

Low Socioeconomic Background Students' Perceptions About the Value of Higher Education Degree to the Labor Market

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Abstract

The relationship between higher education and the labor market has been the subject of a lot of research over the last decades, after the expansion of knowledge-based economy that has transformed it. Investment in knowledge as promised by traditional rhetoric does not reflect the demands that students should meet on the labor market. Degrees likely to strengthen future prospects of inequalities between social groups. Based on semi-structured interviews with 15 undergraduate students, the article examines how students from lower socioeconomic backgrounds understand the role that a University degree has in the labor market. It shows that students perceive their academic qualifications as having a declining role in shaping their employment outcomes, in what is considered to be a congested and competitive graduate labor market. Whilst academic degree is still seen as a significant dimension of employability, students increasingly are in need to add more value in order to gain an advantage in the labor market.

Keywords: labor market, socioeconomic background, employability, higher education, inequalities.

1. Introduction

Traditionally, the relationship between the university and the labor market has been close and unquestionable, urging governments to emphasize the importance of higher education degree at many levels (Brown & Lauder, 2006; Nunez & Livanos, 2010). The Lisbon Treaty content refers to the economic development of EU Member States, paying attention to both flexibility in employability and a high level of knowledge or skills (Brown, Green & Lauder, 2001; Brown, Hesketh & Williams, 2003: 107). Following the rapid increase of human capital theory in global society, the university is considered to be an important pillar of economic growth and economy globalization, too (Brown & Lauder, 2006: 318). Higher education degree has been connected to the economic development, particularly in meeting the demands of the new knowledge-driven economy (Weber et al., 2009).

In this context, new employability rules and modern labor market requirements, enforced by Universities, generate risks referring to their central mission of promoting equal opportunities and ensuring social mobility (Heath & Zimbars, 2011; OECD, 2010). In recent times, as conflict theories have previously suggested, it is strongly believed that social inequalities in

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getting a high qualified job are strongly preserved. Several scientists have pointed out that educational inequalities are linked to the labor market occupation structure, which greatly affects aspirations for students' future career prospects (Moreau & Leathwood, 2006). Many scholars have also examined the impact of social and cultural capital, as articulated in Bourdieu's theory (Bourdieu, 1986), on graduate's career expectations (Brennan & Osborne, 2008; Lu, 2012). According to Reay, there is "a complex internal mechanism" (Reay, 2004: 435), which is necessary for individuals to enter and perform in the dominant culture. In this context, the rhetoric of reproducing social inequalities, the meritocratic performance based on university skills and qualifications as well as the association with labor market attract research interest internationally.

- A university degree improves the standards of living and widens students' horizons.
- Low socioeconomic background students doubt the value of the university degree.
- Low socioeconomic students state that middle class students have more opportunities to take advantages in the labor market.
- In the middle of the crisis, students have no clear plans for their career prospects.

In recent years, this topic has attracted much interest in Greece due to the fact that it rises in the middle of economic crisis while the role of higher education is constantly changing. The transition to the labor market is considered to be a central axe for national educational policy regarding social inequalities and more specifically equal opportunities in the labor market (Maloutas, 2016; Καραμεσίνη, 2016). Recent researches show that graduates confront many difficulties when they transit from University to labor market (Καραμεσίνη, 2016). Greece is still at an early stage in relation to the other economically and technologically advanced countries of the West, combining education with labor market requirements (Gouvias, 2007). The University aims to reinforce social mobility and social inclusion but the fact that recently both unemployment and social exclusion are constantly raising create a sense of urgency for further studies. The expansion of higher education mostly benefits middle class students, making those of low socioeconomic background to be less representative in higher education and in labor market, too (Tomlison, 2012; Bourdieu 1986). Based on this approach, the following study allows a sample of lower socioeconomic background students to share their perceptions of the role that a University degree may have in the labor market. Understanding their accounts on benefits, values, the future plans and the expectations is important for two reasons. Firstly, the lack of capacity within the knowledge-based economy creates high unemployment rates, especially in Greece (Nunez & Livanos, 2010). Secondly, the labor market fails to meet the social demands, a result forcing social and income inequalities to be maintained and reproduced in various forms and ways of discrimination and selection, as well (Sianou-Kyrgiou, 2010).

2. Conceptual framework

Based on the human capital theory (Becker, 2003, 2009), successful labor market transition depends on qualifications and personal achievements. Academic qualifications are a kind of educational capital that can be "commercialized" in the labor market. At a more detailed level, participation in education is an investment with individual returns, better career opportunities and a wider labor market choice. According to Boudon, the investment in education is the result of individuals' rational choice to gain as much benefit as possible in labor market (rational choice theory) (Boudon, 1974; Breen & Goldthorpe, 1997). Meritocratic views, as previously proposed by positional consensus theories, argue that investment in education give students' direct and equal benefits to the neo-liberal globalized economy. Graduates have the potential to be equipped with knowledge and skills, as well as a certain "personal capital", which constitutes the combination of degree, work experience, qualifications, and skills.

While the modern role of universities argue that their mission is to provide young people with "degree / qualifications" to enter labor market, the way that social groups use the degree to earn cultural and economic benefits is differentiated in the terms of social stratification. Tomlinson, in a qualitative survey of 53 graduates attempted to identify how students perceive the qualifications they have obtained at university in relation to their future employment. She concluded that the pattern of reproducing inequalities in higher education, as also noted by Weber and Bourdieu is still evident in the labor market transition "since elite and mass higher education often coexist" (Scott, 1995, as reported in Tomlinson, 2008). What is more, this coexistence is likely to intensify the differences and the levels of symbolic capital among graduates. "Expansion of mass higher education, combined with a corresponding reduction in the value of academic degree, is likely to strengthen these inequalities" (Tomlinson, 2008: 66).

Similarly, a survey of 27 English universities in 2,997 graduates highlights the factors linked to successful labor market transition. It has shown that the prominent factor that associates degree with labor market is the socioeconomic background and, in particular, parents' education level, ethnicity, type of discipline, institute and access qualifications. Graduates' transition to labor market is linked to interrelated educational and social factors (Brown & Lauder, 2006; Shavit, Arum & Gamoran, 2007). Researches show that graduates whose parents come from lower socioeconomic background do not have good earnings and returns or have highly qualified jobs (Argentin & Triventi, 2011; Smith, 2000). These students are not likely to have the same learning experiences and therefore their background doesn't allow them to take advantage of university attendance or shape plans for their labor market transition.

The question is whether and to what extent the extended opportunities for participation in higher education also broaden the opportunities for labor market transition equally for all students. From a sociological point of view, this question has another dimension regarding the impact of socioeconomic factors on future career perspectives in the labor market. Taking the above into consideration, the following data shed light on this topic examining the way lower socioeconomic background students perceive the future prospects of the university degree for the labor market.

3. Method

This research draws upon a wider study that has examined students' experience in higher education and the impact of their socioeconomic background on it (author, 2017). Data were analyzed in four phases and time-based research axes, representing all three stages of the academic trajectories: (a) access to higher education: expectations and choice of studies, (b) student experience (performance, teaching and learning, academic and social integration), (c) preparation for labor market transition to, and (d) students' future aspirations¹. This paper is focused on the third and fourth phase exploring higher education students' perceptions of the benefits, the value and the way that university helps them develop expectations for labor market.

After that, this study is based on three main research questions:

- (1) How do low socioeconomic students perceive the value of their degree in shaping future employment prospects;
- (2) What plans do low socioeconomic students develop to improve their employability;
- (3) Does their experiences meet their expectations?

In addressing those questions, students are asked several questions about how they perceive the value and benefits of their participation in higher education, for example, what they

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¹ See Appendix.

think that higher education degree offers them, what are the advantages of getting a degree as well as how they acquire the skills and competences that are necessary in labor market. Addressing all questions, this study aims to enrich international research by filling the gap between the modern role of higher education and the notion that the investment of human capital in education has not led to the expected results. Under those circumstances, we will be able to look closer at the conceptual views, outlined in the introduction of this article which intend to explain whether students' views their university degree as a basic investment to their human capital.

The study draws upon semi-structured interviews, lasting between 30' and 45' minutes, with 15 final year undergraduates (10 females and 5 males) in a peripheral university in North-western Greece. Those students had previously participated in a wider quantitative methodology research (776 students). After the completion of the first part of the research (questionnaire), 15 students were selected on the basis of their socioeconomic background to take part in semi-structured interviews. Their parents were from low class professional backgrounds (occupational groups v-vi, low skilled, manual work) and from a range of subject disciplines (Arts/Humanities, Greek literature and History, Biological Sciences, Chemistry, MBA etc.). Although this sample is limited to one particular institution, this topic has been largely investigated and as a result this data adds to recent research. The research was conducted in the academic year 2016-2017. Students were interviewed once, mainly in person. Equality issues were approached carefully, including probing on specific experiences and questions about potential equality issues. Students' perceptions often revealed inequalities even when not named as such.

Five pilot interviews were conducted previously so as for the researcher to get feedback. The interviews, which included open-ended questions, were transcribed and analyzed. Firstly, students were asked questions about the demographic and social characteristics of the sample (gender, section, age, place of residence, education level and socio-occupational category of parents). The third part of the interview (presented in this paper) included questions about university benefits (skills development, cultivation), the relation between curriculum and the required knowledge as well as students' perceptions about degree's use and value. They also underlined students' plans for future academic or career paths as well as their preferences for their future profession. Finally, the interviews focused on the overall satisfaction with the studies, and the relationship between students' initial expectations and true-life experiences².

Name	Demographics	Fathers Occupational
		classification 3
Maria	Female, Chemistry	Unskilled worker/farmer (2)
Kostas	Male, Mathematics	Unskilled worker/farmer (2)
Orestis	Female, Informatics	Unskilled worker/farmer (2)
Nantia	Female, Mathematics	Never worked or unemployed (1)
Markos	Male, Literature and	Never worked or unemployed (1)
	History	

Table 1. Participant characteristics for the semi-structured interviews

² See Appendix.

^{3*} The categories of the study were: (5) High-level public and private sector executives or employers (e.g. ministers, Members of Parliament, big businessmen) – Officials in the public and private sectors, self-employed in higher scientific professions (e.g. University professors, lawyers, doctors, lawyers), (4) Public and private sector employees or self-employed in lower-level scientific professions (e.g. teachers, bank officials, police officers), (3) Lower-level, non-manual civil and private sector practitioners (e.g. office workers, corporations, police officers) – Manual workers in the public and private sectors, small business, self-employed craftsmen (e.g. small business owners, PPC technicians), (2) Semi-skilled workers (e.g. plumbers, hairdressers) – Unskilled workers or farmers, and (1) Those who have never worked or are unemployed.

Giota	Female, Biological Sciences	Small business owner (2)
Helen	Female, Informatics	Semi-skilled worker (2)
Afrodite	Female, Physics	Never worked or unemployed (1)
Kalliopi	Female, Economics	Small business owner (2)
Maria	Female, Physics	Semi-skilled worker (2)
Maria	Female, Literature and History	Semi-skilled worker (2)
Olga	Female, Literature and History	Never worked or unemployed (1)
Nikos	Male, Education	Unskilled worker/farmer (2)
Konstantinos	Male, Mathematics	Small business owner (2)

4. Results

4.1 The value of the degree in the labor market

As far as the first research question is concerned, the data are placed upon two central axes. In the first axe, the value of the degree is inextricably linked to the traditional mission of the University, namely the personal development and the promotion of knowledge, abilities and skills (15 out of 15 students). More specifically, the first data findings show that higher education degree contributes an improvement of students' way of living and also widen their horizons. It is worth noting that students do not just focus on the qualifications that may help them finding a job, but they also emphasize the importance that a higher education degree may have on their personal development. The vast majority of them share the same opinion as Maria and Kostas:

Maria: "The University provides you with knowledge and opportunities. It offers a better level of living, opens up the mind, and provides rewards. It offers a better way of living, it opens up the mind, and it provides rewards which help you meet the objectives required for a better job." (Maria, Chemistry)

Kostas: "University provides you with a lot of knowledge, and a critical thinking, in order to deal with something, you have never encountered before. Both the mindset and the way of thinking are different, giving you important scientific knowledge and the ability to consider things that you could not otherwise." (Kostas, Mathematics)

In the second axe, the new knowledge-based economy and the globalization of recent times dictate the University to broaden its content embracing further labor market outcomes. Addressing students to talk about their decision of getting a higher education degree, they seem to argue that it is a requirement for establishing advantages in labor market (almost 12 out of 15 students). Their responses clarify that it is a way for individuals to meliorate their life conditions and boost their human capital. Moreover, they strongly appreciate the benefits that they have acquired in order to meet new opportunities in labor market. The feeling that qualifications offer a big range of them that might otherwise be very limited. But, students from lower socioeconomic background feel unconfident with their acquired skills thinking that, even though University offers them many opportunities and skills, they do not develop them as much as they could. In other words, they do not seem to recognize how to use the degree beneficially in order to take an advantage in the labor market, as it was anticipated by two students from lower socioeconomic background:

Kostas: "In order to find a job, I need acquaintances, qualifications and various skills such as organizational ones, and sort out the problems that arise. I organize my time the various activities I participate in, as well as I have an open mind thinking differently and examining many views on one issue, which was not the case before." (Kostas, Mathematics)

Nantia: "To find a job requires a degree, social capital and organizational skills. I feel more confident when I am comfortable in communicating with people because good social relationships help you get better jobs. At university, I have learned enough that give me the strength to survive in the labor market, but I think that I need additional skills and abilities. I believe that employers are looking for degrees, knowledge on foreign languages, computer and communication skills, that is, to be able to speak well. I do not know if I have developed it as much as I should because I do not generally feel confident about what I know so far." (Nantia, Mathematics)

Their responses, also, provide strong evidence about the external factors that force students to make a decision. One of the most important ones as the majority of students (13 out of 15 students) state is parents' contribution, as it was anticipated by lower socioeconomic background students:

Nikos: "My parents always influence and advice with develop skills and then find the way I'm going to use them. In particular they have influenced me very much in developing other skills beyond the degree. The advised me to acquire other educational resources, to be more trained or competitive and, as well as to broaden my horizons. That was what really prompted me for the Erasmus studies." (Nikos, Department of Education)

Many students question the value of the degree for their future employability (12 out of 15 students). The findings indicate that their students' initial expectations were not met to the extent expected, supposing that labor market is now more competitive than it used to be in the past increases unemployment rates and inequalities. Their perceptions of the value of the degree express a kind of pessimism opposed to the optimism at the time of decision-making. Lower socioeconomic background students develop lower professional prospects, risking their joining in the labor market. Lower socioeconomic background students mention:

Nantia: "I don't think University can provide us with the necessary knowledge for getting a qualified job. That's why I think I will not find a job easily. I have to get used to what the job market needs and acquire new skills. Getting a degree, is hard to help you get a job, but I like what I do. To get a job you need to have social networks, to know people, to own money, to be able to use it, but also to get paid. You must have a degree, this is true, but now they do not recognize it." (Nantia, Mathematics)

Orestis: "My dream was to work in big companies, but in the meanwhile, I realized that this is not the case. The knowledge and skills offered by University are not enough. Also, a family background is necessary, too. In Greece, however, there are so few opportunities and there is no meritocracy." (Orestis, Informatics)

Overall, the data show that students' accounts on the value of the degree during the period of crisis are contradictory. Students consider that the degree has lost its value. Studying at a university is considered to be an unprofitable investment and the benefits depend mainly on the costs. There is, in other words, a mismatch between costs and returns (Lee & Coelli, 2010). On the other hand, they argued that it is a necessary requirement in order to take an advantage in labor market. This contradiction can be seen as an expression of a realistic assessment made by students in order to gain prominence in labor market, where graduates unemployment is high.

Lower class students understand that a university degree is the only way to take advantages in the labor market. They can see it as a natural process, but they can't easily understand how to make good use of it, doubting even about its utility in labor market. Matching students' perceptions of the value of a degree with the reasons that enable them to participate in higher education, it seems that the majority of students who question the value of the degree, participate in higher education because they intend to find a job more easily (11 out of 15 students). On the other hand, the majority of students who do not associate studies with career prospects

believe in its value in a great extent (14 out of 15 students). There are students who participate in higher education just for increasing their opportunities to find a job and they don't believe in its utility or value, in general. As it was anticipated by a student:

Markos: "At University, I do not think you gain knowledge. The university itself can, as human beings are constantly changing. However, it is very difficult to find a job, and I will probably work as a waitress in a cafe. I am independent and I do not rely on my parents. I consider that it is important to work and to get acquainted. I do not want to go abroad. I would be happy with a salary of 800-1000 euros." (Markos, Department of Literature and History)

Giota: "My school does not provide me with vocational training, and it does not prepare me for the labor market. If I want to do a lot, I have to look for additional school books. While my brother studies cinematographic in Thessaloniki, he is being prepared to work from the second year." (Giota, Biological studies)

4.2 Future plans

According to the labor market plans and expectations, students were asked about the required criteria for getting a satisfied job. 10 out of 15 students from lower socioeconomic background clearly state that a permanent job position is the first criterion for choosing a satisfied job. The second criterion is the earnings and, lastly, the status. As it was anticipated by one of the low socioeconomic background student:

Helen: "I would prefer to have a permanent job; I do not care about the prestige. The money is coming after on my preference. All jobs are prestigious, depending on the code and the part everyone has or is responsible for. I'm not sure if I'll find a job in computer sciences so I'll look for something else." (Helen, Informatics)

Olga: "As soon as I finish, I will go to Thessaloniki to find my own specialty, learning foreign languages. I would like to work in the public sector and get 800 Euros or more. I would like to find a permanent job in the public sector even if I have a lower salary. Unemployment makes me anxious. If I do not find a job on my subject I will go to work elsewhere. I am not interested in going abroad." (Olga, Literature and History)

Students would prefer to work in the public sector (15 out of 15 students) rather than go abroad because they are interested in getting a permanent work. They are anxious for their future trajectories and they think they will not find a satisfied job easily. The findings show that the majority of students has not clear plans to enter labor market.

Konstantinos: "I want to get a job and then take a master's degree. I don't want to be a teacher at school as I have no patience with children. I want to do my own business or work in a company having an important position in an office. My parents tell me to do whatever I want as long as I am successful and happy. In ten years, I imagine myself working in a big company, becoming a career woman. First, I would choose prestige at work, then salary and third, permanency." (Konstantinos, Mathematics)

Afrodite: "The ideal salary enables me to get the food I want and support my children. That's all I want, so I can make a living. Much money brings misery. What is more, social networks play a big role, as when I went to Australia with my uncle, they told me that successful friends help you succeed, too." (Afrodite, Physics)

Whilst there was a tendency for students to view degree classification as a reflection of their future labor market potential, it was hardly seen as a positional advantage that enables them to gain value in the labor market. Increasing the number of graduates, decreases their value while it rises employers' demands. In the global competition for qualifications, the dominant social

groups are trying to maintain their privileged position, which they have secured in the prevailing of the capitalist industrial model. Future plans are related to students existing cultural and social capital, being potentially significant in shaping future labor market potentials and outcomes.

4.3 From expectations to real-life experiences

As far as the last research question is concerned, the results are of a great importance. Students were asked if, during their studies, they met the expectations that they had developed at the very beginning. It is shown, that students, in their final year of studies, experience an uncertain transition accompanied with a doubt about the qualifications they hold. Gradual recognition of their qualifications should lead to a first form of professional identity. This transition is more difficult for those whose parents have not attended university or belong to less privileged social groups. Students who have specific and realistic expectations for their studies succeed better at university and have better experiences. On the other hand, students whose expectations do not target specific goals find it difficult to integrate themselves into the university and are constantly in the process of seeking an identity. These students are usually less satisfied with their studies. Bamber and Tett in a study conducted on students from socially disadvantaged backgrounds found that there was a change in their attitudes towards satisfaction with their studies in the last year of studies (Bamber & Tett, 2000; 2001). This is linked to the final adjustment moving from the stage of recognizing their qualifications to the gradual acquisition of their professional identity.

Maria: "I like literature lessons, but not school itself it doesn't fulfil any of my dreams. Maybe I should have considered my choice twice, but I didn't know how to do it. I had a lot of expectations but gives us only general knowledge that cannot be exploited in the labor market." (Maria, Physics)

There is a gap between study expectations and true-life experiences, which relates to the fact that students often decide to study in order to feel independent rather than meet specific expectations and dreams. The present study shows that initial expectations are not met and most students are satisfied with their carefree lifestyle rather than their studies.

5. Discussion and conclusion

This paper examined lower socioeconomic background students' perceptions of the role that a University degree has to the labor market as well as how they develop expectations for their transition to it. According to the first research question students seem to argue that a university degree improves the standards of living and widens their horizons, too. Also, they strongly appreciate the benefits to grasp new opportunities in the labor market. However, low socioeconomic background students doubt the value of the university degree in shaping future employment prospects. They don't appreciate higher education degree as a mean for future employability because it is hard to see it as an investment. Higher education students argue that a "university degree is not enough" (Tomlinson, 2012) for them to meet expectations for their future employability (Brown, Hesketh & Williams, 2004). Higher education degrees not an adequate qualification for getting a high qualified job. Low socioeconomic students view that middle class students have more opportunities to take advantages in the labor market because, except for their degree, they have developed other skills, necessary for getting better future career prospects (Ball, 2002). The mass higher education offers many access opportunities but limited career prospects in the labor market (Reay, Crozier & Clayton, 2009, 2010).

According to the second research question about students' plans for the labor market transition, it is proved that the crisis affects their decision, making it difficult for them to set career prospects. They have no clear plans for the career prospects, they are satisfied with low-paid jobs, and they are anxious about the merits of their qualifications (Brown & Hesketh, 2004). They would

also get any job, as they have no true ambitions and job expectations. They even prefer the stability that will provide them with a job in the public sector. Low socioeconomic background students consider that the exclusive value of the degree is related to the stronger probability of finding a job, otherwise it has no value. They make the rational choice to participate in higher education because they are strongly influenced by their parents' perceptions and they want to have as many opportunities as they can, for entering the labor market, even if, they don't believe in its value as well as equality.

According to the third question, there is a gap between previous university expectations and true-life experiences. Initial expectations are not met as expected and most students are not satisfied with their studies. The relationship between educational degree and benefits to the labor market is considered to be problematic, since students believe that equal opportunities don't offer equal future career outcomes. The widespread notion that participation in higher education adds little or no value to individual's human capital is supported by this article, even if participation considered to be an investment which yields individual returns, offer better career opportunities and wider labor market choice, lower socioeconomic background students don't benefit equally by this expansion (Brown, 2003).

According to the literature, students whose parents have not acquired a university degree are less likely to associate the acquired knowledge with the knowledge required by the labor market. These students end up in lower-skilled and low-paid jobs, reducing the benefits and the chances of an upward mobility. "Natural" limits are sited for securing higher professional and social status jobs. Increasingly, student's employability depends on social networks, social and cultural skills as well as personal skills that are directly related to their socioeconomic background (Reay, David & Ball, 2006). In recent years that unemployment and social exclusion are increased, especially in Greece, close to almost half of the young are reported to be unemployed (International Labour Organisation, 2011). Therefore, there is an urgent need to optimize the provided studies which focus on the transition from education to the labor market. In conclusion, the question of the relationship between higher education and labor market is an urgent issue, especially for educational policy makers. Within modern context of a neo-liberal and globalized society, knowledge is a key driver of growth that is produced at university and is invested in labor market.

The aforementioned results provide indications that the value that a University degree have to the labor market as well the expectations for the transition to the labor market differentiates future prospects in HE. Therefore, this paper complies Brown's points of view according to which, the modern globalized society, in which individual success is dominated by "talents", is not likely to develop equal job opportunities and social justice (Brown et al., 2016). Brown points out "the lack of capacity within the economy to deliver on the opportunity bargain has led to labor market crowding, along with wider congestion problems, as people seek to use the education system to 'stand out from the crowd' (Brown, 2016: 47).

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Appendix

Interview questions (third part)

Section C. Preparation for the transition to the labor market

- I. The value of the degree in the labor market
- 1. Why did you decide to get a higher education degree?
- 2. What skills do you think that the university helped you cultivate?
- 3. What do you think is the value of your degree and what benefits can it offer you today?
- 4. Why did you decide to get a higher education degree?
- II. Labor market plans
- 1. What are you planning to do after graduation?
- 2. Which is the most ideal job for you?
- 3. According to what criteria would you choose a job and why?
- 4. Do you think you will find a job in short time after graduation? Are you afraid of unemployment and why? Do you think the crisis will affect your transition to the labor market?
- 5. What are you planning to do to address the difficulties of finding a job, as for example, to get a job lower than your qualifications or immigrate?
- III. From expectations to real life experiences
- 1. What were your experiences (positive and negative) during your studies? Examples.
- 2. Do your initial expectations match with the experiences you developed during your studies? Examples.

