factors 'exogenous' to themselves and therefore only low numbers expressed feeling a lack of 'self confidence' while few experienced the 'feeling of exclusion from the society'. According to the youth, the first cause of unemployment is the 'failure of the state to provide jobs'. The first criterion for a 'good job' is job security. The most common mental health-related symptom of unemployment in the survey group is 'stress' because being unemployed is difficult in that it means dependency on family, inability to contribute to the needs of others, facing economic difficulties and not being able to do things they like due to lack of money. This stress is not

relieved by state help as welfare regime provisions which were visible and felt during experience of survey group's unemployment duration were limited. Instead the youth are heavily dependent upon their parents for economic, social and emotional resources during their unemployment. Their understanding of citizenship is close to that classified as 'being a citizen'. They believe that the problem of unemployment can be solved mainly through the interventions of the state. The findings from all the different stages of research lead to three main conclusions:

- i) *Unemployed youth experience of unemployment is not homogenous.*
- ii) *Dependence on the state is very limited.*
- iii) *Unemployment experience is very difficult for young people.*

i) Unemployment experience of youth is heterogeneous. The following factors are influential in the experience of unemployment: gender, education status, marital status, health status, presence or absence of the father, income level of the father, number of dependent family members, and the province in which they live.

Gender is an important factor influencing how unemployment is experienced. Families' expectations from male members are different from female members. These expectations are shaped by gender roles. It is males who have to be breadwinners in their families. A young male must have a job to get married, have a separate home and respond to the needs of his newly established family. Young unemployed males feel more stress in this sense. Indeed, the young person himself establishes a linkage between 'being a man and having a job' thus feeling his 'manhood' is hurt when unemployed. Meanwhile being male makes mobility for the sake of employment an option. Males' chances of moving to another city for a job are higher than females. Moreover, while unemployed young females attach more importance to the nature of possible jobs –i.e. working hours, working environments, other colleagues at the workplace, etc.- young males may be less selective in this respect.

Apart from the gender factor, a low *level of family income*, high number of dependent family members and low level of education are other factors which make young people less selective and more mobile in seeking jobs. Young unemployed males have better chances of

leaving home, going around with friends if he has pocket money and accepting any job offer without much questioning. However, this relative ease of young males also compels them to accept an unstable and low-paying job which allows young males to be less dependent on their families and also less isolated. Yet, low quality, low-paying jobs which may end at any time tire and wear on these young people and the low pay mostly makes it impossible to completely separate from parents and start a new home. Females bear these pressures to a lesser degree since they are not expected to undertake the subsistence of their families. Their leaving the home, however, is severely limited since they cannot work in unstable jobs. Their chances of moving around or leaving home to find jobs in other places are particularly limited. This situation may lead to isolation, stress, nervousness, and the empty feeling of being in a vacuum as well as some psychosomatic problems, such as oversleeping.

Health status of the unemployed, including any disabilities, is also an important factor. When designing the survey, health status was not considered as a significant factor or parameter. Its importance became apparent during the research. As stated earlier, registry with İŞKUR is a formal way of job seeking which usually is resorted to only after informal means have been attempted. However, for the families of disabled young sons and daughters, İŞKUR is a means by which to find a ‘government job’, not a place of last resort. Having disabled family members is a situation which needs special attention since, similar to the case of unemployed females, disabled family members cannot hold any job or move to another city for jobs. Disability is primarily seen as a familial matter (a personal rather than a social problem) and families think that they should undertake the responsibility of caring their disabled members. Families have deep concerns about the future of their disabled members and want to have the state take care of them in their absence. They say that “a healthy young person can do any job, but disabled ones have no such chance”. Consequently, addressing the unemployment problem of disabled young people may require quite different approach than those adopted for general unemployment problem.

The level of education is influential in the experience of unemployment. Young people with low educational background (primary or secondary school graduates) have lower job

expectations than others. They are mostly from large low income families. They will take on any job offered and since their future expectations are rather limited they are faster in getting in jobs, getting married and having children. On the whole, the unemployment spells of young people of low educational status are shorter but more frequent. Marital status is also influential. Even though it may be parents who make the decision about the marriage of their grown up children, it is married couples themselves who are most affected by any trouble accompanying marriage. A young person economically dependent on his family is further burdened by his responsibilities to his wife.

It is the *fathers' income* that shapes the experience of unemployment by general or vocational high school graduates. If fathers are relatively well-off, young people may have chances of extending the period of unemployment and act selective about possible jobs. If not, just like young people from poorer families, they will not have much chance of being selective, especially when their families are very large. A similar process is also valid for young people with longer education: Depending on their families' income they may consider returning to school or attending skill building/vocational courses (foreign language, computer, driving, etc.) which extend their period of unemployment.

Living province: As noted above, the combination of family size and fathers' income has important effect on the experience of unemployment. Comparing families in Ankara and Şanlıurfa, it is observed that families of unemployed young people in Şanlıurfa are larger and these families are more rigid in their stance regarding the training and employment of their daughters. Larger family size in Şanlıurfa affects all family members and lowers the chances of longer education. There is almost no child undergoing university education in these families. Since the father's income is the only source, each family member gets less and less as the size of the family gets larger. This has the effect of shortening the period of education and leads young family members to hold jobs in the informal sector. Furthermore, the lack of funds makes job-seeking more difficult and feeds the feeling of 'economic exclusion'. Unemployed youth who are living in Şanlıurfa have many more psychological problems and anomie than those in Ankara. Many in Şanlıurfa frequently responded to categories about leisure, consumption and activities, including things like

going out with friends, going to the cinema, buying newspapers, going on holiday, hobbies, by saying that they are not applicable or relevant for them. These activities are not a part of their lives. They are living in a more isolated, home oriented and economically limited fashion compared to the unemployed who are living Ankara. All these factors lead to the increased demand from the state. On the other hand, the limited visibility of the state in their life increases their critical views about the state and its programs.

ii) *Dependence on state is very limited.* One question related to dependence during unemployment is, who protects the unemployed youth? There are two possible sources of protection and provision: the state and the family. As discussed earlier, the excessive involvement of the state in this process is said to ‘make citizens passive, weaken entrepreneurial motives and give rise to the emergence of a dependence culture’. The essence of this debate is the stress on rights and responsibilities as the basis of the relationship between the state and its citizens. The second potential source of provision is the family. Current politics prefer using this source as demonstrated by a restructured labour market, an increased demand for qualifications and flexibility in the workplace, and cuts in social benefits. The youths, thereby, remain dependent on their families. State support to the unemployed young people in the survey group was too negligible to conduct a specific analysis, thus my focus directed to the possible negative consequences of dependence on families.

iii) *The experience of unemployment is very difficult.* Young people are living and feeling a mix of challenging emotions about their unemployment. They have psychological, social and economic difficulties. I stop here writing on my own but give the floor to the young people who experienced unemployment with their words:

Unemployment is painful; it gives you unrest and puts you under stress
“A painful and stressful feeling”, “Upsetting, I feel restless”; “Terrible, I feel as if I am ‘nothing’”; “Very bad... I am afraid of staying unemployed forever. I am under a heavy pressure”; “Economic problems make you depressed; It gives pain, very bad!” ; “A terrible feeling, my economic independence is gone!”; “I suffer since I am not able to earn my own living”; “Problems in every aspect of life, stress, not being able to meet your basic needs... “; “Unemployment makes your life very difficult and meaningless. Nobody trusts you”; “A hopeless situation, stressful and depressing.. I don’t know what to do”; “Every human being wants to do something useful in society, but an unemployed person is not able to do this”.

Dependency on family means making no contribution to others, facing economic difficulties and not being able to do the things they enjoy since there is no money

“There is nothing worse than not being able to earn a living for yourself in family and society”; “It is awful that I can not contribute to my family’s budget”; “As the financial resources of my family are very restricted, I feel extremely desperate and unhappy”; “It is a shame to ask for financial support from my father, particularly as we do not have much. I wonder when this torture will finish”; “It is very bad feeling to look for financial help from your father at this age; I feel dependent”; “You become in need of others for everything you want to do”; “It is very unpleasant situation to be dependent on family. You can not plan your future”; “Being dependent on family and home is unpleasant”; “Not pleasant, especially not having money. For that reason I can not buy things or spend money”.

Unemployment is like the feeling of being in a vacuum without any objective, it creates a feeling of worthlessness

“Lack of self-confidence, social exclusion, bad habits, unhealthy behaviours”; “A life without any objective!”; “I feel I am living without a purpose, and I can not do what I want”; “I feel as if my hands and arms are tied”; “Losing self-confidence and self-respect, feeling a lack of responsibility”; “I am in a vacuum, outside of life”; “I am in an emptiness and others no longer respect me”; “You can not adapt yourself to your social environment, you can not take or buy what you want”; “They no longer trust and respect me, I have less and less friends around me”; “The problem of a lack of self-confidence appears on every small occasion”; “Particularly your reactions to your social environment are characterized by irritation, your opportunities become very limited. You can not get married, your physiology spoils, you fight with many problems”; “It is something like you are a fish in a swimming pool without water!.”; “I feel meaningless, I do not know why I am living”; “I feel incompetent, not an able person. A man without money does not have any value in society”; “It is the worst thing you can experience in life. You feel as if you don’t have a place in the society”.

Unemployment feeds a feeling of fear about future, it is like a nightmare

“It means you stop hoping in life”; “Very difficult, you do not receive enough support from your family, your future is not secure”; “It is as bad as not harvesting your products from your fields. Because it is a social problem, I do not feel like an isolated case”; “The worst thing is that you are at the mercy of others. You lose your dreams about future and feel desperate; More than a disaster!.”; “The future is uncertain.; Isolation from life, the end of social life, a pessimistic and hopeless period... The end of life, hopelessness... “; “I want to die because I am not able to change this situation!; You lose your perspective about life and yourself, it is in between life and death!”; “You can not express yourself freely, my physiology spoiled”; “I don’t know about life with job because I have never had a job. I got used to it and accepted the situation”; “Mental disorders, and a mood of protest or defiance. I feel rebellious!”; “No respect from society, exclusion and isolation.. Between life and death!.”; “Very difficult situation, I have many problems with my family, I want to run away from home”; “I can not meet even my basic needs, leading to bad habits and lack of expectations for the future”.

5.9 Notes

^{vi} Table 19. Age distribution of the survey group

Age	Şanlıurfa				Ankara				Total*			
	Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	n	%
18-19	4	6.2	1	4.8	13	8.0	5	6.2	17	7.5	6	5.9
20-21	9	14.1	8	38.1	19	11.7	21	26.2	28	12.4	29	28.7
22-23	33	51.6	8	38.1	94	58.1	39	48.8	127	56.2	47	46.6
24	18	28.1	4	19.0	36	22.2	15	18.8	54	23.9	19	18.8
Total	64	100.0	21	100.0	163	100.0	81	100.0	227	100.0	102	100.0

* 2 respondents did not specify their age.

^{vii} Table 20. Distribution of the survey group and parents by their birth place

	Şanlıurfa				Ankara				Total*			
	Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female	
	n	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	n	%	n	%
Young												
Village	13	20.3	4	19.0	41	25.3	15	18.5	54	23.9	19	18.6
Province	10	15.6	2	9.5	33	20.4	20	24.7	43	19.0	22	21.6
City	41	64.1	15	71.4	88	54.3	45	55.6	129	57.1	60	58.8
Other	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.2	-	-	1	1.0
Country												
Mother												
Village	24	37.5	8	38.1	69	42.9	29	36.3	93	41.3	37	36.6
Province	8	12.5	3	14.3	39	24.2	27	33.8	47	20.9	30	29.7
City	32	50.0	10	47.6	53	32.9	24	30.0	85	37.8	34	33.7
Other	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Country												
Father												
Village	25	39.1	8	38.1	70	43.5	30	37.5	95	42.2	38	37.6
Province	7	10.9	3	14.3	35	21.7	31	38.8	42	18.7	34	33.7
City	32	50.0	10	47.6	55	34.2	19	23.8	87	38.7	29	28.7
Other	-	-	-	-	1	0.6	-	-	1	0.4	-	-
Country												
Total	64	100.0	21	100.0	163	100.0	81	100.0	227	100.0	102	100.0

* 1 respondent did not specify his own birth place, while 3 respondents did not give birth place of their mothers and another 3 respondent's birth place of their fathers.

^{viii} Table 21. Distribution of the survey group by educational status

Educational Status	Şanlıurfa				Ankara				Total*			
	Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female	
	n	%	n	%	N	%	N	%	n	%	n	%
Illiterate	-	-	-	-	1	0.6	-	-	1	0.4	-	-
Literate	1	1.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.4	-	-
Primary school	13	20.3	-	-	14	8.6	1	1.2	27	11.9	1	1.0
Secondary school	9	14.1	1	4.8	26	16.0	2	2.5	35	15.4	3	3.0
Vocational high school ^{viii}	12	18.8	3	14.3	60	36.8	26	32.5	72	31.8	29	28.7
Regular high school	21	32.8	10	47.6	38	23.3	23	28.8	59	26.0	33	32.7

2 year-college	5	7.8	5	23.8	15	9.2	8	10.0	20	8.8	13	12.8
University	3	4.7	2	9.5	9	5.5	20	25.0	12	5.3	22	21.8
Post graduate	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	64	100.0	21	100.0	163	100.0	80	100.0	227	100.0	101	100.0

* 1 respondent did not specify his educational status.

^{ix} **Table 22. Distribution of the survey group by skills and vocations**

Skills and vocation status	Şanlıurfa				Ankara				Total			
	Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	N	%	n	%
Having vocational skills	29	45.3	3	14.3	79	48.5	15	18.5	108	47.6	18	17.6
Having a higher education of 2 or 4 years	8	12.6	4	19.1	26	16.0	28	34.5	34	14.9	32	31.3
Temporary jobs at public sector /municipality	1	1.6	1	4.8	1	0.6	4	4.9	2	0.8	5	4.9
Having jobs requiring almost no skill	7	11	-	-	23	14.1	6	7.4	30	13.2	6	5.9
Student	2	3.1	3	14.3	2	1.2	1	1.2	4	1.8	4	3.9
Owner of shop or tradesman	2	3.1	1	4.8	3	1.8	7	8.6	5	2.2	8	7.8
Stating no skill & vocations	15	23.5	9	42.9	29	17.8	20	24.7	44	19.3	29	28.5
Total	64	100.0	21	100.0	163	100.0	81	100.0	227	100.0	102	100.0

^x **Table 23. Distribution of the survey group by father's occupational status**

Father's Occupational status	Şanlıurfa				Ankara				Total			
	Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Retired	20	31.3	4	19.0	64	39.3	32	39.5	84	37.0	36	35.3
Professional job	1	1.6	1	4.8	4	2.4	28	34.6	5	4.0	29	39.4
Having craft, professional, vocational skills	7	10.9	1	4.8	39	23.9	24	29.6	46	20.3	25	24.5
Worker at Public sector /municipality	2	3.1	4	19.0	4	2.5	4	4.9	6	2.6	4	3.9
Civil servant	7	10.9	-	-	21	12.9	8	1.2	28	12.3	12	11.8
Occupations requiring some skills	15	23.5	6	28.6	14	8.5	4	4.9	29	11.0	10	8.8
Farmer	3	4.7	1	4.8	8	4.9	1	1.2	11	4.8	2	2.0
Owner of shop or tradesman	5	7.8	2	9.5	4	2.5	2	2.5	9	4.0	4	3.9
No occupation	4	6.3	1	4.8	5	3.1	4	4.9	9	9.4	5	8.7
Total	64	100.0	21	100.0	163	100.0	81	100.0	227	100.0	102	100.0

^{xi} **Table 24. Distribution of the survey group by the ownership and type of house**

Ownership	Şanlıurfa				Ankara				Total*			
	Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female	
	N	%	N	%	n	%	N	%	N	%	n	%
Him/herself	-	-	-	-	7	4.3	7	8.8	7	3.1	7	6.8
Spouse	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.2	-	-	1	1.0
Mother-Father	55	87.3	18	85.7	101	62.0	37	46.3	156	69.0	55	54.5

Relatives	1	1.6	-	-	8	4.9	2	2.5	9	4.0	2	2.0
Dig	-	-	1	4.8	2	1.2	1	1.2	2	0.9	2	2.0
Rent	7	11.1	2	9.5	45	27.6	30	37.5	52	23.0	32	31.7
Other	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2.5	-	-	2	2.0
Type of house												
Gecekondu	14	21.9	1	4.8	39	23.9	9	11.1	53	23.3	10	9.8
Apartment Flat	30	46.9	15	71.4	120	73.7	72	88.9	150	66.2	87	85.3
Porter's lodge/ concierge	1	1.5	-	-	2	1.2	-	-	3	1.3	-	-
Village house	-	-	-	-	1	0.6	-	-	1	0.4	5	4.9
House	19	29.7	5	23.8	1	0.6	-	-	20	8.8	-	-
Total	64	100.0	21	100.0	163	100.0	81	100.0	226	100.0	101	100.0

* 2 respondents did not specify the ownership status of their house.

xii **Table 25. Distribution of the survey group by assistance/insurance received from public institutions**

Assistance/ insurance	Şanlıurfa				Ankara				Total*			
	Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female	
	n	%	N	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Yes	2	3.2	2	9.5	6	3.9	11	14.5	8	3.7	13	13.4
No	61	96.8	19	90.5	147	96.1	65	85.5	208	96.3	84	86.6
Total	63	100.0	21	100.0	153	100.0	76	100.0	216	100.0	97	100.0

* 16 respondents did not give the answer to this question.

xiii **Table 26. Distribution of the survey group by their participation in a government sponsored training and/or employment scheme**

Participation	Şanlıurfa		Ankara		Total	
	N	%	n	%	n	%
Yes, still continue training programme	2	2.4	1	0.4	3	0.9
Yes, still continue employment programme	-	-	1	0.4	1	0.3
Yes, participated in the past	5	5.9	10	4.1	15	4.6
No	78	91.8	232	95.1	310	94.2
Total	85	100.0	244	100.0	329	100.0

xiv **Table 27. Distribution of the survey group by the order of their opinions about the duties of the state**

Duties	Şanlıurfa	Ankara	Total
To prevent unemployment by creating jobs	1	1	1
To prevent corruption	3	2	2
To ensure all citizens benefit from social services including education, health and retirement	2	3	3
To provide resources to the private sector for its development	6	3	4
To behave all citizens equally without any kind of discrimination	7	5	5
To collect tax both systematically and fairly	5	6	6
To struggle poverty	4	9	7
To protect all citizens' basic human rights and freedom	8	7	8
To protect all citizens' life and property	10	7	9
To protect motherland indivisible	11	10	10
To take measurements for decreasing foreign dependence	9	11	11
Good representation of the country abroad	12	12	12
To ensure independent and fair functioning of the justice system	13	13	13

To built cheap houses for their citizen	14	14	14
To inform citizens about its policies and implementation	15	15	15

^{xv} **Table 28. Distribution of the survey group by employment status after graduation**

Employment Status	Şanlıurfa				Ankara				Total*			
	Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female	
	N	%	N	%	n	%	N	%	n	%	n	%
Started work	17	26.6	5	25.0	93	57.4	41	50.6	110	48.7	46	45.1
Not taking any job	47	73.4	15	75.0	69	42.6	40	49.4	116	51.3	55	53.9
Total	64	100.0	20	100.0	163	100.0	81	100.0	226	100.0	101	100.0

* 2 respondents did not answer the question.

^{xvi} **Table 29. Distribution of the survey group by their labour market status between 2001-2003***

Status	2001		2002		2003	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Job search	94	28.6	98	29.8	182	55.3
Full time job	43	13.1	24	7.3	26	7.9
Part time job	11	3.3	11	3.3	11	3.3
Casual job	28	8.5	30	9.1	39	11.9
Studying at regular high school or vocational school	72	21.9	45	13.7	22	6.7
Apprenticeship training	3	0.9	2	0.6	3	0.9
Attend to private occupational training courses	1	0.3	1	0.3	1	0.3
Other private courses (like driving licence, English, computer, etc)	8	2.4	6	1.8	8	2.4
Attend to İŞKUR Courses	2	0.6	1	0.3	2	0.6
Attend to Public Education Centre Training Courses	1	0.3	1	0.3	0	0.0
Attend to the Municipality Training Courses	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Socially useful or public utility job	2	0.6	3	0.9	2	0.6
Childcare/home duties	6	1.8	7	2.1	10	3.0
Sick	5	1.5	5	1.5	1	0.3
Military	65	19.8	92	28.0	39	11.9
Other	23	7.0	24	7.3	17	5.2

* Percentages were taken from a group of 329 respondents.

^{xvii} **Table 30. Distribution of the survey group by their status in working life**

Status	Şanlıurfa				Ankara				Total*			
	Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female	
	N	%	n	%	N	%	N	%	n	%	n	%
Jobs for the first time	25	39.1	12	60.0	40	24.8	29	35.8	65	28.9	41	40.6
Jobs for more than one occasion	20	31.3	2	10.0	54	33.5	17	21.0	74	32.9	19	18.8
Lost their jobs	3	4.6	1	5.0	15	9.3	11	13.6	18	8.0	12	11.9
One job and are looking for a better job	16	25.0	5	25.0	52	32.3	24	29.6	68	30.2	29	28.7
Total	64	100.0	20	100.0	161	100.0	81	100.0	225	100.0	101	100.0

* 3 Respondents did not answer the question.

^{xviii} Table 31. Distribution of survey group by sources of training received

Source of training received	Şanlıurfa		Ankara		Total	
	n	%	N	%	n	%
At workplace	1	8.3	14	23.7	15	21.1
At vocational high school	4	33.4	18	30.5	22	31.1
At university	3	25.1	12	20.3	15	21.1
At Apprenticeship Centre	1	8.3	3	5.1	4	5.6
At ISKUR offices	1	8.3	2	3.4	3	4.2
At Public Education Centre ^{xviii}	1	8.3	1	1.7	2	2.8
At Municipality course	-	-	-	-	-	-
At private institution	1	8.3	7	11.9	8	11.3
Other	-	-	2	3.4	2	2.8
Total	12	100.0	59	100.0	71	100.0

^{xix} Table 32. Distribution of the survey group by job seeking status

Job seeking	Şanlıurfa				Ankara				Total			
	Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	n	%
Yes	60	93.8	16	76.2	147	90.2	75	92.6	207	91.2	91	89.2
No	4	6.3	5	23.8	16	9.8	6	7.4	20	8.8	11	10.8
Total	64	100.0	21	100.0	163	100.0	81	100.0	227	100.0	102	100.0

^{xx} Table 33. Distribution of the survey group by the number of repetitive unemployment experience

Number	Şanlıurfa				Ankara				Total*			
	Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female	
	n	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	n	%	n	%
Never	1	1.6	3	14.3	3	1.9	-	-	4	1.8	3	2.9
Once	25	40.4	13	61.9	83	52.2	54	66.7	108	48.9	67	65.8
Twice	10	16.1	3	14.3	23	14.5	11	13.6	33	14.9	14	13.7
3 times	10	16.1	2	9.5	26	16.4	10	12.3	36	16.3	12	11.8
4 times	8	12.9	-	-	8	5.0	3	3.7	16	7.2	3	2.9
5 and over	8	12.9	-	-	16	10.0	3	3.7	24	10.9	3	2.9
Total	62	100.0	21	100.0	159	100.0	81	100.0	221	100.0	102	100.0

* 6 respondents did not give an answer to this question.

^{xxi} Table 34. Distribution of the survey group by methods used to find a job

Ways for job seeking	Şanlıurfa		Ankara		Total		χ^2
	n	%	n	%	n	%	
Asked personal relationships	74	87.1	197	80.7	271	82.4	1.74
Asked familial relationships	72	84.7	184	75.4	256	77.8	3.16
Having appointments with mayors, deputies or ministers	12	14.1	26	10.7	38	11.6	0.74
Looked at vacancies in the newspapers	31	36.5	205	84.0	236	71.7	70.28*
Registered to a private employment agency	9	10.6	43	17.6	52	15.8	2.34
Replied to job advertisements	15	17.6	141	57.8	156	47.4	40.74*
Placed advertisements myself	2	2.4	5	2.0	7	2.1	0.03
Sent curriculum vitae	11	12.9	105	43.0	116	35.3	25.01*
Prepared to start a self-employment activity	33	38.8	26	10.7	59	17.9	33.99*
Private courses (driving licence, English, computer, etc.)	30	35.3	118	48.4	148	45.0	4.38*

Attending courses provided by Private Employment Agencies	7	8.2	8	3.3	15	4.6	3.56
Taking admission tests given by public sector	19	22.4	118	48.4	137	41.6	17.55*
Taking admission tests given by private enterprises	3	3.5	19	7.8	22	6.7	1.83
Didn't do anything**	5	5.9	1	0.4	6	1.8	10.55*

* p<0.05

** Test results are tested by Fisher's Exact Test.

xxii **Table 35. Distribution of the survey group by their opinion on the statements about unemployment experience**

Statements	Şanlıurfa		Ankara		Total**		χ^2
	N	%	N	%	N	%	
I have more time for my family and friends							
Strongly agree	50	61.0	179	74.0	229	70.7	5.34*
Neither agree nor disagree	7	8.5	17	7.0	24	7.4	
Disagree	25	30.5	46	19.0	71	21.9	
I do not accomplish anything							
Strongly agree	35	42.7	119	49.4	154	47.7	1.13
Neither agree nor disagree	18	22.0	45	18.6	63	19.5	
Disagree	29	35.3	77	32.0	106	32.8	
I have problems related to planning of the future							
Strongly agree	65	79.3	193	80.1	258	79.9	0.85
Neither agree nor disagree	4	4.8	17	7.0	21	6.5	
Disagree	13	15.9	31	12.9	44	13.6	
I am financially dependent on others							
Strongly agree	65	79.3	214	88.8	279	86.4	4.76
Neither agree nor disagree	4	4.8	7	2.9	11	3.4	
Disagree	13	15.9	20	8.3	33	10.2	
I can use my time as I please							
Strongly agree	12	14.6	75	31.1	87	26.9	10.37*
Neither agree nor disagree	16	19.5	26	10.8	42	13.0	
Disagree	54	65.9	140	58.1	194	60.1	
It is easier to accept a job in informal economy							
Strongly agree	28	34.1	115	47.7	143	44.3	4.92
Neither agree nor disagree	12	14.6	33	13.7	45	13.9	
Disagree	42	51.3	93	38.6	135	41.8	
I lose my self-confidence							
Strongly agree	35	42.7	69	28.8	104	32.3	6.69*
Neither agree nor disagree	15	18.3	40	16.6	55	17.1	
Disagree	32	39.0	131	54.6	163	50.6	
I feel isolated							
Strongly agree	40	48.8	70	29.0	110	34.0	14.47*
Neither agree nor disagree	10	12.2	19	7.9	29	9.0	
Disagree	32	39.0	152	63.1	184	57.0	
I feel that my health deteriorates							
Strongly agree	51	62.2	82	34.0	133	41.2	30.24*
Neither agree nor disagree	10	12.2	13	5.4	23	7.1	
Disagree	21	25.6	146	60.6	167	51.7	

I have more time for my hobbies							
Strongly agree	16	19.5	88	36.7	104	32.3	
Neither agree nor disagree	15	18.3	29	12.0	44	13.7	8.65*
Disagree	51	62.2	123	51.3	174	54.0	
Total	82	100.0	241	100.0	323	100.0	

* p<0.05

** 6 respondents did not answer the question.

^{xxiii} **Table 36. Distribution of the survey group according to existence of such problems during unemployment***

Problems	Şanlıurfa				Ankara				Total			
	Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Stress	51	79.7	16	76.2	133	81.6	65	80.2	184	81.1	81	79.4
Depression	16	25.0	5	23.8	56	34.4	26	32.1	72	31.7	31	30.4
Hopelessness	38	59.6	12	57.1	107	65.6	66	81.5	145	63.9	78	76.5
Alienation	21	32.8	7	33.3	53	32.5	16	19.8	74	32.6	23	22.5
Decreasing self-esteem	13	20.3	2	9.5	10	6.1	10	12.3	23	10.1	12	11.8
Increasing unrest in family	21	32.8	11	52.4	43	26.4	16	19.8	64	28.2	27	26.5
Health problems/harmful-bad habits	18	28.1	4	19.0	17	10.4	7	8.6	35	15.4	11	10.8

* The respondents were asked to choose the 3 most important problems. The percentages are taken out of all those who selected the same problems.

^{xxiv} **Table 37. Distribution of the survey group by ordering the notions of ‘good job’**

Good Job	Şanlıurfa				Ankara				Total*			
	Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female	
	N	%	n	%	N	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Job security	44	68.8	10	47.6	138	84.7	58	71.6	182	80.2	68	66.7
Good pay	33	51.6	11	52.4	134	82.2	65	80.2	167	73.6	76	74.5
Good working conditions	27	42.2	4	19.0	112	68.7	45	55.6	139	61.2	49	48.0
Job within honesty and moral frame	13	20.3	4	19.0	8	4.9	10	12.3	21	9.3	14	13.7
Good and tolerant employer	5	7.8	1	4.8	9	5.5	9	11.1	14	6.2	10	9.8
Taking initiatives	5	7.8	1	4.8	5	3.1	-	-	10	4.4	1	1.0
Providing power and prestige	10	15.6	1	4.8	7	4.3	6	7.4	17	7.5	7	6.9
Good workmates	8	12.5	1	4.8	2	1.2	7	8.6	10	4.4	8	7.8
Giving possibility for self-realisation	1	1.6	1	4.8	2	1.2	2	2.5	3	1.3	3	2.9
Providing status	7	10.9	4	19.9	12	7.4	5	6.2	19	8.4	9	8.8
Job well-respected by the society	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.2	-	-	1	1.0

Giving possibility to learn new things/new people	4	6.3	6	28.6	16	9.8	13	16.0	20	8.8	19	18.6
Useful for the society	2	3.1	4	19.0	8	4.9	2	2.5	10	4.4	6	5.9
Using latest technology/knowledge	15	23.4	13	61.9	18	11.0	20	24.7	33	14.5	33	32.4
Allowing independence	4	6.3	1	4.8	1	0.6	-	-	5	2.2	1	1.0
Possibility of taking initiatives	7	10.9	-	-	10	6.1	1	1.2	17	7.5	1	1.0

*The respondents were asked to choose the 3 most important notions about good jobs. The percentages are taken out of all those who selected the same notions.

^{xxv} **Table 38. Distribution of the survey group by their comments on the link between unemployment and different social phenomena**

Phenomena	Şanlıurfa		Ankara		Total		χ^2
	N	%	N	%	n	%	
Higher tendency to commit crime **							
There is direct and strong relationship	53	64.7	133	55.4	186	57.8	3.14
There is a indirect relationship	23	28.0	74	30.8	97	30.1	
There is no relation	6	7.3	33	13.8	39	12.1	
Higher incidence of divorce **							
There is direct and strong relationship	31	3.3	132	54.8	163	50.6	7.90*
There is a indirect relationship	43	53.1	86	35.7	129	40.1	
There is no relation	7	8.6	23	9.5	30	9.3	
Disruption of families ***							
There is direct and strong relationship	30	37.0	124	51.7	154	48.0	8.03*
There is a indirect relationship	42	51.9	82	34.2	124	38.6	
There is no relation	9	11.1	34	14.1	43	13.4	
Increase in family support****							
There is direct and strong relationship	30	37.0	115	48.5	145	45.6	3.23
There is a indirect relationship	31	38.3	73	30.8	104	32.7	
There is no relation	20	24.7	49	20.7	69	21.7	
Increase in suicide*****							
There is direct and strong relationship	37	46.3	106	44.2	143	44.7	0.50
There is a indirect relationship	22	27.5	76	31.7	98	30.6	
There is no relation	21	26.3	58	24.2	79	24.7	
Increase in inter-family violence*****							
There is direct and strong relationship	39	48.2	113	47.3	152	47.5	5.97
There is a indirect relationship	36	44.4	83	34.7	119	37.2	
There is no relation	6	7.4	43	18.0	49	15.3	
Spread of prostitution ****							
There is direct and strong relationship	17	21.5	87	36.4	104	32.7	11.48*
There is a indirect relationship	16	20.3	64	26.8	80	25.2	
There is no relation	46	58.2	88	36.8	134	42.1	
Total	85	100.0	244	100.0	329	100.0	

* p<0.05

** 7 respondents did not give the answer to this question.

*** 8 respondents did not give the answer to this question.

****11 respondents did not give the answer to this question.

*****9 respondents did not give the answer to this question.

xxvi **Table 39. Distribution of the survey group by their causes of unemployment***

Cause	Şanlıurfa				Ankara				Total			
	Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female	
	n	%	n	%	N	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Insufficient education	29	45.3	10	47.6	56	34.4	29	35.8	85	37.4	39	38.2
Lack of job/profession	11	17.2	4	19.0	42	25.8	15	18.5	53	23.3	19	18.6
Job is not relevant?	4	6.3	2	9.5	15	9.2	2	2.5	19	8.4	4	3.9
No suitable job to my occupation	9	14.1	2	9.5	33	20.2	11	13.6	42	18.5	13	12.7
No suitable occupation to my education	5	7.8	4	19.0	17	10.4	12	14.8	22	9.7	16	15.7
Not having “strong backs	30	46.9	10	47.6	61	37.4	41	50.6	91	40.1	51	50.0
Failure of the state to provide jobs	49	76.6	14	66.7	79	48.5	40	49.4	128	56.4	54	52.9
Lack of luck	6	9.4	3	14.3	17	10.4	16	19.8	23	10.1	19	18.6
Gender discrimination	7	10.9	2	9.5	7	4.3	4	4.9	14	6.2	6	5.9

* More than one option could be selected. The percentages are taken out of all those who selected the same causes.

xxvii **Table 40. Distribution of the survey group by their views about work**

Statements	Şanlıurfa		Ankara		Total		χ^2
	N	%	N	%	n	%	
It is very important to me to have a job							
Strongly agree	82	96.5	235	96.3	317	96.4	**
Neither agree nor disagree	3	3.5	7	2.9	10	3.0	
Disagree	-	-	2	0.8	2	0.6	
Even if I have lots of money I would want to work							
Strongly agree	59	69.4	189	77.5	248	75.4	7.38*
Neither agree nor disagree	17	20.0	22	9.0	39	11.9	
Disagree	9	10.6	33	13.5	42	12.8	
I hate being unemployed							
Strongly agree	71	83.5	228	93.4	299	90.9	**
Neither agree nor disagree	7	8.2	10	4.1	17	5.2	
Disagree	7	8.2	6	2.5	13	4.0	
I feel restless if I do not have a job							
Strongly agree	68	80.0	217	88.9	285	86.6	5.73
Neither agree nor disagree	10	11.8	20	8.2	30	9.1	
Disagree	7	8.2	7	2.9	14	4.3	
Work is one of the most important things in my life							
Strongly agree	58	68.2	157	64.3	215	65.3	1.14
Neither agree nor disagree	12	14.1	47	19.3	59	17.9	
Disagree	15	17.6	40	16.4	55	16.7	
I would prefer to work even if unemployment benefits were generous							
Strongly agree	61	71.8	201	82.4	262	79.6	14.78*
Neither agree nor disagree	19	22.4	18	7.4	37	11.2	

Disagree	5	5.9	25	10.2	30	9.1
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* p<0.05

** It could not be tested since value emerging from more than 20% of test cells was lower than 5.

xxviii **Table 41. Distribution of the survey group by their opinion on the statements about unemployment**

Statements	Şanlıurfa		Ankara		Total		χ^2
	N	%	N	%	n	%	
Many people blame individuals for their unemployment							
Strongly agree	53	63.9	149	61.6	202	62.2	0.44
Neither agree nor disagree	10	12.0	26	1.7	36	11.1	
Disagree	20	24.1	67	27.7	87	26.7	
My parents think that I should be more active in looking for work and courses							
Strongly agree	58	69.1	153	63.5	211	64.9	1.16
Neither agree nor disagree	8	9.5	22	9.1	30	9.2	
Disagree	18	21.4	66	27.4	84	25.9	
My friends think that I do not try hard enough to get a job							
Strongly agree	35	41.7	80	33.2	115	35.4	10.01*
Neither agree nor disagree	17	20.2	25	10.4	42	12.9	
Disagree	32	38.1	136	56.4	168	51.7	
As there are few jobs available, there is little that the unemployed can do to improve their position							
Strongly agree	66	78.6	183	75.9	249	76.6	1.34
Neither agree nor disagree	11	13.1	27	11.2	38	11.7	
Disagree	7	8.3	31	12.9	38	11.7	
Many people look down on people who are unemployed							
Strongly agree	54	64.3	134	55.4	188	57.7	2.08
Neither agree nor disagree	7	8.3	23	9.5	30	9.2	
Disagree	23	27.4	85	35.1	108	33.1	
Many people think that unemployed people are unemployed because of their laziness							
Strongly agree	40	47.6	126	52.1	166	50.9	1.25
Neither agree nor disagree	11	13.1	37	15.3	48	14.7	
Disagree	33	39.3	79	32.6	112	34.4	
Total	84	100.0	242	100.0	326	100.0	

* p<0.05

xxix **Table 42. Distribution of the survey group by the providers of basic subsistence during unemployment**

People who supports the unemployed	Şanlıurfa				Ankara				Total*			
	Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female	
	N	%	N	%	n	%	N	%	n	%	n	%
No one	31	49.2	4	19.0	24	14.9	15	18.5	55	24.6	19	18.6
Close relatives	32	50.8	16	76.2	134	83.3	64	79.1	166	74.1	80	78.4
Other relatives	-	-	1	4.8	1	0.6	1	1.2	1	0.4	2	2.0
Neighbours	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Friends	-	-	-	-	2	1.2	-	-	2	0.9	-	-
Other	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.2	-	-	1	1.0
Total	63	100.0	21	100.0	161	100.0	81	100.0	224	100.0	102	100.0

* 3 respondents did not answer the question.

xxx Table 43. Distribution of the survey group by main sources of income during the last 12 months?

Source of Income	Şanlıurfa		Ankara		Total**		χ^{2***}
	N	%	N	%	n	%	
Income from employment							
Yes	30	37.0	54	22.3	84	26.0	6.84*
No	51	63.0	188	77.7	239	74.0	
Own savings							
Yes	9	11.1	10	4.1	19	5.9	5.34*
No	72	88.9	232	95.9	304	94.1	
Student grants or loans							
Yes	5	6.2	2	0.8	7	2.2	8.18*
No	76	93.8	240	99.2	316	97.8	
Income from your wife/husband							
Yes	2	2.5	10	4.1	12	3.7	0.47
No	79	97.5	232	95.9	311	96.3	
Unemployment insurance							
Yes	1	1.2	5	2.1	6	1.9	0.23
No	80	98.8	237	97.9	317	98.1	
Income from a training scheme							
Yes	-	-	1	0.4	1	0.3	-
No	81	100.0	241	99.6	322	99.7	
Income from Solidarity Fund							
Yes	1	1.2	-	-	1	0.3	-
No	80	98.8	242	100.0	322	99.7	
Money from a occasional/a temporary job							
Yes	6	7.4	13	5.4	19	5.9	0.45
No	75	92.6	229	94.6	304	94.1	
Parental allowance							
Yes	64	79.0	191	78.9	255	78.9	0.00
No	17	21.0	51	21.1	68	21.1	
Income from informal activities							
Yes	1	1.2	3	1.2	4	1.2	-
No	80	98.8	239	98.8	319	98.8	
You've worked for a neighbours, a friend							
Yes	-	-	3	1.2	3	0.9	-
No	81	100.0	239	98.8	320	99.1	
Total	81	100.0	242	100.0	323	100.0	

* p<0.05

** 6 respondents did not answer the question.

*** Test results in italic are the results of Fisher Exact Test.

xxxı **Table 44. Which of the followings did you have to give up due to lack of money during unemployment?**

	Şanlıurfa		Ankara		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Regular meals						
Often	5	6.0	9	3.8	14	4.3
Sometimes	28	33.3	77	32.1	105	32.4
Never	50	59.5	125	52.1	175	54.0
Not relevant	1	1.2	29	12.0	30	9.3
Essential clothes for yourself or your family						
Often	6	7.1	23	9.6	29	9.0
Sometimes	40	47.6	93	38.9	133	41.2
Never	36	42.9	110	46.1	146	45.2
Not relevant	2	2.4	13	5.4	15	4.6
Paying rent and bills on time						
Often	2	2.4	19	7.9	21	6.5
Sometimes	19	23.2	34	14.2	53	16.5
Never	31	37.8	76	31.8	107	33.3
Not relevant	30	36.6	110	46.1	140	43.6
Compulsory health care services						
Often	6	7.1	35	14.6	41	12.7
Sometimes	26	31.0	48	20.0	74	22.8
Never	33	39.3	141	58.8	174	53.7
Not relevant	19	22.6	16	6.6	35	10.8
Going to the cinema, theatre or concerts						
Often	15	17.9	85	35.4	100	30.9
Sometimes	20	23.8	66	27.5	86	26.5
Never	4	4.7	47	19.6	51	15.7
Not relevant	45	53.6	42	17.5	87	26.9
Inviting friends to your home						
Often	6	7.1	57	23.8	63	19.4
Sometimes	31	36.9	58	24.2	89	27.5
Never	23	27.4	92	38.3	115	35.5
Not relevant	24	28.6	33	13.7	57	17.6
Visiting friends/relatives living in other cities						
Often	18	21.4	94	39.2	112	34.6
Sometimes	22	26.2	54	22.5	76	23.5
Never	8	9.5	63	26.3	71	21.9
Not relevant	36	42.9	29	12.0	65	20.0
Buying presents for special days for family or friends						
Often	19	22.6	86	35.8	105	32.5
Sometimes	21	25.0	73	30.4	94	29.0
Never	6	7.1	45	18.8	51	15.7
Not relevant	38	45.3	36	15.0	74	22.8
Holidays away						
Often	25	29.8	124	51.9	149	46.1
Sometimes	18	21.4	36	15.1	54	16.7
Never	5	5.9	23	9.6	28	8.7
Not relevant	36	42.9	56	23.4	92	28.5
Buying newspapers regularly						
Often	11	13.1	25	10.5	36	11.1
Sometimes	38	45.3	53	22.2	91	28.2
Never	18	21.4	140	58.6	158	48.9

Not relevant	17	20.2	21	8.7	38	11.8
Hobbies or other recreational activities						
Often	19	22.9	76	31.8	95	29.5
Sometimes	26	31.3	80	33.5	106	32.9
Never	7	8.4	58	24.3	65	20.2
Not relevant	31	37.4	25	10.4	56	17.4
Going to pubs or restaurants						
Often	18	21.7	75	31.4	93	28.9
Sometimes	7	8.4	50	20.9	57	17.7
Never	-	-	38	15.9	38	11.8
Not relevant	58	69.9	76	31.8	134	41.6
Total	83	100.0	239	100.0	322	100.0

xxxii **Table 45. During your unemployment, how often have your parents.....**

	Şanlıurfa		Ankara		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Given you money?						
Very often	21	25.3	80	33.5	101	31.4
Often	15	18.1	59	24.7	74	23.0
Sometimes	22	26.5	53	22.2	75	23.3
Rarely	20	24.1	24	10.0	44	13.7
Never	3	3.6	14	5.9	17	5.3
Not applicable	2	2.4	9	3.7	11	3.4
Given advice about your studies or work?						
Very often	14	17.1	75	31.6	89	27.9
Often	22	26.8	88	37.2	110	34.5
Sometimes	17	20.7	35	14.8	52	16.3
Rarely	13	15.9	14	5.9	27	8.5
Never	14	17.1	14	5.9	28	8.8
Not applicable	2	2.4	11	4.6	13	4.0
Talked to you about personal matters?						
Very often	14	16.9	87	36.9	101	31.7
Often	13	15.7	48	20.3	61	19.1
Sometimes	16	19.3	51	21.6	67	21.0
Rarely	15	18.1	13	5.5	28	8.8
Never	16	19.3	21	8.9	37	11.6
Not applicable	9	10.7	16	6.8	25	7.8
Provided advice about financial matters?						
Very often	15	18.1	83	34.9	98	30.6
Often	12	14.5	59	24.8	71	22.1
Sometimes	11	13.2	44	18.5	55	17.1
Rarely	19	22.9	13	5.5	32	10.0
Never	15	18.1	24	10.1	39	12.1
Not applicable	11	13.2	15	6.3	26	8.1
Done other favours for your finding a job						
Very often	13	15.7	58	24.9	71	22.5
Often	8	9.6	29	12.4	37	11.7
Sometimes	12	14.5	35	15.0	47	14.9
Rarely	3	3.6	27	11.6	30	9.5
Never	26	31.3	61	26.2	87	27.5
Not applicable	21	25.3	23	9.9	44	13.9
Shown you warmth or/and affection?						
Very often	35	42.2	148	61.7	183	56.7

Often	15	18.1	46	19.2	61	18.9
Sometimes	8	9.6	16	6.7	24	7.4
Rarely	6	7.2	8	3.2	14	4.3
Never	14	16.9	9	3.8	23	7.1
Not applicable	5	6.0	13	5.4	18	5.6
Total	83	100.0	240	100.0	323	100.0

xxxiii **Table 46. During your unemployment, how often have your friends.....**

	Şanlıurfa		Ankara		Total	
	N	%	n	%	n	%
Given you money?						
Very often	11	13.9	13	5.5	24	7.6
Often	3	3.8	3	3.4	11	3.5
Sometimes	3	3.8	8	13.0	34	10.7
Rarely	10	12.7	31	14.7	45	14.2
Never	29	36.7	35	48.7	154	45.7
Not applicable	23	29.1	116	14.7	58	18.3
Given advice about your studies or work?						
Very often	15	19.0	33	13.8	48	15.1
Often	10	12.6	45	18.9	55	17.3
Sometimes	16	20.3	62	25.9	78	24.6
Rarely	26	32.9	38	15.9	64	20.1
Never	6	7.6	43	18.0	49	15.4
Not applicable	6	7.6	18	7.5	24	7.5
Talked to you about personal matters?						
Very often	13	16.5	53	22.1	66	20.7
Often	5	6.3	43	17.9	48	15.0
Sometimes	26	32.9	57	23.8	83	26.1
Rarely	19	24.1	29	12.1	48	15.0
Never	6	7.5	40	16.7	46	14.4
Not applicable	10	12.7	18	7.4	28	8.8
Provided advice about financial matters?						
Very often	10	12.7	40	16.8	50	15.8
Often	6	7.5	19	8.0	25	7.9
Sometimes	16	20.3	48	20.2	64	20.2
Rarely	23	29.1	36	15.1	59	18.6
Never	12	15.2	72	30.3	84	26.5
Not applicable	12	15.2	23	9.6	35	11.0
Done other favours for your finding a job						
Very often	15	19.0	28	11.9	43	13.7
Often	6	7.6	19	8.0	25	7.9
Sometimes	5	6.3	34	14.4	39	12.4
Rarely	8	10.1	28	11.9	36	11.4
Never	26	32.9	93	39.4	119	37.8
Not applicable	19	24.1	34	14.4	53	16.8
Shown you warmth or/and affection?						
Very often	23	29.1	81	33.7	104	32.5
Often	9	11.4	54	22.4	63	19.7
Sometimes	21	26.6	50	20.7	71	22.2
Rarely	15	19.0	15	6.2	30	9.3
Never	8	10.1	23	9.5	31	9.7
Not applicable	3	3.8	18	7.5	21	6.6
Total	79	100.0	241	100.0	320	100.0

xxxiv Table 47. How do you normally spend your time? Which kind of activities do you generally do?

Social activities	Şanlıurfa		Ankara		Total		χ^2
	N	%	n	%	n	%	
Going to the coffeehouse							
Yes	30	35.3	56	23.0	86	26.1	4.96*
No	55	64.7	188	77.0	243	73.9	
Watching TV							
Yes	75	88.2	216	88.5	291	88.4	0.01
No	10	11.8	28	11.5	38	11.6	
Physical exercise/sports							
Yes	44	51.8	164	67.2	208	63.2	6.47*
No	41	48.2	80	32.8	121	36.8	
Listening to music							
Yes	71	83.5	209	85.7	280	85.1	0.23
No	14	16.5	35	14.3	49	14.9	
Reading books							
Yes	62	72.9	167	68.4	229	69.6	0.60
No	23	27.1	77	31.6	100	30.4	
Spending time with friends							
Yes	63	74.1	189	77.5	252	76.6	0.39
No	22	25.9	55	22.5	77	23.4	
Spending time with relatives/neighbours							
Yes	50	58.8	172	70.5	222	67.5	3.91*
No	35	41.2	72	29.5	107	32.5	
Spending time with my boyfriend/girlfriend							
Yes	37	43.5	134	54.9	171	52.0	3.28
No	48	56.5	110	45.1	158	48.0	
Attending religious meeting							
Yes	11	12.9	28	11.5	39	11.9	0.15
No	74	87.1	216	88.5	290	88.1	
Attending political meeting							
Yes	2	2.4	18	7.4	20	6.1	2.78
No	83	97.6	226	92.6	309	93.9	
Studying lessons							
Yes	37	43.5	85	34.8	122	37.1	2.04
No	48	56.5	159	65.2	207	62.9	
Doing embroidery							
Yes	12	14.1	43	17.6	55	16.7	0.56
No	73	85.9	201	82.4	274	83.3	
Doing housework							
Yes	19	22.4	91	37.3	110	33.4	6.32*
No	66	77.6	153	62.7	219	66.6	
Attending training courses							
Yes	8	9.4	40	16.4	48	14.6	2.47
No	77	90.6	204	83.6	281	85.4	
Total	85	100.0	244	100.0	329	100.0	
Caring for children							
Yes	5	5.9	23	9.4	28	8.5	1.02
No	80	94.1	221	90.6	301	91.5	
Helping families							
Yes	43	50.6	135	55.3	178	54.1	0.57

No	42	49.4	109	44.7	151	45.9	
Doing voluntary work in the community							
Yes	10	11.8	52	21.3	62	18.8	3.76
No	75	88.2	192	78.7	267	81.2	
Trying to find a job							
Yes	65	76.5	199	81.6	264	80.2	1.03
No	20	23.5	45	18.4	65	19.8	
Total	85	100.0	244	100.0	329	100.0	

* p<0.05

xxxv Table 48. Have you ever participated in any of the following activities?

Activities	Şanlıurfa		Ankara		Total**		χ^{2***}
	N	%	n	%	n	%	
Signed a petition							
Yes	6	7.5	5	2.1	11	3.5	5.23*
No	74	92.5	233	97.9	307	96.5	
Taken part in boycotts of products							
Yes	2	97.5	2	0.8	4	1.3	1.33
No	78	2.5	236	99.2	314	98.7	
Taken part in official strikes							
Yes	1	1.3	-	-	1	0.3	-
No	79	98.8	238	100.0	317	99.7	
Taken part in a demonstration							
Yes	2	2.5	3	1.3	5	1.6	0.59
No	78	97.5	235	98.7	313	98.4	
Occupied factories or other buildings, schools							
Yes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
No	80	100.0	238	100.0	318	100.0	
Carried a badge to show a support for a cause							
Yes	6	7.5	6	2.1	11	3.5	5.23*
No	74	92.5	233	97.9	307	96.5	
Voted in elections							
Yes	47	58.8	170	71.4	217	68.2	4.44*
No	33	41.3	68	28.6	101	31.8	
Attended a political meeting							
Yes	3	3.8	5	2.1	8	2.5	0.66
No	77	96.3	233	97.9	310	97.5	
Attended a trade union meeting							
Yes	1	1.3	-	-	-	-	-
No	79	98.8	238	100.0	317	99.7	
Attended a religious meeting							
Yes	10	12.5	9	3.8	19	6.0	8.10*
No	70	87.5	229	96.2	299	94.0	
Total	85	100.0	244	100.0	329	100.0	

* p<0.05

** 11 respondents did not answer the question.

*** Test results in italics are Fisher Exact Test's result.

xxxvi Table 49. What kind of society do you think we should be working towards?

Character of society	Şanlıurfa		Ankara		Total**		χ^2
	N	%	n	%	n	%	
A society with more private enterprises and a market economy							
Agree	73	88.0	198	83.2	271	84.4	2.73
Neither agree nor disagree	7	8.4	18	7.6	25	7.8	
Disagree	3	3.6	22	9.2	25	7.8	
A society that takes care of the environment even if this implies lower economic growth							
Agree	70	84.3	180	75.3	250	77.6	9.15*
Neither agree nor disagree	12	14.5	29	12.1	41	12.7	
Disagree	1	1.2	30	12.6	31	9.6	
A society that utilises advanced technology, such as computers and robots							
Agree	47	56.6	154	65.0	201	62.8	4.21
Neither agree nor disagree	20	24.1	34	14.3	54	16.9	
Disagree	16	19.3	49	20.7	65	20.3	
A society of law and order							
Agree	82	98.8	231	96.7	313	97.2	-
Neither agree nor disagree	1	1.2	5	2.1	6	1.9	
Disagree	-	-	3	1.2	3	0.9	
A society of equality with small income differentials							
Agree	40	48.2	201	84.1	241	74.9	42.51*
Neither agree nor disagree	17	20.5	13	5.4	30	9.3	
Disagree	26	31.3	25	10.5	51	15.8	
A society of equality between men and women							
Agree	77	92.8	222	93.3	299	93.1	-
Neither agree nor disagree	5	6.0	11	4.6	16	5.0	
Disagree	1	1.2	5	2.1	6	1.9	
A society of equality between ethnic groups							
Agree	74	89.2	215	90.0	289	89.8	0.21
Neither agree nor disagree	7	8.4	17	7.1	24	7.5	
Disagree	2	2.4	7	2.9	9	2.7	
Total	83	100.0	239	100.0	322	100.0	

* p<0.05

** 7 respondents did not answer the question.

xxxvii Table 50. Where would you put your own political opinions?

Political opinions	Şanlıurfa		Ankara		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Definitely to the left	2	2.4	6	2.4	8	2.4
Somewhat to the left	2	2.4	5	2.1	7	2.1
Neither left nor right	5	5.8	23	9.4	28	8.5
Somewhat to the right	1	1.2	10	4.1	11	3.3
Definitely to the right	1	1.2	6	2.4	7	2.1
Do not have political opinion	37	43.5	108	44.3	145	44.2
Refuse to answer	37	43.5	86	35.3	123	37.4
Total	85	100.0	244	100.0	329	100.0

xxxviii **Table 51. How do you assess your life?**

	Şanlıurfa		Ankara		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Very satisfied	3	3,5	7	2,8	10	3,0
Quite satisfied	25	29,5	95	38,9	120	36,5
Fairly unsatisfied	28	32,9	99	40,6	127	38,6
Very unsatisfied	16	18,8	28	11,5	44	13,4
Refuse to answer	13	15,3	15	6,2	28	8,5
Total	85	100.0	244	100	329	100.0

CHAPTER 6

UNEMPLOYED YOUTH AND THEIR FAMILIES

According to general understanding, the period between ages 15 and 24 is a crucial developmental life phase, during which some major life tasks are expected to be accomplished, or at least begun. Psychological development, social transitions and changes in status which occur in this time frame are all closely related. Young people are expected to establish a sense of personal identity and become progressively more independent from their parents. In broad terms, this is the process of constructing an adult life. When paid employment, the symbol of and stepping stone to independence and adulthood, is scarce and uncertain, the management of the processes which shape the anticipated and expected independence becomes problematic (France, 1996).

The unemployment experience of young people has a direct impact upon family life in Turkey. Many young unemployed people are not entitled to unemployment insurance. Furthermore, there is no systematic and established assistance/service scheme for unemployed youth and the assistance which is available is family-focused. Limited job availability, as well as the low wages and inconsequential nature of many of these jobs, further add to the importance of family and family solidarity in Turkey. Therefore, young people continue living with their families because the intergenerational solidarity makes it possible for most families to face the economic difficulties resulting from unemployment as a unit. All of these concerns emphasize the importance of considering the family in discussions related to ways in which young people experience unemployment. Not only in Turkey but also in other countries young people who live with their families are increasing. As mentioned earlier, this delay in youngsters' emancipation from the family is due to the characteristic 'familialism' of certain conservative welfare regimes, where families have to substitute for public welfare services (Esping-Andersen, 1996). The crucial question here is: does this type of family structure contribute to the limited development of the welfare State in Turkey? Or on the contrary, do the weak welfare provisions of the State lead to strong family ties in Turkey? Finding an answer to this question is really difficult as there is no

absolute conclusion. Nonetheless, the role of the family must be addressed as family is an important institution providing social welfare in Turkish society, especially in difficult times when individuals experience hardships such as unemployment.

The previous chapter has already highlighted that many factors including family integrity, number of children, level of education, migratory status, jobs-occupations of parents, and ownership of residence and existence of other unemployed members in the family closely affect/determine the position of unemployed young persons. The substituting role of the family in Turkey heavily affects the behaviours and life decisions of young people as they generally continue to live with their families⁴⁶. Young women leave their homes mostly to get married or attend university, for young males these occasions may include military service or finding jobs elsewhere. Most families believe that a young person should get married at a certain age even if he or she has no job. This is to protect young people from developing bad habits, to both aid and control them in their journey toward adulthood. Families provide support in such cases and married couples start living with the family of one of the spouses, not leaving until circumstances allow for it. Therefore, standard indicators of adulthood including ‘parting with family’, ‘having job’ or ‘getting married’ may not accurately indicate the State of adulthood in Turkey. Young persons having jobs and living with their parents acquire the rights of adulthood, but delegate its responsibilities to their elders. Or it may be that they undertake adult responsibilities but do not exercise the corresponding rights.

Families are often described as the primary social units, the ‘building blocks’ of society. The processes by which members of each generation “achieve social status in their own right, therefore, begin in the everyday life of the family of origin, and continue through the education system, the labour market and other social institutions” (Jones, 2001: 155). Family members may be involved in the inter-generational transmission not only of wealth, but also of social and cultural capital in the form of skills, social networks, aspirations and values (Bertaux & Thompson, 1997). As they grow up young people may draw heavily on

⁴⁶ We see some different living arrangements as well in Turkey: living alone, living with cohabitants and/or house mates. But all these kinds of arrangements need family support or paid work.

family resources such as these, if they can, to help them become established in the adult world. Inter-generational transmission of social and cultural capital is thus a mechanism for social reproduction, including the reproduction of social inequality from one generation to the next. Social capital derives from family relationships; Bourdieu sees its type and content as inevitably shaped by the material, cultural and symbolic status of the individual and family concerned. For Bourdieu, social capital is continually transmitted and accumulated in ways that produce and reinforce social inequality, rather than undergoing a deterioration instigated by features of contemporary family life that fracture the proper socialization of members (Edwards, 2004).

Many elements can influence the major decisions and role changes that intervene in the transition to adulthood: cultural tradition, the existence of more or less strong religious beliefs, the possibilities for economic growth, welfare policies, the rules of the education system, the organisation of the market of goods and services, etc. (Sgritta, 2001). Among the conditions that influence this process, two are particularly important: the family and the welfare system. The division of responsibilities between the different institutional spheres (family, market and State), the normative recognition of the different living arrangements and the objectives they pursue with regard to the support of children and dependent subjects in general shape the lives of new generations. Which one develops first, which leads to the division of responsibilities, and their reasons are still problematic. If the State does not consider intervention indispensable, either the ability of the family to adapt was taken for granted or the ability of the State is considered poor.

This chapter will give an attention to the families of the unemployed youth in the survey group and the nature of the familial relationship in reference to this unemployed status. Data presented here came from family interviews (15 in Şanlıurfa and 15 in Ankara). These results are obviously not representative of Turkey's unemployed youth and their families on a national level. Nevertheless, the rich material from the interviews with families of the unemployed youth allows an in-depth understanding of the various types of life strategies limited by youth unemployment in the period of dependency and the support they received from their families. Gathered data will be presented for each city separately (Şanlıurfa and

Ankara) under the following subheadings: the generational transmission of education and jobs, the meaning of work and good jobs, family dynamics, coping up with unemployment, working in another city, supports (relatives, neighbour, State), and the expectations of the family.

6.1 Main Findings of Family Interviews in Şanlıurfa

6.1.1 Inter-generational Transmission of Education and Jobs

In Şanlıurfa 15 families were interviewed. As to the children of these families, five were general high school graduates, five were from vocational high schools, one was a university graduate, one was a lower secondary school graduate and the remaining three were primary school graduates. As to gender distribution, these were the parents of 11 young men and four young women. Five of them are married and 10 are singles.

During family interviews, questions about migration, job and educational background were asked in order to see intergenerational continuity. 12 out of 15 parents interviewed were first generation migrants. These people moved in to Şanlıurfa city centre from different districts and villages of the province for various reasons. The remaining three sets of parents were born in Şanlıurfa.

Families moved out from their original settlements for various reasons. The leading one among them is shortage of farming land. These are crowded families of rural origin with limited land. They moved out since the “land they had could not support the family” (eight families). The second motivation for relocation is to acquire jobs in the public sector (five families). This holds true for those who migrated a relatively long time ago (about 30-35 years ago). There are also some moving out for security reasons since they were involved in some kind of vendetta (two families)^{47xxxix}.

In a province like Şanlıurfa where customs and traditions shape daily life and where female schooling and labour force participation rates are quite low (as discussed in Chapter 4), it is

⁴⁷ Some characteristics of families and young persons interviewed were presented at the end of this chapter.

very important for females to register with İŞKUR as ‘unemployed’ with the intention of entering into labour markets. During interviews, it became apparent that unemployed young women came from families different from those of men. The families of these young females have been living in Şanlıurfa centre for many years and they see themselves as ‘different’ from the rest of those in Şanlıurfa. They say, “here in Şanlıurfa, girls are not sent to school, but me and my husband are open people”; “we wanted our daughters to go to school and have jobs, it is somewhat out-of-tradition here, but we are from *‘Türkmen’* origin” or “It is latecomers who are more tradition-bound, we are the native residents of Şanlıurfa”.

The parents interviewed have rather low educational backgrounds. There is only one college graduate and two high school graduates among the fathers. Two of the fathers have never been to school. They became literate while performing their military service. The remaining fathers are either primary or secondary school graduates. Only three mothers have been to primary school and the remaining 12 have never been to school. All mothers are housewives.

The familial situations can be summarized with headings such as “first generation migrants”, “low parental education status”, “a high number of children” and “all housewife mothers”. It is also observed that the parents of unemployed young women are relatively more ‘urban’, better integrated to urban life and have workplaces. Looking at the older generations we observe a similar picture with very little or no education at all, a farming background and a high number of children. It is concluded that intergenerational transfer is very limited in terms of education and employment.

Consanguineous marriage is very common. In fact, 12 out of 15 parents are close relatives. Characterized by low educational status, farming background and very low female labour participation, first generation of migrants repeated their pattern with their children mainly through consanguineous marriages. Considering the level of education together with this pattern of marriage, the two channels (marriage and education) that might have led to social mobility remain closed and intergenerational transfer is consequently limited. While

interviewing decision-makers, there was frequent mention of traditional ways and customs that closely influence many parameters including high fertility, low level of education and labour force participation. These two significant barriers to social mobility also hinder social change and lead to “fixation” or “stabilization” of life. As it will be mentioned later, this pattern is maintained and reproduced/perpetuated by families for various motives and to address multiple concerns.

In the province of Şanlıurfa, changes in economic life have already started to influence social life, though slowly, including educational preferences, consanguineous marriages, fertility patterns and the social status of women. It was also observed during family interviews that parents displayed a desire for their children lead a better and different pattern of life than their own.

With the exception of a family headed by a widowed woman, all other families live on the fathers’ income. Apart from this income, there is either no other contribution to family subsistence or the contribution is limited to incidental child or adolescent labour. Young males with permanent jobs leave their parents when they get married. If there is no father, the eldest male child takes up the responsibility because daughters’ working outside the home is not preferred even in rather difficult circumstances. There may be injurious rumours about working girls to the extent that it may adversely affect their marriage prospects.

You are not from this area, are you? We are from a local tribe. Everybody will start talking about it if girls start working outside the home. This is a small place and many people will think bad things about a girl going out of her home for her job. It is different in places like İstanbul, nobody knows where a girl or young woman is going to. If rumours spread about a working girl, nobody would choose to marry her. The family of the prospective groom will start asking about the girl and if they learn that she is going out to her job they will drop this marriage project. Look at me: I have given birth to 10 children. When I go out, for example, to get some coal, my neighbours become very curious and ask where I am going. They won’t help you if you are in trouble, but they love to talk about you. When my husband died, my father wanted me to remarry, but I refused. I don’t want people talking about my daughters (mother of an unemployed male).

As the parents’ level of education rises, so do their expectations from the education of their children. However, since all mothers share similar levels of education and all are housewives, it is the fathers’ education level that shapes the expectations of education. The

higher the education level of fathers, the more different is their wives' approach to education. This is observed especially in families with unemployed female members.

Me and my husband are far-sighted people. My husband is a college graduate. I wish I could have had that education too. But my father didn't let me. He feels sorry about that now. When I was a child it was a small place, maybe that's why he didn't send me to school. Now we want our children go as far as they can in their education (mother of an unemployed female).

The fathers' level of education affects daughters in particular and transforms traditional norms as to the education and employment of females. Conversely, the lower the level of education of the parents, the more they abide by traditional norms about the education and employment of their daughters. Another important factor here is whether the family concerned has a regular income. For parents presently working in or retired from the public sector, there is stronger tendency to have their daughters educated even if no employment prospects exist. Irregular employment and income combined with a low level of parental education reproduce norms that fight against the education and employment of women.

The absence of a father forces elderly male children to take over responsibility for family subsistence. Elderly children, in such cases, mostly drop out of school and start working. These young people are forced to act differently even if they have faith in the returns of education.

My son was 10 years old when his father died. He was going to school then, but I took him out and sent him to work. He would have continued his education otherwise (mother of an unemployed male).

The negative attitude regarding education and its possible returns is also reinforced by the nature of the jobs offered. For the most part, females with low levels of education are offered jobs which pay below minimum wage and do not include insurance coverage. Many women or young girls do not regard it worthwhile to accept such jobs at the expense of their reputation as they may be categorized as women with 'questionable chastity'. In any case, "they will get married and their husbands will have to support them".

I won't let my daughter go out and work somewhere. Our honour is much more important than money (mother of an unemployed male).

A husband has to provide for his wife, there is no other way. Why did I get married? Of course, to have my husband support me. Why should I work and why should I let my daughters work? If it weren't for subsistence why should I bother myself with an alien man? (mother of an unemployed male).

6.1.2 The Definition of Having Paid Work and a Good Job

To better grasp the nature of youth unemployment, it is important to learn what values people attribute to employment. However, as mentioned earlier, the response to such inquiries of the inherent value of a job was often as simplistic as, “having a job is a good thing”. ‘A good thing’, in turn, was explained as a means of ‘subsistence’, “not having to be dependent on others”, ‘economic freedom’ and ‘being happy’. For the families of unemployed young persons, ‘having a job’ most importantly means income/livelihood. For parents of young sons, a ‘job’ is necessary for their sons to get married, maintain a family and raise children.

A job means a livelihood. If you had no job, for example, you wouldn't be here. Jobs provide you with livelihood. You have to work to subsist. But there are other reasons to have a job as well. Vehbi Koç, for example, was wealthy but still working. You need many things to have a good life. I have my own house now, but I would have a car too if I could. That's also a need, isn't it? One can buy a house for his son, that's his need. You have to have a job and money for all these (father of an unemployed male).

Having a job is equated with being happy, peaceful and economically independent. It is also important as a means of acquiring self-confidence and being considered a “worthy person” by others. “A good life is a life where people around assign you value” (mother of an unemployed male). “First of all, being employed is being happy. If you have a job, you adjust yourself accordingly and live happily” (mother of an unemployed female). “You also have economic freedom if you have a job. You are self-reliant. I mean it is a good thing” (mother of an unemployed female).

Religion too has a significant place among the factors affecting ‘job ethics’. As observed earlier while assessing the evolution of working in the west, religion is a basic factor that affects the historical evolution of approaches towards working. For some families, working is compulsory for religious reasons, such as the belief that “Allah dislikes those who remain idle”.

Men are in this world to serve Allah. Allah gave us hands, eyes, etc. to make us able to work. Our prophet once saw a man just sitting there without doing anything. The prophet did not give his salute to this person. While returning, he sees the same person making some marks on the ground with a stick in his hand, and then he salutes him. His companion asks him, 'why did you salute him this time?' His answer is, 'he was doing nothing at first, now he has at least his hand working.' If we are here in this world, we must work as much as we can (father of an unemployed male).

An additional aspect discussed in the interviews with the families regarding the ethics of work was the precedence of one family member's employment over another's. The main focus of the family is those who are currently unemployed, be they male or female. Indeed, both male and female unemployment present unique concerns which make each difficult and crucial in its own right. The employment of unemployed male family members is considered more important, for example, by families in which such members are dominant since they are the ones who have to support their families after getting married. On the other hand, the employment of females takes precedence if the family concerned has unemployed female members. Such families assert that males can manage to find some form of work, some kind of escape from this dilemma, but this is not so easily done for the females because they cannot just go out and work in any environment; the nature and conditions of work are more critical factors in female employment. Thus these families see female unemployment as a more dire situation than male unemployment. "In my opinion, male children have their chances of finding some way out. The situation is more critical for females" (mother of an unemployed female).

The relative importance of employment for males or females varies with the specific experiences of the family. For example, if the father has a regular income from a job or retirement pension, this pattern of life shapes the expectations of the parents and they tend to emphasize more the importance of having a job and attaining status in the society.

Now their father takes care of them. But they are young men and they will get married. There are 5 young boys here. What will happen when they get married and have their children? For smaller ones, you give them 10 million TL as pocket money and they can get along with it for 2 days. But what will happen then? They have to find jobs. A jobless man is a dead man. When they are married their children will ask, 'Papa, what do you have for me today?' and their wives will ask, 'What am I going to cook today?' If there is nothing, there will be unrest in the family. So men have to work and there is no other way (mother of an unemployed male).

6.1.3 Dynamics of Intra-family Relations

The academic literature on youth mostly tends to describe the relationship between adolescents and parents as a problematic one where intergenerational conflicts develop as the former try to establish their independence and distinct identity. Our interviews, on the other hand, indicate a situation which is less problematic than what the literature tends to say.

The most important problem that unemployed young people face is an economic one. These young people are financially dependent on their families, specifically on their fathers since it is the eldest male who supports the family in Şanlıurfa. It is the fathers who give money to their sons to go out and seek jobs, sit in a coffee house with their peers or get on a '*dolmuş*' to go somewhere. As a result, there are many young people staying home in order to avoid spending. Unable to support themselves or their families economically, these young people are often shy about asking for money from their fathers and mothers and prefer to have this need 'noticed' by their parents. Economically dependent young people face the risk of social exclusion, especially in case of crowded families with irregular incomes, because they cannot freely go out in the company of their friends.

Now he is a young man and he wants to go out. How? Considering our family budget, going somewhere by dolmuş and coming back costs 1 million TL. If he sits in a café with a friend to have tea, it is 5 million TL. To what extent can his father support this? So he sits at home and gets terribly bored (mother of an unemployed male).

He mostly stays at home, going out only for irregular occasions. There are times he does not go out for 10 days. His father gives him pocket money, but he feels embarrassed. He never asks for money, just takes what his father gives him. It is hard not to have any job. He is always under stress and somewhat nervous (mother of an unemployed male).

The situation is much more difficult if unemployed young men are married. In such cases, the maintenance of the whole family, including children, rests on the father of the young man. In Turkish culture, supporting unmarried young males is tolerated and even seen as necessary for family solidarity. But married young men feel the stress of dependency much more and this stress may lead to unrest and even domestic violence. These individuals are caught in a dilemma where they are simultaneously full grown adults with their own families and also dependent on their fathers as unemployed persons.

One story of such a family is as follows: Five years ago a young high school graduate married his cousin upon the decision of his father when his mother got sick and was paralysed. In the first year of their marriage, the young couple had a son. After returning from military service, this man has been unemployed for two years. The family survives on the retirement pension of the father who is a retired neighbourhood guard. This situation undermines the relations of the young man both with his parents and with his wife and child.

He was not like this before. Now he stays home if he has no money. A few days ago he wanted me to serve tea. I was washing laundry and I said OK. When I was bringing something to my child, he got angry and beat him. I tried to calm him down, but he was very tense and he hit me, breaking my nose. He was not like this before his military service. Since he has no job, he stays at home all the time and becomes involved in daily household affairs that make him even more edgy (wife of an unemployed young male).

Domestic problems also exist when the young couples are supported by fathers with a regular income. In such cases the family gives the necessary support and tries to keep their married son in comfort despite the vagaries of unemployment. But the wives of such men don't want to live with their in-laws and press for a separate, nuclear family life. This desire mostly proves futile since having a separate home is unaffordable for an unemployed husband.

Our daughter-in-law looks into our eyes to understand what will happen. She wants a separate home. But how can it be? My son wants that too; he wants to have a regular job and make children. It is difficult for both of them (father of an unemployed male).

The total household income is the most important factor affecting how unemployment is experienced. If this income is low, odds for domestic unrest increase irrespective of the unemployed person's marital status. Risks of family unrest grow if the supporting father has a limited income and many family members to support.

Having no money has its adverse effects; you lose your peace, affection to others and all. You are under permanent stress and you don't know what to do. Our circumstances are so bad that even partial work by one family member contributes much. If you have no regular job, you have to suffice with daily, incidental assignments (mother of an unemployed male).

Even in cases where fathers have regular income, the unemployment of young family members still disrupts the family. But here, concerns focus on unemployed family members and their future rather than simply making ends meet. The domestic problems and tensions

we observe in these cases are more manageable, however, than those where the money is desperately short.

The way young women experience unemployment differs from that of men. Families favour their daughters having jobs more for their socialization and avoidance of stress rather than their responsibilities in supporting their future families. In other words, since women are not seen as the 'breadwinners', the focus is on their psychosocial wellbeing. Still the economic status of families has some implications for young women in the sense that they remain too home-bound if funds are short, only going out for indispensable necessities.

I think I am quite a conscious mother. If my daughter stays at home, it is not her fault. I am uneducated, but still far-sighted. I want my daughter to go out, to be more social. But this requires some wealth. She is bored and under stress. It was different when she was attending school. She used to have her friends. She has become more inward looking now. She is pained to see her peers going to university (mother of an unemployed female).

For example my daughter wants to have dresses like some other women. She wants to go out and visit some places at least once a week. But she can't do these without money. This situation upsets me too. So I think we'll both be happier if she finds a job and starts working. Then she can go out with her friends and buy those dresses she wants (mother of an unemployed female).

Unemployment affects not only parents and the unemployed person himself/herself, but also the other children of the family concerned. In some cases, the elder son with a job may postpone his marriage to support his siblings. In other cases, the smaller child is not sent to extra courses or a younger girl is withdrawn from school. Thus the unemployment of a young person affects all of the family members. The situation of course differs with respect to the job of the father, the permanence of this job and the level of income from this job.

My eldest son is 26 years old now. Everybody asks me why he hasn't married yet. Can you imagine how disturbing this question is? How can we all live on such a limited income? We have to cover the school expenses of our smaller children. My husband gets 250 million TL a month. You can only buy bread with that money after paying for electricity, water, telephone, etc. My eldest son is working too, but he won't marry we are better off (mother of an unemployed male).

6.1.4 Coping with Unemployment and Methods of Job Seeking

All family means and resources are mobilized to find a job for an unemployed young family member. A family in this position first informs all acquaintances, relatives and neighbours that their son or daughter is looking for a job. They seek access to people with political

influence and, if all these prove futile, they register with İŞKUR registration as a last resort. Other family members actively take part in the job seeking process and finding a job becomes the central issue for the family.

The methods of seeking a job fall under two headings: informal and formal. First, the informal means are utilized and, if these prove futile, the formal channels are tried. With the exception of two of the families interviewed, all of the others never exploited formal channels for job seeking apart from İŞKUR registration. Such formal methods as CV preparation, following newspaper and Internet ads, sending CVs to firms, applying to private employment agencies, etc., were only employed by two of the interviewees (one a female university graduate and the other a male high-school graduate). The interviews indicate that formal channels are more likely employed if those seeking employment have a high level of education and informal methods are much more common among those with limited education.

Although people have heard about İŞKUR, its functions are not well known. Young people register with İŞKUR mainly in the hopes of securing better employment or government sector jobs. “We registered there hoping to find a job in public sector. These jobs are better since they provide reasonable wages, insurance and other benefits” (mother of an unemployed male). “Her uncle’s daughter registered and we heard from her. She had been looking for job, and some people told her to register with İŞKUR. So our daughter did the same” (mother of an unemployed female). Disabled people in particular apply to İŞKUR because the public sector has an employment quota for the disabled of which they hope to take advantage.

He has no insurance and so he applied with the hope of finding a job with security coverage. Mehmet is deaf and mute, only the Government can provide him some job. He is now helping his elder brother, but it will be difficult with others (wife of the disabled male).

In the eyes of parents, a ‘good job’ is a job in public sector. This is valid for all irrespective of education, present employment and gender. “The real jobs are the ones in the government, all others are temporary”, they say and this preference is based on ‘social security’, ‘job security’, retirement options, etc.

The preference for work in the public sector can be understood by considering the labour market in Şanlıurfa. The labour market in this city is such that the private sector predominantly offers temporary and low wage jobs without security benefits. Such unreliable jobs make it extremely difficult to plan for the future; therefore people want to move to the public sector. Many people witness those in government work, noting the regularity of their wages, and are thus of the opinion that the public sector supports their employees in all areas from health care to social benefits. This regular income, even if it is low, helps people plan for their future. Jobs in the government are also considered less demanding and safer in terms of health. Furthermore, young people also take into account that their parents would also benefit from social protection if they can find jobs in this sector.

Now all are looking for government jobs. If my son can get a job in Government we will also be covered and I won't have to pay for doctors and medicine as much as I do now. So nothing can be compared to a government job when security coverage, regularity and job safety are concerned (father of an unemployed male).

Having a regular job, you will have the opportunity to make ends meet. My son is going to get married; with a regular job he could put certain things aside for his home. Right now, they can't afford to move to another house where they have to pay rent. My younger son is a high school graduate; he has no special skills. My elder son is married and we all live in the same house. My elder son who is married is also unemployed. The household relies on a single pension. My husband's monthly pension is not high, but we know that it is a permanent source (mother of unemployed male).

This selective approach to the value of various jobs declines as the skill and education level of young job seekers fall. If the families have unskilled children who have only graduated from primary or secondary school, families tend to think "just let there be a job, whatever it is". An examination system has lately been introduced in the recruiting of employees to the public sector thereby excluding primary school graduates and gradually decreasing the expectation of receiving a job in public sector.

He has applied to the municipality 3 times before for any kind of job including garbage collection. The type of job is not important given that it is covered by some security scheme. We don't care much whether it is a 'clean' job. The point that matters is the regularity of it (mother of an unemployed male).

The families of young females, on the other hand, still maintain their preferences and standards. Their first preference is for employment in the public sector and second comes other jobs with reasonable pay where their daughters will not be exploited. In other words,

parents of female children do not as readily say, 'just let there be a job, whatever job it may be'.

I don't have an idea about the kind of job she would like and find in accordance with her likes and skills. As a mother, I can't say she should do any kind of work. Where she works, what kind of job she does, with whom she works and of course what pay she receives are all important for me. If the job is not satisfactory in these respects, it is better to have her stay at home (mother of an unemployed female).

Though considered 'safe, guaranteed and regular', jobs in the government sector are by no means readily available. Families mostly believe that their children cannot find jobs in this sector because they do not have strong 'backing'. Those who enjoy such jobs and benefits are people with money and influential acquaintances. Thus while the children of wealthier families can find government jobs, their children are denied this chance. However, this 'strong backing' is necessary not only for government jobs but for all types of jobs. For example, families think that this kind of influence is also necessary for jobs in private companies. When this issue arose in the interviews, all the families, without exception, spoke about the same situation in Şanlıurfa: the recruitment of employees for a new 500-bed university hospital. Though a large number of people applied for the positions, in the end only those who 'paid generously' and had influential acquaintances were admitted.

You have to have some type of strong support to have a job in government. They may announce for recruitment of employees, but it is just a formality. We applied for that hospital with 500 beds. The hospital is functioning now and they recruited those for whom they had a preference. My son applied to the employment agency, but nothing happened. I mean you have to know somebody. This new hospital in Şanlıurfa is a good one indeed, but all personnel working there are sons of wealthy families. Many of these young people are not well educated, but they have money to pay for what they want (father of an unemployed male).

Accusations of patronage or preferential treatment get sharper as family income and the skills of the young people concerned get lower. They say this kind of help or backing is necessary not only in finding jobs but also for accomplishing tasks in the public sector. There is, in their minds, a negative relationship between socio-economic status and access to public services.

Everything is fine if you have somebody to back you up. Not only while looking for a job, in all matters. If you are sick, for example, getting your things in order in a hospital will be a problem if you don't know anybody. I mean, you have to have money and some others to back you up if you want things to go okay (mother of an unemployed male).

The most significant consequence of youth unemployment is the willingness of these youths to take jobs available in the informal sector. Young people start looking for jobs in this sector if their education level is lower, if their families are large and family income is limited. The existing labour market offers young vocational school graduates only low paying jobs without social security. Young people, however, do not want to remain idle at home and know that they will lose whatever skills they have if they remain unemployed. Consequently, many are forced to take jobs salaried at less than minimum wage, without any social benefits, and with long working hours.

My son is trying to do whatever he can find as a job. They call him for some job and he goes. He is very skilful and I would open a workshop for him if I had money. With a workshop, he could make 1 billion TL a month. Instead he works out under the sun, welding or painting for hours. What does he get for that? They pay him 30 million TL weekly. His work is also risky for his health, I mean for his lungs. He has no health insurance. So we have to pay for his medical check-ups. When we have to buy medicine, we get it through others who have insurance coverage. He gets typhoid fever almost every summer. Injections are too expensive and you can't get rid of it without serum. Nobody asks me 'how is your son?' If he can't go to work, his employer finds someone else and doesn't care about his health (mother of an unemployed male).

One attitude toward the private sector mentioned earlier, while discussing the interviews with decision makers, was also expressed in the family interviews: 'the private sector is merciless'. According to the families, the private sector pays very low wages, avoids any security benefits and employs young people in conditions improper in terms of occupational health and safety. Even low-income families with many members look with disdain upon jobs in this sector but also acknowledge that such jobs have to be accepted if there is no alternative.

Some of our relatives moved to İstanbul. They found jobs there and also bought a house. But still they say 'here, they don't give you what you deserve.' They say they receive very low pay and get nothing if they work overtime for, let's say, four hours. Neither do they care for your insurance. I faced many trials while trying to send my children to school. Their school was distant, there was no bussing and they had to walk long hours. After overcoming all these difficulties, my son finished high school but was not accepted to university. So what is he going to do now? (mother of an unemployed male).

Parents are generally quite tolerant. They don't see joblessness as a fault in their children but rather believe that they remain unemployed due to unavoidable circumstances like the limited availability of jobs, the insufficient benefit structure of available jobs which are either low-wage or without insurance or both, the decrease in job opportunities in the

public sector and the need for influence or wealth in order to find a job. In other words, families do not accept any blame for unemployment that would in any way fault either their children or themselves. The situation is explained solely by 'external sources' without any reference to 'internal' ones. Consequently, parents do not hold their children responsible for their unemployment. This attitude protects young people, preventing them from being excluded from their families and immediate environments.

Are we going to fight about it? Is that right? I don't have any jobs to offer my son. It is also beyond his will. It may be understandable to fight about it if I have means to offer a job but I don't or if he has job opportunities but he doesn't work. If there is any job, my son will work and I know it (father of an unemployed male).

Young people, to their credit, perceive the situation of their families and shape their demands accordingly. In other words, when unemployed and dependent upon their families, young people try to 'minimise' their demands, which helps parents avoid the stress of 'unmet demands'. So parents begin to characterize their children as 'good mannered', 'understanding' and 'docile'. The State of the family is apparent and parents do all they can. In return, young people ask as little as possible, trying to avoid conflict, as they understand that they may have no where else to turn. "No, I tell them clearly what our situation is. My children are not rebellious. They know what their father gets as a retiree, and try to accept what they have in the present situation" (mother of an unemployed male).

Marital status is also a determining factor in how unemployment affects the family. If the young person is married, family responsibilities double and dependency increases as their children are also reliant on the extended family. In such cases married couples tend to preserve the peace with their parents or in-laws and tensions mostly arise between spouses. In this situation, the wife of an unemployed young man is the one most distressed by ongoing problems.

He hasn't bought even a scarf for me for three years. I used to have gold coins and I sold them all, just for having a peaceful life. My husband has no job, so he stays home and interferes in everything. He shouts at me and even hits me when he is with his mother. It is difficult for me; can't we have a peaceful home without money? I tell him to go out and spend some time with his friends, but he can't do this with an empty pocket (wife of an unemployed male).

Such a State of affairs raises the question of why a couple would choose to marry instead of waiting for more stable circumstances. Interestingly, it is usually the parents who encourage early marriage because of their religious beliefs. A young person, it is said, has sexual needs which are not clearly expressed, and the consequences may be dangerous if these needs are not met. “The devil will be hanging around the family who keeps its mature son from marriage” or ‘sinfulness’, etc. are common expressions in reference to this insistence on marriage. A more ‘practical’ reason is the improbability of finding a job in immediate future. The chances of finding a job are quite uncertain, so marriage cannot be postponed until that time. Families are also comforted in believing that “nobody dies of hunger and one can always find a way to survive even in worst conditions”. Consequently, young persons are urged to marry and the pattern of the extended family is reproduced. As a result people are compressed between the status of being a married adult and ongoing dependency on family elders. Such a State produces an ambivalent typology having its implications on various actors in the immediate environment.

According to our religion, any young man after age 18 needs to get married. Our prophet said that young people should get married as soon as possible to avoid harmful ways. He wanted us to hurry in three things: In paying our debts, in getting our grown up children married and in going to Mecca for pilgrimage whenever we can afford it (father of an unemployed male).

If a young man is 20 years old, it is a sin to keep him single. If they are kept single after that age, whether male or female, the devil will visit that house and interfere in everything (mother of an unemployed male).

If the married young person has a father with a regular job and income, the process becomes easier and less problematic.

We are living altogether and finding a way, thanks be to God. We got married recently and my father-in-law financed many of our household items. He is a retiree and we are living on his pension. He is a good man and spends his entire pension on us. My husband has 8 brothers and sisters. I look after them while my father-in-law looks after us (wife of an unemployed male).

6.1.5 Working in another City

Families were also asked what they thought about their children finding jobs and going to work in other places of the country. The same question was also posed to unemployed young people with the specific purpose of evaluating gender values and the conditions

under which a young person would make a decision to leave his/her family to work somewhere else.

Families appear to concede to this solution under specific circumstances. For example, if there an opportunity to obtain a 'good job' (mainly a government job) elsewhere, leaving is not frowned upon. This preference for public jobs is based on the understanding that such jobs are 'easier', 'guaranteed' and promise insurance coverage as well as retirement benefits. So both males and females may leave home for such jobs. As mentioned earlier, the nature of jobs in the private sector further consolidates this preference for jobs offered by the State. Moreover, the recent economic crises and accompanying lay offs due to privatisation hit skilled workers hard, creating uncertainty rather than stability and permanence in the private sector. Thus, it is mainly jobs offered by the State that appeal to families and create an unreserved eagerness for mobility.

If it is government job, no problem! I'd let him go. Pay may be low, but still you know that it is regular, so you can adjust your budget, pay your rent regularly, etc. Otherwise, in other sectors I mean, you are not sure whether your job and income will be regular (father of an unemployed male).

Families may also encourage their children to leave home for some private sector jobs if certain benefits exist including insurance coverage and a salary which at least covers their rent payment. The gender factor, however, intervenes at this point. The remunerations mentioned may be sufficient for letting a male child leave but not for daughters.

Why should I reject it? At least he can save himself by going out for a good job. We are not asking for much: just a decent job with decent pay. If there is a good job in which his future is guaranteed, he can go anywhere (mother of an unemployed male).

Families think that it is inappropriate, however, to send their daughters to another location to work as this can invite all sorts of misfortunes. It is not the families distrust their daughters but rather the other people with whom their daughters might be in contact. "It is bad times and it is not wise to send a girl out to another place for employment".

Another city is too difficult if you are alone. It is not because I don't trust my daughter; it is difficult for a young woman to work somewhere else far from her family. Yet, if she had been admitted to a school, I would have sent her wherever it was. Frankly, when you asked this question it was the first

time that I had considered it. We have never talked about this as parents. I maintain that we can send her out for school, but not for a job (mother of an unemployed female).

If your child is male he can work anywhere. It is not the case with girls. My daughter is my youngest child and she is a little fragile. I can't just send her out. She's never been by herself and it would be too difficult for her. It is also impossible for us to accompany her. So she can work here in a good job, but not anywhere else (mother of an unemployed female).

Two families with unemployed young male children do not want them to take jobs in another city because their children have disabilities. Both of these young persons have speaking-hearing problems and therefore it would be very difficult for them to get along and find protection in an alien environment. Unemployment of disabled persons is thus a sensitive issue for families to address. It is interesting to note that while families have expectations from the State in regard to employment opportunities, disability is seen as a 'family issue' on which the State cannot be expected to do much. Families tend to take care of their disabled children as long as they can and leave them to institutions or approve their employment by the government only when they can no longer afford to provide care themselves. In any case, however, it is out of question to let a disabled young person go somewhere else to work.

6.1.6 Support Mechanisms (relatives, neighbours, friends, the State)

It is also important to find out whether and in what ways external support shapes the experience of youth unemployment. In the context of this question, three possible sources of support were envisaged: Close relatives, neighbours-friends and the State.

Close relatives

Some families State that they have received limited or no support from their relatives not only in relation to unemployment, but in all other needy situations. The main reason is that their close relatives are in similar or worse situations. They can only handle themselves and have no means to help others. Further, given that many marriages are consanguineous, it is improbable that one will find any differences, be they economic, social or cultural, in this context.

Of course first of all I'd expect my relatives to support me. But my relatives are no better off than me. My mother died in 1978 and my father got married again. Now he has 5 children from his second wife. One is in military service; the others are 2 boys and 2 girls. My father is 70 years old now and he is still doing manual labor. I am trying to support him as much as I can. Anyway, I have always been the one who supports the others; I have never been supported (father of an unemployed male).

There are also, however, cases where close relatives decline to give support even if they have means to do so. If the needy family is very poor and large and the father of the family has low and irregular income, relatives think that any material support will not result in any future return. As many families say, 'friendless is the one who falls'.

Nobody supported us. I have no one else but my children. My child was about to have an operation and they told us to get 'platinum.' I had an earring and two rings on my fingers. I sold them for cash. At that time I had wealthier in-laws, but nobody helped us. On the other hand, my neighbours asked, 'why did you sell your jewellery? We would have lent you some money for the operation'. So 'friendless is the one who falls'. If you have money, everybody around is your friend and all your relatives are true relatives. Let me tell you, if you have relatives, don't count on them when you're in trouble (mother of an unemployed male).

Supportive mechanisms among relatives also may not exist simply because some families have never been in need of such support or help.

Thank God I have never been in need of help. My children are all boys and my husband had a job. We have been fine. Only God may help you, nobody else. Neighbours and relatives only look out for themselves. Nobody will care for you except God (mother of an unemployed male).

The educational status of fathers is an interesting determining factor in the response of relatives to unemployment. The three families where fathers' educational status is higher (two high school graduates and one university graduate) say that they have received support from their close relatives. This indicates that the material wealth of families influences the level of education attained. In other words, the education level is the result of the material wealth status of the family and the material wealth status, in turn, suggests the existence of mutual support mechanisms. Although few in number, three families cited the existence of support mechanisms; two of these three had unemployed daughters. As discussed earlier the fathers' level of education affects daughters' level of education as well. Building on this and going two generations back, the economic status of families affects the length and type of a child's education. The lengthier the education period, the more diversified is the form of support and solidarity between children and families. In short, families managing to cover the education expenses of their children are more likely to set into motion other support and solidarity mechanisms.

When my father-in-law was alive he used to buy clothes for our children. When we were first married, our income was limited. My father-in-law also sent us foodstuffs. We were paying rent and it was hard to finish the month. We used to wander around looking for better jobs. He helped us and nobody else did. My husband was his only son. Otherwise it would have been very difficult with 4 children (mother of an unemployed female).

Both of our families helped us. I have a brother-in-law. He was in difficulty and he had to sell his house. My husband helped him in his difficult times. My own family helped us a lot as well (mother of an unemployed female).

Neighbours and/or friends

Support from neighbours is also extremely limited. As is the case with relatives, neighbours too can give only if they have the means. “Life is hard, jobs are limited and each can only take care of himself”. Even if there is any support from neighbours, it can’t be relied on for long; “it is here today and gone tomorrow” depending upon the conscience of the neighbours. Such support is provided especially in cases of families with sick and disabled members.

We have worked without receiving any help. You may not know how these things are here in Şanlıurfa. People here will help you only if you are disabled or extremely poor. In any case, what can you do if your neighbour is hungry? The only thing you can do is to give him a meal. What else? Others will help you for two days or so. Then what? (father of an unemployed male).

Support from neighbours or friends are spoken of almost exclusively in the context of health problems. If there is an urgent situation, for example, a neighbour may allocate his car or lend some money. But the most common form of support and solidarity in health issues appears in covering prescriptions. The prescription is given to a person who is covered by an insurance plan and the needed medicine is obtained in this way. Though both parties are aware that this procedure is not legitimate, the practice is still common.

What actually occurs in this situation is a form of State support. In other words, there is actually no real support or solidarity from the neighbour or friend but instead an abuse of a State-provided service. It should be further noted that people mostly avoid placing blame for health problems. Neighbours or friends may find unemployed or poor people and families ‘incapable’ or ‘lazy’ or ‘sluggish’, but they are more understanding and benevolent when it comes to health problems. A similar sensitivity is also observed in official services

in that, medical professionals don't hesitate to write such prescriptions, even if they are well aware of the situation. It is possible that they rationalize this by "having filled the gaps in the coverage of public health services".

I borrow when I have urgent needs such as hospital check ups or the like and I pay it back when I get paid. You have to return anything you get in these times. Nobody will give you anything without guarantee. If I were your needy neighbour, how long could you help or lend to me? I get my bread from the bakery on credit and pay early in next month (mother of an unemployed male).

It is the State which is most frequently spoken about and from which substantial support is expected as it is considered a powerful actor. "It is first Allah and then the State who can help people". "Other sources of help may exist today and vanish tomorrow, but the State is almighty and always here".

Who else can you rely on but Allah? If you are really in trouble, Allah will send you some relief, nobody else. The next resort is the State. Where else can you go? Neither your relatives nor friends can help you. It may be different if you have very rich relatives, but that will be limited too and only for few days. So, first comes Allah and then the State if you are needy (mother of an unemployed male).

The State

Families are mostly aware of present State support schemes which are managed by governorships, municipalities and some foundations. Nevertheless, they are critical about these schemes. They find them 'limited', 'temporal' and fraught with red tape, in addition to being stigmatising. You have to get many papers approved by many offices and in a small place like Şanlıurfa everybody hears about your needs. Having been awarded coal, meals or foodstuff support from the State or other institutions may communicate that you are utterly desperate and in a pitiful situation because only those who can prove their extreme deprivation receive such benefits. Many find it disturbing to be classified in this manner.

We know there is this kind of assistance, but we have never applied, knowing that there are people whose situation is worse than ours. At least we have some retired elders. Also, my husband is too proud to do that. Nor my children would like to see their father applying there (mother of an unemployed female).

So far I haven't received even 5 cents of assistance from the State; I have always tried to stand on my own feet. I hope I'll never be so desperate. There is nothing so urgent right now (father of an unemployed male).

It is considered humiliating, in some cases, to receive support from the State:

It is somewhat humiliating, but you have to get it if you are really needy. It is impossible for us to go there. Also my husband is keen to hide our situation. Everybody will find out about us if we go. In fact, I wouldn't like to tell our story to others, including the Governorship for example: but if I don't how would they know our situation? (mother of an unemployed young woman).

An interview was conducted with a family without any head. In this situation there is no problem with asking for and receiving support. In such cases, people think that there should be more and wider support. In a similar manner, a widowed woman should be accorded support and no one should say anything about it. Especially when there are small, school age children women do not consider receiving support an issue of pride and, on the contrary, are outspoken about their distress.

They were handing out foodstuffs and I got two packages last time. Then my papers were cancelled. Thanks to our neighbourhood head, he gave me that 'needy certificate' and I was able to get these packages again. I watch local TV and they say they are going to help poor people. Towards the end of summer this year our Prime Minister announced that the Government was going to give free coal for the winter and free textbooks for students. So I run after these offers as soon as I hear about them. But I am illiterate and I have to ask others where to go and apply. I think what I get is what I deserve; just look, how many others I have to support in the family (mother of an unemployed male).

There are many formalities and bureaucratic procedures to go through before one can reach assistance. These are indeed tiring and very complex. There may even be cases where the time spent and costs incurred in completing these formalities make some forms of assistance undesirable.

We've received no assistance at all. Let me tell you why. Officials just look at the neighbourhood we live in and conclude that we are better off. How would they know what kind of place I live in here? There are going to give 500 kilograms of coal and they ask for many papers. How can I spend a week to get my papers on track? You are going to get coal for winter and you have to run around just like you are applying for a job (mother of an unemployed male).

There are other cases where people don't apply for assistance because they do not trust the assessments made for eligibility. These assessments are rough and mostly depend on what other people say about a specific person or family.

I know about it but we have never applied. They wouldn't give it to us anyway. The State always protects wealthier people and does nothing for the poor. They would say, 'well, you are a retired public servants and you are not as needy as others.' Yes, I am retired and I have my pension. But do they know how many souls I have to support with that money? (father of an unemployed male).

6.1.7 Family Expectations

The first expectation from the State is its duty of providing employment. Here, the State is also expected not to transfer this obligation to businessmen or others. It is plainly communicated that the State should establish workplaces and provides employment to young people in particular. Such employment provides a regular source of income whereas other forms of assistance are only temporal in nature. Furthermore, this assistance involves complex procedures, violates confidentiality and may even be humiliating. Therefore, it seems wiser to invest and open new employment areas instead of spending funds for transitional-type assistance.

Each day about 10 persons come to me and ask if any jobs are available. There are people coming for green cards and others applying for the assistance of the Social Fund. Wouldn't it be better to have a factory instead of this Fund? I mean a factory where young people can work. The Fund may help you once but it is just that. Instead of giving firewood to people, let's launch workplaces. Just figure the cost of giving 1 ton of coal to 1,000 families each. This money could be invested in better fields. My call is to all rich people in Turkey. Stop exploiting the poor to this extent. The State should open new workplaces and generate employment (father of the unemployed male).

In those workplaces run by the State each retired worker should be replaced by a jobless young person. There should be pay cuts from top-level staff in State enterprises to save resources for newly recruited workers. The State should also keep prices at a certain level and make efforts to lower the cost of living.

The State should take the initiative in opening workplaces; not only in Şanlıurfa but in other places too. These factories may replace their retired workers with young ones. The State should do this and also perform its controlling function; that is all. We have seen no price increases since Recep Tayyip Erdoğan took office. Opening new places where we can work and keeping prices at the same level; that is what we want from the State, nothing else (father of an unemployed male).
The State should provide employment to all citizens. It should motivate young people to work and work well. Of course rich people have to play their part too. They should also make investments and generate employment. One should not expect everything from the State. We should all make our contributions (father of an unemployed male).

The State is also expected to change the relevant legislation and grant male children over age 18 the right to benefit from the social security plans of their formally employed or retired fathers. In other words, what female children of such fathers are entitled to today should also be accorded to male children.

The State should share our Bağ-Kur insurance contributions and provide employment for young people over age 18. The State keeps supporting elder girls if they are not married, but ceases its support to boys after that age. I am talking about health services. But I have 3 sons over age 18 and they have been dropped out of health services. How shall I take care of them if they get sick? I want them to be covered by social benefits at least until they find jobs. That is what I want from the State. My son İbrahim is married and he is going to have a baby soon. But he has no job. What can I do for him? (mother of an unemployed male).

The State can also do other things if it cannot directly provide employment. For example, it can arrange and manage courses for young people who are presently unemployed. This would be a serious support to parents who want to send their children to skill-building or university preparation courses but cannot do so because of its cost. The State is thus also expected to provide free courses to young people.

My daughter finished her school and she has no job. This is not only her problem; there are many university graduate young women without any job. Perhaps there could be free courses to build skills in these young people or prepare them for higher levels of education. I used to send my daughter to supplementary courses, but I couldn't do it this year because it was too expensive. Now she is just sitting at home. I have two other children, boys. They are also idle. My children and others should be provided courses; these may be in computer, English or other areas (mother of an unemployed female).

6.2 Main Findings of Family Interviews in Ankara

6.2.1 Inter-generational Transmission of Education and Jobs

There were 15 families interviewed in Ankara. They were the parents of four female and 11 male children who were unemployed. The educational status of these young people is as follows: three secondary school graduates; four general high school graduates; five vocational school graduates and three college/university graduates. 12 of the mothers are primary school graduates. There is one mother who has never been to school and the remaining two are secondary school graduates. The schooling completed by the fathers is as follows: Primary (10), secondary (two), high school (two) and college (one).

Although Ankara is known as the place of 'government jobs', there were more fathers in Şanlıurfa than Ankara who were presently working in or retired from this sector. Of 15 fathers in Ankara, three are from the government sector (worker/public servant, presently working or retired); nine are qualified workers, one is a janitor, one is a contractor and one

is working at the US Embassy. 11 of these families live in houses they own. Three families live in rented houses and the janitor lives in basement of an apartment without paying rent. Two out of the 15 families have cars.

As in Şanlıurfa, the first round of discussions focused on migratory status, present jobs and educational status. With the exception of three families, the parents moved to Ankara from such places as Samsun, Erzincan, Kars and Adana and from the districts and villages around Ankara. The motives for these moves differ. The leading motives are ‘finding a job’, ‘starting a job found in the city’ and healthcare. Again, as was the case in Şanlıurfa, all the families interviewed in Ankara are large; they have parents with low educational statuses and farming backgrounds. Going two generations back, none of the mothers ever worked for wages and the fathers are originally small farmers. With the exception of two who live in *gecekondu* type dwellings, the others live in apartment flats. But these *gecekondu* houses are well built to relatively high standards. Compared to those in Şanlıurfa, the Ankara families have fewer children^{x1}.

6.2.2 The Definition of Having Paid Work and a Good Job

Respondents in Ankara are in agreement with those in Şanlıurfa in asserting that having a job means, first of all, having money. A job is absolutely necessary to subsist, have a separate home, get married and support your family. In short having a job means standing on your own feet without being dependent on others.

It is very good for one's future. I mean any person will get married and have children; how can it be if there is no job? People can stand on their own feet if they have jobs. It is best to have your own job, then you don't have to rely on anybody else (mother of an unemployed male).

It is a wonderful thing. If somebody says, ‘well, we've got a job for your son’ it would be the best message for me. Nothing else could make me happier. But my wish is for my three children. One has completed his military service. They are adults now and they have to find jobs before it is too late (mother of an unemployed male).

It means future. He can support himself without having to be dependent on others (mother of an unemployed male).

Of course it is a good thing if you have your own means of livelihood without being dependent on others. Everything requires money; how can you subsist if you don't have it? (mother of an unemployed male).

In the words of young persons themselves, they perceive employment in much the same way. While self-confidence and independence play a far more pronounced role in the case of young women, subsistence is the keyword for men. Both families and their children have gender-based approaches, believing that the male has to support his family, but the female has no such responsibility.

I think it is better to answer this question by explaining what it means not to have a job. I think your school life up to the end of university is the first half of an apple and your later life is the second. You'll have no self-confidence and independence if you are jobless. It is as bad as that (a young female).

The most disturbing aspect of unemployment is being a burden to others and being unable to support them. Having a job, then, will most importantly eliminate this burden and dependency on others. Young people want jobs, first of all, not in order to be independent, but rather to lift the burden off of the people on who they depend. The awareness of a burden is more apparent among those who have had relatively longer years in education. They have been a burden on their families for longer time and now they frustrated that they must continue in the same position.

It is safety, money, happiness and knowing that you are of some use. It brings you self-confidence first of all. You know you are of use. I'd be much happier if I could help others in my environment. I mean if I could help my family in the first place (a young female).

The people in Ankara perceive a 'good job' much like those in Şanlıurfa. A job in the government sector is the best for its guaranteed nature and insurance coverage. However, unlike those interviewed in Şanlıurfa, the respondents in Ankara seem to be more aware that the government sector can no longer provide as many jobs as it did in the past. Therefore, there is also ready acceptance of jobs in other sectors provided that they have insurance coverage and do not pay too low. Jobs without insurance coverage are not seen as permanent but temporary jobs, a way to get some money until one finds a better job. "A job in the government sector is the best because your future is guaranteed. Jobs in other sectors are also fine if there is insurance coverage" (mother of an unemployed male).

Another criterion is the nature of the job's demands on the employee. In other words, jobs should not be too tiring and should give some time to rest and relax. Neither young people nor their families have high expectations in terms of pay. Nevertheless, in comparison to

Şanlıurfa, those in Ankara have somewhat higher expectations in this regard. A common point of reference here is rental for houses; in other words what a decent job should bring in is conceived with reference to the rent that is to be paid for an average house. Furthermore, a young person working on minimum wage for 12 hours a day gets exhausted and wears more quickly than he/she should as a youth. These demanding jobs, however, do not bring in enough to have a separate house.

Not all jobs with high pay are good ones. There are some jobs with high pay, but they may be too tiring or difficult. For example my husband works on Sundays and Saturdays and even during official holidays. But what else can he do? My elder son is leaving home at 7 o'clock and coming back at 11 o'clock at night. This is not a good job even if its pay is high. He is getting sick and pains all over. I mean jobs should be decent and should not require any extra effort that wears you out (mother of an unemployed male).

Even if they have insurance coverage, jobs in the market offer low wages and there is no guarantee for permanent employment. Employers are free to discharge their workers at any time or at least that is the perception of employees. Low pay and irregular (and mostly long) working hours affects young people. This situation creates frustration and feelings of uncertainty, especially if working persons are married.

Your job should be guaranteed. If they tell me there is such a job in Kars, I'll go there without any hesitation. At present I have no such guarantee. For example they will dismiss me immediately if the head nurse has some dislike for me. If there is guarantee, I will work for lower pay. You know how old I am and I'm already sick of worrying about tomorrow. I have been married for 5 years and we haven't been out with my spouse four times. You keep worrying and worrying. I am simply exhausted (a married young male).

Another point that differs from the case in Şanlıurfa is that the informal sector in Ankara is apparently not as large as it is in Şanlıurfa if the immediate past of interviewees is any indication of the city as a whole. In keeping with the method of the survey, interviewees were those who registered with İŞKUR at least 6 months ago. In Şanlıurfa, there were more young people who had jobs in the informal sector during this period. In Ankara, on the other hand, more young people worked for minimum wage while covered by a basic security plan.

Still another point of divergence from the case in Şanlıurfa is the marriage decisions of young people. In Şanlıurfa, all married persons were wed upon the decision of their parents whereas in Ankara it was by their own decision. In Ankara, for example, a disabled young

man fell in love with a disabled young girl in a special training course for people with hearing and speaking difficulties. This couple got married against the will of their parents. Another young man got married to his classmate in his high school class in spite of their parents' opposition. This difference aside, married young couples mostly live with their parents in both cities.

6.2.3 Dynamics of Intra-family Relations

Respondents were asked whether there was any family unrest or trouble attributable to unemployment. Like Şanlıurfa, one does not observe many family problems attributable to unemployment. Young people are good-natured and not rebellious. They are reasonable in times when their family elders cannot provide for their needs.

Our situation is clear and children can see it too. So they don't ask for things that we can't buy. If they ask I tell them our situation and give them some hope for the next month. And they never insist. I understand them; they are young and they see their peers around and want the same as they have. But what can I do if I can't afford it? (mother of an unemployed male).

Young people behave in a self-controlled manner and try to ask as little as possible from their elders. Consequently the problem of 'unmet demands' is not serious. Some needs are either not communicated at all or just postponed. The feeling of becoming a burden to the family gets stronger especially in cases where fathers have occasional jobs at low pay.

I mostly don't ask for anything. I ask only for some essentials and tell my mother. I mostly have no pocket money but I don't talk about it. Other than some absolute necessities I postpone my other needs (a young female).

My son is such a good natured one. He is trying to do his best since his school years. I am a retired person and my situation is clear. What can I do? (mother of an unemployed male).

Families become even more understanding if the number of dependent family members is lower and family income is higher. But even in such cases, young people still feel humiliated that they are of no use in terms of supporting their families.

It is the women who usually take care of problems that may arise within the family as a result of unemployed family members while it is the father who works for family subsistence. Fathers leave home early in the morning and come home late in the evening. There are even days on which they never see their children. So mothers and their

unemployed children usually stay at home together and mothers take care of the relations between family members, managing household affairs and trying to minimize possible problems. This managing role of mothers is more pronounced in Ankara than in Şanlıurfa. “I am trying to take it easy to avoid any problems. If I know that they are in a difficult situation, I don’t ask for anything” (mother of an unemployed male).

I know my family’s needs and I try to meet them. My smaller son has his money to spend, but I have to provide for Necdet. I don’t want to seem too boastful about my children, but they are all understanding people and don’t ask for unaffordable things. They stop me even if I decide to buy certain things (mother of an unemployed male).

Some married young people remain living with their parents. Even if a young man is married and has a job, his income may not be enough for the young couple and their children to move to a separate house. What they can find in labour markets are mostly jobs on minimum wage and that is far from supporting a family who lives in a rented house.

How can you avoid it? Of course we have unrest. You say ‘it is impossible’ and they get upset with you. We had quite a bit of trouble with our daughter-in-law while my son had no job. He blames us for his marriage and wants to move to another house. His wife insists on this. She fights with her husband and he fights with us. Here you have trouble. How can he start a new home with a monthly pay of 300 million TL? You can’t rent a house cheaper than 200 million. We can manage it with my husband’s income, but we can’t support another house. They get mad at you when you say this (mother of an unemployed male).

When I give them money, I tell them the situation and warn them to be careful in their spending. You have to convince them that their needs are greater than their budget. They are all young, if they go to downtown and sit in a café that means money. I tell them to eat at home and be careful (mother of an unemployed male).

While experiencing unemployment, some prefer to continue their education as a way of coping. Especially young women who have finished two-year colleges decide to continue their education when unable to find suitable jobs. It is also for builds up their qualifications for better jobs. Naturally, this can be possible only for daughters of families with more or less regular and relatively higher levels of income.

How can you be mad at your child? They are seriously looking for job and doing their best. It is not that there are plenty of jobs and they don’t like any of them. So what can I say? My daughter graduated from a two-year college but there is no job. So she decided to continue her higher education thinking that four years of higher education may be helpful in finding a job. I can’t tell her not to do it. What else can she do anyway? She tells me that is what all her classmates do (mother of an unemployed female).

Another aspect of the experience of unemployment which was investigated was the potential implications of joblessness on the health of the unemployed. The interviews indicate that it may impact their mental health, especially those who have to stay at home for long spells of unemployment. Conversely, the potential effects become lighter if the young person concerned is able to go out and look for jobs.

He is always out looking for job. He has been in several jobs so far. He finds jobs here and there. He follows newspapers for vacant jobs. He doesn't care much whether there is insurance coverage or high pay. But it is not easy to have jobs occasionally. It gives him stress (mother of an unemployed male).

Going out, even for job hunting, however, means money. Thus, in families with lower levels of income young people are less mobile and long hours spent at home give rise to such psychosomatic problems such as stress, nervousness and excessive sleep. These problems affect young people with low-income families more. Furthermore, since women look for safer and more regular jobs, they don't job hunt everyday thus remaining at home longer and living these problems more acutely. It must be noted that women interviewed in Ankara for this survey are mostly higher educated young persons who have registered with İŞKUR. Consequently they have elevated expectations for jobs according to their level of education. Neither the family regards nor the woman sees herself as a 'domestic female'. It seems, therefore, more difficult to become engaged in daily household chores such as cleaning and cooking which might mitigate the stress of unemployment. Positioned as such, young women do not place themselves in the same category with their 'housewife' mothers and stay away from such routines as cleaning, cooking and watching TV.

I am now much more nervous and I have started sleeping too long. I mean I don't feel like doing anything. What can I do to look for jobs out if I don't have even pocket money? I finished a two-year college and took a test to continue my education in a four-year school. I am here at home all day but I don't like to do anything. I don't even feel like reading papers or watching TV. I am not curious about anything. I want to sleep a lot because only then do I get rid of disturbing thoughts (young unemployed female).

My children sleep too long. My daughter in particular never wants to get up. I tell her to help me in cleaning or watch TV, but she wants to stay in bed. My sons may leave the house, but she can't. So it is too difficult for young people, I mean it is very bad not to have any job (mother of an unemployed female).

The nature of any specific unemployment experience varies with respect to the educational status of the person concerned. Young people of limited educational background have limited expectations and question themselves less as to their status as an unemployed person. A more educated person, on the other hand, is in a State of constant stress and questioning. Corresponding feelings include “blaming oneself”, “relaxing when seeing other unemployed people” and “getting mad at those with their jobs”. This experience is, therefore quite a challenging one, often more difficult than elders perceive. The young people behave in a docile manner in order not to bother their parents or lead to some other problems, not because the situation is easy.

It is always there as a bothering question in your mind. You ask yourself why you are unemployed, what is that you are missing or what is wrong with you. It may be shameful but you relax a bit when you see too many others also unemployed. I have finished a two-year college and I feel easier seeing university graduates without jobs. Then I start thinking I am not the only one. Still you get nervous and overreact even to small things. I used to spend my weekends with friends, but I don't want to now. You get farther and farther away from your friends. Meanwhile you find yourself irritated by the presence of people with their jobs. I don't want to see them around. They never admit that they are in their jobs thanks to their influential friends. That bothers you too (unemployed young woman).

When the interviewees in Ankara were asked “who's employment, men's or women's, is more important” their responses coincided with those in Şanlıurfa. The male has to maintain his family and therefore must work, but the female may remain jobless. Ideally, if there are jobs, it is better to have both the husband and wife working. Although in Ankara there is no gender-biased approach to women's employment, it is still believed that priority should belong to males if there are limited jobs.

It is more important for a male member of a family to have a job. It is our tradition, men have to work and win bread for family. If they don't, what is the meaning of being a man? Of course it is good for women too, but it is compulsory for men. Nobody would have respect for a man unable to earn a living and support his family (a young male).

It is more important for the male. As I tell you, a husband can support his wife but not vice versa. It is of course better if both work, but if there is job for either, the male should get it. It is OK if a woman is not working, but it is unthinkable for a man. Women start looking for jobs if they finish higher schools (a young female).

There are those believing that women would face less oppression if they had jobs. Males can find their way out somehow, but women can't. Thus it is more important for women to find jobs. This view is held especially by families with unemployed young daughters (mother of an unemployed female).

I have one daughter and two sons. They should all have their jobs. But I want it more for my daughter. Why? Because she is female and I don't want her to be pushed around. She'd care for herself better and not be pushed around by others if she had a job. Males can find their way out, but it is difficult for girls (mother of an unemployed male).

The importance of jobs for females is also stressed because their employment contributes to gender equality and because working women are keener on family budgeting and thrifty measures.

I feel like it is more important for women to have jobs. I think females are better housekeepers and budget managers. Let's suppose that household income is 500 million TL and the male earns it. Males spend more for such things as cigarettes, outdoor activities, etc. whereas females are thrifter. All say that men and women are equal in Turkey. Maybe this is true on paper but not in real life. I think the situation will get better if more women start working. It is therefore more important to have women find jobs (a young female).

Labour markets, however, are quite stagnant. There are some jobs, but they offer low pay, have low standards and do not promise much in terms of career building. The jobs that are available are not suitable for women. Indeed, the abundance of exploitative and low paying jobs discourages women from seeking employment.

Markets are stagnant. There are many jobs without any standards. No insurance coverage, low pay and without any standard. Good jobs are very rare. There are few jobs that I can do now and they pay quite low. Opportunities of promotion are limited. What I did so far promised me nothing. But sometimes you have to accept such jobs for the sake of not being idle. They say they are looking for a secretary and they give you a mobile phone number. I call them and they first ask me about my 'physical appearance.' Now, do they really want a secretary? I am looking for a job while they are looking for something else. It is very annoying that you can't trust others (a young female).

In families with regular and relatively higher income, concerns about youth employment revolve mainly around worries about the future. Parents have no expectation from their children in terms of family subsistence; but their employment is important for their and their family's future subsistence. This uncertainty about future stability and job prospects affects families even when they are relatively well off at present.

My husband is retired now. We can get along without much difficulty. But my children should have their jobs and families. It is more important for them to have jobs. All I want is to see my children working in their jobs (mother of an unemployed male).

Now I can hardly support them. How can they pay the rent if they move to a separate house? If he ever gets married I'd feel sorry for my daughter-in-law. So what will happen if my children cannot find a job? Will they remain single forever? I can't sleep thinking of this some nights. One of my sons is now working in a Pizza Hut six days a week and 12-13 hours a day. But he is paid minimum

wage. How can he maintain a family with that wage? We don't have enough to buy him a house. I am terribly stressed (mother of an unemployed male).

As was the case in Şanlıurfa, parents do not blame their children for their unemployment and try all possible means to find them jobs. Labour markets, the State and institutions are seen as responsible for their children's unemployment. This perception eases tensions within families because it protects against assigning responsibility or fault to the young people. Explaining unemployment by exogenous factors is tantamount to the avoidance blaming young people. But in Ankara, there was a mother holding an opposite view. According to this mother, her son is unemployed because he does not work hard:

He would have a better chance to find a job if he could finish university. My elder son did this. But Gürkan couldn't. You cannot find a good job easily if you are a high school graduate. His elder brother is mad at Gürkan for not being able to pass the university exams. My elder son is now working in İstanbul and he found his job while attending university (mother of an unemployed male).

6.2.4 Coping with Unemployment and Methods of Job Seeking

All young people considered in this study are registered with İŞKUR. Their motive for this registration is similar to that observed in Şanlıurfa. They first try to find jobs through informal means such as the mediation of relatives, friends, and politically influential acquaintances. When these fail they try the formal method of applying to İŞKUR.

However, people in Ankara are observed to know and use formal channels more than those in Şanlıurfa. To be more specific, job seekers in Ankara, in addition to applying to İŞKUR, use such formal methods as following newspaper ads, applying to private employment agencies, Internet searching and CV preparation more frequently than their counterparts in Şanlıurfa. Furthermore, since Ankara is the centre of civil, military and political bureaucracy, news about new employment opportunities are circulated more widely and quickly.

Similar to the situation in Şanlıurfa, those job hunting in Ankara and their families are often discouraged by the system, in particular, the role which preferential treatment or a kind of 'nepotism' plays. Indeed, this point of complaint was even stronger in Ankara in that both young people and their parents in Ankara believe that this path is absolutely necessary to

find jobs, not only in the government but anywhere else, and that this necessity may take such extreme forms as the requirement to join the activities of the party in power.

To give you an example, you have to work for AK Party to get a job. If I refuse I almost fall to a position without bread. I feel like a racehorse when entering that exam, taking this test or interview etc. It shouldn't be like this. I get 80 points in a test, but later see that those getting 70 have been accepted. I mean there is preferential treatment (a young female).

As it is the case in Şanlıurfa, registering with İŞKUR is not a channel where much hope is invested, but it cannot be dispensed with. There are people applying to İŞKUR though they have jobs at present in order to find better ones or in order to get jobs for disabled persons in the government sector.

My two sons and daughter registered with the İŞKUR. They heard about it and all registered. It was actually my daughter hearing about it and convincing her two brothers to register (mother of an unemployed male).

Somebody told my husband that our son was disabled and no other place but a government enterprise would give him a job. So he registered and found a job. Maybe it's because of his disability. They also had him insured. He hasn't received his pay yet but they say they're going to pay him soon (mother of an unemployed male).

Despite the application of so many unemployed youth, few have received a positive response from İŞKUR. A young person who has been working for a cleaning firm for the last two years registered, but heard nothing from the institution after waiting for one year. Among the interviewees, there is only one person, a disabled one, who has found a job through İŞKUR.

It is becoming meaningless to look for a job. I wouldn't find any other but those that offer minimum wage. You have to have strong influence for other jobs. I got my present job that way. I mean I had to find a deputy in the parliament to get this job in a cleaning firm. It may sound unbelievable, but it is like this. I don't think that I could have a better job if I were more educated. I have my university graduate friends and they are looking for jobs too. They are ready to work for minimum wage, but they can't find a job (a young male).

Young people and their families in Ankara think that joblessness is a structural problem. There are many unemployed people around whether they are educated or not. They see almost no one who has a reasonable job found smoothly and without any trouble. For the youngest, finding a job is viewed as something like a miracle.

My classmates from high school are also without jobs. There is nobody in my circle of friends who could find a job after finishing his or her school. Nor do I have any other friends becoming businessman. It is no longer easy to find a job in the State sector. But it becomes easier if you have some influential figure to support you. Yet I don't have any person in my group of friends who could find such support (a young female).

6.2.5 Working in another City

In Ankara, the question whether children should go somewhere else for jobs was discussed. Families agree that their sons and daughters may go somewhere else if good and higher paying jobs are available. While 'jobs in the public sector' was highly stressed in Şanlıurfa, it was not given as much prominence in Ankara. Also in Ankara, the gender of the youth seems to be less influential than in Şanlıurfa as it concerns the possibility of the youth's mobility for the sake of a job.

They can go if there are good jobs. It can be a government job or in the private sector. They can go if the pay is good. My father moved to Manisa from Kars and my father moved here from somewhere else. It is not for cruising of course, but to find something to live on. Here or elsewhere, it doesn't matter as long as one can feed himself (mother of an unemployed male).

Why shouldn't he go if there is a good job? We'll visit him. I'd never stand in his way if he wants to go out elsewhere for a good job (mother of an unemployed male).

Of course he can go if there is a good job. But how can we let him go for a job that brings in 300 million a month? (mother of an unemployed male).

6.2.6 Support Mechanisms (relatives, neighbours, friends, the State)

Close relatives

The purpose of asking the respondents about other support mechanisms was to assess the place of relatives, friends, acquaintances and the State in the life of families experiencing unemployment. The situation in Ankara is similar to that in Şanlıurfa in this regard. Emerging difficulties are addressed, as much as possible, within the immediate family. There are some people who have the support of their close relatives, but their number is limited.

We can't get together and solve a problem. When we get together, discussion gets carried away to extreme points and everybody starts to prove how right he or she was. So you have new problems instead of solving any. So problems are mostly solved within the family, not with relatives or neighbours. I don't remember a single occasion that I was supported by my close relatives (a young male).

In Ankara too support mechanisms are closely influenced by such factors as the educational status of the parents and the job of the fathers. If the father has a regular income, this makes it possible for support mechanisms to operate in two ways. A family in this position can both give support to others and receive support from them. Support mechanisms, however, become less operative the lower the family income descends. In such cases the nuclear family has to rely only on its members and nobody else.

I can say that there is good solidarity among us. We get together if someone has a problem. We raise some money and give it to our relative who is in trouble. We also give him or her moral support. I mean, uncles, aunts, etc. they get together to discuss the situation of relatives who are in trouble (a young female).

Our ties are rather tight. If anybody is better off, he'd help others. This is also true for my husband's family. My husband is relatively better off so he helps his other relatives. For example we borrowed money from my brother to buy this house (mother of an unemployed male).

Absence of a first degree relative with some measure of wealth is another factor which contributes to the failure of support mechanisms. At lower levels of income, each family can only maintain itself without any means to help others.

Now nobody has enough to share with others. For example, our situation is clear. How can we help others? So there is not much mutual support and help. There are also some not helping others even if they have more than enough. For example my mother-in-law is getting a pension and my brother-in-law is getting 1 billion TL a month in military pay. But they don't help us. We asked them but they declined (mother of an unemployed male).

Neighbours and/or friends

Neighbour-acquaintance assistance takes place on the basis of mutuality. People borrow from neighbours and friends in difficult times and repay it later. Neighbourhood solidarity is more common among families living on irregular incomes. For many, however, daily life and subsistence problems are those that should be handled within the family without sharing the difficulties with others.

No, there is nobody to help us. My own parents are not alive. They couldn't do anything even if they were. The only thing we can do is to borrow from neighbours and pay it back when we have money. But you can't rely on this all the time (mother of an unemployed male).

The State

It is the income status of families that determine the extent to which families benefit from State assistance provided through municipalities, governorates and some foundations.

Families apply to these support mechanisms in cases of irregular income and special difficulties. In other cases, families try handle their situation by resorting to specific coping strategies like the postponement of purchasing some necessities, dispensing with some needs or desires, living with adult children and working in some occasional jobs.

Receiving direct assistance is considered to be a humiliating practice disclosing how needy they are. If the family has an able man, application for such assistance is also viewed critically by neighbours. In any case, applying for such assistance is a step that threatens the authority of an able household head. So people apply only in the most extreme cases. Still, many families are informed about the availability of these assistance schemes. They know about them from their neighbours who have applied.

A family with regular income does not apply for these assistance schemes. Such families criticise these schemes and State their preference for employment provision instead. Families in more difficult circumstances, on the other hand, appreciate these assistance programmes and want to have more.

We used to have our green card when we had no insurance coverage. After having been covered, the green card was cancelled. I used that green card for six years. It was very hard to get it issued. It was so hard that I wouldn't dare searching if any other scheme was in effect. I mean I was afraid to be scolded 'you have a husband and two sons, why are you here?' (mother of an unemployed male).

I heard it from neighbours. Knowing I am needy, they told me to go and register. Then officials visited our home to see what we had. I told them what our situation was like. After this inspection I received some food assistance and a cheque from the District Governorate. I think the State should help us more (mother of an unemployed male).

6.2.7 Family Expectations

The State is bound to provide employment and no solution to the problem of unemployment can be expected if the State does not accept this responsibility. But the State cannot provide everything that is necessary. So, in addition to the State, those with wealth should also fulfil their duties in this regard. More specifically they should contribute to the solution of the problem by launching investments and generating employment.

The State should solve this problem. The State should ensure that all citizens have jobs. The private sector too should invest and open employment areas for people. I mean that both parties should do

what they can to provide employment. Not only the State, but also those private persons having money should invest it so others can find jobs (mother of an unemployed male).

Direct assistance is humiliating for both the giver and the receiver. People should work instead of expecting outside assistance. Families raise their children, send them to schools and make them ready for jobs. And the State should respond to these efforts by generating employment and providing jobs. The State should not leave its citizens in a position where they have to rely on assistance.

Of course it is humiliating. People should have their jobs and ask for nothing from others. You see people waiting in queues to buy cheaper bread. It is a shame. But who makes citizens to do so? It is the State. It is humiliating to wait for three hours to get some loaves of bread. Look at my situation. I have raised my children; I have done everything for them. Still I can't find any job for them. It is a pity. The State says it is a 'social State'. Now what does it mean? It means it has to provide employment opportunities to people. It means it has to consider the youth. It should bring all the big corporations into an alliance and launch an initiative for a new employment generation. It should not expect everything from me as the father of my children. I have played my part by raising my children and sending them to their schools. Now it is their turn to find them jobs (father of an unemployed female).

My husband is alive and I have my sons and daughters. Help from others may be received today but may not be tomorrow. So what is essential is to provide jobs. If young people start living on assistance what can they do in future? So I ask from the State nothing else but employment for my children (mother of an unemployed male).

In Ankara too there were interviews with the families of unemployed and disabled young people. This was a coincidence rather than a conscious choice. Families with disabled children are more sensitive than others and they trust only in the State where their disabled children's future is concerned. Thus they constitute the group with the highest expectations, with the State's role becoming especially crucial if the family is less capable or incapable of taking care of their disabled children. In other cases, the families are ready to take over all responsibilities for their disabled children without expecting aid from other parties. Other children can find their own way, but disabled ones should be taken care of and this caregiver should be, first of all, the State.

Young people must make their own efforts in the first place. But there are some, like my own son, who cannot do all types of jobs. So the State must help such people. There are very cunning persons who can find their way out even in most unfavourable circumstances. They may make their living just by selling lemons for example. Others just can't do it and the State has to cover them (mother of an unemployed male).

As was the case in Şanlıurfa, families in Ankara also stressed the need to have the State insurance plans expanded so as to cover unemployed young persons above age 18.

I always say it: It is the best to have your own money and not to expect any favour from others. When he turns 19, his father's insurance will exclude him. What will happen then, if he gets sick for example? Who will cover other costs? So I don't know what will happen if he can't find a job after turning 19 (mother of an unemployed male).

Young people are also disturbed by the fact that existing assistance schemes focus on families. If a married couple is living with their in-laws as a result of economic difficulties, they are accorded no assistance if, for example, the father of the married son has a regular income. Needy persons in such cases should therefore be taken as independent household heads rather than as members of an extended family.

I know about it. In fact I once applied for this assistance myself. I am getting 300 million TL a month. When I applied for assistance, they came to my home to check on things. I told them I was working for a cleaning company; I was married and had two children. I also told them that I had visual problems. I would be a pauper if I had no elders to help me. Some people complained that I should not be eligible since my father was earning one billion TL a month. But I should be taken separately from my parents since I am married and I have my own children. So my application was not accepted. There is preferential treatment even in these matters. I know there are some in this neighbourhood getting that assistance even if they are better off than I am. In my earlier application I could get some coal for winter. They stopped it after complaints from some people around. This State assistance is a good thing and they should manage it justly. In our neighbourhood there are about 50 families who are really poor. Others are not. Out of these 50 poor families, only 25 can get assistance. There is no good assessment structure. I mean the situation of individual families should be assessed thoroughly and those really in need should be accorded assistance. A loose assessment may give the impression that I am not needy since my father helps me. But I need that help too. They should not disregard my situation just by looking at the status of my father (an unemployed young man).

In Ankara too, the families prefer that the State provide employment rather than simply extending direct assistance. Young people need jobs to become real adults and found their lives. Parents, on their part, express that while they don't see their unemployed children as unbearable burden, they are still worried about their future when the children will no have their parents' support.

Instead of extending assistance, it should provide employment opportunities by launching enterprises. I wish my children had decent jobs and lived in their own houses. They are all adults now and I don't think they should still be supported by their parents. They cut my husband's pay too (mother of an unemployed male).

What can I expect from the State? Only a job for my child. This will be to the benefit of both my child and the State. The State should care for those unable to work, but others should be paid for their work (mother of an unemployed male).

The State should also adjust the system of university education to bring it in line with labour markets. Any young person, after finishing higher education, wants to find a job in accordance with his or her education and qualifications. Failing in this, the young person starts questioning the situation and tends to think education is of no use at all. The State should strive wholeheartedly to solve this problem by introducing some arrangements centrally. The young people also face the problem of inexperience when they first look for jobs; potential employers want job experience before hiring an individual which further perpetuates the problem. The State should also look to solve this problem by introducing schemes of post-graduation apprenticeship or on-the-job training.

They first encourage people to study in universities and they leave them jobless afterwards. If they encourage all to attend university, then they have to provide jobs to university graduates. If university education is not so desirable, then the State should guide young people in another direction. When I look for jobs they usually ask me if I have some experience. But how can an unemployed person be experienced? It is impossible to build experience in these circumstances. Instead of asking questions about experience, they should first train us in various trades and occupations. Perhaps you practice your occupation somewhere after you finish school and the certificate given after this practice may be accepted as a proof of experience. I am a brand new graduate and they are asking for me to have a year's experience. If it goes like this I'll still be 'inexperienced' after 10 years (a young female).

6.3 Concluding Remarks

This chapter, which focuses on the experience of unemployment within families, family support during spells of unemployment and coping strategies, suggests the following conclusions: *i) Families give significant support to their unemployed members ii) Youth unemployment increases the family's expectations from the State, and the State's role becomes more critical.*

The first finding of the chapter is that families give significant support to their children while they are unemployed. All families interviewed live with their unemployed children. Children are dependent on their families in many ways including the following:

i) Material and economic dependency. The family provides for shelter, nutrition, education and health needs. All the needs, from the most basic to more dispensable ones such as the purchase of cigarettes or short travels in the city, are covered by families. Young people go

job hunting or to hang out with their friends by using pocket money mostly given to them by their fathers.

ii) Dependence on social resources. Family also contributes by taking an active part in the job seeking process of their children. In this process, family elders inform all relatives, acquaintances and surrounding environments about this employment need and all kinds of efforts are made to find their children jobs.

iii) Moral dependency. The earlier forms of dependence (material and social) also create a moral dependency on family values. Thus the young person's ideas in terms of the definition of the type of work that females can do, conceptions about what constitutes a 'good job', whether he/she can move elsewhere for jobs, whether to marry and with whom, whether to have children or not, etc, are all shaped by the family. This type of dependency leads to the reproduction of earlier family patterns.

It is also important to note that these three types of dependency vary within family types based on the income differences of the fathers. It is quite difficult to make class-based inferences from the 30 families interviewed. Still, it seems possible to distinguish three groups on the basis of family income: poor, medium and high-income. Given that all of the mothers interviewed were housewives, only the fathers' earnings must be taken into account to categorize the families into one of these three groups.

Poor families: These are families of relatively young parents (around 40) with many children as well as families where the family head is absent either because of death or separation. In such cases the unemployed family member is usually the eldest or the next-to-eldest child of the family and the family has many dependent members. The absence of a father seriously affects the family in that it creates the necessity of child and adolescent labour. Since the 'transfer' of education, employment or income by elders to young family members is very limited, what is transferred in the case of these families is poverty. Indeed the children of such families have shorter periods of education ending in primary or secondary school graduation. Their chances of finding decent jobs in the labour market are

very limited. Young people, consequently move to the informal sector to take any job they can find there. The spells of unemployment are shorter in these families. Kinship relations and solidarity is weak making these families further dependent on outside help which they receive to some extent from their neighbours and the State. Moreover, while material and economic dependence falls in these families since there is almost nothing to share moral dependency becomes more pronounced creating a vicious circle where children of poor families get married and have children without having reasonable jobs. The children reproduce the pattern they transferred from their parents.

Middle income families: In these families the fathers are present and they have relatively good jobs either in the public or private sector. Such families mostly face female unemployment on the part of their daughters. The number of dependent members in the family is relatively low. The fathers' level of education is relatively high. Middle income families have a longer background in urban life and they hold more modern ideas about their daughters' education and employment. Compared to the poor families, they are able to transfer more to their offspring. Kinship ties and solidarity is maintained and there is almost no need to lean on the State or neighbours. As these families do not have significant problems in daily subsistence, they do not want their children to do whatever job they can find but rather are concerned about specific job criteria. They also show more tolerance to their unemployed children and therefore ease the experience of unemployment.

High-income families: These are families where fathers are either self-employed or are government workers with relatively good pay and where the number of children is low. The unemployed child is usually the youngest of the family. In this case, the father's respectable salary on the one hand and few family members with whom to share this income on the other, place the family in a relatively better position. High-income families are those who can support their unemployed child, face no problem of daily subsistence and can support their relatives without receiving any outside support. In all circumstances, the families (whether at low, middle or high-income status) do as much as they can for their young members and function as the most important social safety net.

Table 53 The effects of family types on dependency

Family	Material dependency	Social dependency	Moral dependency
Poor families	<p>Material and economic dependency is very limited. Because there is almost nothing to share in families.</p> <p>Effects on experience:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • have significant problems in meeting daily subsistence • shortening the period of education • shortening the period of unemployment • decreasing chances to re-enter education or to attend to skill-building/vocational courses • decreasing the chance of finding “decent work” • increasing the possibility of entering into the informal sector. • increasing the possibility of making a transition into a precarious form of employment. 	<p>Social dependency is very limited because solidarity requires reciprocity among kinship members.</p> <p>Effects on experience:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • reciprocity in kinship networks is very low thus leading to weaker social networks of families • necessity for the provision of public services 	<p>There is a high moral dependency.</p> <p>Effects on experience:</p> <p>Quick/Early adulthood</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This creates a vicious cycle where children of poor families get married and have children without having reasonable jobs and children reproduce the pattern they transferred from their parents. This leads them to reproduce families resembling their own • a ‘good job’ means employment in public sector • questioning of the legitimacy of the existing system including established institutions • future expectations are rather limited.
Middle income families	<p>Material and economic dependence is available.</p> <p>Effects on experience:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • do not have significant problems in meeting daily subsistence needs • increasing the period of education • increasing the period of unemployment • increasing the chances of re-entering education or skill building courses. 	<p>Dependence in social resources is available but limited.</p> <p>Effects on experience:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • kinship ties and solidarity is maintained through limited reciprocity. • decreasing the dependency on public service provisions. 	<p>There is a moral dependence.</p> <p>Effects on experience:</p> <p>Postponed adulthood</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • being selective in terms of job criteria • postponing marriage and having children • being dependent on father’s income gives pain and stress.
High-income families	<p>Father's good remuneration on the one hand and fewer family members sharing this income on the other hand. Thus, material and economic dependence are high.</p> <p>Effects on experience:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • do not have significant problems in meeting daily subsistence needs • chances of extending the period of unemployment • acting selective about possible jobs • increasing the period of education • re-entering education or skill building/vocational courses. 	<p>Dependence on social resources is available, and they have high social support.</p> <p>Effects on experience:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • kinship ties and solidarity is maintained through strong reciprocity. They can support their relatives without receiving any outside support. 	<p>There is a moral dependence.</p> <p>Effects on experience: Postponed adulthood</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • being selective in terms of job criteria • postponing marriage and having children • being dependent on father’s income creates pain and stress • future expectations are high • increasing the chance of mobility (geographical and occupational).

The second finding of this chapter is the high expectations placed on the State by the families. There are two reasons for this. One reason stems from their perception of the role of the State: “It is first Allah and then the State who can help people”. “Other sources of help may exist today and vanish tomorrow, but the State is almighty and always here”. As discussed earlier, before 1980s, the State behaved as fully responsible actor like a father in Turkey, at least at the discourse level. “If a sheep is lost in the banks of Fırat river, I felt responsible for it myself” said then Prime Minister, Süleyman Demirel. Thus, given the parents’ ages in this study, their perceptions about the State were shaped by their past memory and they persist in regarding the State as a *‘protecting and benevolent father’*.

The second reason is based in the nature of the private sector and the jobs it creates. Widespread youth unemployment enables employers to further extend working hours, shorten weekly days off, make employees work on special holidays, pay lower wages and avoid insurance. Both young people and their families are seriously affected by this situation. Because of the type of jobs available in the market and the attitude of private sector employers, families tend to expect more from the State and want it to side with them. Because there is a real gap (market segmentation) between private sector and public sector jobs in terms of regularity, observation of standards and wage rates, the latter are much more favourable. Considering this situation, the identification of ‘good jobs’ within the public sector is further consolidated by the families’ expectations from the State. Since the State can only meet the expectations of families to a very limited extent, this works to erode the existing system, including less respect and consensus toward its established institutions. Thus the families become even more critical.

6.4 Notes

xxxix Some characteristics of families and young persons interviewed

Educational Status of Young Interviewees

Education	Urfa		Ankara	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Illiterate	-	-	-	-
Primary	3	-	-	-
Secondary	1	-	3	-
General high school	2	3	4	-
Vocational high school	5	-	4	1
College/University	-	1	-	3
Total	11	4	11	4

Educational Status of Parents

Education	Urfa		Ankara	
	Mothers	Fathers	Mothers	Fathers
Illiterate	12	2	1	-
Primary	3	8	13	10
Secondary	-	2	2	2
General high school	-	2	-	2
Vocational high school	-	-	-	-
College/University	-	1	-	1
Total	15	15	15	15

Number of siblings young interviewees have

Number of siblings	Urfa		Ankara	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
1-2	-	-	2	2
3-4	1	2	7	1
5-6	5	1	2	1
7-8	4	1	-	-
9-10	-	-	-	-
10+	1	-	-	-
Total	11	4	11	4

Young interviewees' educational status and paternal occupation (Urfa)

Education	Father's occupation
Fathers of three primary school graduates	Small grocer, deceased Worker retired from State Hydraulic Works SSK, retired worker
Father of one secondary school graduate	SSK, retired worker
Fathers of five general high school graduates	Worker retired from the Directorate of Village Services Neighbourhood guard retired from the Department of Security Public servant retired from the Cadastral Office Retired health worker Shopkeeper in jewellers' bazaar

Fathers of five vocational high school graduates	Worker retired from the Provincial Directorate of Agriculture Tailor, neighbourhood headman Car dealer Worker in a cereals trading firm Site guard in a private firm
Father of a university graduate	Public servant retired from the Directorate of Agriculture

Young interviewees' educational status and paternal occupation (Ankara)

Education	Father's occupation
Fathers of three secondary school graduates	Furniture craftsman working in a firm Retired worker (SSK) Car repairer, having his own workshop
Fathers of five vocational high school graduates	Municipal bus driver in EGO Retired plumber (SSK) Free lance painting-plastering Working machine repair and maintenance, his own workshop Retired plumber
Fathers of four general high school graduates	Driver in a municipal garbage collection truck Janitor Worker in municipality Worker retired from Telekom
Fathers of three university graduates	Contractor Security guard at the US Embassy Retired excavation worker (SSK)

Mustafa is a young man who graduated from a vocational school (religious) and has six siblings. He is the most educated family member. They are ethnically Kurdish and moved to Şanlıurfa 20 years ago from a nearby village. His parents have never been to school. His father learned some reading and writing while in military service. The father has 11 siblings and the mother has nine. Mustafa's parents are relatives to each other. Their parents were agricultural workers. The father is engaged in grain trade and the mother is a housewife.

We left our village, Gümüşkale, 20 years ago. I used to do farming with my father. Then I left since there was not enough land. Before moving out, I had married my cousin in the village. We left our village together to find a job here in Şanlıurfa.

Muhittin also graduated from a vocational high school (industrial). He is the youngest in a family of eight children and he is the child with the most education. His parents moved 30 years ago from a village to Şanlıurfa. The mother has never been to school and the father is a primary school graduate. They are relatives too. The mother was interviewed with a translator since she could only speak Kurdish. Their reason for leaving the village was the Village Services recruiting of workers (30 years ago). The mother is from family with 13 children whereas the father has nine siblings. The father is a retired public employee and the mother is a housewife.

Hasan is from a family of five children. He graduated from a vocational school (welding). Hasan's parents had to leave their native village because of a vendetta against them. The mother has never been to school and the father is a primary school graduate. Both parents come from large families. The father is now working at minimum wage as a guard in a construction site. The mother is a housewife. Hasan has three younger siblings, one is disabled as a result of a work accident and the three others attend high school. His elder brother is a tire repairer.

We had no land of our own. We used to work on other people's land as sharecroppers. Long ago, my family had its land own but lost it as a result of blood feud. The cousin of my father married a girl against the will of her parents and so they had to leave their land in return.

Mehmet is the eldest son of a family with six children. He is a primary school graduate. He had to drop out of school and start working upon the death of his father. His mother has never been to school. His father was a primary school graduate. Before his death, his father used to run a small grocery store. His mother is a housewife. His father died of cancer 10 years ago. His mother is trying to support the family on Bağ-Kur pension of her deceased husband. At present this is the only cash income for the family. Mehmet got married upon the decision of his mother and the mother also wanted her son to have a son from this marriage to continue the lineage of her husband. Mehmet is now doing some incidental daily jobs. He has five younger sisters.

İbrahim has eight siblings and is a vocational school graduate. İbrahim's grandfather moved to Şanlıurfa 42 years ago when İbrahim's father was a child. The grandfather sent his son to a tailor to start as an apprentice and learn this trade. The father became a master tailor. He is the headman of his neighbourhood and has two tailor shops now. The economic status of the family as well as its integration to urban life style is better than first generation migrants. The grandfather had to leave his native village because of insufficient farming land. The mother is a housewife and the family owns the house they are living now. The family is of Kurdish descent and the parents are relatives.

We have been living here for 42 years now.
Where were you before?
In our village,
Is that a village of Şanlıurfa?
Yes, it was a village of Suruç District.
Why did they move in here?
It was the time when tractors were first used here in this area. I was about eight years old then and I heard about it from my father.
Your family had its own land?
No, we used to work for a landlord. But when tractors came in there was no need for our labour.
This is why my father, like many others, had to leave.

Osman is from a family with 15 children. He is a primary school graduate. He has problems in speaking and hearing. He is married and living with his family. His father is married to two women and the whole family lives in three houses opening to the same yard. The father is a worker retired from the State Hydraulic Works.

He moved out of his village long ago to find a job at the centre of Şanlıurfa. His first wife is his cousin and the second one is a distant relative. Both wives are illiterate. Osman's elder brother runs a tailor's shop and Osman is working with his brother. He has registered with İŞKUR to find a job mainly on the quota for the disabled. Osman receives weekly pay from his brother, but has no insurance coverage.

Metin graduated from a general high school. He is the youngest son of a family with five children. The father moved into the city many years ago to start working as a neighbourhood guard in the department of security. He is now retired. The mother had a serious health problem and she is paralysed now. Metin married his uncle's daughter mainly in order for his wife to take care of his paralysed mother. Metin has a three year old son now. They live together and the only cash income of the family consists of father's retirement pension.

Ferit is a vocational school graduate, the son of a family with seven children. His parents are the native inhabitants of Şanlıurfa. Fathers of both parents are shopkeepers. His father worked many years as a bus driver. He quit this job three years ago and now runs a car-dealing business. They are ethnically Kurdish. The mother is illiterate and the father is a primary school graduate. They own the house they live in.

Murat is a primary school graduate, the son of a family with eight children. His father is a secondary school graduate. His mother is illiterate. His parents are relatives. The family had to leave their native village as a result of hostility emerging from a case of 'elopement'. The father is a SSK retiree. They own the house they live in. Murat is married and, with his wife, lives together with his parents and other siblings.

Halil is a vocational school graduate from a family of six children. His father finished secondary and his mother finished primary school. His father retired from the Provincial Directorate of Agriculture. His mother is a housewife.

Haydar is a secondary school graduate with seven siblings. The family is ethnically Kurdish. The father is a SSK retiree and the mother is a housewife. The family owns their home. The mother is illiterate and the father is literate. He is now doing some incidental daily jobs.

Servi is a general high school graduate and the youngest daughter of a family with five children. Her father is a native of Şanlıurfa. Her grandfather is a butcher. The father of her mother is a retiree from the wine factory which was once operating. Her father retired from the Cadastral Office while he was holding a director status there. He had started to work there as a secondary school graduate but later finished high school by attending evening courses. All other children of the family are university graduates. The mother is a housewife and the family owns the house.

Zeynep is a college graduate and the third eldest of a family with eight children. The father is a retired health worker. He started working as a service man in a hospital long ago. After a while he was assigned as the cleaning head of the laboratory section. He finished secondary school while working and afterwards attended a two-year course to become a 'health worker'. He is retired now. The mother is illiterate. Zeynep's elder brother is married and they live together with the family. This elder brother has no regular job. The family lives on the retirement pension of the father.

Ayşe is the eldest child of a family with four children and is a general high school graduate. The father is a college graduate and the mother finished primary school. The grandfather is a native of Şanlıurfa and has a shop in Jewellers' Bazaar in Şanlıurfa. The father split this property among his children. The family of the mother is also a native of Şanlıurfa. Inheriting two shops, the mother feels that the children had a rather 'easy start in life'. Yet, unable to cope up with the latest economic crisis, the father went bankrupt. The family owns the house they live in.

Fatma is a general high school graduate from a family with three children. The father is a retiree from the Provincial Directorate of Agriculture. The father is a primary school graduate and the mother is literate. They own the house they live in. Her parents moved in Şanlıurfa for jobs from a nearby village of Şanlıurfa.

^{x1} *Canan* is the second child of a family with four children. She graduated from a vocational school. Her parents are from Ankara. Her mother is a primary school graduate and her father finished secondary school. The mother is a housewife and the father is a driver in municipal transportation services. The father is originally a tailor, but he had no means to start his tailor shop, so he started to work as a driver (a skill which he learned while completing his military service) after passing a test in 1973. He is presently working. They own the house they live in. Canan's two younger siblings are presently going to school. The eldest one is a university graduate, married and living in a separate house. Being jobless for a year, Canan has decided to go to university and is preparing for it.

Mehmet graduated from a vocational school. He is the youngest child of a family with four children. His parents are both primary school graduates. They moved to Ankara from Kırıkkale 22 years ago. The father, when he finished primary school, was sent to Ankara to stay with some friends and learn plumbing. He is now a master in his craft having been in İstanbul, İzmir and some Middle Eastern countries as a worker. He is a SSK retiree now and, in his own words, is "still wanted as a master workman". They have a *gecekondu* house nearby which they rent and the family lives on the father's income. Their parents are still engaged in farming back in their village. Mehmet is lucky enough not to remain jobless for a long time thanks to his father's acquaintances, but these jobs are temporary, without insurance coverage and require rather long hours. So he wants to get a better job.

Halil is a general high school graduate and the smallest son of a family with three. His parents are both primary school graduates. They are from the same village. They moved to Ankara from Kızılcahamam 21 years ago when the father found a job in Ankara Yenimahalle Municipality. He drives a garbage truck in municipal waste collection services. The eldest son is studying in a university in Istanbul. Halil and his elder brother are staying with their parents in Ankara. Halil's elder brother is married and living with them. They pay rent to the house where they live. The elders of Halil's parents are still living in a village of Kızılcahamam. The family maintains its relations with them and occasionally visits their native village. A month ago Halil found a job in İhlas Cargo Company and started working. His brother has no regular job. Since what he can earn is no more than minimum wage he and his wife have to live with the family.

Ayşe is a college graduate. She is the eldest daughter of a family with two children. Her mother is a secondary school graduate and her father finished high school. The family moved from Kızılcahamam upon her father's admittance to a job at the US Embassy and they have been living in Ankara for 25 years. They own their house. Her parents are cousins. Their parents are still in the village and engaged in farming. They maintain their relations with the village. Ayşe has a brother who graduated from high school and is jobless. The family lives on the father's income.

Mustafa graduated from vocational high school. He has an elder sister and a younger brother. His parents are from Kars. The family of the mother first moved to Manisa many years ago. The father came to Ankara to work at construction sites as a painter and has been working so since then. They own their house. The mother has never been to school and the father is a primary school graduate. Mustafa's elder sister is a two-year college graduate but has no job. She has decided to go to a four-year university. The youngest son is also a vocational school graduate and jobless. The father maintains the family. Since their native place is too distant, ties have weakened.

Erol is a secondary school graduate from a family with three children. He has problems in hearing and speaking. His parents are from Macunköy and both are primary school graduates. The mother is a housewife and the father is a car repairman and runs a workshop in Ostim with his partners. Erol is married and has a two year old son. He is living with his parents since he cannot afford moving to another house. His elder sister is married and now living in İstanbul. His elder brother has just completed his military service and is jobless. The father provides the maintenance of the family. Erol was placed just one month ago in a job with a cleaning firm working for a hospital.

Ali is a vocational high school graduate. He has one elder and one younger brother. The family moved to Ankara from Osmaniye 15 years ago. The mother finished primary school and the father is a secondary school

graduate. They left Osmaniye because of health problems. All three sons stutter in speaking. The father repairs working machines. He moved to Osmaniye from his village while he was very young and learned this craft there. At present he is a SSK retiree and runs a workshop in Ostim as one of its partners. Two of his sons work there with him. The sons are married and living in their separate houses. The family wants Ali to work only in the government sector benefiting from the quota for the disabled. But it seems highly improbable since his disability is not too serious (stuttering). They own the house they live.

Handan is a college graduate, the youngest child of a family with five children. Her parents moved to Ankara from Çarşamba 25 years ago. The father is a contractor in construction business. Both parents are primary school graduates. They have hazelnut orchards back in their villages, but as they dislike farming, the father entered into construction business first in Samsun and then in Ankara. The family lives in their own house. They are well off and want their daughter in a job of her own preference.

Ender finished secondary school. He is the eldest son of a family with two children. He is mentally retarded. His parents are both primary school graduates. The father is an expert in the furniture business. He frequently changes his job in this sector and works for low wages. They moved to Ankara from Polatlı 15 years ago. The father and mother are from the same village. They pay rent. The father may remain jobless occasionally. They want to place Ender in a job in the public sector.

Ali is the youngest son of a family with three children. He graduated from a vocational school (commerce). His parents got divorced 15 years ago. His father remarried and left his children unattended. His mother gets a small (100 YTL) pension from the retirement fund of her deceased father. They live in a rented house and Ali's elder sister earns some money. Their stepmother is a housewife. She tried some jobs but quit after witnessing abuse. The eldest daughter is married and living in another place. A month ago Ali found a job in Carrefour and started working as a security guard. He was able to find this job with the mediation of the husband of his sister. The family subsists on the income of the children. Their divorced mother has decided to remarry to cope with difficult conditions.

Hasan is a high school graduate, the eldest son of a family with two children. For the last two years he has been working in a firm doing cleaning work for a hospital. He registered with İŞKUR since he is not happy with his present job. His father is a high school graduate and his mother finished secondary school. The father is a retired Telekom worker. The mother is a native of Ankara. The father moved to Ankara from Haymana many years ago and started working as a service man in the Ministry of Agriculture. Hasan's sister is studying in the Faculty of Chemistry in Ankara University. Hasan is married; he has two children and is living with his parents. This is because his income is not sufficient to move to a separate house. The family income consists

of the father's retirement pension and Hasan's minimum wage. They live in a *gecekondu*, but the house is well built and in good condition.

Hakan is a vocational school graduate, the youngest child of a family with three children. The mother is a primary school graduate and the father finished secondary school. They pay rent for their house. The father is a plumber working as an expert for firms. The mother is a housewife. The eldest son is married and living in a separate house. Hakan and his sister, who is going to high school, live together with their parents. The father's income is regular but low. The family subsistence depends on the father's income and what Hakan earns from occasional jobs.

Ela is a college graduate from a family with five children. The mother is illiterate and the father is a primary school graduate. Her parents moved to Ankara from Erzincan 30 years ago. The father is a SSK retiree but still working in excavations. They live in a rented house. All other children are married and living in their own houses. Ela is now enrolled in 'open education' to continue her education through correspondence courses. The mother is a housewife and the father maintains the family.

Hakkı is a general high school graduate with a sister. His parents are both primary school graduates. His father is a janitor and the mother works as a cleaning lady in the same building. They do not pay any rent to live in their home. The mother had a medical operation six months ago and now she is unable to do cleaning work. Hakkı's sister is a nurse, married and living in her house. The father maintains the family. The father moved to Ankara from Kırşehir 23 years ago to find a job. He has been working as a janitor since then. He has been working in the same apartment building for the last 15 years.

Selim is a secondary school graduate from a family with six children. He is married and has a three year old daughter. His father is deceased and he is living with his mother in her house. His wife is a housewife. Selim has no regular job or occupation. Since his deceased father was a SSK retiree, his mother gets his pension and the family lives mainly on this pension. His parents are both primary school graduates and Selim's late father moved to Ankara from Haymana 35 years ago to find a job.

CHAPTER 7

YOUTH AND PUBLIC POLICY: OPINIONS OF THE GOVERNMENT, EMPLOYERS AND TRADE UNIONS ON YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT

The state, employers' associations and trade unions are considered the three parties of the work force who decide on issues related to work and employment. Due to the conditions of industrial work, the labour market and the worker, capital and labour were all controlled by the state and the state balanced the bargaining power between the two unequal parties. Full employment was sustained under the strong welfare state. Due to various reasons mentioned before, the welfare state has been losing ground, and the state's power and place in the labour market has been weakening. Instead of striving to maintain full employment, the state has acknowledged that full employment may be unsustainable and that unemployment may be a part of the structure of society.

As a result of these circumstances, a new concept called 'social dialogue' has surfaced. Since the 1990s, social dialogue on wider issues has emerged in many countries as a means of coping with economic crises, structural change in the economy, and regional integration. Social dialogue, which encompasses all types of negotiation, consultation or information-sharing among actors from different segments of society, increases support for and the legitimacy of the agreed upon policies. The actors in social dialogue include social partners and representatives from employers' and workers' organizations and *may or may not include the involvement* of the Government. These actors are determined by the nature of social dialogue which revolves around issues rising in the world of work: workers' rights and conditions related to production have been the dominant themes of dialogue between employers and employees, with the Government coming in as facilitator, mediator, regulator and law enforcer (ILO, 2003).

The manifestation of social dialogue indicates that economic prosperity, stability, and social progress cannot be achieved by governments, employers or workers alone. The role between the state, employers and workers has been reallocated. Upon initial consideration,

social dialogue appears logical and unproblematic. However, the employer and worker are left alone as fundamentally unequal parties, this inequality being further exacerbated by globalization which has given mobility to capital but has left labour constrained. With or without the involvement of government these two parties are obliged to find a solution. The state aligns itself with capital through de-regulation mechanisms thus blurring the duties of the state regarding (un)employment, citizenship and rights and thereby increasing the responsibility and significance of the individual. In accordance with this trend toward individual responsibility and away from state involvement, methods for social cohesion used by the welfare state to encourage young people in the work force, such as public works, transition from school to work and other inclusion methods have been disappearing. As a result, unemployment in general and youth unemployment as a specific category are increasing all over the world. On the other hand, new methods for inclusion have surfaced, including education, training, skill development, entrepreneurial development, etc, predominantly based on individual effort and dependent upon individual responsibility.

Youth unemployment is also very high in Turkey. Indeed, when considered logically, unemployment is the most and/or the second most important problem that Turkey faces. In order to understand the experience youth unemployment and its distinct dimensions, it is necessary to consider the opinions of decision-makers, employers and trade unions. In understanding the experience of unemployed youth, as mentioned in the research methodology in Chapter 4, I have two different viewpoints. One must take into account both the legal and institutional structure of Turkish state as well as the views of the three parties mentioned previously on the need and functions of the state mechanisms. The evaluation of these three parties' views will form the basis of the argument that policy is actually made in the course of implementation. Good legislation or plans do not always guarantee adequate implementation. Thus, while the legislation may allow opportunities and freedoms in unemployment issues, the actual procedures and the barriers that people face may have been different, or vice versa. Policy implementations may therefore be accepted as a middle level between macro-structure and micro-level. The macro structure is too abstract to gain an understanding of its effects on individual experiences. Policy implementation, however, translates the macro structure, i.e. the legislation, into reality at

the micro level, the level of individual experience. Therefore, the opinions, assessments and implementation of these policies must be considered in contemplating the individual experiences of youth unemployment. In light of the importance of policy implementation regarding unemployment in general and youth unemployment in particular, interviews were conducted with the three parties instrumental in the policy-formation and policy-implementation, the decision-makers, the employers' organizations and the trade unions. These interviews were an attempt to assess the middle level between macro legislation and micro individual experience. In said interviews the following questions were addressed:

What are the causes of youth unemployment?

What kind of a stand should the state take?

What kind of responsibilities should local governments have regarding unemployment?

What kind of responsibilities should employers have regarding unemployment?

Does youth have a role to play in youth unemployment?

What are the implications of the European Union on employment, unemployment and youth unemployment?

Are there negative implications of youth unemployment?

This chapter will present the opinions and perceptions expressed by these three parties in response to the questions above.

7.1 Causes of Youth Unemployment

For its particular significance in terms of the objectives of this study, interviews included specific questions about the causes of youth unemployment that Turkey is facing today. As to the causes of youth unemployment, there are common points expressed by all relevant parties in Şanlıurfa and Ankara. The first of these causes, which may be referred to as the 'structural' one, is related to demographic features. In other words, the first cause is a result of the young population structure of Turkey. The second cause, the limited employment generating capacity of the country, is intimately tied with the first, because the rate of employment generation lags behind population growth. Each year about 1.5 million young

people enter the labour market and it proves quite difficult to provide jobs for all. As stated, the rate of population growth is high and there is no political will to curb this rate. Given this reality, it becomes very costly to provide employment for new entrants to the labour market.

According to those interviewed, this excess in young population also affects negatively some other services that are indirectly related to unemployment. Health and education services, for example, cannot be extended to all and even when available the quality of services is low. In short, high population stands as the most important obstacle to creating a qualified labour force. Having such a young population can also be seen as a window of opportunity, but this is a latent opportunity that can be expected to materialize only if the population is nourished, educated or trained well and thus made more qualified. But doing this requires, first of all, halting population growth. Otherwise, having a young population will create problems rather than opportunities:

Now look, you have to invest 100.000 dollars to provide a job to a single person in India or in China. This cost is 500.000 marks in Germany, and about 1 million dollars in the US and Canada. In Turkey, we may assume that the standard in India and China is valid. Then the question is, "Can't we invest 100,000 dollars per person to find him or her job?" We can, but not if the population of the country grows annually by 3% and if you have to find jobs annually to 1.5 million young people. No economy can afford it. Therefore unemployment is not only an issue of underdevelopment, but also that of high population growth. It is quite difficult to respond to demands in a country where population increases four or fivefold within just 80 years. The population of Turkey was 12 million in the 1920s and now it is 70 million. Now we have 50 to 60 students in some classrooms especially in big cities. There are long queues in front of hospitals. You can also see queues in front of places selling cheaper bread. And you can see the same around consulates where people apply for visa. High population growth is a culprit in all these. It is clear that Turkey cannot go far with 3% rate of population growth. If this is lowered to 1%, the country can find jobs each year to 500.000 people (S. Demirel, 9th President of the Republic).

Another cause of youth unemployment that all parties recognize is lack of education. This common diagnosis is valid for all levels (primary, secondary and higher) and types (general, vocational-technical) of education. Poorly planned system and delivery of education is one of the underlying causes of youth unemployment. In particular, the essential coordination between education and training and labour markets has been absent for many years:

Now the root cause of this problem of youth unemployment is the poor education policies that have been implemented for many years. You give education to large numbers of young people and they get their diploma without developing or coming closer to any specific occupation. Vocational

training is poor and no achievement could be made in spite of all efforts. If the case is like this in secondary education, there are too many students moving to higher education. Yet higher education is not training for employment anywhere in the world. It is not a door behind which you find your job guaranteed (Governor of Ankara).

The system of education as well as the curriculum is not planned with due consideration of the needs in the labour market. This prevents raising sufficient and qualified labour market entrants from any level of education. The present system of education hands out diplomas but not opportunities to find decent jobs in the labour market. In short, there is no employment oriented approach or employment planning in education.

There are too many unqualified people. Yet there is need for qualified hands. This is what we have to do. Young people graduating from high schools and universities are also unqualified. You can find a mechanical engineer who has never seen a machine in his life and you can see a graduate of accounting school who knows nothing about how things work in accounting. You call what these young persons finish 'university' or 'vocational high school'. There are very few who have practical experience while being equipped with relevant theory. This is why we have such high rates of unemployment (İŞKUR Director of Şanlıurfa).

Who are the unemployed? Of course those who have no qualifications for a job. Looking at how the process of education goes in Turkey, I see that we can't provide education in a way to give young people self-confidence or a spirit for burgeoning. Educated young people expect to be public servants, because they are aware that they can give nothing in the private sector. On our part, we are running courses for the unemployed together with the MEKSA. But we admit already educated young persons. We give them necessary training, which they could not get in 4 years, within a period of six months or at most a year. Otherwise, they do have their diplomas, but with no use. Let's teach these people what they can make use of (President of Şanlıurfa Chamber of Commerce).

Under the law on education there are apprenticeship training centres and vocational schools. These were planned and introduced under the light of the needs of their time. Here the problem is related more to employment orientation than just the quality itself. Maybe we should talk about the lack of any planning in employment (HAK-IS).

Another point raised in the context of education is about the distribution of students to general and vocational high schools. This problem is best understood in comparison with industrialized and advanced countries, which are better equipped to cope up with the problem of youth unemployment. It is stated that in these countries while 60-65% of secondary level students attend vocational schools, 35-40% are in general education. The distribution in Turkey is quite the reverse. This is one of the reasons why intermediate hands required by labour markets cannot be found. Furthermore, in a country where recently only a fraction of secondary school graduates can be admitted to higher education, this distribution gives us a mass of unemployed young people who have graduated from general schools without any specific qualifications.

In my opinion the reason why unemployment among the youth rises is the fact that we fail in training intermediate workers. In western countries, 65% of secondary level students are enrolled in vocational schools. 35% of young people at this level prepare for university. In Turkey, on the other hand, you have 40% in vocational schools and 60% in general high schools. In western countries the situation is like what I said although these are developed countries not much in need of intermediate labour force. In Turkey, the situation should be reversed.

- Do you think that this derives from our education policies or from the preferences of families?
- It is somewhat related to education policies of the State. For example, the present system for university admittance disfavours vocational school graduates (Director of Education, Şanlıurfa).

Vocational schools are not attractive in Turkey. They are preferred neither by young students nor by their families. There are two basic reasons identified in the interviews to account for this preference. The first is that those graduating from vocational schools still lack relevant qualifications to help them find jobs. Curricula in vocational schools are outdated and they remain behind new developments and changes in labour markets. The second reason is that, as a result of recent legislative changes, those students attending vocational schools have a limited chance of extending their education and training even if they want to. In other words, they have unfavourable quotients compared to general high school graduates for admittance to universities. These two reasons, according to decision-makers, help explain why general high schools are preferred over vocational schools. Also, vocational training is costlier than general education. It should be noted here that the portion of the national budget set aside for education is also influential in this imbalance.

While the above reasons are significant and I offer not objection to their validity, I think the issue merits further elaboration. Many national and international approaches to combating youth unemployment specifically stress the need for encouraging vocational training and improving its quality, answering questions such as the following could be instrumental in addressing the problem of youth unemployment: Why do young people and their parents want longer periods of education? Who send their children to vocational schools and who to other types of schools? Adequately responding to youth unemployment involves more than just reversing the percentage distribution given above. It therefore seems profitable to have a broader, much more detailed and perhaps even historical penetration to the motives behind given preferences in education.

Those graduating from vocational schools find it difficult to get jobs. The training delivered by these schools is not sufficient for immediate on-the-job employment and employers are not very enthusiastic about on-the-job training due to the cost of such training as well as its negative impacts on routine workflow.

... on the one side you have industrial enterprises in short of intermediate and well-trained workers; industrial enterprises cannot find young workers with desired qualifications and skills; on the other side there are so many young people, graduates of either general or vocational high schools on higher education institutions who cannot find jobs. In such a case it is obvious that in Turkey essential bridges between education and training and labour market needs do not exist. One can label this as problem number one. If this is the case, then action is needed on two fronts: On the first front, the composition of the present education system has to change. I mean, like is the case in industrialized countries, the percentage of students in vocational-technical schools has to be higher than those in general education. In industrialized countries, these percentages are 60-65 vs. 35-40 in favour of the former. So we have to make vocational-technical education more attractive. The second problem is that young people graduating from vocational-technical schools of secondary level want to continue with higher education or do something else instead of moving to jobs in their area of education and training. You can't blame many for doing so since what they learn in their schools is mostly irrelevant to what is actually needed and done in industrial enterprises. So if an enterprise hires a graduate of a vocational school, it has to give him a second training. Yet, on-the-job training is costly and it may even interfere with the regular flow of work at enterprises. Therefore, to build bridges that presently do not exist, first we have to find out what kind of labour do enterprises need and then adjust our education and training system accordingly (TISK).

In fact, according to decision-makers, there are problems at every level of education. The present system of education lacks the flexibility to adjust itself swiftly to the emerging needs of our times. The bureaucracy in this sector is rather clumsy. For example, at the central level of the Ministry of Education, there are about 7 General Directorates just for vocational high schools. This bureaucratic structure is far from displaying the flexibility necessary to adapt itself to rapidly changing demand patterns in the sector. This lack of flexibility is also seen at the university level, leading to problems relating to the qualifications of graduates and matching their abilities and experiences to needs in labour markets:

The Ministry of National Education must be questioned about this. The ministry has a very complicated or even dispersed system in regard to vocational training. For example the Ministry now has general directorates for males' technical training, girls' technical training, training in tourism, apprenticeship and extended training, adult training, etc. This system is based upon the German dual model, which is almost 50 years old. Though the system is obviously unsuccessful, no attempt has been made for radical restructuring (HAK-İS).

According to decision-makers, the state has no long-vision project or plan concerning education. The state has not yet addressed the vital questions necessary to better handle the interaction between education and the needs of the market: What occupations have disappeared or are bound to disappear? What are newly emerging occupations? How many people are needed for any specific occupation? What should be the qualifications and standards sought in these new professions? Government units carrying out work on employment patterns and sector priorities prove to be quite insufficient. There are some efforts being made, but these efforts are not professional, well informed or institutionalised enough to respond to the needs. Turkey needs labour force planning covering short, medium and longer terms. Otherwise, surplus in some sectors or areas will go hand in hand with shortage in others. Such an imbalance between supply and demand further exacerbates unemployment.

The private sector now wants a qualified, productive labour force and human resources. Yet our schools still keep insisting on depositing information rather than teaching by doing and experiencing. We have to abandon this approach. What we need is a system that teaches ways of learning and this is in agenda now. The State Planning Organization should start planning for short, medium and long term labour needs of Turkey. Then authorities can tell schools what kind of students they should train and in which specific areas. For example, Turkey needs computer trainers much more than philosophy teachers. We need more class teachers, more English teachers. Now there is switch from yesterday's labour intensive ways to information based work especially in the services sector. So, as I have said earlier, the State Planning Organization should develop, let's say, a century-long plan for labour force considering all these (Provincial Director of Education, Ankara).

Labour force planning is a critical need. The lack of it has its repercussions on the system of education and leads to the irrational utilization of the resources of both families and the State. While minimizing the returns of education, it also leads to the misuse of the available labour force. Furthermore, recent changes in technology have created changes also in working patterns, manifesting new modes of employment that include flexible working hours, working at home, interactive work, part-time work, etc.. Failure to utilize these new modes aggravates the present unemployment problem.

There is no consistent relationship between the system of education and industry in Turkey. That is the education system in Turkey is not designed in response to the needs of industry. A striking example is the existence of about 40.000 agricultural engineers in the country whereas the present structure of agriculture requires only 15.000. The world of work is undergoing a deep and fast transformation. Rapid developments in information technologies, changes in modes of work, interactive working, home working, working in electronic environments, etc. are all facets of this transformation. It seems that we have yet not caught up with it (HAK-İS).

An insufficient level of investment is still another problem. Limited investment means limited creation of new jobs and employment, which pushes rates of unemployment up. Since the public sector has recently ceased to be an employment channel, and in fact is trying to curb its present employment, the bulk of responsibility falls upon the shoulders of the private sector. Since the private sector cannot invest as much as is necessary, unemployment further swells. The reasons for the dearth of private investments are numerous, including frequent crises in markets, the absence of secure environments for investment, the attractiveness of other ways of profit making (i.e. non-productive means, interest, the stock market, real estate, etc.) and the high cost of employing workers. An additional factor was stated in the interviews conducted in Şanlıurfa: the absence of a culture of entrepreneurship. The market is not diversified enough and those having enough cash at hand do not see investing as a lucrative endeavour. This lack of cultural capital means not only a deficiency of information and insight as to where and how to invest but also a lack of innovation, trademark development and introduction of new modes and styles. In other words, what is produced continues to be produced in traditional ways. Şanlıurfa, for example, is the leading cotton producer in Turkey, however they do not complete the production of the cotton themselves but stop at the point at which the cotton is made into yarn, then selling the yarn to plants established in Gaziantep, rather than developing the necessary means to finish the process themselves.

It should also be considered that enterprises are rather small, mostly organized as family enterprises, which naturally leaves no room for professional decision-making and management. Consequently, it is rather difficult for these enterprises to grow further and generate employment for more people. If the starting scale is too small, the possibility of growth is very limited and this is one of the reasons why there are very few large companies and holdings in Şanlıurfa.

There is a saying that ‘Turkish people think with their eyes’. They may have money, but they refrain from investing it without first seeing some specific outcomes. That means, some people should lead the way, invest their money, make profit, and then others will follow by their example. This is our disadvantage. If there are few who invest, that means there are few examples to follow. In our province, there is also no tradition of employing professional people. I mean many enterprises are run by households. So even if you may find some people holding large sums, you don’t see them moving forward for investment (Governor of Şanlıurfa).

The failure of the state in conducting effective supervision and follow up of investment incentives has also contributed to the unemployment rate. In other words, the criterion of employment generation is not taken into consideration sufficiently when awarding incentives and there is no adequate follow up once incentives are granted. This ‘indifference’ inevitably leads to the waste or at least irrational use of resources. The situation in Şanlıurfa clearly demonstrates this misappropriation of incentives. In fact, Şanlıurfa⁴⁸ draws in quite considerable state support and incentives since it is covered by the legislation pertaining to investment incentives because of its status as one of the pilot provinces in development projects. However, the fact that all these support measures and investment incentives have so far failed to generate employment necessarily leads to the conclusion that the State is not effectively supervising the beneficiaries of its policies.

Now what I can say about this place is that industrialization is almost nil. This city is ‘disowned’. I use this term to stress that many businessmen coming from İstanbul and getting their incentive licenses here in Şanlıurfa, since it is prioritised in investment incentives, then taking it back to İstanbul again. There are even those getting credit for animal husbandry, but you can’t see these people engaging in any related activity or enterprise. If you don’t follow up what you have given, if you don’t make sure that beneficiaries really invest in Şanlıurfa, unemployment will surely be what you get. The state should solve this problem. You have others declaring uncultivable, stony land as their asset, get agricultural credit and then do something else with that money. Believe me, I know at least 30 persons who have done so. They get funds, deposit them in a bank and live on interest (President of ŞURKAV Foundation, Şanlıurfa).

Another factor that impairs the employment potential is the absence of qualifications and standards regarding specific occupations, which hampers productivity and efficiency. This is indeed an especially significant problem expected to hinder Turkey in her long-expected accession negotiations for EU membership. Furthermore, in the longer term this problem may also affect labour mobility negatively and perpetuate the problem of youth unemployment. Young people adopt occupations mostly through master-apprentice style training. Yet, there are no common standards established by vocational training institutions as to, for example, which qualifications and skills a tailor or tile layer should have.

Let’s say someone wants to start a tailor shop. But is he really a good tailor? Can he do it? Nobody asks about this. The local branch of the Ministry of Finance grants him permission for that. If you ask why such permission is granted without checking qualifications, the response is ‘I am interested only in taxes I am going to levy’ (President of Chamber of Commerce, Şanlıurfa).

⁴⁸ Şanlıurfa was classified as the second province for development efforts in 1991 in the Official Gazette. After that time Şanlıurfa received various state promotions.

It is essential to reset occupational standards, institutionalise 250 occupational standards that exist today and, what is more important, to adopt the system of certification accredited in the EU. At present there is a great deal of chaos. Now, a young person may be holding a kind of certificate, but neither himself nor his potential employer have any idea about its use (HAK-İS).

Further intensifying the struggle with unemployment is the system of preferential treatment. Practices of nepotism or unmerited support prevent the matching of the appropriate person with the appropriate job. Aside from their naked unfairness, these practices further alienate young people from the established system and make them doubtful about receiving any returns for their education and training. Moreover, this scepticism often expands to cover all established institutions in society. I will revisit this issue while evaluating the interviews held with families.

The preferences of young persons for ‘easy’ and ‘clean’ jobs and their dislike for jobs requiring physical effort is also regarded as one of the reasons of youth unemployment:

We must also admit that we look out for easy jobs. For example one man applies for a job, you tell him to carry bricks for a construction company, but he doesn’t like it. He wants deskwork! High school graduates now neither knows nor likes manual work. They are ready to remain without jobs instead of doing physical work. Skilled persons can find jobs anyway, the problem is with those who do not have skill but still insist on deskwork (Director of Social Services, Şanlıurfa).

Young people want to have jobs in the public sector mainly because of disadvantages they observe in the now expanding informal sector, which include lower wages and the absence of any social security. Thus, their job prospects are too narrowly limited to ‘jobs available in the public sector’. This state of affairs curbs the spirit of entrepreneurship among the youth while, at the same time, contributing to the further expansion of the informal economy. In this sector, as mentioned earlier, wage rates are much below the minimum wage, there is no social security and working conditions are too poor for workers’ health and safety. All of these negatively affect young peoples’ work ethic as well as their employment plans for the future and ultimately lead to long-term unemployment. As might be expected, young people also pay attention to the private sector given that this sector offers reasonable wages accompanied by social benefits.

In fact all look for jobs in the government sector since they will have social security coverage there. They don’t go for private firms here, because they offer no security and pay lower than legal minimum wage. There are lots of people working in the informal sector here in Şanlıurfa (İŞKUR Director of Şanlıurfa).

According to DİSK, under the impact of neo-liberal policies adopted in the 1980s along with the process of globalization, Turkey now finds it rather difficult to launch investments and mobilize her resources appropriately. Furthermore, heavy crises suffered within the last 15 years also aggravated unemployment. These crises deepened not only youth unemployment but unemployment in general. More recently, as a result of the crisis in the financial sector and policies of privatisation, Turkey has, perhaps for the first time in her history, faced the problem of 'white collar unemployment'. The crisis in the financial sector and privatisation resulted in the unemployment of a rather qualified group of university graduates with reasonable skills in foreign languages and computer use. The dimension of this type of unemployment should not be underestimated.

Recently one issue that invites frequent discussion is the pattern of economic growth where no or only limited employment is generated. The economy in Turkey has been growing and production indicators are improving especially within the last few years. Yet these positive trends are not reflected in unemployment figures and there is no significant decline in unemployment. Another point worth considering in the context of unemployment is the fact that working hours are getting longer for those who have their jobs. Questions related to this phenomenon were addressed to all parties but clear answers could be obtained only from trade unions who asserted that employees now are working longer through overtime work schemes. It seems to be much cheaper for employers to do this instead of hiring new workers. Though this is not specific to the issue of youth employment, the issue of longer working hours should be taken into account as a factor inhibiting employment generation.

In my opinion, Turkey, since the second half of the 80s, is giving the profile of a country that cannot launch investments nor mobilize her resources. This is also a period in which privatisation policies have been adopted. Since there is no large-scale investment, there is no employment generation and as a consequence, even if official figures mark 9%, there is a much higher rate of unemployment in the country. Recent patterns of unemployment particularly affect the young population. It may even be said that Turkey has never faced such massive youth unemployment in her history. Employment does not expand even when the economy is recovering because employers extend working hours instead of hiring new workers (TURK-İS).

Yes output is increasing as the economy grows and productivity rises, but these do not generate employment. This warns us to investigate where the economy is really growing. I mean there is no strong linkage between the growth of the economy and of the real productive sector. The economy is growing as a result of developments in foreign trade, changes in exchange rates or so. Such an

expansion in some specific sectors is not what economists would call real growth. It is apparent from the fact that such a growth brings along no expansion in employment (DİSK).

In addressing the causes of unemployment in general and youth unemployment in particular, the following conclusive remarks can be made: All parties agree on the structural causes (high labour force growth, young population, education and training system) of youth unemployment. While addressing the case of unemployment in Şanlıurfa, mainly city-specific causes were brought to the fore. In other words, the issue was considered in the context of such urban factors as overpopulation, a low level of education, the absence of a culture of entrepreneurship, the 'laziness' of local people and the limited diversity of jobs offered. Furthermore, the native people of Şanlıurfa who hold considerable cash abstain from investing these funds. Those who are granted incentives do not use them appropriately, in a manner which would create jobs. Little value is attached to education and its possible returns. Moreover, surviving traditions and customs reproduce these approaches and attitudes. These 'local' causes were strongly emphasized in explaining unemployment in Şanlıurfa. As discussed earlier in the study site at Chapter 4, considering Şanlıurfa's place in national market and remembering its basic indicators, its connection with the national economy is weak.

In Ankara, on the other hand, conjuncture-related causes come to the fore. As mentioned earlier, respondents in Ankara too confirm the main structural causes. But in Ankara, there is more stress on nation-wide phenomena and trends such as recent crises, 'downsizing' in the public sector and the overall economic situation in the country. Respondents in Ankara also made references to global developments as factors directly influencing these national trends.

Employers' and workers' organizations, referred to as 'social partners', likewise confirmed many issues that arose in both provinces. Nevertheless, workers' organizations are more inclined to address issues in their global context, draw attention to the point where production and unionisation meet and to explain the root cause of the present problem of youth unemployment mainly with reference to neo-liberal policies.

Employers, on the other hand, focus mainly on the cost of labour. They maintain that the main cause of unemployment is the high cost of labour. They insist that ‘markets have become much more competitive now. Consequently, the cost of labour is decisive in determining competitive status in global markets’. Hiring a single workman, they say, is too costly and also there are many bureaucratic formalities involved. It follows that this problem will persist if no intervention is made by the state. Employers also maintain that the cost of labour is the highest in Turkey among all OECD countries and that this needs to be adjusted. Furthermore, employers feel that the state should provide further conveniences to businessmen in terms of incentives and investment loans. To conclude we may generalize that the cause of youth unemployment is perceived in the context of ‘local’ causes in Şanlıurfa, ‘national’ causes in Ankara, and ‘global’ processes and trends by both workers’ and employers’ organizations. In the table below, I summarise the causes of youth unemployment for each province according to decision-makers.

Table 54. Causes of youth unemployment

Şanlıurfa	Ankara
Structural reasons High population and also high share of young population in total; Influx of population as a result of internal migration; Absence of occupational standards; Supply-demand imbalances; Large size of informal sector; Absence of any planning in education; excess of university graduates not needed in any sector.	Structural reasons To many young people; Failure to transform from an industrial to an information society; Failure to create a safe environment for investments; Poor human resources to transform information into production; Absence of large and integrated industrial complexes; Not enough investment and poor mobilization of available resources; Absence of labour force possessing qualifications needed by the labour market; Failure to create new jobs; Absence of occupational standards; Impact of neo-liberal policies; Large size of informal sector
Educational reasons Insufficient importance attached to education and training by young people; Insufficient emphasis given to education and training by the State; Failure to train middle level workforce; not enough importance given to vocational-technical training;	Educational reasons Education-training is not employment oriented; Imbalance between vocational and general education; No linkage between education and employment; To many high school graduates without any skill; ,

Abundance of unqualified high school graduates; Even those with diploma have no remarkable skills or qualification;	
Individual reasons Young people's expectations for "clean" and "easy" jobs; Youth in particular is easy going rather than being innovative and risk taking; Abundance of unqualified people seeking jobs;	Individual reasons Youth seeking employment presently have no earlier work experience; just new entrants to the labour market; Youth in particular is easy going rather than being innovative and risk taking;
State-related reasons Insufficient incentives by the State; neglect of the rural sector in terms of loans, etc. which results in influx of people to towns and cities; failure of the private sector to absorb this population; The State does not duly perform its supervision and follow up in regard to incentives; so there are incentives without employment generation; Poor coordination between education, markets and the State; Abundance of low-wage uninsured workers; Distorted pattern of income distribution; this lowers the capacity of small artisans and craftsmen to generate further employment;	State-related reasons Not enough investment; Failure to make good human resources planning; poor supply-demand analysis; Not enough foreign investment; No central state planning and absence of any information to decide how many employees are needed in which sector or occupation; Absence of or poor labour force planning for short, medium and longer terms; No labour force planning which affects both general and vocational education; Crises, especially that in 2001
Cultural reasons Persistence of some feudal relations; Absence of capacity and awareness for collective work; Capital cannot merge; holdings remain as family holdings; they are not managed and run professionally; so they cannot grow enough to generate additional employment; Prevailing customs and cultural traditions in the area keep women out of both education and labour force; Poorly diversified economy;	Cultural reasons Many young people attaching too much value to university education; Families have low preference for vocational-technical schools. Many unemployed expecting jobs only from the government sector;
Private sector-related reasons Weakness of the private sector; The private sector is not innovative; its lacks skills to create a trademark or a style; Low level of wages and absence of insurance coverage in the private sector; Persistence of patronage and preferential attitudes in matching people to jobs; it leads people further away from education	Private sector-related reasons Making existing workers work longer rather than hiring new workers; The failure of the economy to create jobs and employment; There is a system that pulls down wages and reaps extra profit over this; There is a system based on making money out of money rather than investing in the production sector;

7.2 Role of the State Regarding the Rate of Unemployment

In light of the discussion on the causes of unemployment, the next topic must be the role of state as the most important institution influencing the rate of unemployment. Since a large majority of unemployed young people consists of those who seek jobs for the first time they remain out of the scope of unemployment insurance, according to legislation in effect since 2000. This system has been established to provide no benefits to those who enter the job market for the first time or to those who have lost their previous jobs in the informal sector.

The Ministry of Labour and Social Security is the governmental organization in Turkey in charge of working on the formulation of employment policies and *ISKUR (Turkish Employment Agency)* is the main institution responsible for contributing to determination and implementation of employment policy. İŞKUR was established in July 2003 with Law No 4904, following the dismantling of the Turkish Employment Agency (IIBK) which was unable to keep up with changes in the labour market. It has 81 offices in each province in Turkey. The main responsibilities of İŞKUR are set out in said law⁴⁹.

İŞKUR is in the process of re-structuring in order to align with the *European Employment Strategy*. According to the new structure, social partners are represented in the General Board as well as in the Executive Board of İŞKUR. Moreover, Provincial Employment Boards have been created with the participation of related stakeholders, where the chairman is the Governor. İŞKUR is mandated to carry out various duties mentioned above regarding the labour market. However, an interview with the General Director of İŞKUR revealed that the agency could not perform these duties as desired. The main reason being budget and personnel constraints: “Comparing the present status of İŞKUR with its equivalents in European and other OECD countries, we see wide gaps in personnel endowment while duties and functions are very similar”. For example, the employment agencies in Germany,

⁴⁹ To help job-seekers to find jobs and to help employers to find workers, to provide job and career counselling services and training programmes for improving job search methods through vocational information centres, to implement active employment programmes, to implement passive employment programmes, to regulate and certificate private employment agencies.

United Kingdom and France have respectively 93,000, 98,000 and 45,000 employees. In Turkey, on the other hand, there are altogether 2700 personnel working for İŞKUR. This makes it impossible for the agency to perform its duties effectively. As will be touched upon in detail later in the context of interviews with young people, the agency is far from delivering the jobs it promises to the young people.

While assessing the position of the state in regard to youth unemployment, it can be concluded that its direct and indirect form involvement may be quite influential. In most cases, there is no direct assistance to young people who are not covered by the unemployment insurance scheme⁵⁰. Both in cash and in kind assistance in Turkey depends on the family. When any young person applies, his or her case is evaluated together with the family and the final decision is given on the basis of the economic situation of the family. If a young person has a family and that family is at a level to maintain a minimum standard of living, he or she is not taken as an individual but a family member whose maintenance has to be undertaken by the family. In this context, assistance and benefits provided by *Social Assistance and Solidarity Foundations*, the *Green Card*⁵¹ scheme, Municipalities and other civil society organizations are not institutional but family focused assistance and benefits. In other words, there is only limited direct relationship between the state and a young person. The counterpart of the State is not the individual citizen, but the family.

⁵⁰ Unemployment insurance, which has been an issue since 1952, was approved by Parliament on August 25, 1999 by Law No. 4447, implemented 2000. Coverage: Employees (including foreign nationals) aged 18 or older working under a service contract in the public or private sector and certain other specified groups. Exclusions: Civil servants, workers in agriculture and forestry, domestic workers, military personnel, students, and the self-employed. Source of Funds: **Insured person:** 1% of monthly earnings. **Self-employed person:** Not applicable. **Employer:** 2% of monthly payroll. **Government:** 1% of monthly earnings. Qualifying Conditions: **Unemployment benefit:** Six hundred days of contributions in the 3 years before unemployment, including the last 120 days of employment. Unemployment Benefits: The minimum daily benefit is 50% of average daily earnings, based on the last 4 months' earnings. The benefit is paid for 180 days to an insured worker with 600 days of contributions; for 240 days with 900 days of contributions; and 300 days with 1,080 days of contributions. The monthly benefit must not be higher than the minimum wage for the industry in which the insured worked. Unemployment benefits can be received in full at the same time as sickness and maternity benefits. Benefit adjustment: Benefits are not adjusted but are calculated according to the insured's monthly earnings.

⁵¹ A 'green card' system was introduced in 1994 by the Minister of Health as part of the proposed general health insurance system to attempt to reduce inequity. The poorest and uninsured individuals were to be given a card entitling them to free health care services.

Responses to the question regarding the role of the state in unemployment issues can be gathered in 3 groups. The members of the first group believe that the state should take over active responsibilities in the problem of unemployment. According to this group, the state should directly combat unemployment with both active and passive measures. This is also the group which adopts classical 'welfare' or 'social-democratic' model of Esping-Andersen (as discussed at Chapter 3). Once the state is classified as 'social,' a classification established in the Constitution, it has to fulfil its related responsibilities and should stand out as the major party in the problem of unemployment. In fact, the Social State is obliged to extend health and education services to all its citizens, provide them a minimum standard of living and create the conditions in which citizens may exercise their right to work. Any state refraining from these obligations is questionable. In the context of youth unemployment, the main duty of the state is to provide jobs. It is, however, up to state's political preference to do this directly by creating jobs themselves or indirectly by supporting the private sector in employment generation. No matter which is chosen, it is essentially the duty of the state to provide employment.

In my opinion it is primarily the responsibility of the State. The State cannot reach anywhere if it says I am privatising all. I mean, if the State withdraws completely, things may get much worse (ŞURKAV Foundation, Şanlıurfa).

Our Constitution still lays a stress on the social character of the State. Unless this stress is taken out from the Constitution, it is the right of citizens to expect some functions from the State. That is, the State has to do its best to provide economic and social security to its citizens. In fact, the State has to guarantee the rights of all, not only those presently working. In all international instruments and documents, the right to work is cited as one of the most fundamental of all. Employment is a right that should be secured first and foremost by the State. It is only after this premise that the State should decide to do this directly or indirectly by promoting and supporting the private sector (DİSK).

...we are engaged in regional development issues and it is not that easy. The people of this city are too tired and you have to embrace these tired people. I think that is what development means. The I. World War, the second one, tribal structures, distorted income distribution, terrorist activities, intervention by security forces, etc. etc. all these wore people out. So how do we go about development with these people? We have to show them decent ways of earning; this is what real development is. And the State has its part in this. It has to encourage people, extend credit to the rural sector and make people happy in places where they can find jobs (Director of GAP Development Agency, Şanlıurfa).

The second group of respondents, however, considers unemployment to be an issue that needs attendance by all sections of the society therefore all should contribute to the solution of this problem. In other words, all parties including the state, private sector, civil society

organizations, local governments, trade unions and organizations of employers have to pay attention to the problem. The problem of unemployment, they maintain, can be solved only through the mechanism of 'social dialogue' where all parties concerned should take their places. For those in the second group, the role of the state should be that of creating favourable environments, observing balances and mediating. The group admits that the state has important functions to perform, but it would be impossible for the state to fulfil its responsibilities alone without cooperating with the market. According to this line of thinking, assigning this role to the state alone is an outmoded approach which no longer works. Cooperation with the actors of the market dynamics is essential in the present process.

The State should have its policies. It should not be a door behind which employment opportunities can be found easily, but it should concern itself with the problem of unemployment. It should delegate its responsibility in this field to the private sector while providing necessary incentives. The cost of employing workers should be pulled down. At present Turkey is the country where the burden of employing people is heaviest compared to other OECD countries. The State should not employ people beyond a certain level, but think about the ways through which the private sector can provide employment and extend all kinds of support. Presently, the State is an impediment rather than a support. The State should provide means to private persons to start their own business. It should ask itself the question of why the private sector resorts to cheap and illicit employment. If the cost of labour is too high, unregistered employment and the informal sector necessarily grow. The private sector too has to observe moral obligations of course, but circumstances should be conducive to it in the first place (President of the Chamber of Commerce, Şanlıurfa).

The public sector, workers and employers constitute inseparable parts of a whole. None should have any priority or superiority over others. Taking out one, you ruin the whole mechanism. With the presence of a mechanism supervising the labour market, enterprises, employers and workers should join their forces. That is what the rest of the world does. This tripartite body should work effectively. Social dialogue is an indispensable part of this mechanism (İŞKUR Director of Ankara).

The issue cannot be an issue of the State alone or any other party. It can not be left to a single ministry or İŞKUR. It is a burning issue, you see unemployed members in almost every family today. If the problem is so big, then all sectors in the society including the State, workers, employers, universities, other education institutions, etc. should 'place their hand under the rock.' I mean each and every party should undertake responsibilities to solve the problem (General Director of İŞKUR).

No, the State cannot handle this by itself. We must get rid of such erroneous approaches. The problem of unemployment must be addressed first at the level of local governments. Then come chambers of industry and commerce, organizations of artisans and craftsmen, chambers of engineers, educational institutions, social associations and etc. ultimately reaching the State (TOBB).

In my opinion, the State must be the regulating body, but must not act like a tradesman. The issue should be transferred mainly to the private sector. Today, the labour force, think tanks and management skills in the private sector are much more advanced than what you have in the public sector. The state has its own norms in doing things. For example, it cannot hire a super economist by paying him 30 billion a month. The private sector can do this. The State may highly honour an inventor, but cannot pay him higher. In short, the State should have a guiding and regulating role,

but the bulk of the work to be done remains with the private sector (Provincial Director of Education, Ankara).

The third group of respondents consists of persons with neo-liberal tendencies minimizing the role of the state. According to this group, the problem of unemployment should be left to market dynamics, which promise solutions and the role of the state in this process should be kept minimal. The state should abstain from creating a guided economy, but its role in providing the necessary infrastructure is undeniable. The state should limit its role to adjusting labour markets to comply with present conditions of competition, removing any barriers to investment and providing a safe and stable environment for capital. The functions of the state have changed lately. The state is no longer a ‘benevolent father’ and it should not try to be one. It should create environments conducive to investments through monetary and taxation policies as well as incentives. Beyond this, it should not interfere with the market and employment. “Evidently the primary responsibility in a new liberal economy rests with the private sector and market mechanisms. The State should not be a door leading to employment” (TISK).

Is the State the primary party in unemployment issues?

S.D.(Former President of the Republic): No. The functions of the State have changed. The primary party is the society itself. The state should only guide and create favourable environments. Whether it can do this or not at present is an issue of politics. However, any domestic or foreign investor should be guaranteed about his investment and its returns. Secondly, the circumstances or environment of investment should be the same in all countries. Creating this favourable environment is the duty of the State. There is no other duty.

K.Ç: Do you refer to the regulating function?

S.D.: It is creating a favourable environment rather than regulating. What we have today is a liberal economy. In a liberal economy, employment opportunities are interlinked to the optimum utilization of resources you have. You cannot generate employment if you fail in doing this.

As the state gets smaller by devolving many functions and transferring the management of the economy to the private sector and individuals, its instruments of intervention necessarily get more and more limited. It can guide the economy through monetary policies, taxation and incentives. So it does not produce itself as state economic enterprises are being privatised (TESK).

As addressed briefly in Chapter 2, I considered three types of welfare models: liberal, social-democratic, and conservative or familial. Each of the welfare models represents a distinct relationship between the state and the market. The liberal regime is based on the predominance of the market. State involvement takes place only when the market fails. In the social-democratic regime, on the contrary, the state is fully responsible for assuring the

welfare of its citizens irrespective of market forces in general and the citizens' own market activity in particular. The conservative regime represents a third model in which the state, the market, and other institutions -mainly the family and the church- share responsibility for citizens' welfare. Welfare rights are not universal but rather depend on particular statuses.

To summarise decision-makers' opinion about the state responsibilities on youth unemployment, three models were presented by different actors. Nevertheless in all stances given above, the state is still left with some functions including the following: setting overall goals; progressively limiting the domain of the informal sector; broadening the tax base; lowering the cost of employment; increasing and supervising incentives; ensuring cooperation between the industry and universities or scientific institutions; formulating agricultural policies; updating vocational education and training to conform to modern standards; enhancing the employability of work force; making the İŞKUR more functional and providing credit facilities to help the development of small and medium-size enterprises. It is interesting that, contemplating these expectations for each of the three groups respectively, there is not a marked trend toward a 'downsized state'. Expectations from the state are high even in the liberal group. As will be touched upon later with regard to the interviews with young persons and families, it is possible to say that all parties expect much from the state in combating unemployment. Thus, in spite of such statements as a 'shrinking state', 'minimal state', 'environment setting state' or 'climate building state', it seems that there is no party yet ready for a market environment where the state is fully left out apart from some minimal contributions.

7.3 Responsibilities of Local Governments with Regard to Unemployment

The question of the role of local governments in combating unemployment and generating employment is also an important one in the context of the study. Indeed we are passing through times in which the responsibilities and duties of local governments are reconsidered. Arrangements that may be introduced in this field will have implications not only for unemployment but also for health, education and working life. Thus, having some

insight as to the perceptions of local governments and 'locality' in general would facilitate understanding the situation today and what the situation may be tomorrow.

Opinions stated on this can be gathered in two groups. The majority group is in favour of local governments addressing the issue of employment and unemployment. According to this view, the most important cause of present unemployment is the long-established tradition of central government. In other words, there is a centralistic government structure that fails to note the specific needs of localities, to develop plans and projects responsive to these needs or to monitor/supervise the impacts of projects, plans and incentives introduced locally.

This view further maintains that there is strong need to grasp localization which comes to the fore in a globalizing world and that much contribution may be expected if this phenomenon is fully apprehended. Localization will give rise to a new form of government, new types of individuals and new notions of problem solving, which will mobilize local resources (both material and non-material). This, in turn, will contribute to employment and reduce unemployment.

This group argues that it is due to the centralized structure that, for example, a textiles school was opened in a city where no textile sector exists or that people getting credit for animal husbandry live on interest return to these funds. Without plans, programmes and supervision mechanisms, this centralized structure further aggravates existing problems. Hence, the restructuring of local governments and expanding of their roles, functions, duties and authorities will be highly effective in reducing unemployment. But localization is not simply decentralization. In the context of a well-grasped notion of locality, local governments should commit themselves to employment issues.

It doesn't work when governed centrally from Ankara. I am from Bigadiç. There are mine reserves in Bigadiç. But the mining engineering department of Balıkesir University is in Sındırgı where there is no mine. This means local politicians in Sındırgı lobbied well. Bigadiç is 20 km from Balıkesir University, 60 km to Sındırgı and 40 km to the mining site. The university could have direct access to the mining area if it were located wisely. The problem is excessive centralization of decision-making. There are many local governments in pursuit of getting as much as they can from the central government. The mentality has to change. Local governments should try to do what they can and eliminate any arbitrary interference from the central government. That is how things should go.

About 20 years ago there were a TV commercial inviting people to ‘throw away what they have as outmoded or worn out items’. We have to throw away our old-fashioned ideas and approaches (TOBB).

Only local authorities know best the specific problems of a locality, its priorities, the features of its people and how they can be mobilized. Equipped with this information, local governments may guide private entrepreneurs and may even take the lead in some projects. They may be influential in creating a local culture of entrepreneurship by modelling and pioneering in this way themselves. Capitalizing on the slogan of ‘Turkish people think with their eyes’, local governments are thought to be the best possible actors in these fields.

I think local governments have a specific advantage in that they know well the make up of their local community. Municipalities have important tasks to carry out. But are they fully aware of these tasks? I am not sure about it. I am not sure which is ready to train people and promote employment. In fact local governments should have their specific policies for all sections of the community concerned including young people. Municipalities know much about central government authorities, the civil society in their locality, local government councils, etc. You know in some western European countries local governments undertake services in health and even security. I think we should delegate all possible functions and services to local governments. For example, with my personal background I may have no appeal to a person from the Black Sea region, but I know well how people here in south-eastern Anatolia feel and behave. In short, I believe that local governments should be involved in much more than they are at present (GAP Regional Development Agency).

Local governments should take over responsibility and get involved in many issues. Municipal authorities are people elected by local communities. Elections constitute the essence of democracy and democracy is the power of people’s will. So municipalities may and should establish institutions, which I have mentioned earlier. For example municipalities may establish companies to lead the way where the private sector is timid or hesitant. If they do they should, some time later they may withdraw from these areas and leave them to civil society organizations. Our country is somewhat different, however. Here in Turkey people tend to believe only what they have seen or experienced. If people are like that, then local governments should take the lead and pioneer for others (Provincial Director of Education, Ankara).

According to this approach, what we are facing today and what we will have to face more in the future is a period of much-needed change and transformation; a period when technology advances at a dazzling speed and both national and international competition becomes more intense. It is apparent that problems in this age cannot be solved by legislation developed in offices and on desks. So we have to handle these problems at specific localities. However, what is meant by ‘local’ here is not limited to municipalities. It is a participatory local focus whereby all sections of a given community are involved in relevant activities and initiatives. Local-scale developments and formations are thus very

critical and therefore they should be followed and supported accordingly. This will be possible only through on-the-spot government.

Local problems need to be solved by local social dialogue mechanisms bringing together local workers' and employers' representatives, government authorities, chambers of industry and commerce, universities, civil society organizations and of course municipalities. This is true for all issues and problems including those related to employment. In fact, employment is an issue that best fits to responses given by local-scale cooperation and action (HAK-İS).

Local contributions may be very useful in eliminating barriers to business initiatives, lowering the costs of local employment and creating conditions favourable to local employment generation:

It is beyond any doubt that local governments should have their part to play in combating unemployment. In addition to centrally planned measures and incentives, there may be local ones designed to promote employment. For example legislative changes may be effected to authorize local governments to provide sites and land to industrial enterprises. Given that it will boost employment; municipalities should be authorized to allocate land with completed infrastructure to any investor (President of the Chamber of Commerce, Ankara).

There are also those who highly value the involvement of local governments, but also think that such involvement may give rise to problems because of existing structural and legislative arrangements. "It seems somewhat difficult for the time being since local governments have limited authority. It will be possible, however, if some delegation of authority comes about" (Şanlıurfa, Provincial Director of Education).

It may be useful, but local governments must be empowered in Turkey. I mean they have to be empowered in terms of management skills and municipal personnel should be given training. Also, sudden delegation of many authorities to local governments may create some problems, so it must be spread over a time schedule (TİSK).

There is also another approach regarding the role of the local government in unemployment issues which stands in direct contrast to the view discussed above. The opposing view maintains that people in local governments do not differ much from those in the central government, that they lack the information, experience and resources to perform what is expected from them. This group also thinks that local governments should basically perform their essential functions, which already merit attention, leaving issues of employment and unemployment to be addressed at the national-level with a macro

perspective and commitment. In addition, local governments have no resources earmarked for employment generation and there is no need for it. Turkey is a large and highly populated country where a multiplicity of local employment policies cannot be envisaged. What is more reasonable is to have national targets and priorities first and have local governments adjusted their policies accordingly. In short, local governments cannot and should not undertake employment policies on their own.

This perspective advances two main reasons why local governments should not undertake the responsibility for employment policies. The first reason concerns the risk of further deepening regional disparities. First of all, local governments need resources to handle employment issues. So what will happen if no resources are available at the local level or if these resources fall short of the need? Furthermore, some resources (i.e. land) that can be provided locally are already under the ownership of the Treasury. If such local resources exist, there will be employment generation regardless of the actions of the local governments. If such resources are lacking or insufficient, on the other hand, local governments cannot fill in this gap.

The second reason that local governments should not tackle employment issues is the potential for local-level relations between differing groups (political, ethnic or gender-related) to pose a problem, which could be threatening on a much larger scale. Instead local governments should focus on performing their already-existing tasks which, if done properly, will generate employment anyway.

The face of the economy is not soft but hard. What will local governments do for employment? Investment, you'll say. What about resources? It is extremely difficult for local governments to generate resources from their communities. If communities have these resources, they will use them by investing anyway. But local governments may still encourage investments in their particular areas. It may, for example allocate land. But land is under the disposal of the Treasury. In short, what can be done by local governments is limited. So we once more reach the central government. The central government is making efforts to encourage industrial development by introducing incentives and other measures. Success in this will also bring success in projects generating employment at local scale (S. Demirel, 9th President of the Republic).

I am categorically against the idea of local governments undertaking primary responsibility in generating employment and fighting unemployment. Local governments are service units who should take care of wastes, provide green areas as well as good and clean places to eat, cruise, rest and recreate, etc. They have absolutely no function such as tackling the problem of employment. If they

ask for this function too, that means they are asking for the status of central government. Local governments constitute a unit in the government mechanism as a whole they are not the government by themselves. Local governments should try to do their job well and stay there (Governor of Ankara).

This issue of localization and local governments hit the agenda on the occasion of the latest draft law on public administration and I presume you ask your question in this context. If you ask me who leads the process of sub-contracting in Turkey, I say municipalities. And these sub-contractors of municipalities hire workers at very low wages and make them work longer hours than usual. So the matter is disputable. Considering these facts, frankly we are highly suspicious about this kind of role to be assigned to local governments. I cannot imagine so many and so diverse employment policies. Local governments cannot lift that weight (TÜRK-İŞ).

DISK is opposed to increasing the role of the local government in unemployment issues for different reasons than those considered above. Considering recent trends there is a need to adopt a more careful approach to localization policies which have lately been presented as a panacea for all problems. It is indeed a highly ideological approach. The state is trying to get smaller and abandon some of its functions while bringing the local to the fore as the source of remedies. The state has taken to praising the local governments in order to rationalize its recent downsizing policies; thus these statements by the state must be approached with caution:

What they have in their minds is to break apart what have hitherto been organized as public services, privatise and then leave them to municipalities. So what we have is not new employment generation but a change in the organization and delivery of services. The idea is to privatise all health, education and social security services as well as those services delivered by municipalities. This is a far reaching step and the nature of jobs, if any, created by this transformation should be questioned. Another question is related to the price and quality of privatised services and working conditions in the same service lines. If you have problems in enjoying minimum standards even in cases where the State stands as employer, you can easily guess what the case will be under the private sector. I am talking about lower wages, worsening working conditions and longer working hours. There will be further problems in terms of workers' health and safety (DISK).

Therefore, as explained above, the opinions expressed regarding the role of the local government fell into two distinct camps, one in favour of local government involvement and the other opposed to it. However in combating unemployment and generating employment for the local public, we need all kind of efforts. For example, to fully understand unemployment -the extent and nature of the problem- requires a wealth of information: How many people are unemployed? How did they become unemployed? How long have they been unemployed? Are their numbers growing or declining? Are they men or women? Are they young or old? Are they skilled or unskilled? Are they the sole support of their families, or do other family members have jobs? Are they more concentrated in one

area of the country than another? After this information is obtained, then policymakers may make decisions as to whether measures should be taken to influence the future course of the economy or to aid those affected by unemployment. This process requires both local and national efforts. An approach which focuses on a centralized government may fail to note the specific needs of localities; on the other hand, a solely local approach has the risk of further deepening regional disparities. Taking into account and utilizing the strengths and weaknesses of both local and national governments, we may successfully approach the concept of 'good governance'.

7.4 The Responsibilities of Employers Regarding Unemployment

The labour market is perhaps the most important factor directly influencing experiences in unemployment. Thus, in considering approaches to the problem of unemployment, both members of the private sector and decision-makers were questioned regarding what they perceive to be the role and function of employers in issues related to employment and unemployment.

The private sector admits that unemployment is a serious social issue and believes in the importance of active involvement in efforts to solve this problem. They point out, first of all, that representatives of the sector also live in this country and that they too have unemployed children, relatives or acquaintances. Since they are not isolated from the rest of the society, what hinders society is also a problem for employers. The second point they emphasize is the negative correlation between unemployment and number of consumers. Up to a certain level, they say, unemployment may be tolerable to push the level of wages down. But today, youth unemployment is around 25-30% and it means 'these people not consuming'. Yet, the point in producing is to sell. There will be no profit if produced goods and services do not enter into an exchange. So producing more is meaningful only if more can be sold.

Members of the private sector consider their primary concern to be the minimization of barriers to production and investment. As touched upon earlier, the private sector assigns

some functions to the state including: providing necessary environments for domestic and foreign capital to invest and generate employment; making the country as safe as possible for investments; lowering the cost of employment and bringing the system of education in line with the requirements of labour markets.

The private sector should consider the long-term negative consequences of unemployment and pay attention to the social dimension of production as well as its economic one. Nevertheless it seems that the private sector expects more than what it can offer. For example, they desire a well -trained and ready labour force while staying at a distance from on-the-job training. Furthermore, while acceding to unionisation it insists that unionisation should not be a barrier to employment generation.

Decision makers, on the other hand, expect the private sector to be proactive in advancing the labour market and encouraging job creation in the following ways: by moving ahead with productive investments rather than simply earning more money; launching investments that contribute to employment and placing special emphasis on production and employment considering the long-term negative consequences of unemployment.

The private sector does have its tasks in finding solutions to the problem of unemployment. They must further develop and spread training programs they conduct together with trade unions. The sector must realize its social responsibility and pay as much attention to employment generation as to its profit rates. It may seem difficult in the short-term, but considering the long-term negative consequences of unemployment, it will be much wiser to act on it now (President of the Chamber of Commerce, Ankara).

Businessmen should focus on employment and be ready to take risks instead of engaging in 'dead' investments. There are some 'invisible' rich in Şanlıurfa, consuming without any benefit to others (İŞKUR Director of Şanlıurfa).

The private sector should be more bound by rules and should be less concerned with the accumulation of wealth:

They must be honest first. They should pay what working people deserve. There should be no such thing as a 'looting-private sector.' A workingman should of course be committed to his workplace, but he can't do this if he is under the daily threat of being dismissed. People without any skill and training cannot find employment in the private sector. The private sector, for its part, should protect its workers and not be too greedy. It seems like the private sector here in Turkey gets its profit not from production but from workers it employs. And this creates a kind of slavery. Businessmen may lead a life in luxury, but they have to channel their surplus to investments." (Provincial Director of Social Services, Şanlıurfa)

The private sector may have a primary role in eliminating unemployment, but it also has to be supported by others:

The average investment cost of creating a job for one person is 170 billion TL. So labour productivity is a critical issue here. The times of creating employment via the government sector have long since passed, not only in Turkey but in other countries as well. It is the private sector that will do it and thus all should facilitate the work of private entrepreneurs. I am not talking about government incentives only. We, as a society, should recognize the important position of entrepreneurs and give them support in all ways. This includes the government that should adjust its policies so as to encourage the private sector (TİSK).

The private sector must be supported, but its performance must be checked as well. Otherwise, resources may be wasted and this support may not translate into employment:

We are at a new stage of capitalism where the policies of the 'welfare stage' are being rapidly abandoned. One can say that the private sector needs to be supported; new incentives can be granted to the sector as well as direct foreign investments. But all these should be done without making the citizens pay all related costs. While supporting the private sector it is necessary to carry out an effective supervision to check whether this support really translates into employment generation. If this component is absent, we may end up in a situation where resources are once more wasted (DİSK).

To conclude, unemployment is particularly important for the private sector since it has to find markets for its products and services. Private sector activity in poverty reduction and combating unemployment is very crucial. According to decision-makers, the government has a key role to play in providing the enabling environment that facilitates this. Governments establish and enforce the rules for market operation and access, as well as providing essential support through public infrastructure and institutions -the investment climate. On the other hand, the private sector has to take some responsibility as well. The private sector should try to generate formal employment where decent wages, working conditions and benefits prevail. In this process it needs to be considered that the capital is not enough by itself and the labour side should have its influence as well to reduce abject exploitation. It is essential to have employers well aware of their social responsibilities and bound by some ethical values.

7.5 Youth's Responsibilities Regarding Youth Unemployment

The critical question put to decision makers under this heading was “what should young people do in order to avoid unemployment and what roles and responsibilities should they take?” Responses to these questions revolve around the following themes:

i) The youth should first grasp the essential dynamics and values of the present age. They should keep their distance from ideological engagements while trying to be as competitive as possible. They should be well aware of their own capabilities and their competitors' position. Our changing world is now getting more and more open to competition. We deceive ourselves if we approach the new environments of our times with outmoded policies. Even age-old ideological attributions are changing. Exploitation still exists but the ways in which it manifests itself have changed. The labour still has a value but its quality has changed. Trade unions maintain many of their functions but they can no longer receive a positive response with the threat of strike. Value judgements about labour, unemployment, etc. are changing. Young people should be aware of all these changes if they want to be successful.

ii) Young people should learn more and put more faith in education-training and its returns. They must take action to do something for themselves rather than expecting everything from the state. In other words they should be more innovative and courageous with new projects in their minds.

Education and training is a must. They should strictly observe rules. For example we have young people in government service determined to find ways of working less than 8 hours a day. This tendency of those working in the public services harms the prestige of and confidence in public services. There are people working in the private sector 12 hours a day on minimum wage. If they ever transfer to the government sector they want to work shorter at much higher wages (Mayor of Şanlıurfa).

iii) Young people should closely follow emerging job opportunities and try to get training in these jobs:

The relative share of services is swelling against industry and agriculture. The State and the private sector should cooperate to provide training for jobs in this expanding sector. The youth should also

get training to start their business. For example now what India earns from software exports is equal to the total export earnings of Turkey for six months. 70 million people there know English (President of the Chamber of Commerce, Şanlıurfa).

iv) The youth should also seek employment in areas fitting their nature, fields of interest and tendencies. Otherwise they can not be successful:

I divide the youth in general in two groups as trained and untrained. There isn't much to do for those untrained. Perhaps they can be channelled to diversified agriculture with new and modern farming techniques. In any case, if a young person is brought up in rural environments we should not place him in deskwork for example. Here we have public servants who should be agricultural workers. People should have jobs fitting to their nature and background. Young people with training, on the other hand, should be placed in productive jobs. A young person with training in engineering, for example, should never remain jobless. Yet many engineers in Turkey expect jobs in State enterprises. Trained young people should have their projects and be able to take initiative (Director of Social Services, Şanlıurfa).

v) Education is of course important but the goal of education should not simply be the receiving of a diploma. Young people should make further efforts to be well-equipped. An agricultural engineer unable to distinguish wheat from barley will have no chance in labour markets. But opportunities for education are not equally distributed. Unless interventions are made, it is left to young people to close this gap with their own extra efforts:

They should be well educated. This can be done by intensive reading on their part. Recently we have had university admittance exams in Turkey. About 1 million young people took this exam and only a small portion of them will make it. These will be luckier than others, so they should make full use of this rare chance. Not all should go through higher education. Lately the Ministry of Agriculture launched the project '1000 agricultural engineers to 1000 villages'. When the jury was interviewing candidates, it found out that there were agricultural engineers who could not distinguish wheat from barley. That is what I mean by saying a diploma is not all. You may have people unaware of basic knowledge while holding a diploma and others well informed without any. I think we can't afford ignoring the knowledge of some without any diploma. It is not possible to say that chances of education are fairly distributed. Not all can go to preparatory courses. So it remains to private efforts on the part of young people. I can't see any other way (Governor of Şanlıurfa).

vi) The youth should concentrate on ways of making maximum use of education no matter which stage or type. They should also try to advance in social and cultural fields. They should believe in returns to education and never lose hope. Nevertheless young people should not be left alone in this process; the process should be accompanied by training courses designed to enhance their chances of employability:

If we have young people going through formal education, they must be able to complete all stages including higher education. The same is true with others presently attending vocational schools or younger ones in apprenticeship training (TÜRK-İŞ).

- vii) The young people should also be encouraged to start their own business, become self-employed instead of looking for wage work. This requires helping young people in developing an entrepreneurial culture:

When we talk about enterprising, one should not only think of big initiatives. These can be formal or informal; big or small, etc. The underlying factor here is to have people with entrepreneurial skills and initiatives. In fact many countries now are implementing specific projects to encourage this culture. It is actually one of the premises of the European Union (TİSK).

- viii) The young people should be aware of their responsibilities, have plans and projects for the future and be skilful and hard working in their present jobs:

The young people for their part should of course undertake some responsibilities, but first we should fulfil ours. Our principal aim is to educate and train young people in such a way to enable them to investigate, analyse and synthesize at sophisticated levels. These people should also be fully aware of their responsibilities; these responsibilities are both national and universal, I mean to mankind as a whole. They should have their road maps leading to specific objectives. This is what brings along success. Today, what is called 'time management' is getting more and more important. This means making optimum use of given time (Provincial Director of Education, Ankara).

The young people of our age should be aware of changes taking place and able to decide what to do, when and how. If a young person has some job in his mind, he should be well informed about what that job requires in terms of skills and training. Further, he should also have some idea about his potential or real competitors. In short, he has to be eligible within a bunch of competitors. If he is not eligible with his superior skills and practice orientation, he can't get that job no matter how many diplomas he holds (Governor of Ankara).

- ix) Young people have to be in touch with the rest of the society, able to benefit from available services, closely following relevant information sources and developing themselves to keep up with changes:

The young people should keep in close touch with labour placement offices and schools of formal and vocational education. Today there are training centres offering vocational courses in various trades, it is possible to get a certificate in one branch. But they should first apply to career guidance units to get information about various alternatives. They should make efforts to reach all possible sources of information about available, promising or newly emerging jobs. If they do this, they will be a part of this society, I mean not excluded or marginal, even if they remain unemployed for some time (HAK-İS).

- x) They should also be active enough to question the present state of life, challenge some evident problems and take initiatives, for example, to establish a union or association of

‘unemployed’. They should be keener on politics and avoid thinking of economics as something isolated from politics:

The young people should join together and get organized to learn more about their environments and act as a collective force. For those without jobs, this could be possible by a ‘union of the jobless’ for example. Not much can be done individually. Developing a personality and being ‘individual’ does not mean acting individually. I means they should be more ‘political minded’, free from the illusion of seeing the most political area as something isolated from politics (DİSK).

Today, it is generally accepted that employment is one important way of bringing young people out of poverty and social exclusion. There can be do doubt that education and training, in addition to their fundamental task of promoting the development of the individual and the values of citizenship, have a key role to play in stimulating growth and restoring competitiveness and a socially acceptable level of employment in the community. However, it is essential to grasp the nature, extent and limits of this role. All of these factors emphasize the view that young people too share the responsibility of youth unemployment. There are many things they should do in combating unemployment, their responsibilities and actions differing upon whether they are educated or not. The decision-makers separate them into two distinct groups based on their level of education and then recommend different approaches in light of their status.

The first group identified by the decision-makers, those who go through a process of education, should benefit from this process as much as they can and make efforts to gain skills in their respective professions. Educated young people should take initiatives and develop special projects without expecting much from their families and from the State. On the other hand, there are not as many options for uneducated young people. Such persons should participate in courses that may build some skills. According to decision-makers ‘uneducated people must not behave too selectively when it comes to jobs and work hard to cover their gap’. “First of all they should not ‘choose’ jobs; I mean they should be ready to do any job. Today many young people want desk jobs with high salaries in the government sector” (İŞKUR Director of Şanlıurfa).

7.6 Implications of the European Union on Employment, Unemployment and Youth Unemployment

Another area for consideration is the possible implications that accession negotiations with the European Union might have on the state of unemployment in Turkey. Approaches to this issue can be categorized into three groups. The first group asserts that prospects of EU membership will have positive effects on employment since direct foreign investments and safer environments will follow:

I think this process of accession will be very beneficial in terms of democracy, work discipline and urban development. I believe that European businessmen will be more interested in investing in Turkey. Şanlıurfa will have its share too. I believe these investments will target tourism and GAP. All these will have positive effects on employment (Mayor of Şanlıurfa).

The EU has grant programmes. There are projects for preserving cultural heritage in GAP provinces. I think the EU will contribute more to education and training than direct employment generation. There will be stricter criteria in working life. For example there will be more informed farming practices. But we should not regard this union as a magic stick that will improve everything. It is not a panacea for all wrongs. We have our own specific problems. We'll make better use of EU membership if we pay special attention to these problems (Director of Social Services, Şanlıurfa).

The EU will contribute to education and training, which is perhaps more important than direct employment generation. More specifically this contribution will be in such areas as stricter professional standards in certification and documentation, higher quality in vocational training and the elimination of all forms of discrimination (ethnic, gender-based, etc.) in education and training. Employability of young people will increase parallel to the rising standards in education and training.

There is no other way but adopting these standards. The people in Europe are not ignorant. They have their well-established standards. They will let you in if you have these standards too. For example they are rigid in environmental protection. They have their right to keep their white without any interference from black. Would anyone let you cut out roses in his garden? It is as clear as this (Provincial Director of Education, Ankara).

Working life will be based on well-defined criteria. The process of accession will have positive effects on job safety. The mobility of the labour force may also occur after increased capital circulation and mobility of the means of production. The qualified labour force will have a chance to move to better jobs elsewhere.

EU membership means faster development, safer environments and more foreign capital inflow. It is a possibility for our citizens to find jobs elsewhere. Today boundaries mean less and the country you work in does not matter much. It is just normal and also burden taking if people can go out and work elsewhere (Süleyman Demirel, former President).

There will be arrangements and incentives that ultimately reduce unemployment. Of course we should make our efforts to catch up with European standards in such matters as unemployment benefits. For example today we are benefiting from grant funds in our project for active labour market policies. There will be more projects like this. We have enacted several contracts and protocols. We made study tours to see what other countries have done to reduce unemployment and there is no reason why we can't do the same (İŞKUR Director of Şanlıurfa).

A second view maintains that the effects of the EU ascension process are not by default positive but rather that the positive or negative outcomes entirely depend on Turkey. Turkey may be successful if we adopt their criteria and compete with them. Otherwise, without such competition on equal terms, there is the risk of remaining as a 'market' for the EU and leaving our qualified labour force with unqualified jobs.

I think Turkey's membership in EU will bring along new dynamics. These dynamics may be both positive and negative. I am not a pessimistic person by nature. To convert negative dynamics into positive, we have to ask ourselves what and who we are. I mean we have to test our capabilities. Now people have the illusion that they can freely go out and find jobs in other European countries. It is not that easy. European countries announce what kinds of jobs are available and what kinds of workers are needed. So it is a matter of choice if our university graduates go there and work as waiters or dishwashers. It is of course good to catch up with their norms. Before that, we cannot compete with these countries (Governor of Ankara).

Turkey's membership will be a benefit for European countries as well. They will be influenced by some of the values Turkey holds which are currently lacking in the EU and we will learn from them how to work diligently, earn well and live in a sanitary manner. This will be a fair trade beneficial for both sides.

Let me tell you that there is something called 'dominant colour.' If you put in some blue to red you get a bluish red. The EU will not affect us as negatively as some think. I mean when we become a member of that Union we'll contribute our colour as well. Have you ever seen a children's park in European countries? Swings there remain vacant. We'll take there our children and they'll wait in line to get on a swing. The life is here with us. The European Union needs us in many respects. I am going to give them new people who know well how to produce and live. And they'll give us work on a project basis. They may teach us how to work diligently, how to make money and how to live in high hygienic standards, but we'll give them more. Anatolia is the most desired land in the world, a territory for which many armies have fought. I think it will be good for both parties (Director of GAP Development Agency, Şanlıurfa).

According to the third group, Turkey will bear the negative effects of EU membership in the field of employment. Thus, negative effects should be expected at least during initial

stages. While only well-equipped persons will be successful in this new EU context, many others will fall short and remain unsuccessful. It is therefore more realistic to talk about a new process in which fruits are to be reaped by some, not all.

I am somewhat pessimistic. In Europe they mobilize a helicopter to save a drowning dog. Things are far different in Turkey. I mean our approaches to our own kind. How can we be successful in Europe with these approaches? It may be meaningful for some people engaged in foreign trade for example. But if we have children walking barefoot on snow, this will continue even if we become a member of the EU (President of ŞURKAV Foundation, Şanlıurfa)

Competition will be harsher then. I accept that some improvements will take place as a result of projects funded by the EU for integration. But we must also accept that the EU sees us as a market. Countries with trained and skilful human resources will get the upper hand in this competition. So we have to focus on education and training. Otherwise, I am afraid, we may remain as a market for Europe and nothing more (Governor of Şanlıurfa).

Focusing on recent trends, we observe rising unemployment in European countries. Economies of these countries are slow in creating jobs. It will therefore be unrealistic to expect expansion in employment just as a result of EU membership.

I must first stress that the unemployment problem is getting more and more serious in the EU of which Turkey is striving to be a part for 40 years. It is in fact one of the reasons why many European leaders have negative attitudes towards Turkey's membership. According to data provided by the EUROSTAT, the present rate of unemployment in the EU is around 8.8%. This rate rises to 9% considering all 25 countries. Once Europe was happy to receive workers from Turkey, but not any more. According to the Ministry of Labour and Social Security, there are 3.519.804 Turkish citizens living abroad as of January 2004 and 1.197.968 of them is wagedworkers. 236.000 of our citizens are unemployed. Turkey's membership in the EU will bring no solution to the problem of unemployment in Turkey (President of Chamber of Commerce, Ankara).

New arrangements in working conditions will have negative effects as well. As happened to earlier members who were in more or less the same position with Turkey, new arrangements in labour markets will increase the cost of employing people. We should also expect some negative consequences as a result of the mobility and dominance of some big companies and economically strong countries.

We'll have to face problems in transitional stages. The experience of some earlier members including Greece, Italy and Spain points this out. We'll go through the same process (President of the Chamber of Commerce, Şanlıurfa).

Some negative effects will take place. A group of lawyers from Ankara Bar visited Spain and Portugal and conducted professional contacts with lawyers in these countries. Lawyers said once they were very eager for membership without making much effort on their own part and now there are many jobless lawyers. After membership, large companies from France and Germany rushed into Portugal and Spain and created counselling agreements with domestic firms and companies. In other words, large holdings in Spain and Portugal prefer to work with more powerful and big counselling firms in Germany for example. Now many of us have to work for fifth rate divorce cases (TOBB).

Thus, those on one extreme consider that the process of accession will also have positive impacts on such areas as democratisation, working life, urban development, organization and new legislative arrangements that may not be directly related to employment and unemployment issues. Those on the other end of the spectrum, however, maintain that our state apparatus, labour markets and quality of labour force are not ready to live together and compete with European countries.

7.7 Possible Consequences of Youth Unemployment

The last aspect which needs to be given attention regarding youth unemployment is the possible consequences if this problem remains unsolved. Most of the respondents highlight the risk of stigmatisation if no resolution is reached. In other words, young people are perceived to be more vulnerable to crime, drugs and even terrorism if the problem persists.

Unemployment has its negative effects not only on unemployed individuals but also on families and communities. An unemployed young person has to depend on his or her family even for the most basic needs. This naturally leads to some psychological problems. These kinds of problems may emerge after a while even among the unemployed children of richer families. In cases where families have limited or no economic base to support their unemployed children this may lead to involvement in criminal acts and extreme political lines.

They are driven to psychological stress. They may harm themselves and their surroundings. They may steal; enter into gangs or mafia groups. Now can you imagine a young person with a job and fine income getting involved in all these? If their families are well educated, they get ruined seeing their children in such a mess. I think these situations do not affect very low-income families much. They are ready to see them off even in harm's way. There are legislative arrangements to protect street children, but they mostly remain on paper. The number of street children and substance abuse are both on rise. Our society will pay for this in near future (İŞKUR Director of Şanlıurfa).

There is a relationship between being unemployed and involvement in crime. A young person who has a decent job often has no motive for getting involved in crime or engaging in illegal activities or organizations. If unemployed, on the other hand, this young person

will need to fill his time thereby increasing the risk of getting involved in crime or other illegal activities.

It may cause young people to move somewhere else. Young people may try all ways to get some money. There may be some psychological disorders as well. Just think about it. There is a young man going through education for years and now he has to be supported by his family. There are even some who can't go home for the shame of it. If the rates of crime have gone up, it is partly for rising unemployment. The risk of committing crime will be lower for young people having jobs. Having no job, on the other hand, increases this risk. Additionally, the region is disturbed by terrorist activities, as you know, even if this province is safer. Terrorist circles have mostly used unemployed young people. You can't see much activists among those having jobs in the government sector or others holding rewarding jobs (Provincial Director of Education, Şanlıurfa).

Today 60% of the population of the country is young. What will happen if you ignore their unemployment? If these people are denied the chance to use their energies in good ways, they will be tempted to others. You have to absorb this energy, channel it to productive areas. If you don't, it will explode (Provincial Director of Education, Ankara).

Unemployment is a phenomenon negatively affecting not only individual young persons but also the society as a whole. Energy inherent in youth needs to be used rightly and channelled to positive activities.

We may face the problem of social corruption. If this process starts you can't easily guess where it leads and how much it costs. So we must place human beings in places they deserve. This is true for both youngsters and elderly ones, but young people are full of energy, able to work, they can produce efficiently. They are before their resting ages and after schooling. We need to provide them jobs in order to keep society in peace. We need to do this for their families, for the society and the future of this country. We all have our duty to ensure that these people are well with decent jobs without fear of hunger and poverty (Governor of Ankara).

There is a belief that unemployment affects males and females differently. While unemployed young males have tendency for crime and drugs, unemployed females are thought to react differently to the situation. In fact, some people believe that unemployment affects young females worse than males in the sense that this status makes them vulnerable to abuse and exploitation, including prostitution. A woman married to an unemployed man may 'leave the house' or 'cheat her husband.' Therefore the effects of unemployment on females both directly and through the burden of unemployed husbands on women must be considered.

When unemployed, young people are affected more and they may try other ways. There is stress and unrest in the family. It may even create some medical problems. Temptations of young persons including crime, theft, gangs etc. naturally affect their families adversely. If families are affected, this means an impact on the society as a whole (President of the Chamber of Commerce, Şanlıurfa).

If unemployed, they get into debt, fight and develop problems in adapting to their communities. Family relations also worsen. If both unemployed and married, his family may collapse. There are cases where married women abandon or cheat their unemployed husbands. Just take a look at newspaper ads they look for female employees of ages 18-20. Why? Mostly for abusive or exploitative intentions. Unemployed women are more vulnerable to abuse and exploitation (Director of Social Services, Şanlıurfa).

A young person unable to exercise his ‘right to work’ and consequently to provide for his basic needs will have weaker faith in the given system. ‘Once your faith in the system and the state weakens, doors will be open to illegal activities. This should be understood when we contemplate those young people involved in crime, mafia gangs and other illegal activities’. It is difficult to guess what young people may do if their understanding of citizenship on the basis of rights and responsibilities is destroyed. “Unemployment first affects peace in society, leaving us with more beggars and thieves. Ties with the state loosen and tendency for illegal activities gets stronger” (Director of Social Services in Şanlıurfa).

Moreover, unemployment will delay a young person’s passage to adulthood. Responsibilities pertaining to adulthood, including marriage, will be postponed or abandoned. Some psychological problems may follow suit in such cases.

I am 32 years old; I mean I am not too old. Once I was unemployed when I was younger. It was not long, but still I know how it affects people. After military service, young people mostly want to get married. This means establishing a home and it has its cost. What if this person has no job? Just put yourself in his place and think about it (ŞURKAV Foundation, Şanlıurfa).

An interview has held with Ankara Director of Police Forces to determine whether the perceived connection between youth unemployment and such acts or orientations as crime, mafia, drug addiction, theft, prostitution and terrorist activities matched reality. According to the Director, there is no direct relationship between unemployment and acts of this kind. Crime is a multi-dimensional phenomenon. Jobs of parents, their level of education and type of relationship they have with their children are more influential factors. Unemployment may have its partial share especially in acts committed against property and property rights. Even in these cases, the locality and culture play determining roles. For example if the parents are well positioned to give economic support to their children but without any affection, drug addiction comes to the fore as a problem. Economic factors

may play a role in prostitution, but still these are not sole determinants. It may be ‘triggering’ in some cases, but only as a single factor among many others.

We observe that unemployment is a factor playing its role in crimes committed against property. But of course it is not the only reason. Such acts arise as a result of the combined affect of various factors including unemployment, lack of affection in family relations, higher expectations on the part of young people and low economic status of families. There may even be some genetic factors. Children of fathers who have themselves committed crimes in the past may be more inclined to crime. So I don’t think that unemployment is the primary or dominant reason in all cases. We should not exaggerate the problem of unemployment by regarding it as the primary factor driving citizens farther away from the State. In any case, economic growth will create expansion in employment. Considering actor contributing factors, I think it would be too extreme to consider unemployment as the main cause of crime (Director of Police Force, Ankara).

It is interesting to note that high fertility rates, keeping girls away from school, and other traditional and cultural traits, which are often presented in a negative light, may have some positive effects in coping up with youth unemployment. The presence of a family, particularly a strong family, the full responsibility of raising children and adolescents’ staying with their families are all regarded as positive factors when it comes to unemployment. These are counter factors which keep involvement in crime and illegal activities at a lower level. A strong family is said to function as a buffer or ‘security valve’ by helping to bear the burden of unemployed young people.

Şanlıurfa is a province where people are very tied to their cultural heritage. This preservation of cultural heritage and traditions has both positive and negative consequences. For example, a person in difficult position may find support and enjoy solidarity from friends or relatives. Families are more conservative in backing up their children. These play a deterring role against possibilities of choosing crime or other harmful ways. At least we see here much lesser rates of drug addiction or substance abuse. We owe this to strong family traditions (Governor of Şanlıurfa).

Nevertheless there are worries that rapid urbanization and higher levels of unemployment may further weaken families and prevent them from performing this traditional function. Still, dependency on the family instead of the state is not regarded as a problem. In other words, the primary leaning post of unemployed youth should be their families.

K.Ç: Particularly young people without jobs remain excluded from assistance schemes and they are left to their families. In other words, the relationship of rights and responsibilities that should exist between citizens and the State is shifted to the individual-family axis. Do you think this state of affairs brings along some problems?

S.D.: No I don’t. There will be no problem if families can afford supporting their unemployed children. This was indeed what we had traditionally. I am talking about agriculture. This sector had a share of 87 % in total employment in the 1920’s; it fell to 75 % in 1950. In this sector, families

support the surplus population. This is quite natural since market relations are limited in the sector. But today, since the weight of agriculture is reduced, it becomes more and more difficult for urban families to support their grown up and unemployed children. It will be completely impossible when the sector of agriculture drops to 10%. This burden will then fall upon the society as a whole instead of individual families. How will the society do this? The first scheme is unemployment insurance. That is, any unemployed person should be entitled to benefits helping him at least subsist. How will you finance this? One way is taxation. I mean the State channels some portion of taxes to unemployment benefits. This is the basis of social security and absolutely necessary for social stability. The society has to make sure that none of its members starve. It is clear that desperate persons, seeing no future, may do anything. So you have to solve social security problem if you want peace and order. But this, in turn, depends on the resources that a country can mobilize. At present, I don't think that a country like Turkey can afford it. Surely there are some attempts like social assistance funds and schemes like the green card, for example. The ideal solution is to transfer cash to persons until they find jobs, but we are not at that point yet. If you resort to deficit financing to do this, you will face higher costs because of rising inflation (S. Demirel, Former President).

Means-tested benefits focus on the family in Turkey. That is, if the young person has a family and this family can provide for his/her basic needs, then there is no benefit given to that individual by the state. These family based assistance schemes include Social Assistance and Solidarity Foundations, Municipalities and State support in terms of food and medicine. The unemployment insurance scheme is the only one taking unemployed persons individually. As mentioned earlier, this scheme does not cover those who are seeking jobs for the first time.

7.8 Concluding Remarks

The solution to the problem of unemployment in general and youth unemployment in particular requires improvements in macroeconomic indicators first. This is a sine qua non for all other measures and interventions to have any meaning at all. Improvement in macroeconomic indicators, on the other hand, cannot be achieved only through the private sector. This requires joint efforts by the Government, private sector and individual citizens. There is also a global dimension to the issue. Global changes, international organizations and agencies will also have their influence on these efforts. Steps to be taken in combating unemployment were outlined as follows:

The first thing to do is to eliminate all barriers to investment if an effective combat against unemployment is to be given. Secondly, decision makers should provide safer environments. Thirdly they should introduce measures to make the state mechanism work efficiently and effectively. No investor will come to Turkey if judicial mechanisms work so slowly to settle a case only in six years. If you have to apply to 170 different authorities to get permission for investment, nobody will invest

in Turkey. So, the paths in front of citizens and investors should be open. The entrepreneurs in Turkey were novice in the past, but now there are much better informed and experienced. The point is to encourage and mobilize this force. The politicians should inspire them, 'now its your turn, let's see you move! (S. Demirel, Former President).

We believe that this mass population movement to larger urban centres must stop. In other words, the present population in rural settlements must be 'frozen.' All micro and macro level plants to this end must work well. Many problems will be solved if this can be done. Otherwise we will be facing many problems with expanding unemployment. These problems are really daunting and I hope we won't face them. (Provincial Director of Education, Ankara).

All the factors identified as contributing causes of unemployment also give clues for possible solutions. For example, all parties agree that slowing down the rate of population growth is an instrument in reducing youth unemployment. Slower population growth will naturally reduce the number of new entrants to labour markets. Another phenomenon is migration. Here, all parties again agree that it is a factor contributing to unemployment. Solutions suggested, however, may differ. Nevertheless there is consensus on the need to stop rural-to-urban migration. Local governments, it is said, have an important role to play in keeping local population where they are.

Another dimension is related to agriculture, an issue which was not mentioned among the causes but was cited when solutions were discussed. Although at present a considerable number of people seem to be employed in this sector, it is actually the one where underemployment is very common. According to official statistics, 35% of people in Turkey are employed in this sector. This percentage, however, is far too high compared to the EU countries and other industrialized nations and it has to be pulled down by oncoming policies. These policies inevitably end up with large number of landless peasants and unqualified labour force. It is therefore crucial to take measures beforehand to absorb this surplus population and prevent any further expansion of the army of unemployed.

While deciding on areas of education and training offered to youth, their nature should be taken into consideration. It is very important to guide the youth to such areas of education and training which they would enjoy and also be useful in finding jobs. This requires the establishment of a system of occupational or career guidance and counselling. Such a system will ensure that young people enjoy their jobs while the resources of the country are

not wasted. Training to be given to young people should be of such a content to make them project-minded, initiative taking and productive. Once this is achieved, young people will expect less from both their families and the state and make their own efforts to be independent individuals.

There is also a need to reform the present personnel regime in the public sector. Any qualified, skilled and good working public servant should be entitled to corresponding wages. The opposite should also be true: An unqualified public servant with an unsatisfactory performance at work should be accorded lower pay and even laid off. This issue is quite important considering recent allegations that the public sector is 'unproductive' and the fact that some public services are still essential for the welfare of people. Hence, it is crucial to have skilled and qualified personnel in positions of decision-making which have a direct impact upon services and people's well-being. Furthermore, if given full assurance for the continuation of employment, this may lead people to laziness and even abuse, which in turn weakens people's faith in the state sector. In sum, there is urgent need to reform and rationalize employment policies in this sector.

One means by which to smooth the transition from training to labour markets should be the frequent use of 'practice at work' and an appreciation of its importance by both young practicing workers and employers. In the first place, young people will have a chance to combine theory and practice in this on-the-job training environment. Seeing practice as a way to secure employment, young workers will be motivated and develop commitment to both training and work. Additionally, employers will be motivated as well if they perceive that such practice is a way to employ people at a lower cost and also to find better workers. With this motivation, employers will make greater efforts to cooperate with the system of vocational training and influence its curricula. Considering successful initiatives in this context in various other countries, it can be mobilized as an effective instrument in combating youth unemployment.

Another 'must' in combating youth unemployment is the identification of occupational standards at the national level and institutionalisation of pertinent testing and certification

systems. This will have positive effects on labour mobility both within and between individual countries. Positive effects will also occur in the availability of equal opportunities and the closing regional disparities in development since it will create standardization in the training system. Keeping the system open to all who have previously undergone some training and acquired skills will contribute to the creation of a young and skilled labour force and also to the employability of these young persons.

Yet another crucial point in combating youth employment is the need to reduce the costs of employment. Even if necessary legislative arrangements and qualified labour force are both in place, any effective drive against youth unemployment will not be possible if the market is not diversified enough and employment capacity is limited. Thus, various incentives including tax reductions, lowering the cost of employment, credit access and other conveniences must be introduced to encourage employers to draw in labour. Meanwhile the world is rapidly changing with newly emerging types of production and working styles. In such a world, maintaining competitiveness requires keeping a close watch on emerging types of work and production and adopting relevant measures and reform rapidly.

The mechanisms of social dialogue must absolutely work in order to enhance the employability of the labour force and all sections of the society must be involved in efforts to this end. Parties include the state, organizations of workers and employers, local governments, civil society organizations, chambers of commerce and industry, and universities, among others.

Efforts are also needed to bring the informal sector under control. However, straightforward sanctions of a legal nature have not yielded effective outcomes to date. There is a need, first, to understand the reasons why this sector is expanding, and then to introduce counter measures to halt this expansion. If neatly arranged and coordinated, these measures may help in expanding the tax base and improving the quality of goods and services produced by the informal sector, which is mostly characterized by low wages and below-standard working conditions and where safety and health of workers as well as the quality of their products are highly questionable.

As a result of recent changes and transformations, the state is no longer in the same place as it used to be. It is no longer the main generator of employment, but it must still concern itself with employment issues. It must remove all obstacles standing in the way of citizens to exercise their right to work and ensure necessary environments and conditions for capital to transform itself into investment. Young people seeking employment for the first time remain out of the coverage of unemployment insurance scheme. Thus, social benefits and assistance focusing on families should also consider this situation. As for others, who have been employed earlier but lost their jobs and are entitled to unemployment benefits, deductions may be lowered and the duration of unemployment benefits may be extended.

For İŞKUR to function effectively, it is extremely important to eliminate its resource, staffing and training barriers and make it the primary institutional structure to deal with unemployment issues. To be more specific, the İŞKUR should bring the state closer to unemployed youth by striking a balance between supply and demand, comparing the skills needed in the labour market to the present training levels of the unemployed, extending counselling services and arranging trainings to enhance employability.

Furthermore, training activities aiming to enhance employability must be designed in cooperation with other labour market actors avoiding any waste of time and resources for courses which would not add much to the employability of young people. For example, if there are many unemployed young persons despite their skills in computer, underlying causes must be investigated and no additional courses in this area should be launched before fully grasping the causes and introducing relevant remedies. Likewise, no cutting-sewing courses should be introduced if skills acquired from these courses have not proved to be helpful in finding jobs. In short, labour markets must be closely followed, occupations and trades needed by the market must be identified and meetings must be held frequently to exchange information and ideas with relevant actors.

To summarise the main conclusions of this chapter, all parties have their expectations from the state. As far as unemployment is concerned, the state absolutely must be involved in the area of expanding employment. Yet, none of what has been suggested can have any direct

contribution to the daily lives and unemployment experience of presently unemployed young people. Although what needs to be done in regard to the system is listed, no organization or institution speaks clearly about its own responsibility. For each, unemployment and particularly youth unemployment is high as a result of some other organizations' or institutions' 'insufficiency'. According to the education sector, labour markets and the state are both insufficient. The private sector asserts that existing skills and qualifications do not meet the desired requirements because of the weakness of the education mechanism and the state's failure to provide both necessary support and incentives. As to trade unions, they put the blame on the global world, neo-liberal approaches, the state and the labour market.

None of the parties admit its responsibility in contributing to the unemployment problem. Often, decision-makers stating their opinions prefer to list what must be done by others, instead of talking about what he/she can do in his/her specific domain. The intentions of decision-makers can be found close to the social-democratic welfare model, but looking at their policy implementation related with the unemployed youth, they are much closer to the familial welfare model. In the minds of all parties, youth unemployment and its problems are left to family as a primarily responsible unit for their children, instead of working on some public policies and practical suggestions that touch the lives of unemployed young persons. There is much talk about macro-level changes and initiatives without any suggestion, plan or project at micro or middle levels.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSIONS

An ideal opportunity to examine the relevance of new social theories; if the social order has changed and if social structures have weakened, we would expect to find evidence of these changes among young people who are at the crossroads of the process of social reproduction (by Furlon & Cartmel cited in MacDonald, 2005).

Unemployment experience of youth is the main focus of this study. Their lived experience, relevant dimensions in this experience, coping strategies, and possible implications of unemployment were tried to understand. The overall aim of the thesis was to find answers to the questions asked at the beginning of this study: “why work to become adult? “is there a possibility to become an adult without work?”, “how is their life constructed without work and which mechanisms are used by unemployed youth?” “as a learner individual, does youth have a chance for transition to next stage of their life without work?”

In this thesis, I argued that there are three important agents defining the frame of experience of unemployed youth: the state, labour market and family. For understanding the role of each agent on experiences, I used methodological triangulation in my study. Both qualitative and quantitative methods were employed to explain their lived experiences. Documentary study and model testing provided me the base to understand the macro picture about work, employment and unemployment issues both at global and national levels. By interviewing with 21 decision-makers who expressed their opinions and perceptions on youth unemployment,, the reasons of unemployment in Turkey within the macro and mezzo levels were given from their perspective. The place/role of the state, labour market, family and youth in their views were taken as the ground to analyze the youth unemployment. Local, national and global reasons of youth unemployment were clarified by the help of these interviews. After in-depth interviews with 30 families of unemployed youth were conducted in both cities, I became closer to everyday living experiences of unemployed youth. Types of their dependence and differences in experiences were captured. Especially the regional differences between Ankara and

Şanlıurfa became clearer with these interviews. Finally, to understand the individual unemployed youth and their experiences, I used a survey questionnaire. This part of my study was representative for registered unemployed youth during the last three months of 2003 in two cities. This research tool gave me to reach 329 registered unemployed youth in two cities on their experiences. Overall, I collected a rich material due to the research methods I used in my study.

My basic inquiry in this study is why paid work is so important in individuals' life. Paid work is important because it determines the rights and duties stemming directly from the work process. Patterns of the family, social life and leisure, norms of propriety and daily routine are also shaped by it. Moreover, psychological development, social transitions and changes in status are closely related with paid work. Thus paid work is the major source of income for most people, and a person's employment status is often linked to their social status.

However, having paid work and becoming adult is closely related with the age. Young people's unclear status between dependence-independence is clarified with the paid work that makes a smooth transition possible. Young people are expected to establish a sense of personal identity and become progressively more independent from parents, and then become adult and citizen. Otherwise they could not make a balance between childhood-adulthood, dependence-independence. Therefore, paid work is the key tool for young people to become an independent adult and then being included in the larger society.

My research showed that as a result of increasing globalisation and neo-liberal trends; restructured labour markets; an increased demand for qualifications and flexibility in the workplace; and cuts in social benefits; transition to economic independence made the situation of young people more complex. The period of dependence is extending for young people. Under these circumstances, who gives support for this dependence and how it is provided are important questions. There are two possible sources of support for youth while they are unemployed: the state and family. The division of responsibilities between the state and family has both positive and negative outcomes. In this division, if the state

takes care of more responsibilities than families do as a carrier; this would create '*dependence culture*'. On the other hand, if family becomes as a basic supporter of the unemployed youth, would it lead to some unwanted consequences?

The first finding of this study is the state support to unemployed young persons in Turkey is too limited to conduct a specific analysis. Welfare state and its implementations are very limited for young unemployed, and the individuals and their families have to take more responsibility for coping with unemployment. Under these conditions, the family and its capacity (including social, economic, and cultural capital) become crucial.

The second finding of the study is that unemployed youth are almost totally dependent on their families. Family income is the most important factor determining the economic, social and psychological well-being of unemployed youth. Families give significant support to their young members while they are unemployed. Dependence of young people to their families during their unemployment includes material/economic, social and moral realms. Financial dependence is the key dependence during unemployment experience and financial dependence is not experienced as isolated from other types of dependence. In all conditions, dependence on families affects young persons in many ways. In particular economic dependence creates other types of dependence. Full dependence on family has some important consequences which are emerging in this period, but results will depend on family unity, capacity and income level.

The third finding of my study is that unemployment experience of youth is heterogeneous. The following factors are influential in the experience of unemployment: gender, education status, marital status, health status, presence or absence of father, income level of the father, number of dependent family members, and living province.

The fourth finding is that family solidarity is not taken for granted. If the family fails or does not have the resources to provide for the maintenance of all its members, the young people find themselves in a vulnerable situation. Types of vulnerability depend on gender: if family has economic difficulties, females become part of these difficulties which isolate them into home,

and they decrease/lose all expectations. Under such circumstances, the more disadvantaged males are ready to accept whatever job they are offered within the informal economy, underground economy, contributing to the employment of minors.

The fifth finding is that dependence on families decreases the mobility of youth. Dependence on families affects young persons in many fields including their potential, initiation and freedom to take part in activities, to move to other places for jobs, to get married/stable relationship and have children, return to education and find jobs in the formal sector.

The sixth finding is that youth unemployment reduces family sources. Significant problems arise particularly if unemployment on the part of a young member of the family makes the family poorer or if the family of the unemployed young member is already poor. At this vulnerable situation, poor families start blaming others (relatives, neighbours, and the state) when ties with immediate environments and relatives are weak or non-existent. In such cases families suffer not only from the difficulties of unemployment alone but also from poor access to health and education services.

The seventh finding is that family solidarity helps to cope with psychological distress better. Families try to keep their members together and protect psychological integrity through taking unemployment problem completely exogenous to family itself and maintaining affection and care to unemployed members. Young members who cannot find sufficient material or economic support from their families 'know' that this is because there is not much to share within the family. Let aside any blaming on children for their unemployment, parents try to support them as far as they could. This approach of parents is also perceived well by sons and daughters and they, accordingly, behave in a manner not to place them in difficult position financially or emotionally. It is this mutual warmth and understanding that keep away unemployed young people from marginalisation, engagement in extreme political activities and crime and make them minimise their personal demands and spending.

The eighth finding is that youth unemployment decrease possibility of being adult. Extended dependence on family is a serious obstacle for being an individual. As financial security is provided by the family, young people learn to become good family member instead

of becoming good citizen who feels responsible for collective well-being. Since young people try to comply with family norms on which they are dependent, they later establish families of similar nature and this creates vicious cycles which are hard to break for any change. Uncertainty, loss of earnings, and the likelihood of increased dependency upon parental support are accompanied by the actual physical presence of the young person at home. Thus, under this situation, finding tools and resources for successful coping are centred on educational attainment; and household composition, unemployment duration and material conditions of the family are very important for the future of unemployed young people.

It is true that intergenerational solidarity makes it possible for most families to face the economic difficulties resulting from the long time that young people have to wait before entering the labour market. However, if family and/or primary solidarity channels do not have adequate resources for their dependent members, what is the outcome for the unemployed youth? There are two important results of this dependence: early/quick adulthood and postponed adulthood.

'Early/quick adulthood': Large family affects all family members and lowers the chances of longer education of children. Since father's income is the only source, family members get lesser and lesser as the size of the family gets larger. Low level of family income, high number of dependent family members and low level of education of parents negatively affect the life of youth. Thus, poor family's 'transfer' of education, employment or income from elders to young family members is very limited. This has the effect of shortening the period of education on the one hand and forcing young family members to take any job in the informal sector on the other. Because poverty may not create unemployment alone; it creates a higher demand for the work of child and youth.

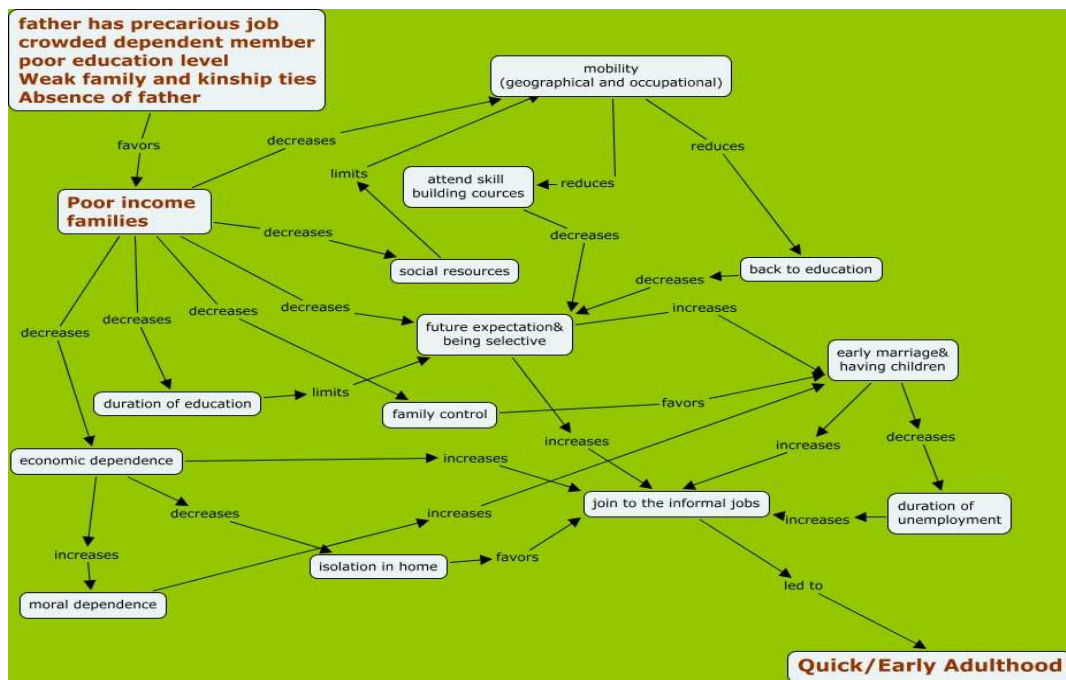


Illustration 1: Early adulthood as a result of experience of unemployment

Young people from poorer families do not have much chance of extending his/her unemployment duration especially when their families are too crowded and need their wage work. In this kind of family, young people tend to have low educational background (mere primary or secondary school graduates) and low job expectation. Their chance of finding a decent job in the labour market is very limited. Since the family fails or does not have the resources to provide for the maintenance of all its members, the young people find themselves in a vulnerable situation. Therefore, they are forced to take any job offered and they are faster in getting in jobs as their future expectation is also limited. The quality of the job held does not matter much for them, and early entry into the labour market also brings them an early marriage and early parenthood. On the whole, the unemployment spells of young people with low educational level are shorter but more frequent. Therefore unemployment breeds unemployment. As a result, *early/quick adulthood* is seen as the most important consequence for the young members of poor families. Inter-generational transmission of social and cultural capital is a mechanism for social reproduction, including the reproduction of social inequality from one generation to the next. Thus the most

common result of early/quick adulthood is *'familization of poverty'*. Considering the situation of poor families, family solidarity can not be taken for granted for all segments of society in Turkey.

Late/postponed adulthood: If families are relatively well off, young persons may have chances of extending the period of their unemployment duration and act selective about possible jobs. Depending on their families' income level they may consider returning back to education or attending skill building/vocational courses (foreign language, computer, driving, etc.) which extend their period of unemployment. Under these conditions, young people have to postpone their adulthood; postponing marriage/stable relationship, leaving house, developing an independent personality, deciding on their life, etc. When they postpone their adulthood, they learn their responsibilities but not their rights. Therefore, postponing adulthood actually means postponing the exercise of citizenship rights. Being aware of the fact that their alternatives are quite limited, young people make a rational choice and try to maintain their good relations with family elders. At this point one can clearly observe a switch to an understanding of 'my State is my father'. As ways of coping strategy, they listen to what their families say, act accordingly and even get married if they ask to do so. The influence of parents on young individuals is far beyond supporting and advising them. Moreover, young people are generally defined as 'learner citizens' or 'citizens in the making', thus if young people depend heavily on their family, they learn being a member of their family, instead of being a citizen (or a member of society). Thus, this would be a turning point where loyalty to the state can be replaced by loyalty to the family.

It is obvious that support -economic, social, and moral- received from parents increases the degree of control they exert on young people. When family carries out all kinds of responsibilities related with unemployed members, or when it is the only unit to give support to the unemployed youth, this family situation can be defined as a *'golden prison'* or iron cage, being implied as both *'prison and home'*⁵² for young people. This is especially true

⁵² Sennett used this analogy referring to Weber in his last book when discussing the state socialism. "The secret of militarized capitalism lay in time –time structured so that people formed a life narrative and social

for long-educated young females. Family is “a prison because, like it or not, there is no any other possibilities for escaping from those four walls; golden-home because, in spite of this, young unemployed receive protection. Uncertainty, absent of earnings, and the likelihood of increased dependency upon parental support are accompanied by the compulsory physical presence of the young persons at home (particularly females). Under these circumstances, tools and resources for successful coping are centred only on educational attainment; and household composition, unemployment duration and material conditions are very important issues for the future plans of unemployed young people.

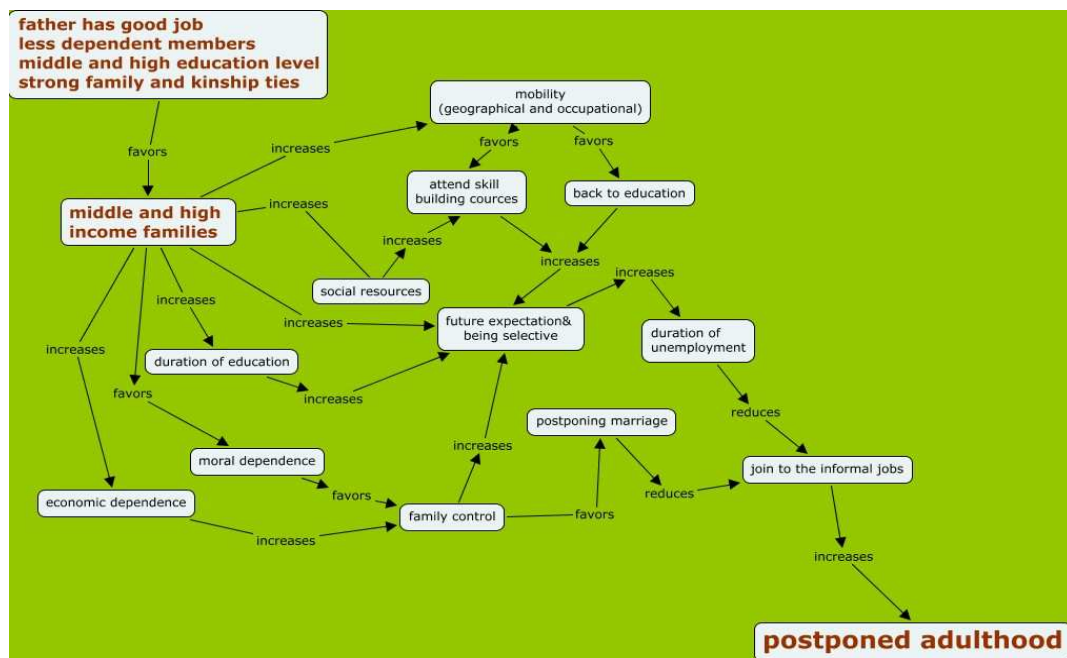


Illustration 2 : Postponed adulthood as a result of experience of unemployment

Oversleeping, back to education, attending skill-building courses, doing intermittent jobs, accepting any job in the informal sector, getting married and having children, seeking jobs, minimising personal demands and spending, decreasing expectations from the family and from the future, keeping good relationship with family as a priority, and becoming politically salient and not joining in irregular activities are the ways for young people to cope

relations within the institutions. The price individuals paid for organized time could be freedom or individuality; the iron cage was both prison and home” (2006: 180).

with their difficult situation. Young members who cannot find sufficient material or economic support from their families 'know' that this is because there is not much to share within the family. Low family income means, for many young persons, exclusion from social and economic life as well as from given consumption patterns and mobility. However, young people believe that the problem of unemployment can be solved mainly through the interventions of the state. As they tend to explain present unemployment as a result of factors 'exogenous' to themselves, the level of agreement with such statements related to 'self confidence' and 'feeling of exclusion from the society' remains low. All these coping strategies help young people to protect their psychological health better. Neither production -absence of work- nor consumption -due to limited family income- exists in their life to help constructing individual identity. This is a big obstacle in becoming an independent adult.

Independence of youth depends on quality of job, family unification and culture in which young people live. Without good/decent job, the balance between dependence and independence is still a problem. Widespread youth unemployment enable employers to further extend working hours, shorten weekly days off, make employees work on special holidays, pay lower wages and avoid insurance. Both young people and their families are heavily affected by this situation. It is important in two respects: increasing dependency on family sources, and increasing expectation from the state. Low quality and low paid jobs makes it impossible for youth to completely separate from parents and start a new home. Because of limited jobs available in the market and attitude of employers, families tend to expect more from the state and want it to take sides with them. Their first criterion for a 'good job' is job security with social insurance. Feeling secure is a critical perception. It is because of this that both families and young people regard 'public sector jobs' as best jobs that can be found. Even if these jobs do not pay much, they are still preferred for the security and certainty they entail. Observing this situation, families' identification of 'good jobs' with public sector employment is further consolidated by their expectations from the State.

The study also proved that unemployment experience of youth is not a single topic. Gender, type and level of education, type of skill and occupation, marital status, health status, presence or absence of father, income level of the family, number of dependent family members, and place of residence (province) all influence the individual experience. For instance, unemployment of disabled young persons comes up as an issue which requires quite different approach than those adopted when addressing the problem of youth unemployment in general. “A healthy young person can do any job, but disabled ones have no such chance”. The government should take into consideration that not all of the job-seekers are homogenous, and they need to develop different policies concerning their different characteristics. They should also recognize that the problem is not just unemployment; it is entangled in many different dimensions of society. For example, the regional differences should be taken into account to raise the efficiency of the plans. In sum, unemployment seems to be a dynamic situation, which is coped with in different ways, depending on the resources -the state, labour market- and orientation of the individual and their families.

A discussion of the responsibilities of young people for finding jobs and not remained unemployed is also important here. Young people are generally classified as those who have certain level of education and others who don't. Recommendations would differ with respect to this educational status. Given the scarcity of public funds in general and the need to prioritise limited measures, educated young people should take more initiatives and develop special projects without expecting much from their families and from the state. On the other hand, there are not many choices for uneducated young people. Such persons should be oriented to subsidised courses that may build some skills. “Uneducated people must not behave too selective when it comes to jobs and work hard to cover their gap. First of all they should not ‘choose’ jobs; I mean they should be ready to do any job” says General-Director of İŞKUR. Decision-makers in Turkey think that “any job is better than no job”. *Welfare-to-work*

rhetoric may reinforce the role of “the welfare state as work enforcer” without regarding the type of work being enforced, or its social or individual effects⁵³.

Paid work and its expected (enabling) impact on independence, adulthood and citizenship status is only possible with a ‘*decent job*’. While it is clearly the case that employment is central to poverty reduction, it is ‘decent and productive’ employment that matters, not any employment alone. Any job is not better than no job, particularly in segmented labour markets where the quality of first job determines the rest of work life of individuals. With these kinds of jobs, young people will continue to be dependent on their families and their dependence-independence situation will still remain blurred despite their hard work. Another consequence is related to the transmission of poverty into their newly formed families, which is called ‘*familization of poverty*’. Those who have limited education and poor families are the most vulnerable group trapped in a vicious circle. Thus considering the future, the priority should be given to this group in developing measures for the transition into decent jobs.

Recently, there is a proliferation of ‘enterprise discourse’ in the sphere of training, mainly targeted at the unemployed, but also at school leavers, and is constituted carefully between utilitarianism and commitment to personal development. This is partly a response to the growing public distrust about vocational and tertiary education as it has failed to produce skilled workers to meet the ever-changing workplace demands. *European Employment Strategy* and other national and international institutions have presented ‘entrepreneurship’ as way to combat youth unemployment. This study tried to understand the feasibility of this measure in the research group and the result shows that it is not a solution for this group. Entrepreneurship is closely associated with the economic, cultural and symbolic ‘capital’ held by young people. More specifically, it is closely associated with such factors as command to some starting capital, ‘learning by observing’ in an environment where entrepreneurial culture exists and presence of entrepreneurs within the family and

⁵³ According to the *World Employment Report of ILO* during 2004-2005, there are 550 million people who work but earn less than US\$ 1 a day. This ‘working poor’ represent 20% of total world employment. In spite of the record levels of global unemployment, the reality for most of the world’s poor is that they must work -often for long hours, in poor working conditions and without basic rights and representation- in jobs that are not productive enough to enable them to lift themselves and their families out of poverty.

immediate environments. That means, being a successful entrepreneur is not easy; it requires them to know and follow changes occurred in local, national, even international markets. Decision-maker interviews emphasised that “there are many persons starting various initiatives, but many of them fail within a year due to many reasons”. Therefore, if ‘becoming entrepreneur’ is forced by the lack of real alternatives and without real intention and supportive environment, this strategy is doomed to failure.

Another important issue which came up in this study is related to the problems of the education system in Turkey. According to common diagnosis, the problems of the whole education system are one of the most important reasons of high youth unemployment. It is valid for all levels (primary, secondary and higher) and types (general, vocational-technical) of education. Poorly planned system and delivery of education is one of the underlying causes of unemployment. The system of education as well as curricula is not planned with due consideration of the needs in the labour market and does not produce the required type of workers/professionals who can initiate, analyse and use opportunities available in modern labour markets. Another point raised in the context of education is the distribution of students to general and vocational high schools. Three aspects of the educational career seem to be relevant to a person's position in the labour market: the level of education, the level of specialization, and the diploma obtained. Continuing training (including lifelong learning) is also frequently mentioned as a solution to unemployment, but not well-established yet for those who need most this training. It is generally believed that longer education (vocational or university) will lead to better job opportunities. Young people with intermediate vocational training, higher general secondary education, or a pre-university education had the next best rates, followed by young people with higher vocational training. The position of university students relatively get worse in the labour market, a phenomenon that is fairly new.

What occupations have disappeared or are bound to disappear? What are newly emerging occupations? How many people are needed for any specific occupation or economic sector? What should be the qualifications and standards sought in these new professions? These questions are yet to be addressed for better handling of interaction between education and

the needs of the labour market. İŞKUR has responsibility and various good intentions to do these labour market analyses and develop measures accordingly, but its staff and resources are very limited. In fact, the level of its scarce human resources is by no means comparable with any public employment service in the developed world to do the job successfully. Without performing these tasks and taking effective measures, stating that ‘education is so important for finding a job’ is not a good way of handling the situation. It has eroding effects on young people’s life. The outcome would be a waste of human resources of the country, which is the most important resource for sustainable economic and social development. One young person in the survey group defined her situation with the following sentence: “It is as bad as not harvesting your products from your fields in spite of your long education”.

Two keywords frequently uttered when reflecting the experience of unemployment epitomise the whole process: “Security” and “certainty.” These two words shape all expectations and desires of both young people and their families. Feeling secure is the most important critical perception in life choices and social behaviours of individuals and families. Unemployment is really not a problem of statistics; it is a problem about people, not only economic, but also a social problem. It becomes particularly crucial for young people. Since young people lack work experience, seniority, a lobby and networks, they always experience higher rates of unemployment than other age groups. To leave unemployed young people completely at the mercy of families has many negative effects as mentioned above. In 1932, Bakke said that “with a job, there is a future; without a job, there is slow death of all that makes a man ambitious, industrious, and glad to be alive”. His study and other studies showed that to find a way for tackling unemployment and to develop some welfare institutions during unemployment were necessary. The negative effects of worklessness were overcome with the help of economic boom, and some mechanisms were created like full employment and citizenship rights including unemployed individuals.

Today workless individuals are increasing all over the world, and controlling function of the state both in economy and in labour market is losing ground. Moreover, these kinds of

controls are no longer accepted because of 'dependence culture' created by welfare institutions. Saying openly, the goal of welfare state shifted from protection to increased responsibility of the individuals. Under this condition family and its welfare role become very important as well in the world. Remembering the old times before the modern welfare state era, the family and social organizations like religious institutions were responsible agents to sustain welfare during the hard times of individuals. Thus, the new economy-politics invites past memory sources for sustaining the welfare of citizens. This invitation has to consider potential negative effects of this change over the individual, the family and society.

Young people are at the crossroads of the process of social reproduction. When social structures have weakened, it is felt most by young people who become more vulnerable and more dependent. Young people's sense of collective responsibility towards their society is very important and development of this sense is needed for social peace. My study shows that gender, education, occupation, skill, social class, and location influence the chances of being unemployed and experiences of unemployment. Therefore all relevant dimensions have to be considered by the responsible authorities for the continuity of the reproduction of society.

With its 12 million young people, Turkey does not have the luxury of leaving youth unemployment problem to be addressed and solved only by families. The relationship between the state and its citizens is based on an implicit duty-right contract: if the state does not spent enough effort for its duties towards their subjects, then why citizens should obey their obligations/duties and all the rules of the state. If young people become fully depend on their families, then they will obey only the rules of that specific family and they will reproduce the similar type of families and values. Considering rich diversity of the society, this can be a serious obstacle for the (re)production of common/collective social values. As a result, their loyalty may shift to their families instead of the state and may not feel social responsibility towards the society. I think this shift of loyalty is very crucial for understanding our basic problems existed today in Turkey such as informal market, tax

evasions, patronage and clientalism, corruption, ill-functioning of democratic participation mechanisms, etc.

Last but not least, citizenship has been taken up as a useful concept of talking about young people's membership into adult society. It offers a more useful framework than adulthood for understanding the end product of youth. Full citizenship yields three types of rights: civil, political and social. The social rights include, among other things, a certain minimum of financial security that should enable all citizens to realise their political and civil rights. Therefore paid work and/or source of income are very paramount in young people's transition towards being able citizens. Young people and their entitlements of citizenship, their actual capacity to exercise these rights, and its relation with paid work need to be investigated by newcomer researchers.

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APPENDICES

A. DECISION-MAKER INTERVIEW FORM

Demografik Bilgiler

Cinsiyet:

Yaş:

Medeni durum:

Sahip olunan çocuk sayısı:

Mezun olunan okul:

Baba mesleği:

Şu andaki görevi:

İle İlişkin ilgiler:

Genel olarak Urfa/Ankara ilini sosyal, ekonomik ve kültürel açılardan değerlendirmenizi istesem neler söylemek istersiniz.

Sadece Urfa'da sorulacak!!!! Sulama öncesi ve sonrasını ele aldığımızda sulamanın Urfa ili üzerine olan etkileri konusunda neler düşündüğünüzü öğrenebilirmiyim.

İşsizliğe İlişkin Görüşler:

Sizce, genç işsizliğin temel nedenleri nelerdir?

Genç işsizliğine ilişkin Urfa/Ankara iline özel nedenler var mı?

Genç işsizliğin "gence", "aileye" ve "topluma" olan etkilerinin neler olduğunu düşünüyorsunuz?

Genç işsizlere yönelik devletin mevcut hizmet ve yardımları var mı? Yeterli buluyor musunuz? Sizce, devletin bu konudaki temel sorumlulukları neler olmalıdır?

Sizce, yerel yönetimlerin bu konuda (istihdam ve işsizlik) sorumlulukları olmalı mı?

Sizce, özel sektör bu konuda sorumluluk almalı mı, neler yapabilir?

Sizce, bu konuda genç insanların sorumlulukları neler olmalıdır?

Önümüzdeki yıllarda Avrupa Birliğine girilmesi halinde bunun iş piyasaları üzerine olabilecek etkileri konusunda neler düşünüyorsunuz.

B. QUESTIONNAIRE FOR UNEMPLOYED YOUTH

A. GENÇ VE AİLESİ HAKKINDA

1. Cinsiyetiniz?

1. Erkek
2. Kadın

2. Yaşınız?

() 18 () 19 () 20 () 21 () 22 () 23 () 24

3. Sizin ve anne babanızın doğduğu yer neresidir?

	Köy	İlçe	İl	Başka Ülke
--	-----	------	----	------------

Kendisi				
Anne				
Baba				

4. Kaç yıldır burada yaşıyorsunuz? (yıl olarak yazılacak)

.....yıl

5. Medeni haliniz?

1. Bekar (9. soruya geçiniz)
2. Evli
3. Dul
4. Boşanmış
5. Ayrı yaşıyor

6. Çocuğunuz var mı?

1. Evet
2. Hayır (9. soruya geçiniz)

7. Çocuğunuz/çocuklarınız kaç yaşında/lar? (lütfen her çocuk için ayrı ayrı yazınız)

1.
2.
3.
4.

8. Çocuğunuzla birlikte mi yaşıyorsunuz?

1. Evet
2. Hayır, çocuğum/çocuklarım başkasıyla yaşıyor (lütfen belirtiniz).....

9. Şu anda kiminle/kimlerle birlikte yaşıyorsunuz?

1. Anne ve baba ile
2. Baba ile
3. Anne ile
4. Kız/erkek arkadaşla
5. Eş ile
6. Diğer akrabalarla (lütfen kim olduğunu belirtin).....
7. Arkadaşım/akrabam olmayan ev arkadaşı/arkadaşları ile
8. Yalnız
9. Diğer (lütfen belirtiniz).....

10. Kaç kardeşsiniz?

.....

11. Sizin kardeşler arasındaki sıranız nedir?

1. İlk çocuk
2. Ortanca
3. En küçük

12. Evinizin geçimini kim/kimler sağlıyor? (Birden fazla seçenek belirtilebilir)

1. Ben
2. Eşim
3. Babam
4. Annem
5. Erkek kardeşim
6. Kız kardeşim
7. Başka (Belirtiniz)

13. Ortalama aylık olarak evinize giren toplam para ne kadardır?

.....TL Aylık

14. Oturduğunuz evin mülkiyeti kime ait?

1. Kendimin
2. Eşimin
3. Anne-babamın evi
4. Aileye/akrabalara ait ama kira veriyorum
5. Lojman
6. Kira
7. Diğer (belirtiniz).....

15. Evin tipi nedir?

1. Gecekondu
2. Apartman dairesi
3. Kapıcı dairesi
4. Köy evi
5. Diğer (belirtiniz).....

16. Öğrenim durumunuz nedir?

1. Okur-yazar değil
2. Sadece okur-yazar
3. İlkokul
4. Ortaokul
5. Meslek lisesi
6. Düz lise
7. Yüksek Okul
8. Üniversite
9. Lisans Üstü

17. Okulu bıraktığınızda kaç yaşında idiniz?

1. 15'den küçük
2. 16
3. 17
4. 18-20
5. 20'den büyük
6. Bilmiyor

18. Herhangi bir sosyal güvenlik kuruluşuna kayıtlı mısınız?

1. Evet
2. Hayır (21. soruya geçiniz)

19. Kayıtlı olduğunuz sosyal güvence türünün adı nedir?

1. Bağ-Kur
2. SSK
3. Emekli Sandığı
4. İŞKUR işsizlik sigortası
5. Özel sigorta
6. Bilmiyor
7. Diğer (belirtiniz).....

20. Bu sosyal güvenceden kimin aracılığı ile faydalaniyorsunuz?

1. Kendimin
2. Babamın
3. Eşimin

4. Annemin
5. Diğer (belirtiniz).....

21. Tam olarak mesleğiniz nedir (açık şekilde yazılacak)?

Meslek:.....

22. Anne ve babanızın sahip olduğu eğitim düzeyi nedir?

Anne:

Baba:

1. Okur-yazar değil
2. Sadece okur-yazar
3. İlkokul
4. Ortaokul
5. Meslek lisesi
6. Düz lise
7. Yüksek Okul
8. Üniversite
9. Lisans Üstü

23. Anne ve babanızın tam olarak ne iş yaptığı/larını belirtiniz. (açık şekilde yazılacak)

Baba işi:

Anne işi:.....

24. Yakın aile üyelerinden biri ya da birkaçı şu anda ya da geçtiğimiz 5 yıl içinde mevcut işini kaybedip işsiz kaldı mı?

1. Evet

2. Hayır

1. Baba
2. Anne
3. Eş
4. Erkek kardeş
5. Kız kardeş

B. İŞ HAKKINDA

25. Su anda çalışma yaşamındaki durumunuzu nasıl tanımlarsınız?

1. İlk kez iş arayan
2. Birden fazla iş arama deneyimi olan
3. Çalışırken işsiz kalan
4. Daha iyi koşullarda iş isteyen
5. Diğer (belirtiniz).....

26. Lütfen 2001 ile 2003 yılları arasındaki iş ile ilgili durumuzu söylemişsiniz? (Birden fazla seçenek işaretlenebilir)

	2001	2002	2003
1. İş aradım			
2. Tam zamanlı işim vardı			
3. Kısmi zamanlı (part-time) işim vardı			
4. Geçici işler yapıyordum			
5. Lise ya da meslek okulundaydım			

6. Çıraklık eğitimi alıyordum			
7. Özel İstihdam Kurslarına devam ediyordum			
8. Özel kurslara (bilgisayar, yabancı dil, vs.) gidiyordum			
9. İSKUR Eğitim Merkezine gidiyordum			
10. Halk Eğitim Merkezine devam ediyordum			
11. Belediyenin düzenlediği iş kurslarındaydım			
12. Topluma faydalı işlerle meşguldüm			
13. Çocuk bakımı/ev işleriyle ilgilendim			
14. Hasta idim			
15. Askerde idim			
16. Diğer (lütfen belirtiniz)			

27. Şu anda iş arıyor musunuz?

- 1.Evet (29. soruya geçiniz)
- 2.Hayır

28. Hayır ise, neden iş aramıyor sunuz? * Sadece en önemli 2 tanesini işaretleyiniz.

I.....

II.....

1. Şu anda işim olduğundan
2. Şu anda eğitimim devam ettiğinden (normal ya da mesleki eğitim)
3. Çıraklık eğitimi aldığım için
4. Profesyonel iş tecrübesi sağlayacak bir eğitime başladığımdan
5. Yeni bir işe başlamayı beklediğimden (lütfen ne olduğunuzu belirtin).....
6. Mevcut olan işler çok düşük ücretli olduğundan
7. Bu yörede yapabileceğim bir iş olmadığından
8. Çalışmak istemediğimden
9. Diğer başka şeylerle çok meşgul olduğumdan (lütfen belirtiniz).....
10. Şu anda hastalık/özürlülük/hamilelik gibi nedenlerle çalışmak bana uygun olmadığından
11. Asker olduğum için
12. Çocuklara bakmak zorunda olduğum için
13. Evde hasta, yaşlı kimselere bakmak zorunda olduğum için
14. Diğer (lütfen belirtiniz).....

29. Aylık olarak ne kadarlık bir ücretle size sunulan işi kabul edersiniz?

.....TL.

30. Başka bir şehre iş bulmak için gider misiniz?

1. Evet (32. soruya geçiniz)
2. Hayır

31. Başka şehre gitmeme nedeniniz nedir? (Birden fazla seçenek işaretlenebilir)

1. Ailem burada, onlardan ayrılamayacağım için
2. Kadın olduğum için
3. Diğer şehirlerde tanıdıklarım olmadığı için
4. Hayat pahalı, orada kazanacağım para ile geçinemeyeceğim için
5. Arkadaşlarım burada olduğu için
6. Diğer (belirtiniz).....

32. Şimdi ya da geçmişte yaşadığınız işsizlik döneminizi düşündüğünüzde iş bulmak için hangi yöntemleri denediniz/deniyorsunuz? *Lütfen her seçeneği işaretleyiniz

	1. Evet	2. Hayır
1. İSKUR'a resmi olarak "işsiz" kaydı yaptırdım		
2. Yakın tanıdıklarına iş sordum		
3. Aile dostlarına iş sordum		
4. Tanıdığım belediye başkanı, bakan ve milletvekillerine gittim		

5. Gazete ilanlarına baktım		
6. Özel bir iş bulma kurumuna kayıt yaptırdım		
7. İş ilanlarına cevap verdim		
8. Kendim bizzat gazeteye ilan verdim		
9. Çeşitli yerlere özgeçmiş gönderdim		
10. Kendime bir iş kurabilmek için girişime geçtim		
11. Özel kurslara gittim (dil, bilgisayar, ehliyet vs)		
12. İstihdam garantili kurslara devam ettim		
13. Kamunun açtığı işe giriş sınavlarına hazırlandım ve girdim		
14. Özel sektörün açtığı işe giriş sınavlarına hazırlandım ve girdim		
15. Hiçbir şey yapmadım		
16. Diğer (lütfen belirtiniz)		

33. Ücretli bir işe ilişkin bazı ifadeler aşağıda sunulmuştur. Her bir ifade için katılma ya da katılmama durumunuzu belirtiniz.

	Katılıyorum	Kararsızım	Katılmıyorum
1. Bir mesleğe sahip olmak benim için çok önemli			
2. Çok paraya sahip olsam dahi çalışmak isterim			
3. İşsiz olmaktan nefret ediyorum			
4. Şayet işim olmasa idi kendimi rahatsız hissederdim			
5. İş benim hayatımdaki en önemli şeydir			
6. Yeterli düzeyde işsizlik yardımı alsaydım bile yine de çalışmayı tercih ederdim			
7. İşsizler kendi yararları için çalışmak zorundadırlar			

34. Eğitiminizi tamamladıktan sonra hiç ücretli bir işe sahip oldunuz mu?

1. Evet
2. Hayır (46. soruya geçiniz)

35. Toplam olarak ne kadar süre ücretli bir işte çalıştınız?

* çalışan sürelerin hepsi toplanacak ama meslek eğitimi için harcanan süre dikkate alınmayacak
.....yıl;ay

36. Şu andaki işinizde ya da en son sahip olduğunuz işinizde ne kadar süredir çalışmaktasınız/çalıştınız?

.....yıl;ay

37. Şu andaki işiniz ya da en son sahip olduğunuz işiniz tam olarak ne idi?

* mümkün olan en tanımlayıcı şekilde yazınız. Örneğin postanede çalışıyor yerine, posta dağıtıcısı gibi bir tanımlama yapmaya çalışın.

.....

38. Şu andaki işiniz ya da en son sahip olduğunuz işiniz tam olarak hangi iş kolu idi?

*parekende, giyim, emlak gibi sektörler yazılacak.

.....

39. Çalıştığınız iş kolu hangi sektöre aitti?

1. Özel sektör (kar amacı gütmeyen kurumlar dahil)
2. Devlet kurumu (Devlete bağlı tüm kurumlar dahil)
3. Kendi işi

40. Yukarıda belirttiğiniz dışında başka meslek ya da işte bulundunuz mu?

1. Evet (lütfen belirtiniz).....
2. Hayır

41. Şu anda ya da en son yaptığınız işteki aylık geliriniz toplam ne kadar idi? (yaklaşık bir rakam ve ait olduğu yılı yazınız)

.....TL. aylık,yıl

42. Şu anda ya da en son yaptığınız işe ilişkin bir eğitim aldınız mı?

1. Evet, aldım
2. Hayır, almadım

43. “evet” ise, bu eğitimi nereden aldınız?

1. İşyerinde
2. Meslek lisesinde
3. Meslek yüksek okulu/üniversitede
4. Çıraklık merkezinde
5. İŞKUR’da
6. Halk Eğitim Merkezinde
7. Belediye’de
8. Özel kurslarda
9. Diğer (belirtiniz).....

44. Şu anda işinizde ya da en son çalışmakta olduğunuz işteki günlük çalışma süreniz kaç saattir?

.....bir günlük toplam saat

45. Sizce ideal bir günlük çalışma süresi kaç saat olmalıdır?

..... bir günlük toplam saat

46. En son işinizden ayrılma nedeniniz ne idi? (birden fazla seçenek seçilebilir)

1. Son işim geçici bir işti
2. Eğitime dönmem gerektiği için
3. Tayin nedeniyle
4. Ekonomik nedenlerle işten çıkarıldım
5. İşyeri kapatıldı/ıflas ettiği için
6. Çocuklarıma bakmak için
7. Evlendiğim için
8. İşten atıldım
9. İşten çıkarılacağım daha öncesinden belli olduğu için
10. Askerlik nedeniyle
11. Diğer (lütfen belirtiniz).....

C. DEVLETİN FİNANSE ETTİĞİ EĞİTİM,İŞ PROGRAMLARI VE YARDIMLAR

47. Devlet tarafından düzenlenen ve finanse edilen eğitim ve iş programlarına hiç katıldınız mı?

1. Evet, hatta şu anda eğitime devam ediyorum
2. Evet, ben şu anda iş programına devam ediyorum
3. Evet, geçmişte katılmıştım
4. Hayır, (54. soruya geçiniz)

48. Bu eğitimlerden nasıl haberdar oldunuz?

1. İŞKUR bana haber verdi
2. Gazetede gördüm
3. Okulda duydum
4. Arkadaşlarım söyledi
5. Komşularım/akrabalarım haber verdi
6. Diğer (belirtiniz).....

49. En son katıldığınız eğitim/kurs programı hangisi idi?

1. Mezuniyet sonrası eğitim programı
2. İş için eğitim programı
3. Avrupa Birliği/Dünya Bankası kaynaklı istihdam ya da eğitim programları
4. Meslek kursları
5. Çıraklık eğitimi
6. Özel kurumların düzenlediği eğitim programları
7. Diğer (belirtiniz).....

50. Bu eğitim programlarını kim organize etti?

1. Halk Eğitim Merkezi
2. İş Bulma Kurumu (ISKUR)
3. Belediye
4. Özel Eğitim Kurumları
5. Özel İstihdam Büroları
8. İşverenler
9. Diğer kamu kuruluşları (ne olduğunu belirtiniz).....

51. Geçtiğimiz 5 yıl içinde toplam olarak ne kadar süre bu eğitimlere katıldınız?

.....yıl,ay

52. Şu anda devam ettiğiniz ya da daha önceden katılmış olduğunuz is eğitimi programlarına ilişkin olarak aşağıda bazı ifadeler sunulmuştur. Bu ifadelere katılma düzeyinizi belirtir misiniz?

	Katılıyorum	Kararsızım	Katılmıyorum
1. yeni şeyler öğrendim			
2. aktif olmak iyi idi			
3. bilgilerim tazelendi			
4. kendime güven kazandım			
5. çok şey yapmamız bekleniyordu			
6. iyi bir atmosfer vardı			
8. ücret çok azdı			
9. hiçbir işe yaramadı			

53. Son katıldığınız programı takip eden üç aylık dönemde ne yaptınız?

1. Tam zamanlı bir işte çalıştım
2. Kısmi zamanlı bir işte çalıştım
3. İşsizdim
4. Tam gün eğitime devam ettim
5. Çeşitli kuruluşlar ile işverenlerin düzenlediği mesleki eğitime devam ettim
6. Devletin düzenlediği bir başka eğitim programına devam ettim
7. Devletin düzenlediği bir iş programına devam ettim
8. Tamamlamadan ayrıldım (ya da son programa halen devam ediyorum)
9. Diğer (belirtiniz).....

54. İşsizlik süresince yardım aldığınız kuruluşlar oldu mu?

1. Hiçbir kuruluştan yardım almadım
2. Sosyal Yardımlaşma ve Dayanışma Vakıfları
3. Sosyal Hizmetler Genel Müdürlüğü
4. ISKUR İşsizlik Sigortası
5. Kızılay
6. Belediye
7. Sivil Toplum Kuruluşları (biliniyor ise adı alınacak)
8. Diğer (belirtiniz).....

C. İŞSİZLİK İLE İLGİLİ

55. İlk defa Resmi İş Bulma Kurumuna kayıt yaptırdığınız zaman kaç yaşındaydınız?

.....yaş

56. Toplam olarak şimdiye kadar kaç kez işsiz kaldınız (işsiz ama aktif olarak iş arıyorsa, şu andaki işsizliği de sayılacak)

.....kez

57. İşsiz olarak geçirdiğiniz süre toplamı ne kadardır? (tüm işsiz kalınan süreler toplanacak)

.....yıl,ay

58. En uzun süre işsiz kaldığınız dönemdeki toplam süre ne kadardı?

.....yıl, ay.....

59. Şu andaki işsizliğiniz ne kadar zamandan bu yana devam ediyor?

.....yıl,ay

60. İşsizlik süresince yardım aldığınız kişiler oldu mu?

1. Hiç kimseden yardım almadım
2. Birinci derece akrabalarım (anne-baba-kardeşler gibi)
3. Diğer akrabalarım
4. Komşulardan
5. Arkadaşlardan
6. Diğer (belirtiniz).....

61. Aşağıda işsizliğe ilişkin sunulan ifadeler katılma düzeyinizi belirtir misiniz?

	Katılıyorum	Kararsızım	Katılmıyorum
1. Pek çok kişi işsiz insanları işsiz oldukları için suçluyor			
2. Ailem benim iş ararken ya da çeşitli kurslara katılmam konusunda daha aktif olmam gerektiğini düşünüyor			
3. Arkadaşlarım benim iş bulmak için gerektiği kadar çaba harcamadığıma inanıyor			
4. İşsiz bir insanın kendisini geliştirebileceği çok az sayıda iş mevcut			
5. Pek çok insan işsiz kimseleri aşağılıyor			
6. Pek çok kimse işsiz insanların tembel olduğu için işsiz olduğunu düşünüyor			

62. Kendi işsizlik tecrübenizi ele aldığınızda, aşağıdaki ifadeler katılma derecenizi belirtir misiniz?

İşsiz kaldığım zaman:	Katılıyorum	Kararsızım	Katılmıyorum
1. Ailem ve arkadaşlarım için daha fazla zamanım oldu			
2. Hiçbir şeyi tamamlamadım			
3. Geleceği planlama konusunda sorunlar yaşadım			
4. Ekonomik olarak diğerlerine bağımlı idim			
5. Zamanımı keyif alacağım şekilde kullandım			
6. Kontratsız, sigortasız işleri kabul etmek daha kolaydı			
7. Kendime güvenimi kaybettim			
8. Kendimi toplumdan izole/ayrı hissettim			
9. Sağlığımın bozulduğunu hissettim			
10. Hobilerim için daha fazla zamanım oldu			
11. Çocukların bakım problemi ortadan kalktı			

63. İşsiz kaldığınız dönemde aşağıdaki durumlardan en çok hangilerini yaşadınız? (En önemli olan 3 tanesini seçmesi istenecek)

1. Stres	
2. Depresyon	

3. Umutsuzluk	
4. İçine kapanma	
5. Kendine olan saygının azalması	
6. Aile içinde huzursuzluk/çatışmalar	
7. Topluma yabancılaşma	
8. Sağlık sorunları/ Zararlı alışkanlıklar	
9. Diğer (belirtiniz)	

63. Size göre iyi bir işin en önemli nitelikler neler olmalıdır? (En önemli olan 3 niteliği seçmesi istenecek)

1. İyi ücret	
2. İş güvencesi	
3. İyi çalışma koşulları	
4. Sorumluluk alabilmek	
5. Güç ve saygınlık sağlaması	
6. En son teknolojiyi/bilgiyi kullanıyor olması	
7. Statü sağlaması	
8. Kendini gerçekleştirmeye izin vermesi	
9. Yeni şeyler/insanlar tanımaya olanak sağlaması	
10. Çalışma arkadaşlarının iyi olması	
11. İşle ilgili inisiyatif kullanabilmek	
12. İşverenin iyi ve hoşgörülü olması	
13. Yapılan işin toplumda saygı ve kabul görmesi	
14. Dürüstlük ve ahlaki sınırlar çerçevesinde olması	
15. Bağımsızlık vermesi	
16. Topluma faydalı bir iş olması	
17. Diğer (belirtiniz)	

64. Sizce, aşağıdaki davranışlarla “işsizlik” arasında nasıl bir ilişki vardır?

Davranışlar	Doğrudan ve güçlü	Dolaylı bir ilişki	Hiç ilişki yoktur
Suç işleme eğiliminin artması			
Boşanmaların artması			
Ailenin dağılması			
Aile içi desteğin artması			
İntihar olaylarının artması			
Aile içi şiddetin artması			
Fuhuşun artması			

65. Sizce neden iş bulamıyorsunuz? (Birden fazla seçenek seçilebilir)

1. Eğitimim yetersiz
2. Mesleğim yok
3. Mesleğim geçerli değil
4. Mesleğime uygun iş bulamıyorum
5. Eğitimime uygun iş bulamıyorum
6. Yeterli torpilim yok
7. Devlet iş sağlamıyor
8. Şansım yok
9. Cinsiyet ayrımcılığı nedeniyle
10. Diğer (belirtiniz).....

66. a. Sizce toplumda geçerliliği en yüksek olan 3 meslek hangileridir?

.....

67. İşsiz olmak nasıl bir duygu? Bu duyguyu tanımlamaya çalışır mısınız?

68. Sizce işsizlik sorunu nasıl çözülebilir?

69. Aşağıda belirtilen konulardan devletin mutlak görevi olduğunu düşündüğünüz 3 alanı belirtiniz.

1. İş sahaları açarak işsizliği önlemek
2. Yolsuzlukları önlemek
3. Gerekli altyapı yatırımları yaparak özel sektörün önünü açmak
4. Vergiyi adaletli ve düzenli toplamak
5. Vatandaşın can ve mal güvenliğini sağlamak
6. Vatandaşların temel hak ve özgürlüklerini korumak
7. Dil, din, ırk ayrımı yapmadan tüm vatandaşlarına eşit davranmak
8. Yargı organlarının bağımsız çalışmasını sağlamak
9. Eğitim, sağlık, emeklilik gibi sosyal hizmetlerden tüm yurttaşlarının yararlanmasını sağlamak
10. Yoksullukla mücadele etmek
11. Ucuz konut yapmak
12. Yurt dışında ülkeyi iyi temsil etmek
13. Vatanın bölünmez bütünlüğünü korumak
14. Dışa bağımlılığı azaltmak için tedbirler almak
15. Uygulamalarına ilişkin olarak vatandaşlarını bilgilendirmek

D. EKONOMİ

70. Geçtiğimiz 12 aylık süreyi ele aldığımız zaman temel gelir kaynağınız ne idi?

1. İşten elde edilen gelir	
2. Kendi tasarruflarım	
3. Öğrenci bursu ya da kredisi	
4. Eşimin geliri	
5. İşsizlik sigortası	
6. Eğitim programlarında ödenen para	
7. Sosyal Yardımlaşma Vakfından alınan para	
8. Düzensiz/geçici işlerden kazanılan para	
9. Anne babadan alınan harçlık	
10. Kayıt dışı işlerden kazanılan para	
11. Bir komşu ya da arkadaş için yapılan işlerden elde edilen para	
12. Diğer (belirtiniz)	

71. İşsiz kaldığınız dönemi ele aldığımız zaman, neleri bırakmak zorunda kaldınız?

	Tamamen	Kısmen	Hiç	İlgisiz
1. Düzenli yemek				
2. Kendiniz ya da aileniz için çok gerekli olan temel giyim				
3. Kira ve faturaları zamanında ödeme				
4. Zorunlu olan sağlık hizmetleri				
5. Sinemaya, tiyatroya, konsere gitme				
6. Eve arkadaşları davet etme				
7. Başka şehirlerde yaşayan akraba ya da arkadaşları ziyaret				

8. Arkadaşlara ya da aileye yeni yıl, doğum günü, bayram gibi özel günlerde hediyeler alma				
9. Tatile gitme				
10. Gazete alma				
11. Hobi ya da diğer eğlence aktiviteleri				
12. Bara ya da restorana gitme				
13. Diğer (belirtiniz)				

E. SOSYAL AĞLAR

72. İşsiz kaldığınız dönemde anne-babanız aşağıda sunulan durumları ne sıklıkla yaptı?

	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Bana para verdi						
2. İş ya da çalışmalara ilişkin tavsiye verdi						
3. Kişisel konular hakkında konuştu						
4. Mali konularda tavsiyelerde bulundu						
5. Benim için başkalarına iyilikte bulundu (Bana iş bulmak amacıyla)						
6. Sıcak ilgi ve şefkat gösterdi						

1. oldukça sık, 2. sık, 3. bazen, 4. nadiren, 5. hiçbir zaman, 6. cevap yok/ilgisiz

73. İşsiz kaldığınız dönemi ele aldığınız zaman, arkadaşlarınız aşağıdaki durumları ne sıklıkla yaptı?

	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Bana para verdi						
2. İş ya da çalışmalara ilişkin tavsiye verdi						
3. Kişisel konular hakkında konuştu						
4. Mali konularda tavsiyelerde bulundu						
5. Benim için başkalarına iyilikte bulundu (Bana iş bulmak amacıyla)						
6. Sıcak ilgi ve şefkat gösterdi						

1. oldukça sık, 2. sık, 3. bazen, 4. nadiren, 5. hiçbir zaman, 6. cevap yok/ilgisiz

74. Sıradan/normal bir hafta içinde zamanınızı nasıl harcarsınız/geçirirsiniz?

	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Kahveye giderek						
2. TV seyrederek						
3. Spor yaparak						
4. Müzik dinleyerek						
5. Kitap okuyarak						
6. Arkadaşlarla gezerek						
7. Komşular/akrabalarla birlikte olarak						
8. Kız/erkek arkadaşla gezerek						
9. Dini toplantılara katılarak						
10. Siyasi toplantılara katılarak						
11. Ders çalışarak						
12. El işi yaparak						
13. Ev işleri yaparak						
14. Kurslara giderek						
15. Çocuklara bakarak						
16. Aileme yardım ederek						
17. Gönüllü çalışmalara katılarak						
18. İş arayarak						
19. Diğer (belirtiniz)						

1. hiç, 2. haftada bir kezden az, 3. haftada bir, 4. haftada birkaç kez, 5. her gün, 6. cevap yok/ilgisiz

F. POLİTİK AKTİVİTELER

75. Aşağıda belirtilen aktivitelere hiç katıldığınız oldu mu? (Birden fazla seçenek işaretlenebilir)

1. Toplu dilekçe imzaladım
2. Ürün boykotuna katıldım
3. Yasal olan grevlere katıldım
4. Gösteriye katıldım
5. Fabrika, okul gibi binaların işgaline katıldım
6. Herhangi bir kişiyi/kurumu/olayı desteklemek için rozet taktım
7. Seçimlerde oy kullandım
8. Politik toplantılara katıldım
9. Sendika toplantılarına katıldım
10. Dini toplantılara katıldım
11. Diğer (Belirtiniz)

76. Size göre nasıl bir toplum yaratmak için çalışmalıyız?

	Katılı orum	Kararsız m	Katılmı yorum
1. Özel girişimciliği ve piyasa ekonomisini destekleyen bir toplum için			
2. Ekonomik büyüme düşük olsa bile çevreye duyarlı bir toplum için			
3. Bilgisayar, robot gibi gelişmiş teknolojiyi kullanan bir toplum için			
4. Hukuk ve düzen içinde bir toplum için			
5. Oldukça az gelir adaletsizliği olan eşit bir toplum için			
6. Kadın ve erkek eşitliğini sağlamış bir toplum için			
7. Etnik gruplar arasında eşitliğin sağlandığı bir toplum için			

77. Kendi siyasi görüşünüzü siyasi yelpazenin neresinde görüyorsunuz?

1. Kesin olarak sol
2. Kısmen sola yakın
3. Ne sağ ne de sol
4. Kısmen sağ
5. Kesin olarak sağ
6. Siyasi görüşe sahip değilim
7. Cevap vermek istemiyorum
8. Diğer (belirtiniz).....

G. GELECEK HAKKINDA

78. Önümüzdeki yıllarda Avrupa Birliği'ne girilmesi halinde bunun işgücü piyasası üzerine olabilecek etkileri konusunda ne düşünüyorsunuz?

.....

79. Size göre yaşamda “başarı” ne anlama geliyor?

.....

Başarılı kişi için örnek isim istenecek:

.....

80. Hayatınızı düşündüğünüz vakit, kendinizi nasıl hissediyorsunuz?

1. Çok memnun
2. Memnun
3. Memnun değil
4. Oldukça memnuniyetsiz
5. Cevap vermeyi reddediyor

81. Gelecek yıllarda ne yapıyor olacağınızı düşünüyorsunuz? (birden fazla seçenek işaretlenebilir)

1. Türkiye’de çalışacağım
2. Eğitim yapacağım
3. İşsiz olacağım
4. Başka bir ülkede çalışıyor olacağım
5. Yaşadığım şehirden başka bir şehirde çalışıyor olacağım
6. Seyahat ediyor olacağım
7. Çocuklarımla evde olacağım
8. Diğer (belirtiniz)
9. Cevap vermeyi reddediyor

82. Aile üyelerinizle size uygun bir zamanda yapılacak daha ayrıntılı bir görüşmeyi kabul edermisiniz?

1. Evet (evet ise telefon numarası alınacak)

Tel:.....

2. Hayır

Görüşmecî Notu:

.....

C. FAMILY INTERVIEW FORM

Aileye Ait Bilgiler:

Oturulan evin mülkiyeti:

Gelire ve ailenin geçimine ilişkin bilgiler (evin geçimini kim sağlıyor, evde ne alınacağına, gelirin kullanımına ilişkin konuşulacak)

Aile üyelerinin:

Eğitimi:

İşleri:

Göç hikayesinin olup olmadığı, yaşanılan yere ait bilgiler (nerede doğdu, kaç yıldır burada yaşıyor, neden bu şehre geldiler,gibi)

İş ve İşsizliğe ilişkin

Bir işe sahip olmak ne anlama geliyor

Ailede kimin işinin olması daha önemli ve neden:

İşsizliğe ilişkin ailenin diğer üyelerinin durumları:

Çocuğunuzun işsiz olmasından dolayı neler hissediyorsunuz:

Çocuğunuzun işsiz olmasının nedenleri hakkında neler düşünüyorsunuz:

Yakın akraba, komşu, devlet yardım ve destekleri

Yakın akraba çevresi ile dayanışma olup olmadığı (herhangi bir sorun ya da güçlük ile karşılaştığınız zama ilk kime gidersiniz?, yakın akrabalarınızdan maddi, manevi destek alırmısınız?):

Komşular ile dayanışma olup olmadığı (Herhangi bir sorun/güçlük ile karşılaştığınız vakit komşularınıza gider misiniz? Ne tür durumlarda gidersiniz? Komşularınızdan maddi, manevi destek alırmısınız?):

İşsizlik durumunda devlet neler yapıyor, siz hiç devletin sağladığı imkanlardan faydalandınız mı:

Genç ile ilişki/ev içi ilişkiler

Çocuğunuzun işsiz olmasının nedenleri konusunda ne düşünüyorsunuz:

Çocuğunuzun işsiz olduğu dönemde sağlığında, davranışlarında, aile ile olan ilişkilerinde değişiklikler oldu mu:

D. TURKISH SUMMARY

Bu çalışma; gençlerin işsizliği nasıl deneyimlediklerini, bu deneyimde etkili olan faktörleri, işsizlikle baş etme stratejileri ile olası sonuçlarını ortaya koymayı hedeflemiştir. Çalışmanın nihai amacı ise; ‘Ücretli işe sahip olmama genç için ne anlama gelmektedir?’ ‘Ücretli işe sahip olmadan yetişkin olmak mümkün müdür?’ bu iki soruya cevap arayarak, ücretli iş-yetişkin olma arasındaki ilişkinin gençler için nasıl şekillendiğini ve neden önemli olduğunu ortaya koyma çabasıdır. Bu çalışma; Ankara ve Şanlıurfa’da yaşayan ve 2003 yılının son üç ayında Türkiye İş Kurumu’na işsizlik kaydı yaptırmış ve kaydının üzerinden 6 ay geçmiş olan 329 genç ile bu gençlerin aileleri arasından seçilmiş 30 aile (15 Ankara, 15 Şanlıurfa) ile gerçekleştirilmiştir. İlaveten, her iki ilde yaşayan 21 yönetici ve karar verici konumunda olan kişi ile görüşmeler yapılmıştır. Çalışmanın sonuçları sadece bu seçilen grupları temsil etmektedir.

İşsizliğin gençler için ne ifade ettiğini ve bu süreçte yaşananların neden önemli olduğunu anlayabilmek için öncelikle işin ne olduğunun anlaşılması ve tanımlanması önemlidir. Bu çalışmada kullanılan ‘iş’; ücretli iş anlamına gelmektedir. İşin nasıl tanımlandığı, nelerin iş

olarak kabul edildiği ve nelerin bu tanım dışında bırakıldığı; tarihsel dönemlere ve bu dönemlerde hakim üretim biçimlerine göre değişmiştir. Bu nedenle tek ve tüm zamanları kapsayıcı bir iş tanımı yapmak mümkün değildir. ‘İş’, ‘ücretli iş’, ‘üretken-üretken olmayan iş’, ‘gönüllü-zorunlu iş’, ‘kafa-kol işi’ gibi ayrımlar hep olagelen ayrımlardır.

İşin ne olduğuna ilişkin yazılı kaynak taraması Eski Yunan’a kadar gitmektedir. Eski Yunan’da iş özgür olmayanların yapmaları gereken, acı verici bir etkinlik olarak ele alınır ve yaşamak için çalışmak zorunda kalmak aşağılanırdı. Kişinin toplumsal olandaki değeri *ne yapmadığı* üzerinden şekillenirdi. Bu ayrımda kafa işi -sanat, felsefe ve politika- özgür erkeklerin işi iken bunun dışındaki tüm işler yaşamak için -gereklilik- çalışmak zorunda kalan grupları temsil eder ve böylece tarım işi ve işçiliği düşük iş anlamına gelirdi (Hill, 1992, 1996). Üretim biçiminin tarıma dayalı olduğu uzun tarihsel süreç boyunca yaşamak için çalışmak zorunda kalmak ‘istenmeyen ve düşük işler’ olarak algılandı. İşe ilişkin radikal değişimi ve pozitif bir anlam kazandığını görmek için ortaçağların geçip modern zamanların gelmesini beklemek gerekti.

16. yüzyılın sonlarına doğru işe ilişkin köklü değişimler yaşanmaya başlandı. Bu değişim; üç gelişmeye paralel olarak biçimlendi: ‘endüstrileşme/sanayileşme’, ‘kapitalizm’, ve ‘ulus devlet gelişimi’. Bu üç değişimi ‘yaratıcı yıkıcılık’ olarak ele almak mümkündür. Değişimi kısaca özetlersek : i) işgücünün kentsel alanlarda yoğunlaşmaya başlaması, ii) işin üretkenlik ve karlılık anlayışına göre organize edilmeye başlanması, iii) bilim ve teknolojinin üretimde kullanılmaya başlanması, iv) üretim araçlarına sahip olanlar ve iş gücüne sahip olanlar arasındaki uzlaşmaz ilişkinin görünür olmaya başlaması, v) toplumsal sınıf eşitsizliklerinin artış göstermesi vi) ekonomik sistemin serbest piyasa ve rekabete dayalı olarak işlemeye başlaması (Turner 1992). Tüm bu değişimler 17. yüzyılın ortaları ile toplumsal olanda hissedilmeye başlamış; sosyal, ekonomik ve kültürel yapıda kopuş olarak ifade edilebilecek değişimlere neden olmuştur.

Yeni teknoloji ve enerji kaynakları ile üretim biçimi dönüşmeye başlamıştır (Calhoun, 1992). Yeni üretim tipi, öncelikle iş’i evden ayırmıştır. İşin evden ayrı bir mekanda örgütlenmesi, belirli zaman ve süreler ile sınırlandırılması ve karşılığının ücret ile ilişkilendirilmesi

toplumsal olanda geri dönülmez değişimler yaratmıştır. Değişim; sosyolojisinin temel kurucuları olarak kabul edilen Marx, Durkheim ve Weber tarafından farklı önceliklerle ele alınmıştır. Marx temel değişimi sanayileşme üzerinden okumuş ve üretim araçlarına sahip olanlar ve yaşamak için emeğini ücretli işe dönüştürmek zorunda kalanlar şeklinde iki temel sınıfın oluşması olarak ele almıştır. Durkheim'in önceliği işbölümü ve kentleşme üzerinedir. Daha önce küçük yerleşim yerlerinde yüz-yüze ilişkilerle yaşayan ve mekanik dayanışma ile yaşamlarını sürdüren grupların sanayileşmenin itici gücü ile kentsel alanlarda toplanması ve yeni bir işbölümü ve dayanışma biçimi üretmesi -ki buna organik dayanışma demektedir- ile anlamaya çalışmıştır. Bu yeni dayanışma, işbölümü üzerinden sağlanacaktır. Weber'in temel fokusu ise ulus devlet gelişimi üzerinedir. Rasyonelleşme onun en önemli kavramıdır. Her üçü için de bu radikal değişimler bireyselleşmeyi sağladığı için iyi olarak kabul edilmiştir. Ancak bu değişimler daha evvelden toplumsal olanı bir arada tutan, temel olarak belirlilik ve güvenlik sağlayan kurumların -ki en önemlisi aile ve dindir-, aşınmasına ve eskiden yerine getirdikleri fonksiyonları artık sürdürememelerine neden olmuştur.

Üretim biçiminde meydana gelen değişme toplumsal olanın diğer tüm alanlarını da etkileyerek modern toplumun doğmasına neden olmuştur. İngiliz Endüstri devrimi, Amerikan ve Fransız devrimleri modern toplumu biçimlendirmeye başlamıştır. Daha evvel olan formlarda meydana gelen en önemli değişim ise "birey"e ilişkindir. Ücretli işin evden ayrı bir mekanda örgütlenmesi öncelikle özel-kamusal alan ayrımını ortaya çıkarmıştır. Bu ayrım üretken-üretken olmayan emek ayrımını beraberinde getirerek, aile ve toplumsal cinsiyet rollerinin de temelden değişmesine yol açmıştır. Kadının doğurganlığı ile yeniden üretim fonksiyonu arasında kurulan ilişki; kadının önce özel alanda kalmasına ardından da evde yaptığı yeniden üretim faaliyetinin karşılığının ücret olmaması nedeni ile de üretken olmayan emek olarak tanımlanmasına neden olmuştur. Böylelikle kapitalist üretim biçimi, emeği ücretli işe indirgemıştır. Fabrika üretimi, doğası gereği işçileri belirli bir mekanda bir araya getirerek 'mekan ve zamanı' sabitlemiştir. Bu bir araya geliş işçilerin örgütlenmelerine ve yeni üretim biçimi içinde kendi hakları, çalışma koşulları ve geleceklerine ilişkin mücadele başlatmalarına neden olmuştur. Üretim araçlarına sahip olmayan ücretli emek ile üretim araçlarının mülkiyetini ve kontrolünü elinde tutan kapitalist sınıf arasında çatışmaya dayalı (ki bu ilişki doğası gereği antagonistik bir ilişkidir) bir sınıf ilişkisi başlamıştır.

Nüfusun kitleler halinde kentlerde yaşamaya başlaması ve ücretli iş ile tanışmaları, kamusal alan ve iş için yeni düzenleme ve örgütlenmelerinin gerekliliğini ortaya çıkarmıştır. Tam da bu koşullar altında ulus devlet gelişmeye başlamış ve sosyal olanın yeniden düzenlenmesinin araçlarını geliştirmeye başlamıştır. Fabrika üretimi, üretimi artırmış ancak üretilenlerin pazarlanması, üretim ilişkilerinin düzenlenmesi ve üretim araçlarına sahip olanlar ve emek gücüne sahip olanlar arasındaki yeni üretim ilişkilerinin düzenlenmesi için yeni mekanizmalar gereksinimi ulus devletin doğmasına ve gelişmesine neden olan etkenlerden olmuştur. Böylece endüstrileşme, kapitalist üretim biçimi, kentleşme ve bu mekanizmaların düzenlenmesi için ortaya çıkan ulus devletler toplumsal olanın ücretli iş aracılığı ile nasıl bir arada mümkün olabileceğinin biçimlerini belirlemeye başlamışlardır. Ortaya çıkan yeni ulus devlet iki sınıfsal gücün arasında yer almış ve bu zıt çıkarlara dayalı ilişkiyi düzenlemeye çalışmıştır.

Ulus devlet yeni üretim ilişkilerinin ve sınıfsal çıkar çatışmalarının olduğu bu yeni toplumda düzeni ve birlikteliği sağlamak üzere bireyler arasında ve bireylerle devlet arasında çeşitli bağlar kurmak görevini üstlenmiştir. Bu anlamda ‘vatandaşlık’ kavramı gelişmiştir. Ancak bu çabuk ve kolay bir süreç olmamış, yaklaşık 300 yıllık bir sürede kavramlar ve tanımlar yerine oturmuş ve topluma anlatılabilmektedir. Vatandaşlık kavramlarının oluşmasında sermayenin yanında ücretli emekte sürece aktif bir özne olarak katılmış ve mücadele etmiştir. Aslında ulus devletin ortaya çıkması, toplumsal düzene ilişkin kavramların ve en önemlisi vatandaşlık hak ve sorumluluklarının oluşturulması bir sınıf mücadelesi sürecidir. Dolayısıyla ulus devletin bu süreci oluştururken verdiği sözleri tutması, özellikle herkese toplumsal fırsat eşitliğinin sağlanması, mümkün olamamıştır. Vatandaşlık hakları kapsamına en önce girebilenler sermaye ve mülk sahipleri olmuştur. Vatandaşlık haklarına büyük mücadeleler sonunda önce ücretli emek, arkasından kadınlar ve en son çocuk ve gençler kavuşabilmişler ve ulus devlet bu sayede meşruiyet alanını genişletmiştir. Özellikle üretken olmayan emeği sunan kadınların vatandaş sayılmaları geçtiğimiz yüzyılın ortalarında gerçekleşmiş ve çok daha yenidir. Öte yandan, halen birçok ülkede kayıt altında olmayan ücretli emek (tarım işçiliği, geçici ve mevsimlik işçilik, inşaat işçiliği,v.b) vatandaşlık haklarından ve ücretli iş ilişkisinin sağladığı güvence ve garantilerden uzaktır.

T.H. Marshall (1950) liberal demokratik sistemlerde yurttaşlık kavramını sosyal, sivil ve siyasi hakların kazanılması ve bu kazanımların yol açtığı eşitlik düzeniyle açıklar. Marshall'a göre sivil haklar kişilerin "konuşma, düşünme ve inanç, hukuktan yararlanma, mülkiyet haklarına sahip olma ve antlaşmalar yapabilme özgürlüklerini tanımlar. Bu haklar Batı geleneğinde 18.yüzyılda kabul edilip, yürürlüğe girmiştir. Siyasi haklar ise siyasi erk'e katılma, seçme - seçilme haklarını ifade eder ve bunlardaki kazanımlar ancak 19.yüzyılda 'herkese eşit oy hakkı' ilkesinin yasal olarak kabul edilmesi ile gerçekleşmiştir. Sosyal haklar ise ancak 20.yüzyılda sosyal refah devletinin gündemine girebilmiştir. Sosyal haklar, ulusal düzeyde zorunlu eğitim, sağlık ve sosyal hizmetlerin herkese eşit olarak ulaştırılması yanında, toplumda geçerli olan standartlara uygun medeni ve kaliteli bir yaşam hakkının bir sosyal miras olarak gelecek kuşaklara aktarılmasını içermektedir. Marshall bu tezinde yurttaşlığın tarihsel gelişimi ile kapitalizmin gelişimi arasında bir paralellik kurmaktadır. Dolayısıyla, kapitalizmin yarattığı eşitsizlik sistemine, bir eşitlik sistemi olarak gördüğü yurttaşlık hakları ile bir çeşit çözüm getirmektedir. Sosyal haklar; yaşlılık, hastalık, iş kazası, çalışma sürelerinin kısaltılması, çalışma günlerinin azaltılması, resmi tatil, ücretli izin hakları gibi düzenlemelerin oluşturulmasına neden olmuştur.

İki dünya savaşının ardından üretim araçlarının gelişmesi ve üretimin artması, teknolojiye meydana gelen gelişmelerle birlikte üretilenlerin değişime daha fazla girmesi ile kıta avrupa'sında artan bir zenginlik ve iki dünya savaşının sonuçları ve soğuk savaş yıllarının başlaması ile pek çok etkenin birlikte ele alınabileceği dönemde ücretli emeğin devletle kurduğu ilişki iki temel formda ele alınabilir.

İlki Almanya'da ortaya çıkan Bismarck modeli ki bu model ücretli işe girenler ile girenlerin bakmakla yükümlü olduğu nüfusa ilişkin düzenlemeleri içermektedir. İşçi ve işveren birlikte bir fon oluştururlar ve bu sosyal sigorta modeli olarak isimlendirilir. Bu modelde sosyal sigorta (emeklilik, sağlık, işsizlik, iş kazası gibi) durumları kapsar. Bu modelde kadın ücretli işe girmiş olan koca üzerinden korunmaktadır ki bu model bu nedenle geleneksel aile yapısını sürdürmektedir. Devletin fona müdahalesi ve düzenlemeleri sınırlıdır. Ücretli iş

dışında kalan nüfus ise devletin korumasındadır. Bu modelde devlet koruması oldukça sınırlıdır.

Diğer model ise İngiltere’de gelişen Beveridge modelidir. Bu model herkesin belli bir risk altında olduğunu kabul eder. Bu risklere karşı kimin, nasıl, ne kadar koruyucu olacağı temel sorudur. Bu soruya iki cevap bulunmuştur. İlki Keynes’ten gelmiştir: Keynes devletin kontrolünde planlı bir ekonomi önermiştir. Devletin direk müdahalesini öngörmektedir. Ekonomiyi stabil tutmak devletin yükümlülüğü olarak ele alınmıştır. Bunun için tam istihdam önerisi yapılmaktadır. Tam istihdam başarılı ise ekonomik eşitsizlikler azalacak, yoksulluk elimine edilecek ve toplumun her bir üyesinin temel gereksinimleri karşılanmış olacaktır. Böylece sürdürülebilir ekonomik büyümenin sağlanması devletin temel görevi olacaktır. Diğer cevap ise Beveridge’den gelmiştir. Ona göre herkes risk altındadır ve herkes için temel koruma sağlanmalıdır. Önerdiği ulusal sigorta sistemidir ve bütün nüfusu kapsamaktadır. Böylece ulusun bütün vatandaşları devletin korumasında olabilecektir. Devlet kontrolünde toplanan vergiler ile bu sağlanacaktır. Bismarck modelinde çalışan nüfus ve çalışılan iş, fona katkı düzeyinde koruma altında iken -‘earning related system’-, Bismarck çalışmadan bağımsız herkesi kapsayıcı bir sigorta sunmuştur.

Böylece yaş, cinsiyet ve çalışma durumuna göre devlet-vatandaş ilişkisi netleşmiştir. İki kavram -de-commodification ve de-femilization- refah devletinin gelişiminde önemlidir: ilki, kişinin temel korunma hakkını “ücretli iş” katılımının zorunlu olmasından çıkarırken diğeri de kişinin devlet ile kurduğu ilişki de aile üyelerine olan bağımlılığını azaltmak üzerine vurgu yapar. Her ikisi de refah devlet gelişiminde belirli bir ölçüde gerçekleştirilmiştir. Ancak bu iki model ve ülkelerin geçmiş deneyimleri –past dependence- ve kişinin piyasa ve aileden bağımsızlaşma süreçleri her yerde aynı hız ve biçimde gerçekleşmemiştir. Zira bu; iş piyasası, refah devleti ve aile arasında değişik düzeylerde iş bölümü ve iş ayrışmasını gerekli kılmıştır. Bu nedenle tek bir refah devletinden -ki uygulamaları öncelikli olduğu için refah devletinden ziyade refah sisteminden bahsetmenin daha iyi olacağı konusunda Esping-Andersen’in önerisi vardır- değişik modeller ortaya çıkmıştır. Temel olarak bunları 4 başlıkta özetlemek mümkündür: liberal, muhafazakar,, sosyal demokrat ve aile temelli model. Liberal model: sosyal refah sunumunda devleti çok sınırlı işin içine katar. Sosyal güvenlik esas

olarak bireylerin sorumluluğu olarak görülür. Muhafazakar model: sosyal güvenlik çalışma ve çalışırken yapılan katkı/ödenen primler ile ilişkilidir. Aileyi esas alır ve çalışan üye üzerinden ailenin bağımlı üyelerini korur. Sosyal demokratik model: vergi toplar ve topladığı vergiler ile “bütün vatandaşlarına sosyal refah sunar. Ailesel model: bireylere aile desteğini esas alır devletin katkısı ve koruması sınırlıdır. Bütün bu düzenlemeler yaşa, ücretli bir işte çalışma durumuna ve cinsiyete göre yapılmıştır.

Ulus devletlerin kendilerini yeniden üretme sürecinde kendi varlıklarını garanti altına almak gibi bir sorumlulukları vardır. Bunun için bireyler/ vatandaşlar ile devlet arasında kurulacak karşılıklı sadakat bağları önemlidir ve araya başka sadakatlerin girmemesi gereklidir. Bu anlamda ulus devletin bireylerine karşı birçok sorumluluğu üzerine alması gerekmektedir. Özellikle eğitim devletin, ailenin özel alanından kamusal alana taşıdığı bir işlevdir. Dolayısıyla ulus devlet öncesinde ailelerin bireylerine sağladığı eğitim ve iş gibi önemli işlevler devlete devredilmiş ve birey devletin kamusal korumasına girmiştir. Bu koruma işlevlerinden en önemlisi çocukların işgücünden dışlanmasıdır. Böylece çocuklar çalışmaması gereken, yetişkinliğe hazırlanması gereken toplumsal grup olarak ele alınmıştır. Ancak nasıl yetişecekleri ulus devletlerin en önemli meselelerinden biri haline gelmiştir. Bu yetiştirme sürecinde aile ile sorumluluk paylaşan ulus devletler bu süreci kendi lehlerine kısaltmaya çalışmıştır. Böylece zorunlu eğitim, uzayan eğitim, eğitimin nasıl şekilleneceği, çocukların neleri ne zaman öğrenecekleri temel konulardan biri olmuştur. Bebek ölümlerinin azalması, ortalama ömrün uzaması, yeni üretim biçimlerinin daha nitelikli işgücü gerektirmesi ile uzayan eğitim süreleri; tanımlanmamış yeni bir kategori ortaya çıkarmıştır: gençler.

Gencin toplumsal konumu tam olarak halen tanımlanmış değildir. Çocuk ve yetişkin arasında geçiş sürecinde olan kişi olarak tanımlanırlar. Toplumlardaki kültürel ve yapısal şartlara göre değişen bağımlı ve/veya bağımsız olma halindedirler. Dolayısıyla toplumsal hak ve sorumlulukları çocuk ve yetişkin kadar belirgin değildir. Toplumsal algılandaki bu belirsizlik hak ve sorumluluklarının da muğlak olmasına neden olmaktadır. Genel olarak 15-24 yaş grubu ‘genç’ olarak ele alınmaktadır. Ancak kaç yaşında evlenebilecekleri, kaç yaşında araba kullanabilecekleri, içki içebilecekleri, işledikleri suçtan ne zaman sorumlu olacakları zaman içinde ve ülkeden ülkeye hatta kültürden kültüre değişmekle birlikte temel hatları ile

belirlidir. Örneğin pek çok ülkede 18 yaş seçme hakkı olarak bir vatandaşlık hakkı- var iken seçilme hakları daha geçtir. Yani gençlerin seçebilecekleri ancak siyasi kararlar verebilecek kadar yetişkin olmadıkları düşünülmektedir. Diğer yandan suç ile kurdukları ilişki ve suçlarından sorumlu olup olmadıkları 8 yaşından başlayarak kademeli şekilde değişmektedir. Ancak genel olarak genç ile kurulan ilişki öncelikle sorumluluk bilincinin gelişmesi, sonra sorumlu olması şeklinde bir sıra izlemektedir.

Gencin ne olduğunu tanımlamak zor iken kime artık genç denmeyeceği de sorunlu kategori olarak ortaya çıkmaktadır. Eskiden evlenme, çocuk sahibi olma, aile evinden ayrılma gibi işaretler gençlik döneminin sonuna tekabül ederken günümüzde bunların hepsi ya da hiçbiri de bu sona işaret etmeyebilmektedir. Özellikle son yıllarda uzayan eğitim ve iş piyasasında yaşanan değişimler en fazla gençleri etkilemiştir. Zira zaten tanımsız olan konumları gün geçtikçe belirsizleşmeye devam etmektedir.

1970'lerin ikinci yarısı ile birlikte üretim modelinde etkileri itibarıyla yine önemli bir değişim yaşanmaya başlamıştır. Temel olarak bu değişimi bilgi teknolojileri ve bunun küresel etkileri olarak ele almak mümkündür. Bilgi teknolojileri, çalışma yaşamında üretilmiş ve belirli bir netlik yaratmış evvel dönem ilişkilerinin tümünü aşındırmaya başlamıştır. Bilgi teknolojilerinde meydana gelen değişim dünyanın küçülmesine ve pazarın tüm dünya olabilmesine yol açmıştır. Öncelikle bu gelişme ulus devleti etkilemiştir. Sınırlarını genişleten ve bilgi teknolojilerinin yardımı ile sürekli hareket halinde olabilen sermaye ulus sınırları ile daha evvel kurduğu ilişkiyi gözden geçirmeye başlamış ve bu refah devleti ve fonksiyonlarını aşındırmaya başlamıştır. Gelişen teknoloji daha az iş gücüne gereksinim duyduğundan ücretli iş ilişkisine istediği ve mecbur olduğu halde giremeyenlerin sayısını artırmaya başlamıştır. Diğer yandan sanayi üretiminin teknoloji yoğun olmaya başlaması bu alandaki işgücü gereksinimini azaltmaya başlamıştır. Ayrıca daha evvel değinilen güçlü işgücü sermayenin hareketlenmesi ancak emeğin mekanla sınırlı kalması nedeniyle güç kaybetmeye başlamıştır. Tüm bu gelişmeler ile güç kaydetmeye başlayan refah devleti pazar mekanizması üzerinde de güç kaybetmeye başlamıştır. Bu güç kaybediş refah devletinin vatandaşları ile kurduğu ilişkiyi yeniden sorgulamaya itmiştir. Özellikle son 30 yılda liberal refah devleti modeline sahip olan ülkelerin (Amerika, İngiltere gibi) bu süreçle daha iyi başa çıkıyor olmaları devletin hem

piyasada hem de bireylerin hayatında koruyucu bir aygıt olarak fazla yer aldığı ülkelerin bu süreçte daha başarısız kalması gibi nedenlerle devletin koruyucu rolünün bağımlılık kültürü yarattığı ve bundan vazgeçmesi gerektiği anlayışı ağırlık kazanmaya başlamıştır.

Öte yandan, işlevlerini yeniden tanımlayan ulus devletin iş piyasası üzerindeki kontrolünü azaltması işsizliğin artmasına, bireyler üzerindeki koruyuculuk mekanizmalarını azaltması da ‘toplumsal olanın dışında kalan bireylerin’ sayısını artırmaya başlamıştır. Böylece işsizlik, yoksulluk ve gelir eşitsizlikleri ve bunlara bağlı toplumsal dışlanma bu yüzyılın en önemli sorunları olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır.

İşin fabrika dışı alanlarda örgütlenmeye başlanması yeni iş formlarını ortaya çıkarmaya başlamıştır. Teknolojinin sunduğu olanaklar zaman ve mekan üzerinde kurulan sabitlemeyi ortadan kaldırmıştır. Yeni teknolojilerin tümü işgücüne olan gereksinimi azaltmıştır. Böylece artan bir işsizlik ve buna yol açan sebepler üzerinde piyasa kontrolünü kaybeden bir devletin yanısıra bu sonuçlar ile kendi başına başa çıkmaya çalışan yurttaşlar ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu süreçte kimin -devletin, yurttaşların ve sivil toplum örgütlerinin- ne kadar sorumlu olduğuna dair kafa karışıklıkları söz konusudur. Tam bu noktada vatandaşların kendi iş bulabilirliklerini artırıcı bir dizi öneri hazırlanmakta, sunulmakta ve teşvik edilmektedir. Kendi refahı için kişi çalışmak zorundadır. Ancak yeni iş türleri tipik/normal işe benzemediğinden ne kadar süreceği ve bu atipik işin ne kadar güvence sağlayıcı olacağı da bilinmemektedir. Yani eskiden bir işe başlanır, 30 sene çalışılır ve emekli olunur iken artık bu garanti yoktur. Bu süre belirsizliği çalışılan işin ne tür haklar sağlayacağı konusunda da kafa karışıklığına yol açmaktadır. En sonunda yeni ekonomi-politik zaman ve mekanla bağları zayıf, mobil ve öngörülemez bir yaşam sunmaktadır ki bunu risk toplumu olarak tanımlamak da mümkündür.

Tüm bu özetlenmeye çalışılan süreçlerin Türkiye’de nasıl geliştiğini anlamak bu çalışmanın amacı için kaçınılmazdır. Yukarda değinilen üç önemli sürecin izlerini Türkiye için izlemek bir tersten okumayı gerekli kılmaktadır. Zira işe ilişkin radikal değişimler için öncelikle üretim biçiminin değişmesi ve değişen üretim biçiminin emeği serbest bırakması ve serbest kalan emeğin de ücretli iş için harekete geçmesi gerekmektedir. Bu anlamada üretim

biçiminin değiştiği ve emeğin serbest kaldığı nokta değişimi izlemek için başlangıç noktasıdır ki bu Türkiye için 1950'li yıllar demektir. Zira öncesinde üretim biçimi tarıma dayanmaktadır ve nüfusun %80'i tarımsal üretimde yer almaktadır. Ancak yukarıda izlenmeye çalışılan üç önemli süreç Türkiye için şöyle bir sıra izlemektedir: ulus devletin gelişimi, şehirleşme ve sanayileşme.

1923 yılında ulus devlet kurulduğu vakit üretim tarıma dayalı, sanayi yok denebilecek sınırlıkta ve az bir nüfus ve geniş bir coğrafyadan bahsetmek mümkündür. Ancak ulus devlet inşa etme çabası kendisinden önce bu süreci tamamlamış olan ülke örneklerine - özellikle Fransa'ya benzer şekilde gerçekleşmiştir. Dolayısı ise sanayileşmenin endüstrileşme ile tarımı çözen ve artı nüfusu ücretli işçiye dönüştüren ve sanayi-işçi arasındaki ilişkileri düzenleyici bir mekanizma olarak ortaya çıkmadığı bir pratikte tüm bunları yukarıdan oluşturmaya çalışan bir ulus devlet gelişimini izlemek mümkündür. Ortak bir dil, ortak ülküler ve ortak vatan duygusunu yaratma çabalarının ardından birlikte sınai gelişmeyi sağlamakta temel hedef olarak ele alınmıştır. Ancak bir yandan toprak yapısının mülkiyet durumunun farklı olması diğer yandan sanayileşme için gerekli altyapı ve teknolojinin sınırlı olması, girişimci bir burjuva sınıfının olmaması gibi nedenlerle sanayileşme çabası devlet eli ile geliştirilmeye çalışılmıştır.

1940'lı yılların ikinci yarısı Türkiye için değişimlerin yaşanmaya başladığı yıllardır. Tarımda mekanizasyon -gübreleme ve traktör- ile birlikte önce artı işgücü oluşmuştur. Tarımda istihdam olamayan işgücü ücretli iş bulabilmek umut ve beklentisi ile büyük şehirlere - İstanbul, İzmir, Ankara- göç etmeye başlamıştır. Devlet bir yandan sanayileşme için yatırımlar yapmış, işyerleri açmış diğer yandan da yerli bir burjuva sınıfını yaratmaya çalışmıştır. Bu nedenle süreç ulus devletleşme, şehirleşme ve sanayileşme olarak gelişmiştir. Bu dönemde devlet en büyük işveren haline gelmiş ve bir yandan göçle gelen ücretli iş arzını kendi istihdam etmeye çalışmış diğer yandan da sanayi gelişmeye başlamıştır. Bu dönemde önemli bir gelişme de Avrupa ülkelerinin ücretli emek talebi için yurt dışı işçi göçünü teşvik edilmesi ve büyük sayıda bir işgücünün dış ülkelere gönderilmesidir. Ayrıca 1960'lı yıllar tüm dünyada sosyal refah devletinin altın çağını yaşadığı bir dönemdir. Sanayi de tam istihdam hedefidir. Genel olarak savaş sonrası hızla gelişen ekonomi tüm dünyada olduğu gibi

Türkiye’de de iyimser bir hava estirmiş ve sosyal devlet uygulamaları hız kazanmıştır. Ancak sanayinin çekici gücü ile tarımdan ayrılıp sanayiye geçen bir işgücü yerine, Türkiye’de tarımın itmesi nedeni ile şehirlere göçle oluşan bir şehirleşme yaşanmıştır. Öte yandan, şehirlerde gelen nüfusu emebilecek büyüklük ve nitelikte bir sanayi gelişemediğinden, yani üç önemli gelişmenin tersten sırası nedeniyle, Türkiye sürekli olarak güçlükler yaşamış ve gelen nüfusun başta konut olmak üzere toplumsal ve fiziksel gereksinimleri ile iyi başa çıkamamıştır. Tüm bunlara ek olarak 1970’lerin ortalarında dünyada yaşanan ekonomik bunalım Türkiye’yi de etkilemiş ve böylelikle hem ekonomi hem de sosyal yaşamda güçlükler artırmaya başlamıştır.

İşe ilişkin ikinci önemli değişim olarak sanayi tipi üretimden hizmet sektörüne geçme yeni bir dönemeç olarak kabul edilmiştir. Bu arada küreselleşme ve bilgi teknolojileri ve yeni üretim biçimleri ortaya çıkmıştır. Türkiye bu sürece kendini uydurabilmek için öncelikle ithal ikameci üretimden vaz geçmiş ve global pazar ile bütünleşmeye çalışmıştır. Bu ortamda hiçbir zaman yeterli gelişmemiş olan sanayileşme, tarımın geleneksel tekniklerle devam etmesi ve halen nüfusun %35’e yakın kısmının bu nitelikte bir tarım sektöründe istihdam edilmesi Türkiye için çeşitli dar boğazlar oluşturmaktadır.. Makineleşme ve modernleşme oranı düşük olan tarım ve yeterli olmayan sanayileşme ile Türkiye yeni döneme girmiş ve istihdam tek çare olarak hızla gelişmekte olan hizmetler sektörüne kaymaya başlamıştır. Ayrıca, özellikle 1980 sonrasında daha belirginleşmeye başlayan bir işsizlik sorunu ortaya çıkarmaya başlamıştır.

Türkiye refah devlet modeli olarak Bismarck modelini benimsemiştir. 1950’li yıllardan bu yana hızlı nüfus artışı, ortalama yaşam süresinin uzaması bebek ölümlerinin azalması ile oldukça hızlı bir şekilde nüfus artışı yaşamıştır. Son yıllarda düşme eğilimine girmekle birlikte halen yüksek bir nüfus artışı sözkonusudur. Tüm bu koşullar altında sosyal sigorta kapsamı dışında kalan nüfusun fazla olması, ücretli çalışan kişi sayısının az olması devletin korumasına gereksim duyan geniş grupların oluşmasına yol açmıştır. Öte yandan yukarıda değinilen refah devlet aşınması, Türkiye için de sözkonusudur. Küreselleşme ve enformasyon alanında meydana gelen değişimler Türkiye’yi de etkilemiş devletin küçülmesi, ekonomiye müdahalesinin azaltılması, işverenlikten muaf tutulması -özelleştirme- ve yapısal

uyum programları ile etkinliđi azalan ve hem küresel hem de ulusal dinamiklerle aşınan bir devlet yapısı Türkiye için de sözkonusudur. Bu koşullar altında sosyal sigorta kapsamı dışında kalan gruplar için devletin sınırlı kaynakları vardır ve bu sınırlı kaynaklar testten geçirilerek yardım sunma (sadece hak edenlere yardım sunma) şeklinde uygulamaları hızlandırmıştır. Bu koşullar altında işsizlik önemli bir sorun olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Öte yandan Türkiye nüfus artışı ve demografik süreç olarak en çok genç nüfusun olduđu bir dönemde dir. Genç nüfusun yüksekliđi demografik açıdan bir ‘fırsat penceresi’ sunmakta ancak bu durumun bir fırsata dönüşebilmesi yukarda bahsedilen diđer unsurların yetersiz olması nedeni ile pek mümkün gözükmemektedir. Bu da genç nüfus ve bu nüfusun işsizliđi sorununu karşımıza çıkarmaktadır.

Tüm bu nedenlerle sınırlı kalan sosyal güvenlik kurumlarının yerini Türkiye’de aile almak zorundadır. Aslında bu cevabı zor verilir bir soruyu da beraberinde getirmektedir: “sosyal devlet uygulamaları yeterli olmadıđı için mi aile devreye girmek zorundadır ya da aile güçlü olduđu için sosyal devlet sınırlı mı kalmaktadır?” Sorunun cevabı çok önemli olmakla birlikte bu soruya cevap vermek bu çalışmanın amacını aşmaktadır. Ancak sosyal devletin kapsamının sınırlı olması ailenin koruyuculuk fonksiyonunu arttırmaktadır.

Yukarıdaki özet; gençlerin işsizlik deneyiminde sosyal devlet uygulamalarının, iş piyasası ile devlet desteđi olmadıđı durumlarda aile dayanışmasının önemli araçlar olduđunu ortaya koymaktadır. Gençlerin bu süreci nasıl deneyimledikleri ve deneyimde etkili olan faktörlerin neler olduđunu ve ne tür sonuçlar doğurabileceđi gibi sorulara cevap bulabilmek amacı ile bu tez çalışması gerçekleştirilmiştir. Bu nedenle öncelikle nasıl bir metot ile çalışılacağına ve söz konusu üç faktörü de görmeye yardımcı olacak bir araştırma örnekleminin kurgulanmasına karar verilmiştir. Araştırmada öncelikle gencin kim olduđu sorusunun tanımlanması gereklidir. Yukarıda anlatıldıđı gibi genç ve gençlik kavramı üzerinde evrensel olarak kabul edilen bir tanım henüz yapılamamıştır. Bunda, gençlik çağının güç tanımlanabilir bir kavram olmasının büyük rolü bulunmaktadır. Gençliğin sosyolojik, psikolojik ve demografik açıdan farklı tanımlarını yapmak mümkündür. Ancak genel olarak kabul edilen tanım demografi (nüfus bilimi) üzerinden yapılmakta ve Birleşmiş Milletler ile Avrupa ülkelerinin çoğunda gençlik çađı; 15-24 yaş grubu olarak kabul edilmektedir. Bu

çalışmada da, demografik tanımdan hareketle, gençlik bir yaş grubu olarak ele alınmış ve 15-24 yaş grubu genç nüfus olarak tanımlanmıştır. Bu yaş grubunun içinde bulunduğu işsizliği ifade eden kavram ise “genç işsizliği” dir.

Bu çalışmanın amaçları açısından “işsiz” tanımının yapılması da gereklidir. En basit tanımıyla işsizlik; çalışma istek ve gücüne sahip olanların, işgücü piyasasında geçerli ücret düzeyine ve diğer çalışma koşullarına razı olmalarına rağmen, iş bulamamaları olarak ifade edilebilir. Uluslar arası kabul edilen standart tanım, üç kıstasa dayanmaktadır: İşi olmama, işbaşı yapmaya hazır olma ve iş arıyor olma. Kişinin işsiz olarak kabul edilmesi için bu ölçütlerin üçünün de varlığı gereklidir. İşsizliğin çeşitli türleri mevcuttur. Bu çalışmada kabul edilen işsiz tanımı ise; 15-24 yaş grubunda yer alan, işsiz olup çalışma istek ve gücüne sahip ve iş bulma yollarından biri olan İŞKUR’a kayıt yaptırmış kişi olarak kabul edilmiştir.

Genç ve işsiz tanımlarının ardından, ‘işsizlik deneyimi’ tanımlanmaya çalışılmıştır. Deneyim, belirli bir süre gerektirdiğinden işsiz kalınması ve belirli bir süre işsizlik yaşanmasının deneyimi anlamayı sağlayacağından hareketle, İŞKUR kaydının üzerinden 6 ay süre geçmesi gerektiğine karar verilmiştir. Böylece 15-24 yaş arası işsiz olup İŞKUR’a kayıt yaptırmış olan gençlerin işsizliği tecrübe edişlerini anlayabilmek amacıyla; 2003 yılının son üç ayında İŞKUR’a kayıt yaptırmış Ankara ve Şanlıurfa illerinde yaşayan 15-24 yaş arası grup seçilmiştir. Gençlerin bu süreci nasıl yaşadıkları; halen işsiz olup olmadıkları, iş bulmuşlar ise nasıl ve hangi nitelikte işleri hangi gençlerin buldukları, iş bulamadılar ise bunun nedenleri, bu süreçte devletin sağladığı eğitim ve kurs programlarına katılıp katılmadıkları, iş bulamayan gençlerin temel geçimlerini nasıl sağladıkları ve bu süreçte aldıkları destekler ve bu desteklerin kaynaklarının neler olduğu, yeniden eğitime dönüp dönmedikleri, sağlık durumları gibi deneyimleri anlaşılmak istenmiştir.

Bu metodun sosyal politikaya ilişkin bir de sosyolojik bakışı olanaklı kılması gerektiğinden hareket edilmiştir. Önce tüm bu süreci okumayı ve arka planı anlamayı sağlayacak makro bir bakış gerekli görülmüş ve bu aşama için üç adım ön görülmüştür. Öncelikle devletin iş, iş ve işsizlik konusundaki makro yapısının kavranması hedeflenmiştir. Ardından bu makro yapının işsizlik ile kurduğu ilişki anlaşılmaya çalışılmıştır. Diğer yandan bu ilişki çok soyut bir

ilişki olduğundan ve bireylerin gündelik hayatında uygulamalar şeklinde yer alabilmesinin sosyal politika uygulamaları ile mümkün olduğu anlayışından hareketle hükümet, işveren ve işçi örgütlerinin temsilcileri ile görüşmeler yapılmıştır.

Bu aşamanın ardından bu çalışmanın öznesi olan genç işsizler tanımlanmıştır. Bu çalışmanın amacı gereği genç olmak işsiz olmak ve işsizlikle bir süre yaşamış olmak şeklinde kriterler tanımlanarak işsizlik gibi soyut bir deneyimin mikro düzeyde somutlanması sağlanmıştır. Bunun için Türkiye İş Kurumuna gidilmiş ve işsiz kaydı yaptırmış gençlerin adreslerine ulaşılmıştır. Adresler alındıktan sonra belirli bir sürenin geçmesi beklenmiş ve 6 ay sonra bu gençlere gidilmiş ve yüz-yüze anket tekniği ile görüşmeler yapılmıştır. Bireysel deneyim yakın çevreden soyutlanamayacağı için işsiz gençlerin aileleri ile de görüşülmüştür. Sonuç itibari ile bu çalışma Ankara ve Şanlıurfa illerinde yaşayan 2003 yılının son üç ayında İŞKUR'a kayıt yaptırmış, kaydının üzerinden 6 ay geçmiş 339 genç, bunların arasından seçilmiş 30 aile ile ve her iki ilde çalışan 21 karar verici ile yapılan görüşmelere dayanmaktadır..

Bu çalışmanın en temel bulgusu şöyledir;; Gençlerin işsizlik deneyiminde sosyal devlet uygulamalarının çok sınırlıdır. Ayrıca, iş piyasası ve ürettiği işlerin işsizlik deneyimini talebi karşılamakta yetersiz kaldığı ve gençlerin topluma katılma koşullarını güçleştirdiği görülmüştür. Bu süreçte ise en önemli kurumsal yapının aile olduğu görülmüştür. Ailenin gençlerin işsizlik deneyimlerini yönettiği, ancak bu yönetimin ailenin olanakları ile şekillendiği söylenebilir. Bir diğer deyişle bu çalışmanın ana bulgusu, Türkiye'de genç işsizliğinin deneyimlenmesinde sosyal devlet, piyasa ve aile kurumu arasındaki sorumluluk üçgeninde en büyük sorumluluğun aile üzerinde kalması ve bunda gençlerin ailelerine olan bağımlılık hallerini uzatması ve yurttaşlığa geçişi geciktirmesidir.

Tamamen aile desteğine bağlı işsizlikle baş etmeye çalışan gençlerin deneyimleri iki şekilde sonuçlanmaktadır: erken/çabuk yetişkin olma veya yetişkin olmayı erteleme.

Erken Yetişkinlik: Aile kaynaklarının düşük olması kendi başına bir işsizlik nedeni olmaz iken yoksulluk, ailenin gencin ücretli emeğine olan gereksinimini artırmaktadır. Diğer yandan, düşük gelire sahip ailelerden gelen gençlerin eğitim süreleri kısaltmakta, gelecek ile

ilgili beklenti düzeylerini düşürdüğünden genellikle düşük ücretli, sosyal güvencenin olmadığı işlere girme olasılıkları artmaktadır. Ücretli iş piyasasına giren genç; çocukluk-yetişkinlik arasındaki net olmayan konumunu iş sahibi olma ile netleştirmekte ve bunu yetişkin olma halinin diğer kriterleri eşlik etmektedir. Erken yetişkin olma hali, gencin kendi ailesine oldukça benzer bir aile kurmasına ve böylece yoksulluğun ailesel bir hal almasına ve kendi ailesine aktarılmasına yol açmaktadır.

Yetişkin olmayı erteleme: daha çok sosyo-ekonomik durumu daha iyi olan ailelerde yaşanan deneyimin sonucudur. Aile olanaklarının artması uzayan eğitime ve gündelik geçime ilişkin sıkıntıların hafiflemesine yol açmaktadır. Bu durum, yeniden eğitime dönme, ek nitelikler kazandırıcı kurslara devam etme, evlenmeme ve ekonomik olarak aileye bağımlı olma halinin sürdürülmesi gibi stratejileri içermektedir. Bu koşullar altındaki gençler ise ailenin bağımlı üyesi olmayı sürdürdükleri için yetişkin olma-vatandaş olma ve yetişkin haklarını kullanma şanslarını da ertelemektedirler.

Genç işsizliğinin yaşanma sürecinde:

- kadın ya da erkek olmak,
- evli ya da bekar olmak,
- sağlıklı ya da özürlü olmak,
- babanın olması ya da olmaması,
- babanın az ya da çok olan geliri,
- ailenin sahip olduğu bağımlı üye sayısı
- yaşanılan şehir

gibi faktörlerin etkisi vardır ve bu faktörlerin her biri genç işsizliğinin tecrübe edilmesini etkilemektedir.

İşsizlik tecrübesinde kadın ya da erkek olmak önemlidir. Ailenin genç erkekten beklentisi farklıdır. Beklenti; toplumsal cinsiyet kurgusu içinde ele alınmaktadır. Ailenin geçim sorumluluğunu sağlaması gereken üyesi erkektir. Genç erkeğin, evlenebilmesi, ayrı bir ev kurabilmesi, yeni oluşan ailenin gereksinimlerini karşılayabilmesi için bir iş sahibi olması

gereklidir. Bu anlamda genç işsiz erkekler daha fazla baskı hissetmektedirler. Zira gencin kendisi de “erkek olmak ile iş sahibi” olmak arasında ilişki kurmakta, iş olmadığı zaman erkeklığı de tehdit altında kalmaktadır.

Öte yandan erkek olmak işsiz genci daha mobil kılmaktadır. Başka bir şehre iş bulmak için gidebilme ihtimali genç kadınlardan daha fazladır. Ayrıca genç kadınlar için iş bulmanın yanında bulunan işin niteliğinin kadına uygun olması -çalışma saatleri, çalışılan ortam ve kişilerin uygunluğu- önemli iken, genç erkekler bu açıdan da daha mobildirler. Özellikle aile gelirinin düşük, bağımlı üye sayısının fazla olduğu -buna bağlı olarak veya bunlarla birlikte- ailede, gencin nitelikleri ve eğitiminin düşük olması genç işsizleri daha mobil kılmakta, ne iş olursa yapabilme özgürlüğü ve/veya sınırlılığı ile karşı karşıya kalmaktadırlar. Genç işsiz erkeklerin evden çıkması, harçlığı varsa arkadaşları ile görüşmesi ve mümkün olabilecek her işi kabul edebilme olasılıkları daha fazladır. Bu özgürlük ve/veya sınırlılık diğer yandan genç işsiz erkeklerin geçici, düşük ücretli işlere girişini kolaylaştırmaktadır. Bu durum da gencin bir yandan aileye olan bağımlılığını azaltmakta diğer yandan ise daha az izole olmasına neden olmaktadır. Ancak bu genç erkeklerin buldukları işin nitelikleri düşük, işin süresinin kısa olması gibi nedenlerle girilen işte kalma süresi, elde edilen ücret ve nitelik kazandırma gibi özellikler barındıran işler olduğundan bir yandan aşırı derecede yıpranmakta, sağlıkları ve iş nitelikleri olumsuz etkilenmekte diğer yandan işin niteliğinden dolayı aileden ayrı bir yaşam kurma ihtimali düşük olmaktadır. Aile ile birlikte yaşama ve aile beklentilerine ya da ailenin gereksinimlerine göre yaşamlarını düzenlemektedirler.

Kadınlar ise aile geçimini sağlamayacakları düşünüldüğü için daha az baskı altındadırlar. Ancak her işi yapamayacakları, rastgele gününbirlik işlerde çalışamayacakları için dışarı çıkışları sınırlıdır. Sadece yakın çevre için değil başka şehre gidebilmeleri, iş bulma ile ilgili şansları da mekanla sınırlanmaktadır. Bu, bir yandan yaşanan izolasyonu diğer yandan da stres, sinirlilik, boşluk, çok uyuma gibi somatik sağlık sorunları yaşamalarına yol açmaktadır.

Sağlıklı ya da özürli olmak da bir etkidir. Genç işsizliğin yaşanma sürecinde bu hususunun da önemli bir parametre olarak ele alınması gerektiği çalışmanın başında düşünülmemişti. Ancak yapılan aile görüşmelerinde bu husus ortaya çıkmıştır. Daha önce

değinildiği gibi İŞKUR’a kayıt yaptırma kurumsal düzlemde iş arama yöntemlerinden biridir ancak özürlü işsiz olan gençlerin aileleri için İŞKUR devlet işi olabilir ihtimali ile başvuru bir yerdir. Özürlü genç işsizliğini yaşayan aileler için konu cinsiyetten çok farklı ele alınan bir konudur. Özürlü genç -tıpkı kadın işsizlerde olduğu gibi- her işte çalışamaz, her yere gidemez, hele başka bir şehre gidemez. “Özürlülük”, ailesel bir olaydır ve aile bunun sorumluluğunu alması gerektiğini düşünmektedir. Ancak çocuklarının gelecekleri konusunda endişe etmekte, kendilerinin olmayacağı zamanlar için devlete emanet etmek istemektedirler. Sağlıklı gençlerin ‘ne iş olursa yapabileceğini ancak kendi çocuklarının böyle bir şansa sahip olmadığını’ düşünmektedirler. Bu nedenle özürlü genç işsizliği, genel genç işsizliğinden oldukça farklı ele alınması gereken bir konu olarak ortaya çıkmıştır.

Eğitim düzeyi de gencin yaşadığı işsizlik tecrübesini etkilemektedir. Düşük eğitilmiş gençlerin (ilkokul ve ortaokul mezuniyeti) ‘iş bulma ve iyi iş beklentileri’ düşüktür. Bu gençler genellikle kalabalık ailelere sahiptirler ve aile geliri de düşüktür. Bu nedenle informal sektöre girişleri kolaydır. Ne iş olursa yapmaktadırlar. Geleceğe ilişkin beklentinin düşük olması hem genç hem de aile için gencin bir an evvel iş edinmesi, evlenmesi ve hatta çocuk sahibi olması gibi süreçleri hızlandırmaktadır. Bu nedenle düşük eğitilmiş gençlerin yaşadığı işsizlik süresi kısa, ancak tekrar eden işsizlik tecrübeleri fazladır. Yaşamları iş-işsizlik arasında geçmekte ve çabuklaşan yetişkin olma (evlenme ve çocuk sahibi olma açılarından) hali kendi ailelerine çok benzer aileler üretmelerine yol açmaktadır.

Lise ve meslek lisesi mezunu olan gençlerin yaşadığı tecrübeyi belirleyen ise babanın geliridir. Babanın geliri iyi ise, gencin işsizlik dönemini uzatma ve iş kriterlerini koruma şansı doğmakta ancak baba geliri düzensiz ve aile kalabalık ise tıpkı düşük eğitilmiş gençlerde olduğu gibi bu süre uzatılamamaktadır. Uzun eğitilmiş gençlerde de benzer süreç işlemekte aile gelirine bağlı olarak yeniden eğitime dönme ya da nitelik artırıcı kurs ve programlara katılma (dil, bilgisayar, ehliyet kursu gibi) olasılığı artmakta ve bu da işsizlik süresini uzatmaya olanak tanımaktadır.

İşsizliğin yaşanma süreci üzerinde önemli bir etkiye sahip olan bir diğer husus da aile büyüklüğü ile baba geliri arasındaki ilişkidir. Ankara ve Urfa’da görüşülen aileler

karşılaştırıldığı zaman Urfa'da işsiz olan gençlerin ailelerinin daha çok çocuk sahibi olduğu, kız çocuklarının eğitimi ve çalışması konusunda yargıların çok daha katı olduğu gözlenmiştir. Urfa'da kalabalık aile yapısı, ailenin tüm bireylerini etkilemekte uzun eğitim şansını azaltmaktadır. Ailelerde genellikle üniversite eğitimi yapabilen yoktur. Kalabalık ailenin tüm geçimi baba geliri ile sağlanmakta bu da üyelere pay edildiği zaman her üyeye düşen miktarı azaltmaktadır. Bu, bir yandan alınan eğitimin süresini kısaltmakta diğer yandan da özellikle genç erkeklerin enformal- düzensiz ve geçici işlerde çalışmasına neden olmaktadır. Ayrıca ekonomik tüketimleri sınırlanmakta bu da yaşanmakta olan işsizliği ve “ekonomik dışlanmayı” artırmaktadır. .

İşsiz gencin evli ya da bekar olması da yaşanan süreci etkilemektedir. Evlilik kararı çoğunlukla aile tarafından alınmakla birlikte yarattığı olumsuzluklardan en fazla etkilenen gencin kendisi olmaktadır. Bir yandan ekonomik anlamda aileye bağımlı olan genç öte yandan bir eş sorumluluğunu da yüklenmekte ancak gereklerini yerine getirememektedir. Bu durumda gencin yetişkin olamama durumu olumsuz etkiye neden olmaktadır.

İşsizlik süresince aile gence pek çok destekler sağlamaktadır. Genç, pek çok hususlarda ailesine bağımlıdır. Bağımlı olduğu hususları şöyle özetlemek mümkündür:

Materyal ve ekonomik bağımlılık: Barınma, beslenme, eğitim, sağlık gereksinimlerini aile sağlamaktadır. En temel gereksinimlerden, sigara ve yol parasına kadar aile desteği ile sağlanmaktadır. İş aramak, arkadaşlarla biraraya gelmek, sokağa çıkmak için gerekli harçlık babadan alınmaktadır.

Sosyal kaynaklarda bağımlılık: Ailenin sağladığı bir diğer katkı ise gencin iş arama sürecine aktif şekilde katılımıdır. Aile bu süreçte bütün akrabalarını, tanıdıklarını, sosyal çevresini iş arama sürecinde haberdar etmekte, gence iş bulabilmek için olabilecek her türlü çaba sarf edilmektedir.

Moral bağımlılık: Bu iki bağımlılık (materyal ve sosyal) ailenin sahip olduğu değerlere de bağımlı olmayı gerektirmektedir. Kadının çalışabileceği iş tanımı, iyi iş algısı, başka bir şehre

iş bulmak için gidip gidemeyeceği, evlenme ve kiminle evleneceği hatta çocuk yapıp yapmayacağı gibi kararlarda da bağımlı olmaktadır. Bu moral değerlere olan bağımlılık gençlerin ailelerine benzer aileler kurmalarına yol açmaktadır.

Görüşülen 30 aileden sınıfsal çıkarımlarda bulunmak oldukça zordur. Ancak aile gelirine göre üç tür aile ayrımı yapmak mümkün gözükmemektedir. Annelerin tümünün ev kadını olduğu çalışma grubunda; babanın işteki statüsüne ve babanın işinden elde ettiği gelire göre yoksul, görece daha iyi ve iyi durumda aileler (poor, medium and high income families).

Fakir aileler kimler diye baktığımızda; çok çocuklu ve genç olan anne-babalar (40'lı yaşlarda olan anne babalar), aile reisinin ayrılık ya da ölüm nedeni ile olmadığı aileler bu gruba girmektedir. Bu durumda işsiz genç genellikle ailenin en büyük ya da baştan ikinci çocuğu olmakta, ailenin bakmakla yükümlü olduğu bağımlı üye sayısı artmaktadır. Babanın olmaması aileyi ciddi şekilde etkilemekte genç ve çocuk emeğinin kullanımı sözkonusu olmaktadır.

Bu noktada yoksul ailelerin gence transfer ettikleri eğitim, iş, gelir aktarımı yok ya da çok sınırlı olduğundan yoksulluğu transfer eden aileler olmaktadır. Bu ailelerdeki gençlerin eğitim süreleri kısaltmakta, genellikle ilköğretim ve ortaokul mezunu olmaktadır. İş piyasasında uygun bir iş bulma şansları düşük olmaktadır. Bu nedenle gençler, geçim sorumluluğuna katılmak için enformal sektöre girmekte, ne iş olursa yapmaya çalışmaktadırlar. Bu grup ailelerde yaşanan işsizlik süresi kısa, ancak tekrar eden işsizlik işin niteliği nedeniyle fazlalaşmaktadır. Bu yoksul ailelerde yakın akraba dayanışma mekanizmaları da işlememektedir. Dayanışma mekanizmasının karşılıklılık ilkesi yerine gelmediği için ailelerin yardım gereksinimi artmaktadır. Bu aileler komşu ve devlet yardımı gören ailelerdir. Ayrıca bu ailelerde materyal ve ekonomik bağımlılık (ailede az ve/veya olmadığı için) düşerken moral bağımlılık artmaktadır. Tüm bu nedenlerle informalleşen bir döngü işle başlamakta, düzenli gelir olmadan evlenilmekte ve çocuk sahibi olunmakta ve yoksulluğun yeniden üretildiği ve transferinin muhtemel olabileceği aile oluşumuna yol açmaktadır.

Orta gelirli aileler babanın olduğu, düzenli bir işinin olduğu devlette ya da özel sektörde çalışan becerili bir işi olup işinde iyi olan babaların olduğu evlerdir.

Orta gelir seviyesinde olan aileler daha ziyade kadın işsizliği yaşayan ailelerdir. Ailenin bağımlı üye sayısı daha azdır. Baba eğitimi görece daha yüksektir. Kentte yaşama süreleri daha uzundur. Kız çocuk okutma ve iş sahibi olması konularında daha modern düşüncelere sahiptirler. İlk grupla karşılaştırıldığında gence daha fazla ekonomik transfer sağlayabilen ailelerdir. Yakın akraba dayanışmasının işlediği, komşu ve devlet desteğine gereksinim duymayan ailelerdir. Gündelik geçim problemi olmayan bu aileler; gencin ne iş olursa yapmasını istememekte, iş kriterlerini korumaktadırlar. Ayrıca gence daha anlayışlı davranmakta ve sürecin daha az problemliliğini sağlamaktadırlar.

Yüksek gelirli aileler ise çocuk sayısının az, babanın kamuda iyi ücretli işçi veya kendi işinin sahibi olan ve işlerinin iyi olduğu babaların olduğu evlerdir. İşsiz genç, genellikle evde en son kalan çocuktur. Bu durumda bir yandan baba geliri iyi, diğer yandan eve giren geliri paylaşacak üye sayısının az olması aileyi ekonomik açıdan iyi konuma getirmektedir. Gelirin yüksek olduğu aileler gence iş sağlayabilecek desteğe sahip olan, gündelik geçim problemi yaşamayan, kimseden destek almayan hatta yakınlarına destekte bulunan ailelerdir.

Ancak her koşulda aile (yoksul, orta, iyi) genç için elinden geleni yapmakta gencin temel güvenliğini üstlenmektedir

Yaşanan işsizlik tecrübesinde en sık dile getirilen iki anahtar kelime aslında bütün süreci özetlemektedir: “güvenlik ve belirlilik”. Bu iki anahtar kavram; gençlerin ve ailelerin bütün talep ve beklentilerini şekillendirmektedir. Güvende hissetme çok önemli bir algıdır. Bu nedenle bütün aileler ve gençlerin kendileri için iyi iş, devlet işidir. Devlet işinin ücreti düşüktür ancak güvenlik ve belirlilik gereksinimini karşılamaya yetmektedir. Yine piyasada mevcut olan işler bu iki algının gerekliliği konusundaki değerleri yeniden üretir niteliktedir.

Genç işsizliğinin fazla olması; işverenlere çalışma saatlerini uzatma, haftalık tatil süresini kısaltma, özel tatillerde çalıştırma, düşük ücret ve sigortasız çalıştırma gibi olanaklar

sunmaktadır. Hem gençler hem de aileler bundan çok etkilenmektedir. Bu etki 2 açıdan oldukça önemlidir. İlki piyasada üretilen işlerin ve işverenlerin tavırları nedeniyle aileler devlete daha fazla sorumluluk yüklemekte ve devletin yanlarında olmasını istemektedirler. Zira devletin işleri düzenli, insan sağlığına uygun ve rahat işlerdir. Ancak piyasada üretilen işler geçici, güvencesiz, düşük ücretli, uzun çalışma saatlerinin olduğu işlerdir. Bu iki durumu karşılaştıran aile için, iyi iş devlet işi olmaktadır ve bu devlete olan inancı ve beklentiyi artırmaktadır.

Ancak son yıllarda belirginleşen ve yakın gelecekte değişmeyeceği kesin olan gerçekte şudur ki artık devlet ve sağlayacağı işler azalacaktır ve bu nedenle devlet bu yönde bir beklentinin oluşmasını istememektedir. Daha açık ifade ile neo-liberal ekonominin gereksinim duyduğu ve istediği devlet bu değildir. Bu noktada beklenti ile mevcut ve olası durum arasındaki mesafenin açılması; devlet-aile ilişkisini olumsuz etkilemektedir. Bu durum ailelerin suçlayıcılığını artırmakta ve devlete olan inançlarının azalmasına neden olmaktadır. Yani iş etiği ve değerine ilişkin normatif algı bu iki karşılaştırmadan (devlet işi-özel sektörde üretilen iş) varılan sonuçla üretilmektedir. Bir yandan iyi iş algısını şekillendirmekte diğer yandan da devletten beklentiyi artırmaktadır. Neo liberal politikaların toplumsal kabulü için gerekli değer yapısının oluşmasını engellemektedir. Öte yandan girişimci kültürünü olumsuz etkilemektedir. Ancak tüm grupların devletten beklentisi vardır ve yüksektir: “İş sağlasın, eğitim sağlasın, sağlık güvencesi sağlasın, mutlaka yanlarında olsun”.

Gençlerin yaşadığı ise bağımlı olmak ve bunun verdiği acıdır. Babaya bağımlı olmak acı veren bir şeydir. Belli bir yaştan sonra bu istenmemektedir. Ama asıl gençler için sorun olan bağımsız olamamak değil, bağımlı olmak ile aileye verilen yüküdür. Bağımsız olmak otonom bir birey olmak için değil, aileye olan yükü ortadan kaldırmak için istenmektedir.

Ancak genç işsizliğinde, işsizlik sürecinin tamamını etkileyen/belirleyen en önemli unsur anne çalışması söz konusu olmadığı için baba geliridir. Bütün ailenin sosyal, ekonomik ve psikolojik iyi oluşu üzerindeki en önemli etken gelirdir. Gençler başlangıçta eğitimlerine ve yeteneklerine uygun iş istemekte ancak zaman içinde standartları düşürmektedirler. Bunu belirleyen de aile geliri olmaktadır. İşsizlik süresi uzar, buna bağlı ailenin güçlüğü arttıkça

genç “ne iş” olsa yapmaya yönelmektedir. Ancak her koşulda en büyük destek aile tarafından sağlanmakta, gençler yetişkin-vatandaş olma yolunda aile üyesi olmayı seçmektedirler. Bu durum; devlete ve devletin kurumlarına olan inanç ve güveni düşürmekte ve “benim devletim babam” algısını doğurmaktadır. Diğer yandan yeni ekonomi-politiğin istediği kendi sorumluluğunu kendi üstlenen, girişimci, fırsatları iyi kollayan, aktif, katılımcı birey olabilme şansını düşürmektedir.

Son söz olarak, gençlerin işsizlik deneyimi aileyi, karar vericileri, iş piyasasını ve de sosyal devlet uygulamalarını yakından ilgilendiren ve genci aşan bir deneyimdir. Genç işsizliği sadece ücretli işe sahip olmayanların toplamı olarak görülmemelidir. Toplumların kendilerini yeniden üretme sürecinde en önemli araç olan gençlerin işsizlik deneyimi ekonomik, sosyal ve siyasi yaşamın dışında kalmalarına yol açma riskini taşıdığından mikro düzeyde ciddiyetle ele alınması gereken bir husustur.

E. CURRICULUM VITAE

PERSONAL INFORMATION

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EDUCATION

Degree	Institution	Year of Graduation
MS	METU Sociology	2001
BA	Hacettepe University, School of Social Work	1992

High School	Vocational Health School, Mugla	1988
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WORK EXPERIENCE

Year	Place	Enrollment
2001 – Present	Dr.Sami Ulus Children Hospital, Ankara	Social Worker
1997 – 2000	Provincial Health Directorate, Ankara	Head of Training Department
1994 – 1997	Dr.Sami Ulus Children Hospital, Ankara	Social Worker
1992 – 1994	Ministry of Health, Dept of External Relations	Civil Servant

SPECIFIC PROJECTS INVOLVED

- 2001-2002 Assistant as social scientist, in a joint project of World Health Organization and Public Health Department of Hacettepe University on “*adolescents’ reproductive and sexual health*”. The students of two universities were selected as study group, and the basic reasons affecting adolescents’ reproductive and sexual health behaviors were investigated. I was responsible for carrying out “focus group meetings” and “deep interviews” with service providers. I also joined other stages of the project such as writing project reports and papers.
- 2002-.... Assistant in a joint project of the World Bank and the Ministry of Health on “*Social Assessment of Health*” in Ankara. I was assistant of my associate professor, Sibel Kalaycioglu, throughout the project. I did deep-interviews with both health providers and beneficiaries, and assisted focus group meetings. I also took part in writing final project reports.
- 2003-2004 Researcher for the “*Case Study on Integration of Gender Perspective in Health Policy in Turkey*”. The first phase of this study was supported both financially and technically by Gender Mainstreaming Programme of the World Health Organization (Regional Office for Europe) and the second phase of this study received financial support from UNFPA. The study presented as a “report that has been initiated as a part of WHO/EURO research activities in 7 countries, namely Ireland, UK, the Netherlands, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, Croatia and Turkey. The first phase of the study aimed at analyzing major health legislations of Turkey to find out the context and the extent of integration of a gender perspective in reproductive health policy. In the second phase, research looked at the health community to see the implementation of laws in reality and identified the needs in the area of family planning and unwanted pregnancies in terms of applying gender-mainstreamed health policy into practice. I participated in both two phases of the study as a social scientist. I investigated the basic health laws with a gender perspective. I and another research team member (who was a medical doctor) made thirty semi-structured in-depth interviews with key informants in İstanbul, Ankara, Diyarbakır and Mardin. I also joined actively into the writing final report of the study.
- 2004-.... I am a member of a working group that was established by the Department of Sociology at METU on “*the labour market and its structure in Turkey*”. It is an interdisciplinary group, including sociologists, economists, public administrators, architects, labour economists and physiologists. The group has been meeting every month since the beginning of October 2004 and discussing different dimensions of labour market in a structured way. I organize and prepare agenda of the meetings and join actively in all discussions.

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HOBBIES

Swimming, scuba diving, reading, travelling abroad.