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APPROACH OF MALE EMPLOYERS' REPRESENTATIVES TO THE EMPLOYMENT AND WORKING PROCESS OF FEMALE WELDER WORKERS*

KAYNAKÇI KADIN İŞÇİLERİN İŞE GİRİŞ VE ÇALIŞMA SÜRECİNE ERKEK İŞVEREN TEMSİLCİLERİNİN YAKLAŞIMI

Bediha ŞAHİN^a

ABSTRACT: In this study, the woman welder workers' hiring process and work life are researched in terms of male employer representatives' approach. The aim of the study is to determine the reasons why women want to work in the industry despite the pressure of the patriarchal stereotypes on them, and prefer the welding profession which is commonly accepted by society as a 'male job', and to reveal how gender discrimination occurs in terms of professional aspect. In this regard, the research is a qualitative study based on the interpreter/constructivist paradigm, and data were collected by conducting in-depth interviews with 3 female workers and 3 male employer's representatives. According to the findings of the research, it has been observed that the female workers' fathers were a role model in choosing this profession, the employer sent women to the Turkish Employment Organization (İŞKUR) for courses and in-service training, and it is also understood that women were willing and inclined to take up this job. It has been determined that employer's representatives, on the other hand, tend to break the patriarchal mentality relatively while asserting that they support female workers contrary to the common settled culture, and that it is advantageous to employ female workers in the workplace.

Keywords: *Women's Labor in Industry, Women Welders, Occupational Gender Discrimination, Business Environment and Social Relations, Cultural Capital, Habitus.*

ÖZ: Bu çalışma, kaynakçı kadın işçilerin işe giriş süreci ve iş yerindeki çalışmalarına ilişkin işveren temsilcisi erkeklerin yaklaşımlarını konu edinmektedir. Çalışmanın amacı kadınları baskılayan patriarkal kalıp yargılara rağmen kadınların sanayide çalışmayı istemeleri ve toplumda "erkek işi" olarak kabul edilen kaynakçılık mesleğini tercih etmelerinin nedenlerini tespit etmek ve bu konuda mesleki açıdan cinsiyet ayrımcılığının nasıl olduğunu ortaya koymaktır. Bu çerçevede araştırma yorumcu / inşacı paradigmadan hareketle nitel bir çalışma olup, 3 kadın işçi ve 3 erkek işveren temsilcisi ile derinlemesine görüşmeler yapılarak veriler toplanmıştır. Araştırmanın bulgularına göre; işçi kadınların bu mesleği seçmede babalarının rol model olduğu, işverenin kadınları İŞKUR'a göndererek kurs aldıkları ve hizmet içi eğitime tabi tuttukları görülmüş, aynı zamanda kadınların bu işe istekli ve yatkın oldukları anlaşılmıştır. İşveren temsilcisi erkekler ise alışlagelen yerleşik kültürün dışında kadın işçilere çalışmaları konusunda destek oldukları ve işyerinde kadın işçi çalıştırmanın avantajlı olduğuna ilişkin görüşleri ileri sürerken görece olarak ataerkil zihniyeti kırma eğiliminde oldukları tespit edilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler : *Sanayideki Kadın Emeği, Kaynakçılık Yapan Kadınlar, Mesleki Cinsiyet Ayrımcılığı İş Ortamı ve Sosyal İlişkiler, Kültürel Sermaye, Habitus.*

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^a Dr., Hacettepe Üniversitesi, Eğitim Bilimleri Fakültesi, bediasahin5179@gmail.com, <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0645-6431>

1. INTRODUCTION

With the production feature of Fordism that emerged after the industrial revolution and the cultural structure of patriarchal society, women started to appear in work life, however, they remained secret subjects of the intrafamilial production areas. Male workers were especially demanded in the industrial sector which is based on mass production structure, but women were excluded from these mass production areas. However, the change and spread of working styles through globalization have enabled women to be employed more in the industry and informal sector. In this new work culture, women, while revealing their selves against patriarchal oppression, are also confronted with the various problems in the business areas created by this new type of exploitation.

After the industrial revolution, the demand for male labor increased in the factories that replaced the small workshops with the Fordism process, and women were excluded from industrial production. In addition, women were employed in the informal areas left vacant in small workshops by the participation of men in the production in the factories where the industry was required (Boserup, 1990), and remained responsible for domestic reproduction activities. On the other hand, the informal areas left vacant by the participation of men in the production in the factories where the industry required have been effective in the employment of women. It has been observed that the production structure based on the physical capacity that emerged in the mass production areas and the cultural characteristics of the patriarchal society were effective in the spread of male-specific working styles in the industry. These factors in women's inability to enter the labor market have caused them to remain subjects of social obligation activities that are generally attributed to women, such as chores, child and elderly care, which ensure the reproduction of daily life (Nussbaum, 1999; Moser, 1991). The fact that domestic labor is not paid is also seen as one of the obstacles to women's working in paid jobs (Öztürk, 2011). Even if they worked outside the home, they were able to participate in mass production areas in lower numbers than men, with the ongoing structure of capitalism. For example, the January 2022 data of the Turkish Statistical Institute (TÜİK) determined the labor force participation rate as 71.1% for men and as 34.4% for women. Looking at the employment rates, while the rate for men is 63.8%, the rate for women is 29.7% (TÜİK, 2022). According to these data, when the labor force and employment rates are examined, it is seen that the ratio of women in both labor force and employment is lower than men. On the other hand, the gender-based division of labor in the family life of women who take part in the working life, albeit very little, remains the same, and women take on the responsibility of working both inside and outside the home (Ecevit, 1991). This situation constitutes the essence of what is called the double shift for women.

It can be said that the dominant structure of the male workforce in the industry has begun to differentiate and change due to the fact that the labor force has become partially open to circulation in the context of globalization. The need for active labor has been effective in the employment of women. Workplaces have now begun to transform into women-specific forms, and a new working culture has emerged with the networks created by the global production structure. This culture has led women to work in the service sector, which is considered an extension of chores. However, flexible working conditions applied in areas considered an extension of chores and generally in the informal sector have caused women to work in precarious jobs. Therefore, female workers working in flexible working conditions in the industry are women (married, taking care of children or elderly people) who cannot find many opportunities to work in the formal fields or who are busy with the daily reproduction activities at home (Pearson, 1994).

It is seen that the migration from rural to urban areas has an effect on the increase in the labor force participation rate of women in the industry, as women have to work in informal areas that develop outside the formal sector of the industry. With the macro regulations required by the capital, the definition of "work" has changed and had a "temporary and unqualified" meaning. Women's labor has begun to find more place in this area of exploitation as a low-paid, flexible, and passive form (Dedeoğlu, 2000). Especially after the 1970s, with the transition from Fordist production to flexible production, the rapidly changing market conditions, especially after the 1980s, changed the job and worker profile in the industrial sector (Yıldız et al., 2013, pp. 83-84). The job security structure defined

in the long term in the flexible production structure has been valid only for a very few specialists described as "core" workers that are educated, professionally equipped, and high-income. Precarious and odd-jobs employ temporary and short-term employees, or disadvantaged workers who do not have skills or cannot benefit from the social rights provided by the job (Ansal, 1996). These transformations in the position of labor conform to the "female worker" profile, these women working in odd-jobs are referred to as the industry's reserve workforce, and this causes them to work in low-paid jobs. While some researchers call this form of work in employment norms, which accelerates women's participation in the workforce, the feminization of poverty, some others describe it as the feminization of the workforce (Toksöz, 2011; Dedeoğlu, 2000).

The main question of this study is to determine the factors affecting the working conditions of women in the informal and formal sectors of the industry and to reveal how occupational gender discrimination works. In this context, the analyzes of the study were carried out within the framework of Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital and Throw and Lucas's tail, and Carnoy's elimination theory. It is thought that this study will contribute to the literature on how women are included in the work areas defined as "men's work" (here, the welding profession) in the formal sector and how women's stance in the work environment against occupational gender discrimination affects business relations.

2. PURPOSE OF THE RESEARCH

In this research, the positive and negative aspects of the changes brought about by women's preference for non-traditional jobs due to the negativities of working in informal jobs as a result of migration from rural to urban in their working life before welding was tried to be revealed. The fact that women perform the welding profession, known as men's work, especially in the small settlements of Ankara such as Kahramankazan, determines that there has been a transformation in occupational gender discrimination in the face of the fragility of patriarchal stereotypes.

3. METHOD OF THE RESEARCH

The research is a qualitative study based on the interpretative/constructivist approach. The research was carried out as an ethnographic study on how the subject as an individual makes sense of her experiences. Observations were made in the research area and in-depth interview technique, and "semi-structured interview form" were used as the data collection tool. The interview form included questions about demographic data and basic questions regarding the purpose of the research. Since the number of women working as welders in the factory where the research was conducted was 3, all these women were interviewed. In addition, 3 male employer's representatives were included in the research to learn the status of welder women in the factory. The interviews lasted approximately 90 minutes. In the interview environment, it was observed that participants trusted the researcher and gave sincere answers. Interviews were recorded on a voice-recording device. The recorded data were deciphered by the researcher, thematic analysis units were created, and the data were interpreted manually by considering the purpose and questions of the research.

The study group of the research is female workers and male employer's representatives who were working in the welding department of a factory in Kahramankazan, Ankara, between June, 15 and August, 5, 2018. The research was carried out with a total of 6 employees, 3 female workers and 3 male employer's representatives working in this department. In this study, which was carried out on a purposeful sample, the fact that the welding profession known as "men's work" is performed by female workers, despite a small number, constitutes evidence of the existence of women working in a profession that requires power, and it is important in investigating this subject. The welding profession, which is described as a heavy job, is carried out by 4 women in the factory in question, but one of the women had had an accident and was on leave between June, 15 and August, 5, 2018, therefore the interviews were conducted with 3 women. Considering the small number of samples would not pose a problem for a qualitative study. In order to distinguish the data of the participants and to protect personal data within the scope of ethical principles, the employees were given numbers by using the initials of the name of the factory. Sociodemographic data of the study group is given in Table 1. The order in this table is arranged by following the order of the interviews with the employees.

As seen in Table 1; one of the female workers is single and the other 2 are divorced. The ages of the workers range from 34 to 43. While one of the female workers is a high-school graduate, one of them is attending an open high school, and one of them stated that she had to leave secondary school. They also stated that they started their working life at a young age. Of the male employers, one out of three employer's representatives are single and the other two are married. The age distribution is between 25 and 54. Two of them are vocational high school graduates and one is a primary school graduate.

Table1. Demographic Characteristics of the Participants

Participant	Gender	Age	Educational Background	Marital Status	Number of Children
B ₁	Female Worker	43	High School	Single	-
B ₂	Female Worker	38	Left Secondary School	Divorced	1
B ₃	Male Employer Representative	33	Vocational High School	Married	2
B ₄	Male Employer Representative	54	Primary School	Married	3
B ₅	Female Worker	34	Attending Open High School	Divorced	2
B ₆	Male Employer Representative	25	Vocational High School	Single	-

4. ANALYSIS OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

In this section, thematic analysis units were created based on the interviews and the theoretical knowledge in the literature. In these thematic units, the narratives of both female workers and male employers were evaluated together. Themes were gathered under 7 headings. These are The Capacity of Interviewee Women to Overcome the Problems in Acquiring Cultural Capital, Work and Discrimination Experiences of Women in the Informal Sector where They Worked Before the Welding Work, Reasons for Preferring the Welding Profession, Work Environment and Social Relations of Women, Pricing the Work Done by Welder Women, Experiences of Welder Women on Occupational Health and Safety, and Women's Future Expectations.

4.1. The Capacity of Interviewee Women to Overcome the Problems in Acquiring Cultural Capital

It is argued that during the export-oriented industrialization period adopted in Turkey since the 1980s, the employment rates of women in the formal sector did not increase much (Özar, 1994). However, structural adjustment programs that started to be implemented with the globalization process have been effective in increasing the number of women in certain types of informal jobs (Çınar, 1994). These informal areas, which are especially effective in shaping the working life of women, are generally described as jobs in the secondary market within the labor market. Women are generally not able to take part in primary markets where there are jobs that require a qualified education or skill level and have relatively high wages, and these formal sector areas are perceived as belonging to men. They are employed in jobs that do not require education or where low education is sufficient, qualifications are not sought, and in secondary markets where income is relatively low and there are unfavorable working conditions (Dedeoğlu, 2000). These areas are mostly extensions of chores.

The female workers who participated in the research conveyed the reasons that were effective in starting their working life with jobs in the informal sector of the secondary markets, where bad working conditions are dominant, with different life experiences. Interviewee B₁; My childhood was

spent in the fields. We used to go to our village during school holidays, a village of Ceyhan. I used to go to the fields on top of tractors. I used to work with the workers. B₁, who is a high school graduate, said the following about her education; I got into Diyarbakır Law Faculty. But I didn't go. There was terror then. My father didn't send me. From the narratives of this participant, it is understood that she did not receive support from her family to study, that she could not continue her education life due to the political conditions of the country, and that she went to their village during the summer holidays in her childhood, and that she did unpaid family work in the village.

Interviewee B₅ said the following about education; I got married. Then my husband and I said, okay, enough, both of us are tired. We finished it, we broke up in agreement, and we said our goodbyes. After that, I decided to complete my unfinished school. Open Vocational High School, after that, driving license course, besides work. I'm taking them altogether. B₅, who eloped and got married at a young age, emphasized the difficulties she experienced and stated that she continued her education for self-development with the freedom she found after separating from her husband, and expressed the effect of education on her gaining economic freedom. Thus, raising her cultural capital and becoming qualified by reflexively transforming herself became crucial for her to reach better job opportunities, that is, to step into the formal sector. These expressions also showed that B₅ has a willing and struggling personality to hold on to life and survive.

Interviewee B₂ said that she saw marriage as an escape from family problems. She thinks education and gender still have a value in the society and labor markets. She stated that these have priority in finding employment with the following words: I went to secondary school. I did not study. Why didn't I study it? My father beat my mother a lot. He also used violence against us. That's why I didn't want to stay next to my father, I didn't want to study. I got married. After the divorce, I stayed with my 8-year-old daughter. My husband married someone else. I was 28 when my husband left. I worried about what and how to do it. I worked at a restaurant. I usually worked for 3 months or 1 month. Wherever I work in restaurants, none of them insured me. If you're a woman, if you haven't studied, you are doomed to be oppressed in this life (B₂).

The fact that women lack social security, change jobs frequently, and work in the service sector after agriculture shows that the cultural capital of the interviewees is almost nonexistent in their participation in the informal labor market and leads to a low return of the reproduction process. Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital; The content of the relationships that individuals establish with other individuals in the job markets is seen in the context of a variable that can clarify the differences that may arise among those with similar skills, training, and experience opportunities such as knowledge, control, which they can access in employment areas (Field, 2008; Passeron, 2015) in connection with the scope of informal employment. clarifies the reasons for not wanting to work in the market. It is seen that the employment of individuals in the labor markets through cultural capital is effective in the reproduction.

The fact that the women participating in the research are the first generation children of families migrating from rural to urban areas and the shift from the agricultural sector to informal employment forms of the service sector is in line with the from rural to urban migration and employment structure of women, especially since the 1950s in Turkey. This increase, which was experienced more intensely during the crisis periods in Turkey, was due to the informal employment in the informal sector, service, and industry, which became widespread in the vast majority of the employment of a large and unqualified female workforce (Toksöz, 2007). As a matter of fact, while the rate of working women in the informal sector was 41.3% in 2018, the rate of men was 28.5% (DİSK, 2018). The employment rate of women and men working informally and without social security is contrary to the idea that jobs within the scope of the social security structure should be created in line with basic labor standards, as expressed in the "Decent Work" program of the International Labor Organization (ILO, 2007). It should not be forgotten that the establishment of a decent business understanding depends on the efforts of not only the employees but also the employers and the private sector.

Interviewee B₁ expressed the following about self-development; I am reading books. I have 5 boxes of books to read. Except for them are there the ones I read, and almost 5 boxes that I took home

(hometown). There were textbooks. You know, when there are things that come to my mind, especially about my job, or, as I said, about the combi boiler, the plumbing, I search for them. I go to the cinema, I go to the theatre. I went to the opera for the first time here. After I left there, I downloaded the Italian learning application on my phone. I sometimes study Italian. Not using most personal equipment or skipping something is usually due to not having that culture. People can't say I don't know. I say there is no shame in not knowing; the shame lies in not finding out. I wonder. Then I research something I don't know, and I learn. When I was in occupational safety class, there was a thing called safety culture. It was the title. Talking about it, for example, I said, "I've never been to the opera in my life. I don't know what it's like". The whole class said a lot of things to me like "How can someone like you have not gone to the opera?" So, I turned to them and said: "Was there an opera in Adana but I didn't go?". There was not an opera in Adana. I had a lawyer friend in class. He immediately bought an opera ticket online. "Okay, you're going to the opera," he said. He bought it first for me. The next week, I bought it myself and went. It was fun, I liked it. While I was looking for the opera and things like that, I saw that there was also the Presidential Symphony Orchestra. I couldn't go there, but when it opens, I will go there at the first chance. I'm wondering about that too. These narratives are proof that B₁ is open to innovations and willing to develop her own cultural capital. It shows how change and transformation started in B₁ as a subject and how she experienced the increase in self-confidence.

Another participant B₂ stated the following on this issue; When I went to secondary school, we had a teacher. He sent us to cross-running. I was 99th out of 500 people. After that, we went skiing. We went skiing races in Kayseri and Bursa. Then my father eliminated me from there because I grew up. Now, for example, I could be a trainer. My life passed from there too. My father is alive. Adults always gave direction to our lives in the past. Now it isn't like that anymore. I say to my daughter, "Honey, study whatever you want". I have a social life. We go to the movies and to dinner with my daughter. We usually go to dinner. We go to breakfast. I am also a skier. However, we cannot go skiing due to financial reasons. We go skating. I even bought skates for my daughter. She even skates (B₂).

The fact that women participating in the research benefit from their familial foundations, opportunities and possibilities of education, status and the skills they acquire from their relationships in their social environment is possible to be interpreted by Bourdieu's (2015) cultural capital and habitus concepts. Bourdieu emphasizes that the status of the family is effective in climbing the educational ladders and having pleasure and taste. Many acquired habits such as pleasures and likings, the way of communication in the family to disciplined behaviors enable individuals to gain status in society because they determine the status position of people in life. These habits acquired in the process of socialization may enable individuals from the lower class to obtain a good job and have a respectable profession, based on the principle of equal opportunity in education. While this situation raises the status of individuals, it also has the potential to transform their habitus as reflexive individuals. Thus, they gain a position in society by experiencing status mobility depending on their cultural capital. Participant women also gave meaning to their own existence as individuals who gained their economic freedom in society by transforming both their cultural capital and habitus in a reflexive sense by receiving education. Likewise, it is understood that these women reflectively subject themselves to change and transformation. In addition, the fact that they have gained a position in society with their efforts and initiatives also increases their self-confidence.

The economic aspect, which is one of the functions of education, provides employment income by meeting the brainpower and manpower needs of society and acquiring the competencies that will enable the individual to produce. (Bursalıoğlu, 1972). However, this situation shows that capitalism needs education in raising and employing the labor force. Flexible production forms that have become widespread with the transformation of social state policies towards neoliberal policies have made the connection between education and employment fragile. It can be said that the effect of education on employment has lost value with the transformation in labor markets and production styles. Again, it is seen that the labor force participation rate of women who have graduated from high school or equivalent school is around 33.9% in High Schools and 40.5% in Vocational or Technical High Schools in 2022 (TÜİK, 2022). The fact that the majority of the female workforce participated in the research has a high school education level and that they have to work in informal jobs for many years supports

this situation (one interviewee is a high school graduate, one interviewee is studying at open high school, and one interviewee is a secondary school graduate; 3 women in total). According to Toksöz (2007), this situation shows that the education in both high schools and vocational high schools is insufficient to meet the needs of the workplaces and to prepare students for employment. Despite this, raising the education level of the women participating in the research with their own efforts provides great support for them to find a job in the primary market.

4.2. Work and Discrimination Experiences of Women in the Informal Sector where They Worked Before the Welding Works

With neoliberal policies, the social gender order is redefined and women's labor is commodified with the limitation of the economic role of the state in both developed and developing countries in the global structure (Toksöz, 2015). While this process, which is another dimension of the collapse of Fordism, points to the view that women's work in temporary jobs is unique to women, it also includes the perception of the feminization of such employment norms (Toksöz, 2011; Dedeoğlu, 2000). This approach supports each other with the research findings, and although both male and female workers experience similar problems in informal jobs created by the new working order, these problems are thought to be more severe for women.

The interviewees B₅ and B₁, who were found to have similar experiences in the past, stated the difficulties caused by the flexible working conditions in the secondary market such as short-term work, jobs without social security, or wages that are not paid on time or at all, and sexual harassment problems, which are quite common in informal working life, with the following sentences: I have short work experiences. I first started my business life as a clerk. I took a computer programming course. I worked as a substitute teacher. Then I started working as an accountant. I kept the preliminary materials of different companies in accounting. For the last time, before I came to Ankara, I kept books of an optician. After that, I became a master in opticianry. There are spectacle glasses that are both in one. It requires fine details. I would make them with zero margin of error. When financial problems, that is, problems with salary, started to arise from work, when the road is close, I said I should get out of work, and I did. (B₁).

B₅, on the other hand, expressed her experiences in her working life before starting her current profession as follows; My main occupation is textile. I can use all the machines, but the insurance issue and the salary issue are really problematic in that sector. I didn't get my dues then I started a job in another company. Then I found a job in a factory as a packaging worker. Then I stepped up to the quality control, I mean, the production department... They also know that the other person is a woman, if you keep the distance, as long as there is no hand contact, there will be nothing that will disturb me. If there is cacology, I cut in and say "It's not a right thing to do, I'm a woman". The moment I say the person is usually ashamed, I mean, we definitely encounter such things. Some people don't know how to behave. When I give him the necessary answer, he sits in his corner, I isolate him, I cut dead, if he does not understand, I push him aside, then he regrets it. He looks and sees Nimet is having fun, laughing, talking, joking, with her other friends on the other side, this time he regrets what he did, in a way (B₅).

It can be said that while the harassment faced by working women in business life causes them to lose their jobs or to remain silent about such behaviors, likewise, the participants of this study preferred to protect themselves by giving the necessary answers. However, it seems inevitable that a stronger sanction is necessary in order to prevent harassment toward women. Interviewee B₂ expressed her experiences as follows: I have been working for 10 years. If you haven't studied, if you're a woman, if you're a widow, you're always a petticoat. So, you're dead. I've been to so many places. Every time I go somewhere they solicit. Some are verbal abuses, some are gropes. They did everything imaginable. Whatever you do, you will be oppressed. We watch on television that women are killed. They are exposed to violence. Always women. Why not men? Why don't they get beat up? Why are they not killed? Why aren't they being harassed? We women are always harassed. This is always due to being a woman (B₂).

Participants B₅ and B₂ explained that the reasons for sexual harassment, which is quite common in informal working life, base on gender inequality, society's prejudiced view of divorced women, and lack of education. Sexual harassment is one of the most frequently encountered and also one of the most ignored problems of women in the informal labor market. In the research conducted in 2015, on informal female workers in the food, textile, and service sectors, it was stated that sexual harassment in the general culture is a part of gender discrimination; and it reinforces the secondary position of women in society, prevents them from being promoted in the professional field, causes them to move away from working life or to concentrate on jobs defined as "women's work" (Kümbetoğlu et al., 2015).

Among the reasons for the female participants to work in the informal sector are migration from the village to the city, child labor, economic inadequacies, early marriages due to family problems, gender discrimination, and the family's refusal to allow them for a higher education for various reasons. It is seen that interviewees cannot benefit from the opportunities and chances available in society due to reasons such as low education and income levels, and familial and environmental factors. Toksöz (2007) states that the perception of equality in market economies is generally seen as synonymous with equality before the law, but because racial, class, and gender-based inequalities in society are not taken into account, the inequality created by the fact that individuals do not have the same conditions in accessing opportunities and resources is ignored. This approach is similar to the narratives of the participants of the research. At the same time, the negative conditions created by such inequalities cause women to be forced to be employed in the informal sector of the secondary labor market.

4.3. Reasons for Women to Prefer Welding Profession

When the structure of employment is examined in terms of gender discrimination, employment in agriculture is based on male and female labor, depending on the production structure of agriculture, whereas in non-agricultural employment, women tend to the service sector. Looking at Turkey's 2021 data, the ratio of women in the agricultural sector is 2.239, while the rate of men is 2.923. While the rate of women in the industry sector is 1,377, it is 4,473 for men. In the service sector, while the rate for women is 5.074, it is 10.022 for men (TUIK, 2021). If these figures are shown with ratios, while the rate for women in the industry sector is 16.0%, it is 31.6% for men. In the service sector, while the rate of women is 57.9%, it is 53.5% for men. The patriarchal perspective of this structuring in the demand for women's labor force, based on the occupational gender discrimination in the industry, determines the sector in which women will work and the suitable jobs, and restricts the employment opportunities of women. The fact that workers are almost male workforce, especially in industrial working areas, causes these areas to be perceived as male-specific areas and unsuitable working environments for female workers. (Toksöz, 2009; Buğra, 2010). In addition, according to Toksöz's (2015) approach, this process can be explained based on the fact that the coexistence of patriarchy and capitalism in the industrialization stages in Turkey is structured on the existence of women outside the labor market.

Interviewees, who started their working lives with informal jobs due to their conditions, expressed their reasons for working in the factory with different approaches. It's okay to work with so many men. Nobody interferes anybody. Nobody says anything to anybody. Compared with the restaurants, this place is fine. You know the restaurants (meaning the informal sector), from the cook to the waiter, even the youngsters also hit on you, want to be with you, and the others also want to be with you. That's why I decided on the industrial environment. Sometimes I can't convince that the industrial environment (formal sector) is safer. Lunch is given here. Besides, there is a shuttle bus. I don't have any problems here. Elsewhere, you pay for the bus. You pay for the minibus. This place is fine for me (B₂).

In the research, interviewee B₁ states that they could get employment in the industry with the support of their cultural capital: After that, my welding teacher recommended this company. They said OK, so I started to work. They gave me 2 days. After the 3rd day, "Your welding is nice. You can go

directly to the parts welding," they said. I had tig welding in my 2nd week. It's called the Argon Weld. I took a look at the computer. Then I went the next day. I said I want to learn this and I got the training.

B₂ expressed it as follows; Finally, here is where our groom, my sister's husband, works. He said, "Sister, they are looking for female staff, if you want to work, come." I came, talked, and started.

According to the research data, in this study, it was concluded that women were welcomed to work in the factory in the field of industry, and they received support from their close circles. On the other hand, in a study conducted by Ecevit (1991) with women working in a factory in Bursa, it was observed that when women stated that they wanted to work in the manufacturing industry, they faced the reaction of their husbands, fathers and other family members and had difficulties. The prevalence of home-based, intermittent or contractual work areas that are compatible with the patriarchal structure of the family has been effective in women's employment. According to Dedeoğlu (2000), who takes a critical view of the family's approach to women's employment within the neoclassical structure, the fact that individuals who make an effort to take part in the labor market are homogeneous, which prioritize each other's interests due to the altruistic characteristics of other family members who are equivalent to themselves, has a troublesome side. In other words, the patriarchal structure in the family operates within the framework of a differentiated division of labor and states that family members behave in a way that supports each other in order to survive. This paves the way for the sexist approach and causes women to be stuck in domestic roles in general. However, since the welding job refers to the woman's ability to do the male job, it also causes it to be interpreted as a job that increases the status of the female worker in accordance with the patriarchal mentality.

Social and cultural factors such as the gender-based division of labor and the roles it shapes, and discrimination in many different areas are determinative on the female labor market participation in employment (Toksöz, 2007). The structure, which is effective in what kind of jobs women will do and their choice of profession, reinforces its structure based on occupational gender discrimination in the labor market. As seen in many studies, home-based jobs such as cleaning, sewing, hostess-ship, teaching, and textile production are woman labor-intensive paid jobs (Öztürk, 2011). However, men generally work in fields that require vocational training and technical skills, such as automotive and electronics, and also the vast majority of employers are men in these sectors (Öztürk, 2011). This sexist division of labor in the working life not only results in the separation of jobs but also increases the dominance of men over women by shaping the relations between men. (Standing, 1989; Beneria, 2003; Mackintosh, 1991).

Interviewee B₁ explains the reasons for choosing the profession of welder, which is defined as a "male job" by occupational gender discrimination, with the following sentences: I am a high school graduate. Because my father has 4 daughters, he chose only me among 4 girls for home renovation, repairs, and small things, like bringing those pliers, or getting that screwdriver. It started in childhood. For example, when I was 9 years old, there was no switch, I used to wrap wires for the fuse sockets. I would change the fountains with new ones. How can I explain myself? Is it called men's work, this term is usually used. Of course, I don't agree with that. I am able to do these too. If someone says to me: "Sit down at your desk, be busy with some trivia on the computer with the highest salary". I do not accept. I get bored. I have to work willingly and with pleasure. No one can force me to do anything. When I was about to start high school, I said to my father "Dad, don't send me to high school, send me to a mechanic, especially a car mechanic, so that I could have a job at least". My father said "no" and added "school, then work". He sent me to high school. I've actually wanted to be a car mechanic since then. Yes, I take pleasure in welding. In welding, you see two of them are melting. It's like melting ice. But you see that the ice melts slowly, and welding melts faster. I don't know if this attracts me. I know how to sew, and I also know how to cook very well. There are many people I know who say, "Never mind these things, open a pastry shop or open a restaurant" after tasting the cakes, pies, donuts, or meals I make. Only the work I do is not the work of men (B₁).

In this regard, participant B₂ stated the following; I normally do these kinds of things. No one finds it strange that I'm a welder right now. Only people I don't know, people who don't know me: "Come on", they say, "is there a female welder or something?" Also, welding is my father's profession. When I came here, our groom said: Sister, can you weld like this? I said I would do it because I love

things like pliers and drills. It appealed to me. It's my first time doing it here. I have never done it before. I do my own work at home because I already know all about pliers etc. I really like to work here. I don't have any trouble. Of course, I love welding. Since it was my father's profession, there was a desire ever since. I wondered what the welding is like. My father wouldn't allow me in the garage, but I wished to get in. I would like to go to my father and learn from him (B₂).

Within the scope of certification, which is parallel to the situation created by the new working style, vocational skills acquisition and continuous renewal of the certificates are carried out through market institutions. Supported in the context of the lifelong education concept, which is parallel to the flexible employment model, these developments have an important place in the “new economic order”. Especially the conditions created by flexibility commercialize access to education and information and constitute one of the most profitable areas in vocational education, which has a strong connection with the market (Aksoy, 2007). Education is instrumentalized as a field of professional certification and turns into a process that will not provide any benefit in terms of having a profession or being employed.

B₅, one of the interviewees, thinks that starting the open high school and taking a course to get a driver's license may be effective in her employment in her working life and having a better lifestyle, and she explains the reasons in the following sentences: I study high school openly. I'm still bustling about getting my driving license. I got into military high school. We are four siblings, I couldn't finish school because of the economical impossibilities at that time. Also, my brothers didn't want me to join the military because there was a mess (terror). Thus, my school life ended (B₅). Şahin's research in 2017, on students who attended and graduated from open high schools, showed that in addition to the determinants of poverty and gender inequality in access to education, this is also a women's problem and that girls who are deprived of education consider open high school a second chance for employment in their adulthood, which is in line with the narratives of the participants of this study.

According to the legislation change made by İŞKUR, one of the leading institutions in providing employment, in 2006, there will be no gender-based discrimination in private sector workplaces unless there is an obligation based on biological or work-related reasons. This regulation had a significant impact on the elimination of gender discrimination in labor demand (Aslantepe, 2015). However, when we look at the data of İŞKUR, it is seen that its courses are limited to traditional occupations such as needlecraft, which is more easily adopted in the social structure, as well as hobby courses such as flower design. It is seen that such courses aimed at ensuring equality between women and men cannot go beyond the acquisition of professions for women. According to Özar (2015), the fact that vocational training courses were limited to traditional women's occupations or hobbies played a role in reinforcing existing inequalities instead of employing women.

Table 2. Ankara Province Employment and Vocational Education Board 2017 Activity Report by İŞKUR

Occupations	Number of Courses	Course Attendees		
		Male	Female	Total
Computerized Machine (CNC) Operator	1	12	0	12
Warehouse Worker (Handling)	2	46	0	46
Welder (Oxygen and Electric)	1	20	1	21
Logistics Person	1	12	0	12

Source: <https://media.iskur.gov.tr/14255/ankara-2017.pdf>

In Table 2, in the annual report published in 2017 by Ankara Province Employment and Vocational Education Board, it is seen that the female workforce does not participate in the professions of Computer Machinery (CNC Operator), Warehouse Worker (Handling), Logistics Staff, which are described as "men's job", and there is only one female trainee in the Welding (Oxygen and Electricity)

course. In the factory where the research was carried out, the employer's representative B₆ and woman worker B₁ stated that B₁ herself was the welding trainee taking that course in 2017.

The employer coded B₆ describes their employment of the first female worker and the process of the female worker becoming a role model for other workers as follows: *B₁ is currently working with us and we are pleased with her. She obeys the security rules very well and sets an example. She even comes to me and says, "Look, sir. Those friends do not use masks, do not use earmuffs. I'm warning you to say something to them". So, I say, OK, you warned me, I'll warn them too (B₆).*

Interviewee B₁, who has invested herself in various courses and training programs in different fields within the scope of lifelong learning, expresses her experience that these certificates are not very effective in finding a job with the following words: *I said while I am here, I should take courses since there are not many opportunities to get training in Adana as much as Ankara. Let me at least look into emergency training. There was an emergency aid course. There are Beltek courses prepared jointly by the Municipality and Gazi University. I started there with the emergency aid course. After that, the first day I came here, I couldn't light the combi boiler. I said "I will learn this", I went to the boiler maintenance and repair course. By the way, I am the first woman to receive an authorization certificate in Turkey. Rather than dealing with the plumber, I said "more or less I can". I went to another course. While going to the course, there was also the course for welding natural gas pipes, I did not find the welding course at school sufficient for myself. There was also an extra welding course. I said: "I should go to it too", then I did. I also got its education. Of course, while I was dealing with so much work, I also received occupational safety training since the jobs I was dealing with are classified as dangerous and very dangerous (B₁).*

B₆, the employer's representative working at the factory, tells the story of B₁ who applied for the position with a vocational training certificate, and the employer's application process to İŞKUR to employ a woman who has successfully completed the job, which is defined as a "male job", and has become a role model for other women: *The factory manager said, "Why not, we work with a woman...", and we called Ms. B₁. We said, "We will take on you. We will train you as a welder, and then we will make you a welder". She accepted. It was such a start. She was also very willing. Everyone here was surprised, there was solidarity. Everyone supported her. After that, the factory manager said: "Let's take on 15 more women for the factory" and they applied to İŞKUR. After Ms. B₁ started and became successful, we posted a sign on our boards at the factory saying "If there are women you know, let them come to work here". We also took on them. We arranged positions for them. We also recruited other women in the same positions in the units. We improved their conditions a little more. After that, we hired 15 more women from İŞKUR and gave them packaging work in the dyehouse. We tried to make them work at BKF (B₆). (The number of welder women in the factory is 3, and it has been clarified that women were recruited to work both in the factory where the research was conducted and in the other branches, and they did different jobs).*

While the employer's representative B₆ draws attention to the fact that men also experience circulation in terms of long-term employment in harsh conditions in the industrial environment, he conveys the female labor recruitment criteria for the welding profession with the following sentences: *We ask the woman's family structure, hometown and where she lives. We ask about their children, technical information about working conditions, and school status. We give all the information about the factory, we talk about working hours, shifts, hourly wages, salaries, paydays, and etc. We give them a tour of the factory. We show how the machines work visually. They also analyze themselves. There were nearly 10 female applicants, but we employed only 4 of them. We have disqualified 6 of them because we did not see the potential to work in heavy industry in them. Their physical structures may also not allow them to work here. Of course, these are factors in our recruitment policy. They start work at eight in the morning and leave at 6 in the evening, and this work is heavy, they get tired. If we are getting tired, they are getting tired in every way under these conditions. There is also a lot of circulation among male workers. That's why we may have some more decisive questions when choosing workers. Of course, we ask if they are married or single, they have a child, they can work on weekends, on Saturdays, or they can work overtime in the evening when needed. We ask if the conditions are appropriate, and they respond. Accordingly, we analyze and recruit the person (B₆).*

Another employer's representative, B₄, expresses his approach to the way women work: *They have a lot of work to do. If she can cook in a house, it is not difficult to make a package or paint as long as she looks really professional. When she says I make an honest buck here and take the work that is my duty without being a burden to anyone, she does this job. I've been in this business for nearly 40 years. I have experienced and seen many things. I have also worked internationally. I wouldn't say the whole world, but I've been to many places. For example, I crossed the equator. I saw women working in Germany, I saw Egypt, Hungary, Indonesia, and Jakarta. Unfortunately, Europe is ahead of us in this regard. When she says that I will do this job, I will earn money from this job, the woman can do that job in Europe. There is no job discrimination against women; I saw them working in assembly, bodywork, metalwork, and inspection, and I watched them with admiration. But when I came to Turkey, I saw that these were not settled yet even though I worked in companies bigger than those there. And in the countries that follow us like the Middle East and Far East countries, women are always excluded in business life with the same logic just like in our country. This time, these people cannot add value to life. I was born in Milas, in a village of Milas. When I looked at my mother and aunts there, these people were doing heavier work in the cotton field than in this heavy industry. Women should work in every profession. In my 40 years of professional life, I do not see any difference between men and women. I really can't see. It may make a difference in terms of power, but I can never see a difference in terms of logic, function, and the work we do. We have to see it. Meanwhile, the women's work is definite. And here, for years, I have seen that women contribute to production if we are selective and provide good training. Of course, heavy work needs attention. It should not be overpowered (B₄).*

It is understood that while male employer's representatives approve of women's work in terms of their contribution to the country's economy and women's economic freedom, they have thoughts with the patriarchal mentality for reasons such as the fact that women's work should not be heavy and they should be approached protectively.

4.4. Work Environment and Social Relations of Women

The work environment has effects on employee morale and work efficiency. Contrary to the scientific management theory developed by Taylor, which is oppressive and limits social relations in the workplace, researches in behavioral theories developed under the leadership of Elton Mayo have revealed that the working environment increases the productivity of the work and satisfies the workers with the practices that prioritize the participation of the workers in the decisions and enable them to establish social relations (Dereli, 1981). In this sense, there have been practices that keep the morale of the employees high by communicating with each other and joking in the work environment. In this study, the experiences of female workers regarding the social environment and relationships reveal that they are distant and do not communicate with other workers, with an understanding stemming mostly from their being women. This indicates the existence of gender discrimination in this work environment.

For example, B₅, a female interviewee, describes the social environment in her work area as follows: *I go, I do my job, and leave. When my time comes, I go out and go home (B₂).* The fact that the number of male workers (253) is very high in the business environment in question, and the number of female workers is 3 is thought to affect the limited social relations according to established cultural norms and stereotypes.

B₁ used the following statements on this subject; *Yes, that goes how you start. After all, you are a woman, you have to protect yourself first. This is also a matter of personality. Without getting too pert, without getting too private, only superficial. Of course, you say a good morning, a good evening. You can't go beyond that with everyone. I have never talked to anyone about my work or my private life at work. But of course, there are three people I talked to, either on the welding or on current issues. I chose three for myself. I'm talking to these three. You know, after we keep our level and our limit, it won't be a problem. Of course, it is normal. It usually depends on the situation, but among all those men, when you chat too much with someone, you get a bad name. You should not chat as much as you can, you know, you can use the word "brother". Then they start to look at you like a sister. There*

is usually no one who looks with a different eye (B₁). Considering these statements, it can be said that male and female workers establish distant relations with each other.

On the other hand, B₆, one of the employer's representatives, expressed the reason for preferring female employees in the workplace as follows; *The factory manager told B₁, the female worker who applied for the job, let me think about it, he made her wait for a week. Then they said that everyone's behavior towards each other may be a little different. The environment down there may change. After Ms. B₁ started and became successful, we posted a sign on our boards at the factory saying "If there are women you know, let them come to work here". Three women came. We also recruited them. We arranged positions for them. Not in heavy departments. We make them weld light small parts in a different place because the power of the man and the power of the woman are not the same* (B₆). According to these statements, he emphasized that the female workers in their factories caused men to behave more controlled in the work environment. However, the fact that the male employer B₆ says they employ women in lighter jobs expressing their weakness compared to men also reveals that he has patriarchal thoughts. The main reason for employing female workers is that they contribute to the order in the work environment because their existence makes men trig themselves and avoid from conflicting relations. These views coincide with the results of the research conducted by Görgün-Baran et al. (2016). In that study searching whether employers consider gender equality in recruitment, employers, whether male or female, said that employing women in workplaces is important in terms of ensuring control and order, and for men to tidy themselves up.

Among the female workers, B₂ stated that they chose to work in the factory as follows: *Because my sister's husband is here, I cannot disgrace him. After all, he's a man too. There are 400 and 500 men here. Which one should I talk to?* This statement shows that women also have sexist approaches and think that the way to protect themselves is not to communicate with men.

The fact that only 3 of the 253 people working in the factory where the research was conducted are women matches with the information that the male workforce is dominant over women. The employer's representative evaluates the positive impact of the employment of female welders in the factory in terms of occupational gender equality: *The work of men and women together is different in terms of the environment. We have never worked with women before because we work in an industrial environment. But over the years there has been a change. We observed it at the factory, and our other managers also observed it. At first, they criticized saying how a woman can be a welder or how she can work here, the work is heavy or something. Now everyone is used to it. Everyone got along with each other. They come in the morning, sit and drink their coffee together, and then they start work together* (B₆).

The interviewee states that the concept of functional flexibility, which overlaps with the meaning of working in different parts of the workplace for short periods, is normal and that the learning process in working life depends only on the learning ability of the workforce: *You constantly tell someone but he doesn't understand. But some are smarter since they were born. Their IQs are high. You say "Do it like this" and he says, "Isn't it more logical if I do it like this?" He improves himself. This is my job. I try to take the easy way out. Work should not tire me. Let the work get tired. Here, I am in production, beforehand, I was in the production department of a large company, in the dyehouse, in the quality control, as well as in the preparation of materials, and then I came here. Here the system is different. The previous one was on environmental design. This is the engine compartment. I don't understand this job now. I'd be lying if I said I understand. Everyone walks at their own pace. Whatever work is to be done; I am a player on the field in the middle. So, I'm on the field* (B₅). The interviewer continued as follows; *I like working. I have been working for almost 20 years. I finished secondary school, I started working life, so now working seems like a hobby to me. A part of me is missing, that is, when I am off at home. Why should I sit, after all, home life is a ridiculous life for me, if you ask, cook meals every day, do the dishes, do the laundry, then take care of the children. So, this is not my life. My life is being out with people, joking with someone, talking and laughing with others, having fun in the evenings, then going home, eating popcorn, and having tea and coffee on the sofa. On payday, I will spend that money, this is my life. So, I really like to work. I start to work laughing because I make fun*

of the job, then I'm happy. Otherwise, time hangs heavy, how can I finish the work with a long face? The other person near me also becomes happy when we joke and chaffer (B₅).

These statements show that B₅ has developed a different perspective and point out that she prefers to focus on and enjoy her work instead of communicating with people, and that she is happy with the pleasure of doing her job. Expressing that she makes an individual effort to make her work life livable, keeps her morale high, and thus enjoys her work can be interpreted as the construction of a female subject's philosophy of life. Thus, it is understood that B₅ moves the business environment to a different point by communicating with her work as required by her own principled stance.

4.5. Pricing the Work Done by Welder Women

Working in paid jobs helps women to have a greater say in the family, causes them to avoid unwanted marriages, to be effective in decision-making processes within the household, creates an obstacle for them to be exposed to physical and verbal violence in the family, and its contribution to the increase in household incomes helps the reduction of the total poverty of the family (Toksöz, 2011). In the research, interviewee B₁ stated that she would be content with the wage given by the employer without stating her own demand and added that making a demand would not be identified with her character: *I have never talked about salary. I don't work for money. You know, I never said that I want such a salary. When they asked me how much salary I want for the job in the interview, I said "Well, I don't know the salary. At the moment, I am not in a position to demand such a salary from you, it is enough if it feeds me. By the same token, let Sundays be mine, may the weekdays be yours". That's all my talk about wages. How should I explain? I'm not an outspoken person. I'm a bit cold. I'm a bit of a dignified person. This is a character coming from my childhood (B₁).*

We pay the same wage to all of them. On our new year's rise, they are one step ahead of each other or lag behind. At the moment, I am happy, they were given job opportunities, and also, they helped to eliminate the disregarding environment at work. We did not discriminate workers in terms of wages. We paid the same wage to women as the entrance amount for men. We took on them with the same wage so that they wouldn't be oppressed by the men because the factory manager made such a decision. In other words, he said, "Let there be equality between men and women in wages" in order to support the women a little more. Anyway, the reason why we recruit them is to increase the cultural level of the factory (B₃).

The approach of the employer's representative in BKF shows a situation contrary to the statistics made in EU27 countries. The wages of men and women also differ in equivalent jobs.

4.6. Experiences of Welder Women on Occupational Health and Safety

In the factory where the research was carried out, labor-intensive export goods in heavy industry are produced. Working conditions here affect the health of workers. For this reason, it is seen that the employer prioritizes the observance of occupational health and safety rules. Occupational health and safety are important for both the employer and the employee to carry out their work. If a worker has an accident, that worker's report of inability to work means that his wages are reduced. On the other hand, it means a decrease in the productivity of the work for the employer. For this reason, business owners are obliged to provide occupational health insurance to their workers in accordance with the labor law.

Interviewees B₁ and B₂ stated that they are aware of the fact that welding is in the dangerous works group: *My chief, our unit manager says: "My employee is human, not a robot. His job is not an easy job, it is a hard work, of course, he will sit and rest". When I'm tired, I sit and rest. Nobody comes to me and asks why are you sitting? Oh, I'm sitting at my desk, I'm not wandering around. I do not distract others from doing their jobs. I don't go out and walk around. I just quit my job, and sit down. I rest there. During those rest breaks, there are neck exercises, I practice them. My hands are constantly holding the torch, I do the hand exercises. I mean I also take care of my health. By the time, I also took patient care course last semester. There's a body mechanics class there. I know how to use my body mechanics. I do not use my body unconsciously. Once a person knows herself, she works everywhere. As long as people know themselves. After all, I am a woman, and of course, I have my shortcomings. In*

terms of physical strength, I have a deficiency. By the way, I go to kickboxing and street fights so that I can protect myself.

The interviewee B₁ states that she attended the occupational health and patient care course and applied what she learned in these courses with the following sentences: *Let me tell you now, since the welding is in the dangerous and very dangerous jobs class, I want women who can protect themselves to work. Those who stay in the light of the tig welding for a long time get skin cancer. I don't change my undershirt and shirt 3 or 4 times a day for nothing. I'm wearing my armband. I'm wearing my leather armband and a leather apron over it. I do double protection, of course. I wear my mouth mask all the time. Also, I told the employer's representatives that I thought the ventilation was insufficient because there were other gas and gas metal arc welding. At present, they just brought ventilation above where I am. I mean, extra ventilation. I'm in the learning phase right now, and I'm not in a position to ask for anything, I protect myself as much as I can, but if I'm going to do the tig welding, there are masks for it. I'm going to want that mask. Even if they don't buy it, it costs over 7 thousand liras. I'll go and get it myself. Oh, I don't have many thanks to anyone. I'll go and buy it for myself, I can say myself first. I don't feel sorry, I protect myself. The company which I work for is not a place that will not buy it or says it is unnecessary. It is a little heavier than the mask I normally use, and it has an air filter bag at the back. I will carry it on my back. I will sweat a little more since the part I breathe is heavier because it will vent continuously. There will be a bit more of a burden on my back, but I'm willing to take them.*

Participant B₂ conveys the difficulties of wearing equipment that is mandatory for occupational health and safety for a long time: *Precautions are taken as occupational safety. I can't wear a mask. It's already hot, I already wear a headscarf, and business attires are thick. Touch it. Can you stand under it? I wore a mask recently. I was almost suffocating. I cannot do this. Why, because when I use forceps, fire comes out and the fire goes inside us. Look, you see. These were just bought. Did you see them? Think it's thin, it even burns us (B₂).*

It is understood from the statements of the interviewees that they adopted the work they did and identified themselves with their work. As a matter of fact, B₁ seems determined enough to say that if the employer does not buy very expensive equipment, she will buy it with her own money for personal protection. With the satisfaction and happiness that her work gives her, the worker woman can take responsibility without any objection, and pay for the materials on her own. Of course, it can be said that protecting her own health and taking precautions are also effective in this situation.

4.7. Future Expectations of Welder Women

When the women working in the factory where the research was carried out were asked about their future goals, interviewees stated that they want to improve their professional competencies in connection with technology: *What is my next goal? Being a very good welder, I still have shortcomings because I still see myself lacking in welding. "How can I do this better? As long as you keep up with technology and want to improve yourself, you can never say "I am a master", you will always lack something since there are always new Technologies and new techniques. As you try to learn these, you will always return to apprenticeship (B₁).*

B₅ answered the question with the following statements: *My kids are not a hindrance to me because they are grown up. They hang out with their friends however they want, and so do I. I hope that if there is a good chance, I will get married. I love traveling long distances. I want to take my car and go on a long journey. That's my only goal, that's my ideal. My mother couldn't see it, but I hope I will succeed, she wanted it very much. We are having a great time outside with my friend. Tea pleasure, green environment, clean air. On Sundays, there is hanging out and women's shopping. I want to spend time outside as much as possible, I love it (B₅).*

The fact that the women participating in the research establish their relations with their social environment and increase their cultural and social capital are effective in achieving the goals in their lives, and that Saturday and Sunday are off in the factory, they do not have a job that requires children care, which is defined as the "second shift" (their children are grown up or they are single without

children) are effective in identifying themselves with work. This indicates that women are ready to use the chances and opportunities they have to realize their dreams.

5. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In the research, it is seen that the female workforce in question was employed in professions that are traditionally described as "women's work" in their previous working lives, and they were exposed to various discriminations because their in-service training opportunities were limited. However, an opposite situation was encountered in the study. Women workers, who became welders in a factory after a welding training, stated that having all the necessary skills for the profession in line with their abilities makes them special.

These women workers, who are the first-generation children of families who migrated from the village to the city, stated that the industrial sector is safer than the service sector.

Factors affecting women's choice of factories as employment areas are the support from their families, their cultural and social capital, their experiences in informal jobs, identifying themselves with their profession, high motivation and self-confidence, the safe environment of the manufacturing industry for the female workforce, and being able to benefit from certain social rights. Results such as the fact that they "have to" choose to work in the manufacturing industry show that economic conditions are a very important factor. In addition to all these, features such as having a shuttle for transportation, a safe work environment, regular working hours, regular insurance, regular meals, regular payment of salaries, being sent to courses, and receiving in-service training have caused them to prefer the welding profession. Their self-confidence has increased due to the privileged position of practicing this profession.

One of the results of the research is that these female workers, who are the first-generation children of families who migrated from the village to the city, stated that the industrial sector is safer than the service sector. It is one of the important findings that the female welders chose their fathers, whose profession is welding, as role models. They stated that the industrial environment that they had to choose randomly in line with their abilities and the success of being the subjects of the work they do while doing their profession, and the professional satisfaction it provides are important.

The female worker, who was the first to attend the welding course and applied to the factory to become a welder with a job posting, became a role model for other women to start the welding profession, due to the fact that she did her job very well and fully complied with the occupational health and safety rules. To express with Bourdieu's concepts, the habitus and cultural capital of the welder women participating in the research have been effective in their practice of this profession because welder women are constantly in pursuit of self-development and try to increase their cultural capital in order not to fall behind with the technological developments. The reasons such as the fact that all three interviewees love their jobs and that the wage is a secondary factor for them after the job satisfaction have been the joy of life for these women.

It is noteworthy that female welders prefer to work in the factory due to the problems caused by working in informal jobs in their previous working life. Gender, socioeconomic level, living in rural or urban settlements, economic system and development level of the country and social, political, cultural and belief systems affect individuals' life plans and development, as well as their career expectations. It can be said that women's struggle and willingness to work have been effective in their success. It is possible to say that especially the living conditions of women workers are one of the most important factors behind their work in the manufacturing industry. Therefore, the difficulties covering the living standards of the social class women workers belong to offer very important clues about how their working life has an impact on their living standards. On the other hand, it is thought that conducting such researches and developing policies on this issue will be beneficial for women working in the industry in order to make the working life more equitable, fairer, and safer for women.

Another result of the research is that a female worker was trained by attending a welding course and was hired by applying to this company through job postings. This female worker, who has been very successful in welding, constitutes a role model as the first woman and the first female welder worker in the factory. Thereupon, the employer recruited four more women through job postings for

welder women and provided employment through in-service training. The studies of Throw and Lucas (1972) revealed that the most important basic criteria for the employers when selecting various suitable workers is "trainability", and these are the workers who are at the front of the queue according to the Queue Theory and have less training costs, and have the characteristics described as "qualifiable". They reveal this in the form of welder women's identification with themselves and their commitment to their work and doing their job well. According to Carnoy's (1982) approach, the diplomas or certificates of the participants who are latent workers in the "Screening Hypothesis" of economic growth of education represent their priority qualifications for the employer and play an important role in determining the competence of the workers. According to this approach, selections are made within the criteria valid in the screening process, and the appropriate candidate is recruited. Likewise, the first female welder had this feature.

In this framework, as a suggestion to increase women's employment, policies should be produced to abolish occupational gender discrimination expressed as "women's work, men's work". For this, an education curriculum should be developed within the framework of gender equality policy starting from primary education, and children's awareness should be raised by enabling them to develop drama-based scenarios and games.

In order to reduce discrimination based on gender, elucidating studies should be carried out to raise awareness of the whole society for an egalitarian approach in social and cultural terms and arrangements should be made accordingly. To increase women's employment in Turkey, the public, private sector, media and non-governmental organizations should work in coordination, and this issue should be made one of the priority areas of the institutions.

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