



THE RELATIONSHIP OF WOMEN WORKERS WITH DEVELOPMENT FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF GAINING THEIR ECONOMIC FREEDOM AND SECURING THE FUTURE OF THEIR CHILDREN

EKONOMİK ÖZGÜRLÜKLERİNİ KAZANMA VE ÇOCUKLARININ GELECEĞİNİ SAĞLAMA PERSPEKTİFİNDEN KADIN İŞÇİLERİN KALKINMA İLE İLİŞKİSİ

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Abstract

This research focuses on the impact that women's participation in the workforce has on development. In this context, 12 women and 4 employer representatives were interviewed in an industrial factory located in Ankara's Sincan region. Data were collected during the interview with the use of a semi-structured questionnaire. The duration of the interviews with the participants was approximately 90 minutes. After deciphering the interviews, women's narratives and the concepts of modernization and conflict theories were used to form thematic analysis units. In this context the themes of obstacles to women's employment, reflection of rural poverty to the city (rural poverty-urban poverty), the effect that women's work in the workplace has on development (Female workers' gains in terms of economic freedom - Their children's becoming a qualified workforce by getting education) and identification of female workers with their work - sense of belonging were determined. According to the results of the research, it has been detected that the participating women workers entered business life due to compulsory reasons, gained their economic freedom and stood on their own feet, it was effective that they worked to secure the future of their children and earned money, that they loved their job very much and were satisfied with their work. It was concluded that women do not have an awareness of development, but their working situation contributes to the development of both them and the country

Keywords: *Women and Development, Economic Freedom, Rural Poverty, Urban Poverty, Identification with Work (Belonging).*

Öz

Bu araştırma kadının işgücüne katılımının kalkınmaya olan etkisini konu edinmiştir. Bu kapsamda Ankara Sincan bölgesinde bulunan bir sanayi fabrikasında 12 kadın 4 işveren temsilcisi ile görüşülmüştür. Görüşmede yarı-yapılandırılmış soru formu kullanılarak veriler toplanmıştır. Katılımcılarla görüşme süresi yaklaşık 90 dakika tutmuştur. Görüşmelerin deşifresi yapıldıktan sonra tematik analiz birimleri oluşturulmak üzere kadınların anlatıları ile modernleşme ve çatışma kuramlarının kavramlarından yararlanılmıştır. Bu kapsamda kadının çalışmasının önündeki engeller, kırsal yoksulluğun kente yansması (kırsalda yoksulluk-kente yoksulluk), İşyerinde kadınların çalışmasının kalkınmaya etkisi, (Kadın işçilerin ekonomik özgürlük açısından kazanımları- Çocuklarının eğitim olarak nitelikli işgücü oluşturması) ve kadın işçilerin işleriyle özdeşim kurma-aidiyet duygusu temaları belirlenmiştir. Araştırmanın sonucuna göre çalışan katılımcı kadınların zorunlu nedenlerden dolayı iş yaşamına girdikleri, ekonomik özgürlüklerini kazanarak kendi ayakları üzerinde durduklarını çocuklarının geleceğini hazırlamada çalışıp para kazanmalarının etkili olduğu, işlerini çok sevdiklerini ve çalışmaktan memnun oldukları tespit edilmiştir. Kadınların kalkınma konusunda bir farkındalıklarının olmadığı ama çalışma durumunun hem kendilerinin hem de ülkenin kalkınmasında katkı sunduğu görüşüne ulaşılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Kadın ve Kalkınma, Ekonomik Özgürlük, Kırsal Yoksulluk, Kentsel Yoksulluk, İşle Özdeşleşme (Aidiyet).*

GENİŞLETİLMİŞ ÖZET

Çalışmanın Amacı

Bu araştırmanın amacı, kalkınmada kadın işgücünün yanı sıra kırsal ve kentsel ayrımının kadının istihdam sağlamasında ve kalkınmaya yönelik katkısındaki eşitsizliklere, kadın işçilerin ekonomik özgürlükleri açısından kazandıkları parayı harcama, çocuklarının eğitimi ve gelecekleri için tasarrufla bulunma konularının kalkınmayla ilişkisine, yoksullaşmaya ve toplumsal cinsiyet ayrımına dikkat çekerek kadının hem kuramsal hem de pratik yaşamındaki durumlarının nasıl olduğunu tespit etmek ve kalkınmanın temel parametrelerinden eğitim, işgücüne katılım, çalışma ortamının kadınlar açısından mevcut durumunu sorgulamak ve çalışmanın kuramla bağlantısını kurarak bu alana katkı sağlaması düşünülen politikalar önermektir.

Araştırma Soruları

Kadının çalışmasının önündeki engellerin neler olduğu, Kadın işçilerin sanayide aktif işgücü olarak toplumsal kalkınmaya nasıl katkı verdikleri, Kadın işçilerin işleriyle özdeşim kurma-aidiyet duygusunun ne ölçüde olduğunun hem kendi hem de işveren temsilcilerinin değerlendirmesi ve bunun kalkınmayı nasıl etkilediğinin belirlenmesine dair yaklaşımlar ile kalkınmanın en önemli belirleyicilerinden olan eğitim, işgücüne katılım ve çalışma ortamının kadınlar açısından mevcut durumu sorgulanmış ve çalışmanın kuramla bağlantısı kurularak bu alana katkı sağlaması düşünülen politikaların neler olacağı sorgulanmıştır. Araştırmanın soruları modernleşme ve çatışmacı kuramları temeline alan, kadın ve kalkınma ile kalkınma ve kadın kuramlarını ilişkilendirilerek yanıtlanmaya çalışılmıştır.

Literatür Araştırması

Kalkınma sürecinde kadınların işgücüne katılımında belirleyici olan özellikler ile gelişme arasındaki bağlantıyı açıklayan çeşitli araştırmalar bulunmaktadır. Goldin (1994), tarafından yapılan araştırmada ekonomik kalkınma aşamasında kadınların işgücüne katılımındaki gelişim incelenmiştir. Elde edilen verilerden kadınların eğitim düzeyleri arttıkça işgücüne katılımlarının da arttırdığını ve beyaz yakalı işlerde istihdam edildikleri ifade edilmiştir. Kadınların Medeni durumlarının işgücüne katılma da etkili olduğu ve evli kadınların gelişim aşamasında işgücüne katılım oranı önce düşmekte fakat ülkelerin gelişme düzeyi arttıkça iş gücüne katılımları da artmaktadır. Tansel (2002) ise yaptığı çalışmada 1980, 1985 ve 1990 yıllarında Türkiye'deki 67 şehir için kadınların işgücüne katılım payında belirleyici faktörleri ekonomik verilerle analiz etmiştir. Elde edilen bulgulara göre, ekonomik büyüme oranının ve kadınların eğitim seviyesinin, kadınların işgücüne katılımını sağlamalarında oldukça önemli pozitif bir etkisi olduğu bulgusuna ulaşmıştır. Klasen'in (2000) yaptığı araştırma ise ülkelerin büyüme ve kalkınma aşaması üzerinde eğitim, istihdam ve cinsiyet eşitsizliğinin etkisini incelemiştir. Bu çalışmada eğitim ve istihdamdaki cinsiyete dayalı eşitsizliğin büyüme ve kalkınma üzerinde olumsuz etkiye yol açtığı verilerine ulaşılmıştır. Bu araştırmanın bulgularına göre eğitim ve istihdamdaki cinsiyet eşitsizliği, işsizliği büyüme ve kalkınmayı olumsuz etkilemektedir. Eğitimdeki cinsiyet eşitsizliğinin

ortalama insan sermayesinin niteliklerini düşürerek ekonomik büyümeye doğrudan etki yaptığı bulgusu yer almaktadır. Yine analiz sonuçlarına göre, eğitimde cinsiyet eşitsizliği, çocuk doğurma ve çocuk ölüm oranlarının düşmesini engellememektedir. Yine gelişmekte olan ülkelerin ekonomik refahının oluşmasını da olumsuz etkilemektedir. Kadın istihdamı ile bağlantılı olarak gerçekleştirilen ampirik bulgular eğitimin kadınların işgücüne katılmalarında en belirleyici etkenlerden biri olduğunu göstermektedir (Güven ve Bhatti, 2004-2005; İnce ve Demir, 2006; Özkan ve Özkan, 2010; Kılıç ve Öztürk, 2014).

Yöntem

Araştırma yorumcu/inşacı yaklaşıma dayalı olarak gerçekleştirilen nitel bir çalışmadır. Araştırma birey olarak tanımlanan öznenin deneyimleri üzerinden onun yaşamsal alanı içerisindeki bu deneyimlerini nasıl anlamlandırdığı ile ilintili olarak etnografik bir çalışma özelliği taşımaktadır. Araştırmanın çalışma grubu, 2019 yılında Ankara'nın Sincan ilçesinde bulunan bir sanayi fabrikasında çalışan 12 kadın işçi ve 4 (dört) işveren temsilcisi olmak üzere toplam 16 kişiden oluşmaktadır. Amaçlı örnekleme dayalı olarak gerçekleştirilen bu çalışmada öznelere deneyimlerine odaklanılmıştır. Araştırma alanında gözlemler gerçekleştirilmiş ve kadınlarla derinlemesine görüşmeler yapılmıştır. Veriler “yarı yapılandırılmış görüşme formu” kullanılarak toplanmıştır. 22 sorudan oluşan görüşme formunda, araştırmaya katılan katılımcıların demografik verilerine dair sorular ile araştırmanın temel ve alt problemlerine ilişkin sorulara yer verilmiştir. Görüşmeler yaklaşık 90 dakika sürmüştür. Görüşmeler aracılığıyla elde edilen verilerin korunması sebebiyle ses alma cihazı ile kayda geçirilmiştir. Kayda geçirilen verilerin deşifresi araştırmacı tarafından yapılmıştır. Katılımcılara etik kurallar çerçevesinde kendi isimleri yerine kod (M) verilerek anlatıları analize tabi tutulmuştur. Araştırmanın kuramsal çerçevesi, modernleşme ve çatışmacı kuramları temeline alan, kadın ve kalkınma ile kalkınma ve kadın kuramlarını içermektedir. Deşifresi yapılan veriler araştırmaya katılan kadın işçilerin anlatımları yönünde söz konusu kuramlarla ilişkisi kurulmuştur. Bu çerçevede manuel olarak tematik analiz birimleri oluşturularak değerlendirilmeye alınmış ve yorumları yapılmıştır.

Sonuç ve Değerlendirme

Kalkınma politikaları genel olarak belirli bir ideoloji içerisinde sosyo-ekonomik ve kültürel yönden toplumların dönüşümlerini amaç edinir. Ancak bu politikalar cinsiyet temelinde analiz edildiğinde kadın ve erkek üzerinde farklı etkiler yarattığı görülmektedir. Ataerkilliğin bu etkileri yaratmasında temel rol oynadığı belirtilmektedir. Kalkınmada Kadın yaklaşımı ataerki yapıyı kültürel etkenlerle açıklarken, Kadın ve Kalkınma ve Toplumsal Cinsiyet ve Kalkınma yaklaşımları ise ataerkilliğin yalnızca kültürel olmadığı aynı zamanda ekonomik ve siyasi nitelikler taşıdığı belirtilmektedir. Bu yaklaşımlar her biri diğer kuramı sorgulamakta ve alternatif kalkınma yaklaşımların ve uygulamaların gelişmesinin gerekliliğini ortaya çıkarmaktadır. Araştırmaya katılan kadın işçilerin anlatımları bağlamında söz konusu kuramlarla ilişkisinin kurulması ile sonuçlar belirlenmiştir. Kadın işgücünün istihdamının sağlanmasında Korkmaz'a (2016) göre eğitim durumu, sosyo-kültürel bakış

açısı, ailesel değerler, yaşı, medeni hali, çocuk sahibi olma, yaşam alanları kır-kent olması, iş yaşamı koşulları, dini yaklaşımları, çalışma yaşamında yer alma istekleri, küreselleşmenin etkileri gibi unsurlar yer almaktadır. Kadın ev içi yükümlülüklerinden kaynaklı olarak işgücü piyasasında var olamamakta ve çoğunlukla kayıt dışı olarak bilinen alanlarda yer alabilmektedir (Korkmaz, 2016: 303-304). Araştırmaya katılan kadın işçilerin çalışmasının önündeki engellerle bu faktörler paralellik göstermektedir. Ayrıca eğitim ve istihdamdaki cinsiyete dayalı eşitsizliğe dayanan engellerin büyüme ve kalkınma üzerinde olumsuz etkiye yol açtığı verilerine ulaşılmıştır. Kadın istihdamı ile ilintili olarak gerçekleştirilen ampirik bulgular (Güven ve Bhatti, 2004-2005; İnce ve Demir, 2006; Özkan ve Özkan, 2010; Kılıç ve Öztürk, 2014), eğitimin kadınların işgücüne katılmalarında en belirleyici faktörlerden olduğunu ortaya koyması bu araştırma verilerinin sonuçları ile benzerlik taşımaktadır. İnsan sermayesinin önemli temsilcilerinden olan T. W. Schultz'a göre insana yapılan yatırımlar onun yaşam sürecini ve çalışmaya dayanıklılığını etkileyen sağlık, istihdam, eğitim gibi faktörleri insanın her türlü verimliliğine yönelik olarak değerini arttırmaya dair yapılan bütün yatırımlardır (Schultz, 1971: 24-36). Bu yaklaşımla bağlantı olarak bu çalışmada elde edilen veriler Eğitimdeki cinsiyet eşitsizliğinin ortalama insan sermayesinin niteliklerini düşürerek ekonomik büyümeye doğrudan etki yaptığı bulgusuna ulaşılmasına neden olmuştur. Yine analiz sonuçlarına göre, eğitimin kadınların işgücüne katılmalarında en belirleyici faktörlerden olduğunu ortaya koymaktadır. Kalkınma çerçevesinde insan sermayesi faktörü olarak kadın emeğine verilecek değer, sağlık, konut edinme, eğitime erişim, göç, çalışma koşulları ve çalışma saatlerinin azaltılması ile kadının kendine zaman ayırması için boş vakit yaratılması gibi insana yönelik yapılacak yatırım politikalarıyla ilişkilidir. Marjinalleşme yaklaşımına göre, modernleşme anlayışında özellikle vurgulanan eşitlik kavramına rağmen kalkınma aşamasında kadının hem ekonomik hem de toplumsal bakımdan marjinalliği arttığı çalışmada elde edilen bulgular arasındadır. Ancak zaman zaman kadınlar niteliksiz de olsa bazı formal çalışma mekânlarında istihdam edilebilme imkânları da bulabilmektedir. Araştırmadaki veriler kadınların daha önce kayıtsız işlerde çalıştığı daha sonra fabrikada formal çalışma imkânına ulaştıkları belirlenmiştir. Marjinalleşme yaklaşımı, kadının kamusal alandaki işgücü içerisinde yer almasının ev içi yükümlülükleri azaltmadığı hatta bu durumun kadının iş yükünü daha fazla arttırdığını öne sürer. Modernleşme yaklaşımının iddia ettiği gibi, kalkınma kadının konumunda ve toplumsal refahında koşulsuz bir gelişim sağlamaz. Yine bu yaklaşıma göre, kadının toplumsal konumunun oluşturulmasında maddi imkânlar oldukça önemli bir role sahiptir, ifadesini kullanır. Bu durumda söz konusu çalışmamızda kadının çalışması ile ev işlerini birlikte yürütmesinin zorlu bir süreç olduğu, çifte vardiya olarak adlandırılan bu durumun kadının çalışmasının ve toplumsal cinsiyet eşitsizliğinin önünde bariyer oluşturduğu görülür. Kırsal alandan kente göçle gelen ve sonraki yıllarda çalışma hayatına katılan kadınların kırsal yoksullukları bir bakıma devam etmiştir. Ancak kent yaşamı kadınların toplumsal hareketliliğini artıran bir faktör olarak değerlendirildiğinde iş yaşamına başlamaları yoksulluk zincirini kıran bir özellik de göstermektedir. Bu anlatıların görüşmeye katılan kadınların çalışmaya hazırlıklı olmadıklarını ama zorunlu olduklarını

düşündükleri için çalışmaya başladıklarını bize gösteriyor. Bilinçli bir tercih ve kadın olarak kendine ve ülke ekonomisine katkısından önce çocuklarının ihtiyaçlarını karşılamaya yönelik bir düşüncelerinin olduğunu göstermektedir. Bu durumu yine toplumun kültürel kalıp yargıları ile ilişkili olarak yorumlamak gerekmektedir. Düzenli gelir getirici ve iş güvencesi olan bir işe girdikten sonra iş yasaları çerçevesinde makro kalkınma konusunda işgücü olarak katkı sundukları söylenebilir. Kadınların ücretli olarak işgücüne katılımının özgürlük sağlamanın yanısıra evlilik kurumu içerisinde ataerkil değerlere karşı koyabilmesi için konumlarını daha güçlü hale getireceği konusunun önemli olduğuna dikkat çekilmektedir. Katılımcı kadınların ekonomik özgürlüklerini kazanmaları onların kendine güven ve gurur duymalarına yol açmakta ve kendilerini yaşama bağlayan bir unsur olarak gördüklerini ortaya koymaktadır. Ekonomik özgürlüğün kadını ve aile yaşamını değiştirdiğine ve kadını güçlü kıldığı, çalışmasının kazanımlarına bakıldığında ayakları üzerinde durmanın kadının otoritesini ve statüsünü yükselten bir durum yarattığı, çalışma hayatında olması kamusal alanın getirilerinden faydalanma imkanına kavuşmalarını sağlamaktadır. Kadın işçilerin işleriyle özdeşim kurma-aidiyet duygusu oluşturmalarının çalışma yaşamlarının severek, daha verimli ve daha uzun süreli çalışmalarına neden olduğu elde edilen veriler arasında yer almaktadır. Kadınların ücretli olarak işgücüne katılımının özgürlük sağlamanın yanısıra evlilik kurumu içerisinde ataerkil değerlere karşı koyabilmesi için konumlarını daha güçlü hale getireceğinden söz eden Rosen, (1982:34), bu çalışmadaki kadın işçilerin anlatıları ile benzer bir sonucu ortaya koymaktadır. Kadının çalışmasının kendine ve çocuklarına yatırım yapma anlamına geldiği anlaşılmaktadır. Bu açıdan kadının çalışması, onun güçlenmesini sağlayan hususlardan biridir.

1. INTRODUCTION

The contribution of the population living in rural and urban areas to the national economy is particularly important in terms of development. It is known that the development process necessitates migration from rural areas to cities based on several reasons. According to Keleş (2010), ensuring employment of the workforce migrating to the city in non-agricultural areas can accelerate industrialization and increase the national income per capita in cities, depending on the type and level of investments. Among the main objectives of the national development policy, migration from rural to urban areas is fully internalized and nourished by the job opportunities created in the city in countries that have adopted rapid industrialization. With the industrial revolution, its direction has changed in international markets (Oğuztürk & Çetin, 2012). This kind of urbanization can be considered as the result of a healthy development process. However, it is seen that the international division of labor on the phenomenon of urbanization within the national development policy target of Turkey has made it mandatory and has not yet achieved the criteria expressed by the international capital. The fact that economic growth is not in the direction of serious industrialization also reveals imbalances in the distribution of labor force between sectors. This situation draws attention especially with the fact that the increase is not in the manufacturing industry but in the service sectors. On the other hand, according to the data of Turkish Statistical Institute for 2021, the total employment rate of Turkey in 2020 is 26.3% for women in the active population; it was 59.8% for men. In the same data, the labor force participation rate is 30.9% for women and 68.2% for men. The labor force participation rate is 49.3% and the employment rate is 42.8%. The total number of people participating in the industrial workforce of the economically active population is 5,497 and the employment rate in the industry is 20.5%. In such a situation, the high rate of open unemployment, even in big urban centers, is considered as one of the proofs that the poverty of the rural areas, which are not based on a healthy economic structure, are transferred to the cities. When evaluated from a macro-economic point of view, it is seen that poverty has not decreased but increased even more with urbanization. It is argued that neo-liberal policies, which ignore poverty, industrialization, labor, and women, have an important role in the uneven increase in income distribution. However, this situation has different contexts besides its economic aspects. One of the most important of these is that urbanization does not normally cause urbanization-specific changes in the behavior and attitudes of an individual. It is known that the driving force in determining the behaviors and attitudes of individuals specific to urbanization is their ability to have an income-generating job, their working environment and conditions being suitable for doing business, and their ability to benefit from modern education opportunities. The fact that none of these opportunities is sufficient in urban living areas causes those who migrate from rural to urban areas to continue their rural lifestyle in the city (Keleş, 2010). Therefore, it is seen that poverty is an important problem for the population migrating from rural to urban areas.

It is seen that women, especially children, are more affected by poverty due to the perspective of the established culture towards women in the development process and the fact that women have a more disadvantaged position in relation to both institutional and cultural influences. Women poverty is defined as a significant loss of added value in the economies of developing countries (Toksöz, 2011) In order for countries such as Turkey, which are still in the stage of industrialization, to become a state that provides high added value and an increase in the middle-class population, women's labor must be empowered and included in development. Thus, with the participation of women in development, it can be predicted that human development and sustainable development will lead to development as well as industrialization.

The concept of "feminization of poverty" that was introduced by Diane Pearce (1978) in 1978 can be explained by different reasons, such as the inadequacy of the value placed on women's labor as human capital, the problem of women's education, attitude to women, policies for employment, the inability of inclusive policies to meet their needs, the existence of colonial policies, the structure of the social state. Within the scope of development, women's labor is defined by the conceptualization of "invisible labor". However, the influence of the patriarchal attitude to women causes women to remain in the background and impoverishes them at the same time. Qualifying women's labor as worthless due to the social roles that impose household responsibilities on women in feminization of poverty as well as women's secondary position in the labor market is based on such factors as restructuring with neo-liberal policies, inability to benefit equally from resources and services in the public sphere, not benefiting equally from educational opportunities, inadequacy in social protection resources and unequal meeting of health needs, etc. (Ulutaş, 2009). The competitive environment, which gained momentum with globalization, put small-scale traditional enterprises in Turkey in a difficult situation in the post-1990 period, leading to a low level of women's participation in the labor-intensive market due to the inadequacy of women's education and qualification levels. (Toksöz, 2011).

These factors, which further increase discrimination against women in development, also show that there is a need for public policies aimed at empowering women in development and eliminating inequalities.

Discriminations that expose women to poverty in society differ from each other. Inequality and gender discrimination against women, the problem of women's participation, the negative conditions that women are exposed to, and their consequences can increase the deprivation of women. However, there are different measures that can be taken against the feminization and discrimination of poverty. Among the international organizations, there are policies to combat poverty such as the practices of women-centered strategies, incentives, micro-credit practices, social aid initiatives conducted by organizations such as the World Bank and the United Nations (Öztürk & Çetin, 2009). Considering this situation within the scope of economics, one of the crucial factors for eliminating women's poverty is to

create trends that help evaluating the cultural perspective of women from the past and acquired social roles from an innovative and open society perspective, and to increase awareness in the society by creating change and transformation in the perspective of education and society. In this context the fact that women receive a satisfactory vocational education so that they can work in qualified jobs in the industry and giving importance to the widespread application of equal opportunities for girls in education will ensure both the empowerment of women and the realization of development.

The purpose of this research is to determine how women workers contribute to social development as active labor in the industry, what their educational level is, and how they participate in working life. An attempt was taken to determine the relationship between women workers' economic freedom, spending the money they earn, their savings for the education of their children and their future with development. Within the framework of this purpose, the main problem of the research is “to what extent women's jobs comply with the requirements of modern society in terms of education level, working time in the workplace, working environment, legal rights and union organization and how they affect development.” Thus, the current situation of education, labor force participation and working environment for women, which are the basic parameters of development, were questioned and policies that were thought to contribute to this field were proposed by establishing the connection of the study with the theory.

1.1. Purpose of the Research

The purpose of this research is to determine how women workers contribute to social development as active labor in the industry, what their educational level is, and how they participate in working life. An attempt was taken to determine the relationship between women workers' economic freedom, spending the money they earn, their savings for the education of their children and their future with development. Within the framework of this purpose, the main problem of the research is “to what extent women's jobs comply with the requirements of modern society in terms of education level, working time in the workplace, working environment, legal rights and union organization and how they affect development.” Thus, the current situation of education, labor force participation and working environment for women, which are the basic parameters of development, were questioned and policies that were thought to contribute to this field were proposed by establishing the connection of the study with the theory.

1.2. Method of the Research

The research is a qualitative study based on the interpretative/constructive approach. The research has the characteristics of an ethnographic study in relation to how the subject, who is defined as an individual, interprets these experiences in their life field through their experiences. The study group of the research consists of a total of 16 people, including 12 female workers and 4 (four) business managers working in an industrial factory in Ankara's Sincan district in 2019. This study, which was

based on purposive sampling, focused on the experiences of the subjects. Observations were made in the research area and in-depth interviews were conducted with women. Data were collected using a "semi-structured interview form". In the interview form consisting of 22 questions, questions about the demographic data of the participants and questions about the basic and sub-problems of the research were included. The interviews lasted approximately 90 minutes. During the interview process it was observed that those in the study group trusted the researcher and answered the questions sincerely. Due to the protection of the data obtained through the interviews, they were recorded with a voice-recording device. Before starting the interview, the participants were informed that the interview would be audio-recorded, and the consent of the female workers was obtained. The deciphering of the recorded data was performed by the researcher. The participants were given a code (M) within the framework of ethical rules and their narratives were analyzed. The theoretical framework of the research includes women and development and development and women's theories, which are based on modernization and conflict theories. The deciphered data is related to the aforementioned theories in the context of the narratives of the women workers participating in the research. In this framework thematic analysis units were created manually, evaluated, and interpreted. The thematic analysis units of the research were gathered under four topics. In addition, analyses were made by dividing the second and third topics into 2 sub-categories. These are the topics and categories.

2.1 Barriers to Women's Work

2.2 Reflection of Rural Poverty to the City

2.2.1 Rural poverty

2.2.2 Urban poverty

2.3 The Effect of Women's Work in the Workplace on Development

2.3.1 Gains of Women Workers in terms of Economic Freedom

2.3.2 Creating a Qualified Workforce by Educating Their Children

2.4 Identification of Female Workers with Their Jobs – Sense of Belonging

Studies in the literature clarify the role of women in development, participation in the labor market, as well as the differences in income status, and the effects of women's discrimination and gender inequality in development on the stage of development. The aim of this research is to draw attention to the inequalities in the contribution of rural and urban differences in women's employment and gender discrimination in society, to evaluate the situation of women in both theoretical and practical life and to present the data of the qualitative research carried out within the qualitative study with participation of 12 female employees and 4 (four) employer representatives of the factory in the manufacturing industry.

Table 1. Demographic Characteristics of the Participants

Participant	Gender	Age	Educational Background	Marital Status	Number Of Children
M1	Female Worker	50	Primary School	Divorced	3
M2	Female Worker	27	Secondary School	Married	1
M3	Female Worker	65	Left Primary School	Married	3
M4	Female Worker	55	Primary School	Married	3
M5	Female Worker	43	Left Primary School	Married	1
M6	Female Worker	58	No Read and Write	Married	4
M7	Female Worker	47	Primary School	Married	2
M8	Female Worker	56	Primary School	Married	2
M9	Female Worker	46	Primary School	Married	4
M10	Female Worker	39	Primary School	Married	3
M11	Female Worker	32	Open University	Married	2
M12	Female Worker	38	Primary School	Married	2
M13	Male Representative Employer	45	Vocational High School	Married	2
M14	Male Representative Employer	27	University	Single	-
M15	Male Representative Employer	29	University	Single	-
M16	Male Representative Employer	47	Secondary School	Married	3

2. 2. ANALYSIS OF RESEARCH DATA

2.1. Barriers to Women's Work

This topic focuses on how women workers enter the job and what kind of jobs they work in. In addition to the varied factors that determine the development levels of countries, one of the most important of them is the participation of women in the labor market. There are factors such as educational status, socio-cultural perspective, family values, age, marital status, having children, rural-urban living areas, business life conditions, religious approaches, their desire to take part in working life, and the effects of globalization in the employment of female workforce. Women cannot exist in the labor market due to their domestic obligations and can mostly take place in areas known as informal (Korkmaz, 2016: 303-304). However, from time to time, women can also find employment opportunities in some formal workplaces, even if they are unqualified. Although formal employment is easy to detect in terms of development indicators, the existence of the informal economy can both reveal the deficiencies in the legal ground and adversely affect the structure of female labor employment in development.

In this context the working story of M1 who started working in the factory as an unqualified worker and expressed the negative experiences she had experienced as follows; *M1 My children went to primary school. My eldest son could not see far away in the lesson. The schoolteachers noticed and the principal called me. "There's a problem with the boy's eye," they said. The principal helped, I took him to the doctor and the doctor prescribed glasses. I had no money to buy glasses. Thankfully, the*

principal bought the glasses. We didn't have health insurance. Then the school principal asked, "Will you work for me at school?". They said come and go with your kids and I had no choice but to agree. I started working at school. By the way the principal said, "Learn to read and write." They said you could learn to read and write. They enrolled me in open education. I took the exam in open education, got my diploma and I was very happy. I was going to school with my children, of course, it was not easy for me. There was a print shop there. I started working there as a tea lady. After working for 2 years, they took me to the archive department. I worked in that department for 5 years and the print shop was closed because of the crisis. I was unemployed and started looking for a job. In 2004 this place put an ad in the newspaper, saying that "unskilled workers will be hired". I bought the newspaper and came here.

It can be said that women who do not have any qualifications want to work because of their financial difficulties and poverty. In this respect while expressing the necessity to work, another female worker M3 explains that her husband was against her working at first due to the woman's illness, but then she persuaded him and took leave, she points out her children's support and the contribution of her work to her children's education as follows; *M3 Allah bless this place a thousand times. This place was in Hurdacilar when it first opened. Hurdacilar was such a terrible thing. The woman could not go alone there. There was Ayşe from Kizilcahamam. We fit into a friendly environment. So, we promised each other that we would not leave each other. We worked overnight. During the day until 2 at night. 1 hour walk. I went home from there. The factory started with us in Hurdacilar. We started working there. We didn't know what a crate was, it was too heavy, we used to lift crates. We would pack. There were no men. It was difficult, but it did us good. We were in a tight corner. My children were studying then. They were studying in Yahyalar. So, I had to work. I used to work when I was young. My hands and arms became allergic, I was allergic to this mortar. My face became allergic. We are dealing with mortar. My husband kept me up at home. Let me go. We are in a difficult situation. No money is coming with you. I said I will work; I will educate my children. "No, don't go to work," he said. I put my feet down from the balcony, I said, "I'm going to throw myself down"... He said, "Did we bring this in trouble?" I said come back, let me go. Then my husband let me go. When I opened the door, I ran so hard that I ran down those streets, to see if I was late. My husband is so good that he did not object me. My kids are also smart. They went to colleges.*

M4, who connects the work she sees as a necessity to her husband's discomfort, expresses the moment she found a job to bring home a living wage like this; *M4 My husband is sick. Because my husband is not a normal patient. He just faints and stays where he is. I must work. If I don't work, we get into a lot of trouble. In all modesty if I don't work, I can't find a living. So, I have to work. Now I like the environment of this place. I hope to work here as long as I can. I am satisfied with my workplace. As I said, even if the workplace lays off, I will not go away. Don't lay me off, I say I have to work. I must work. I do everything I can. I won't have any trouble. Be it the manager or the supervisor. They don't say, "You haven't done that yet". Because no matter which department I go to, every department is*

satisfied with me. If there is no job, I will work here and there. The work of our own factory. We do every job. We do the entrusted job. May Allah save us our hands and feet and let us work. M4 specifically stated that she is enthusiastic and hardworking about her job, that she will not quit even if they want to discharge her, that she will resist, that she loves her job very much.

M7, describing the pressures that the woman's work experiences through social stereotypes, states that she changed the neighborhood, overcame the stereotypes, and started working after sending her son to the military. *M7 Before there was no such thing as work. Women workers were despised. As I said, I started working after my son went to the military. We had many financial difficulties. When I said I didn't look despised, I changed the neighborhood. I changed the living environment. I moved elsewhere.* M7 said that her husband is a lady's bag maker and that he stays at home and sews; *We had a machine at home. I struggled a lot with it. This is how I came to where I am through my own efforts. I have worked in several places before. I worked in a catering company for 2-3 years, but it was difficult. I hurt my back and had to quit my job. I worked at Pan Raw Meatballs. I worked for about a year. I worked in a confectionery; it went bankrupt there. Then I came here,* she says and adds that she works to overcome financial difficulties and continues to work without a break even if she changes his workplace. Another critical issue is that she started working after her child grew up. This shows that the fact that some of the women start working in order to bring home the bread and after raising their children in the middle age opens the door for them to enter jobs that do not require qualifications. Thus, solving the problem of poverty and childcare attributed to women in society makes it possible for them to work. In this regard, M10 also says the following: *M10 I had children. They had their own children. They've grown up, these kids. They went to primary school. We saw that we were pressed for money. I told my husband that I wanted to work too. First, my husband objected to my work. Then he saw that it was impossible. He allowed it. I was lucky here. I started to work here.*

While classical modernization theory deals with the "backwardness" of women based on this information, it explains the reason for this with the effect of traditional attitudes and simple technology. Because, according to this theory, the economic development that develops due to industrialization in a society will increase the employment opportunities of women, especially in the service sector (Hoşgör, 2014). The system, which emphasizes individual success with industrialization, emphasizes that providing employment to women is particularly important in terms of earning income and enabling them to take responsibility for their own lives. Rosen (1982: 34), who mentioned that women's participation in the labor force as a paid employee will not only provide freedom but also make their position stronger to resist patriarchal values in the institution of marriage. It is understood that a woman's work means investing in herself and her children.

Again, a story of poverty and the issue of the contribution of women's work to the home is the reason for women to start working. In this respect the narrative of M5 is as follows; *My husband works*

at Lokman Hekim as cleaner; he has been working there for 8 years. The first place I worked in was a catering company. Since the catering company was not what I wanted, I applied here. My friend told me about this place. I chose this place in terms of finance. I've been here for 14 years. The reason I started working was as follows. When my father-in-law left, we had a hard time financially. I felt compelled to work. I came back here again. We stayed here, we worked, we've been here until now. My husband was not working at that time. He didn't work for a year or so. At home, financially, of course we were straitened. Then, when my husband got a job, we bought my belongings. After working for some time, we decided to buy our own house. We moved from my mother-in-law's, and they accepted it with understanding. I started here with a help from a friend. We've been going here for 14 years. It is seen that after a while she started to work, she explained that her financial situation improved and that they bought a house and arranged their belongings in the house as they pleased.

If the women who are unqualified and get the job are going to do the job using the machine, the supervisor in the factory teaches the worker how to do these jobs and follows them up. M10 stated the following on this subject; *I was working before. I worked in the gardening business. There was no insurance for that job in Ankara. I found this place with the recommendation of a friend who works here. I started work the day I arrived. They employed me. There was a need. The supervisor said, "You got the highest score. You are fine," they said. The woman who learned the job, clings to her job with all her hands, and her presence causes her to gain admiration.*

According to one of the important representatives of human capital T. W. Schultz, investments made in people include benefits from health services that affect their life process and their resilience to work, migration to provide better job opportunities, and in terms of education, formal education, on-the-job training and adult education programmed by workplaces, non-formal training programs conducted outside the workplaces. The concept of human capital, which is aimed at all kinds of human productivity, is defined as all investments made to increase the value of the characteristics acquired by the individual from birth and later (Schultz, 1971). The value to be given to women's labor as a human capital factor within the framework of development is related to human-oriented investment policies such as health, housing, access to education, migration, working conditions and reducing working hours, and creating free time for women to devote time to themselves.

The narratives presented in this topic reveal that the financial difficulties caused women to get a job, and they started to work to live a better life and secure a better future for their children. On the other hand, considering that there are women who decide to enter a job after their children grow up, the burden of child care on women and the fact that women have a work order that is limited to the domestic area shows that working is still not done in order to ensure development with the participation of women in the workforce. Moreover, it should be noted that the work done by women is an extension of domestic work that does not require much qualification. However, from the narratives of women, it can be

interpreted that the work they do both provides their own family development by achieving their economic freedom, albeit on a small scale, and contributes to social development as it helps their children to get education and get better jobs.

2.2. Reflection of Rural Poverty to the City

The concept of modernization in the Modernist Development Approach, which is under the influence of evolutionist and functionalist schools, is defined as following the footsteps of the American or Western school, including processes, without the possibility of return, based on development and involving a long time (So, 1990). While the concept of traditionalism generally reflects that in traditional societies, individuality is not at the forefront, modernity refers to a process in which individuality, rationality, scientific orientation and democratic values are not expressed. (Parpat, 1996: 244-245). Again, according to those who represent the modernization school, the countries described as the "Third World" will be able to achieve development only by following the stages followed by the developed countries or by imitating what they do. They argued that this would only be possible with foreign loans and aid from developed countries, so that they could transform their traditional institutions (Rostow, 1964). However, while the classical modernization theory, which started to be effective in the 1960s, considers the society as a whole, it states that positive changes in the society will affect both men and women alike, regardless of gender. Therefore, it does not need to create a specific area such as policy making for women. Those who defended the classical modernization school especially defended the four schools of social equality. The first of these is the economy that has developed technologically or has completed its industry, the other is the evolution of the kinship system from the extended family to the nuclear family, the other is the formation of a democratic state structure and the creation of an egalitarian class structure, and the last is the adoption of a secular world view (Giele, 1992:5). While the classical school, which emphasizes the importance of human capital in development, expresses the difference between the requirements of collective life and the requirements of individual life, it is seen that women are more disadvantaged in this case.

2.2.1. Rural Poverty

According to the data of the research, the story of M1, which reveals how the women who migrated from the village to the city, spent their lives in poverty in the village and how the girls' desire to attend school with patriarchal values were suppressed, sheds enough light on the study. *I am from Yozgat, I was born in the village and grew up there. We were 6 siblings. I was the only girl in the house and the others were boys. My father sent us to school. He allowed my siblings to study in primary school and withdraw me in the 3rd grade. He decided to marry me off because girls wouldn't study. I loved studying. My father did not listen to me, our family was large, he said, I can't provide for you. I cried, I said I will study but he wouldn't listen to me, I loved my school very much. I really wanted to get my diploma. I cried so much it didn't work. My father said, "I got the bride price. I promised. I can't go*

back on my word," he said. I had to endure helplessly, and he married me off when I was 11 years old. I did not live my childhood; I was married without realizing my late maidenhood. I went to a family of 25 people. My in-laws said, ", You are a young daughter-in-law, you will do everything". Even though I did everything, they didn't like it and they would beat me, they would curse, they would throw me behind the door. I would cry, there was nothing I could do. I lived 8 years among 25 people and there was nothing they didn't do to me. I told my husband "Let's move elsewhere" I said, he wouldn't. I would go to the field, I would go to the garden, I would go down to the barn. They made me do everything. I would drive the tractor, I would plant crops, I would plough, I would dig a garden. I used to do everything, and I had children, it wasn't easy for me. It is understood that one of the basic parameters of development, "the level of education-training", does not constitute a guarantee other than the adventures of female workers in primary school. Especially withdrawing girls from the 3rd grade, making them help the mother in the family and marry them off at an early age all this still stands as patriarchal obstacles to development.

The story of M10, who got married immediately after graduating from primary school, is as follows; *I finished primary school when I was a kid. I was born and raised in a village in Tokat. I graduated from primary school. After primary school, my father didn't let me study. He immediately put the ring on my finger. They married me off. I was 14 years old when I got married for the first time. So, I got married twice. I did not love my husband. I stayed by his side for 15 days. I left after that. Then I stayed at my father's house for 3 years. After that I met my current husband.*

Having a similar story, M3 expressed the events she experienced as follows; *I was born in Trabzon. I got married at 18. I studied up to 4. My mother would come to Ulus from Dikmen collecting wood, and we would go to help her. The road was far, we brought the load of wood. We would come at night. Then we would be late for school. My father died. They wanted to educate me. My mother withdrew me from school. I was studying. I used to know a lot of poems. That's why we were like this, we couldn't study. I've been here for 23 or 24 years. Derya, one of my children, went to secondary school when I started here. Sabrim went to the secondary school 1st here. My younger child was smaller when I started here. I came here then.*

In another story, M2 states; *I spent my childhood in the village. I graduated from primary and secondary school. We stayed at my father's house for a couple of years. Then I was married off to the neighboring village. I lived there for 5 years. I dropped out of school at the age of 15. They did not educate their daughters. High school was not compulsory. My father did not allow me to study. We were 7 siblings. The men (my brothers) dropped out after the secondary school. After my father-in-law died, my husband became ill. We came here.*

Another female worker living in the grip of poverty in the countryside attributed the reason for her inability to study to financial disability and expressed the following: M4; *My father was a shepherd.*

He herded the cattle. He could not afford to buy pens and notebooks. We were poor. But he let us go to school. However, he let us study up to the 5th grade. My father spent his life working as a shepherd. He got sick afterwards. He passed away. My mother was poor. She planted orchards and gardens in the village. So whatever she found in between, my mother fed us. What did we have? The food we ate was not like what we eat now. It was poor. Our father could not even buy us shoes. I went to school up to 5th grade. I got married at 18. My father could not educate us because his condition was not good. After I got married, I lived in the village a lot. It is understood that the children in the family, especially the girls, who cannot receive education due to poverty and desperation, are married off at an early age and bear children, this causing them to lead a multi-fold poor life.

Both poverty and lack of education are among the most intense problems faced by women who come from the countryside to urban areas, and these problems reveal the barrier of female labor force in development. In this regard, the narratives of female workers with the codes M5, M6, M7 and M8, working at home and in the field after dropping out of primary school 5, and then getting married and entering the spiral of poverty again, constitute similar stories. Women who say that if they were not poor, their fathers would have them educated, are now trying to implement this issue by educating their children. In this regard the story of M9 is similar to the others and says the following: M9: *I was born in 1972. I have 7 siblings. What is my birth order, I'm fourth. There are 4 sisters besides me. There are 3 brothers. My father passed away when I was 8 years old. We had many fields of our own in our village. We had cows, hens, chickens. We were dealing with whatever was in the village. My mother did not work outside. My mother helped us. We helped our mother. In the field, in the orchard, in the garden. By the way, we just graduated from our school. I got married after turning 18. I got an arranged marriage. I graduated from primary school. We had no means in the village. We did not have the opportunity to study. I would have studied if I had it. There was no other school in the village. After us, it became a mobile school. They studied until high school. But we had no such opportunity. We were in the village, and we got married at the age of 18 because we didn't have owner. My mother always used to say: "I leave you alone. I'm going to the field. I'm going to the garden. Here I am, leaving you at home. I'll have you married before anything happens to you. Have an owner. I'll have you married before anything bad happens to you. I mean, she told it so beautifully. We said, Mom, this marriage thing is early for us. When the woman said, "I'm leaving you like this. I'm doing it for your sake. I've got 2 more besides you." I said ok mom. My husband is 8 years older than me. He had done his military service. She was 28 when we got married. In this narrative, it is seen that, under the influence of oppressive patriarchal stereotypes, the mother has the idea that her daughters will marry someone who will take care of them, so that she will not be worried, and reproduce a view that the woman is subordinate.*

There are various studies explaining the connection between the characteristics that determine the participation of women in the labor force in the development process and development. In the

research conducted by Goldin (1994), the development of women's participation in the labor force at the stage of economic development was examined. From the data obtained, it is stated that as the education level of women increases, their participation in the workforce also increases and they are employed in white-collar jobs. Marital status of women is also effective in their participation in the labor force and the labor force participation rate of married women in the developmental stage first decreases, but as the development level of the countries increases, their participation in the labor force also increases. Tansel (2002) analyzed the determinants of women's labor force participation share for 67 cities in Turkey in 1980, 1985 and 1990 with economic data. According to the findings it has been found that the economic growth rate and the education level of women have a very significant positive effect on women's participation in the workforce.

Despite her family's insistence and being poor, a female worker who studied describes her situation as follows; M11: *I am a mother of 2 children. I graduated from high school. I went to primary boarding school. My parents did not have means, but they wanted me to study very much. Regional Boarding Education School-Iskilip-Çorum- I studied there. Since I studied in a boarding school, I only stayed there during the summers. Also, I was there on mid-term breaks. They said, we just want our daughter to study. They enrolled me in the school. I studied for 8 years. Then I went to girls' vocational high school. I graduated from Child Development Department.*

M12, who started working after giving birth to her children and bringing them to a certain age, narrated her life as follows; *I was born in Çorum village, I went to primary school there, I was a successful student, but my family did not educate me. They said, "Where will the girl stay?" I cried, but it didn't work, a love of reading remained with me, and I got married at 16. I always dreamed that I would educate my daughter. I got married, had a daughter, and then had a son. My struggle for life began. They grew up and went to school. I never worked until my daughter was in her last year of high school. I was always with them. Although I found the working environment strange at first, I got used to it in a brief time. The industrial environment is tough for a woman, but you have to work. What can be done, you have to do it for your children.*

Klasen's (2000) research, on the other hand, examined the effects of education, employment and gender inequality on the growth and development stages of countries. In this study, it was stated that gender-based inequality in education and employment has negative effects on growth and development. According to the findings of this research, gender inequality in education and employment, unemployment negatively affects growth and development. There is a finding that gender inequality in education has a direct impact on economic growth by reducing the quality of average human capital. Again, according to the results of the analysis, gender inequality in education does not prevent the decrease in childbirth and child mortality rates. It also negatively affects the economic well-being of developing countries. The marginalization approach argues that the inclusion of women in the workforce

in the public sphere does not reduce domestic obligations, and this situation further increases the workload of women. As the modernization approach claims, development does not provide an unconditional improvement in women's status and social welfare. Again, according to this approach, financial opportunities have a very important role in the formation of women's social position. However, the fact that production relations depend on the patriarchal structure is also aware that the economic structure will be insufficient to explain the social position of women in the development phase.

2.2.2. Urban Poverty

The rural poverty of women who migrated from rural areas to the cities and joined the working life in the following years continued in a way. However, when urban life is evaluated as a factor that increases women's social mobility, starting their business life also shows a feature that breaks the chain of poverty. M2 and M3 also found similar narratives on this subject and M2 expressed the following; *M2 Lately my husband had an accident. That's why my husband didn't work. Our financial situation was troublesome. Then I looked for a job. First, I worked in a working company for about 1 month. After that, I came here on the recommendation of a friend. One of my sisters studied. She studied for a kindergarten teacher. She's going for internship. High school has become compulsory. They said they will study there or something. They had the opportunity to study with their own efforts. As technology progressed, so did vision. About girls' education, that is, they educated them in that way. They became professionals. They wouldn't send them much to work. I had to work because of financial difficulties.*

M4, M5 and M6, who also stated that they had to work because of their spouse's illness, told comparable stories and M4 expressed the following on this subject; *Because my husband is a little ailing, I have to work because I have debts. My husband goes and works with a friend. When there is no work he is at home. They work in the ready mixed concrete business. They take it with them too. Ready-mixed concrete is coming, and they are throwing concrete like this. They help them. We rent a house; one has to work. My house is not in proper order, I have to buy everything. I don't have a washing machine. I don't have a dishwasher. I don't have a sofa set. I don't have a proper order. When my husband doesn't work when he has no job. House rent, home loan. My children would help me but they have loans too. Who wouldn't not help his mother. My children go to their job in the morning and to their home in the evening. There is no such trouble. Thanks to Allah. I have 3 sons. All 3 are married. Thanks God. I don't have any problems with my children, but they have debts, and they hardly make both ends meet. They took loans and bought houses. Because they have debts.*

Both her husband's illness and the migration from a small city to Ankara have brought women to struggle with a new and unfamiliar area in family life. From this point of view M6, one of the participating women, explained how she entered the working life with her husband's illness and how they continued their lives with the loan support with the following words; *We moved here from Çorum. (My husband) was working then. Can't work now, dear. Because of the lumbar hernia. so I have to work.*

4 kids are hungry. They will go to school. There were reasons why I couldn't study, so I couldn't make it because of poverty. For example, I couldn't buy my children pens and notebooks. So I just fed them. However, I was able to pay the rent of the house. There's nothing that can be done. So you have to work. We bought a house from the bank (with a loan from the bank), but it is something like rent. We pay 1.5 billion. If we can save it, if we can't, it's gone. All of the children are with me, they don't have their home yet. They don't have belongings. I made a wedding, and they are with me. We are 15 people. They can't afford to rent. We are living in a terrace place. We are 3 families. Small. The young daughter-in-law is next to me, the elder daughter-in-law is at the top. They are all working. But we were in a very difficult situation, we took out a loan. All children went to the army. We made a wedding. This debt, that debt, you can only make two ends meet. As it is understood, M6 held herself responsible for the survival of herself and her family, and it was seen that she developed a strategy to earn money and take care of her family, albeit with loans. It can be thought that the difficult conditions of life necessitate a solution-oriented life for women. In fact, although M6 has brought what they live in rural areas to the city, the fact that women work in an income-generating job indicates that they are trying to make a living, although with limited means.

The same participant (M6) had emotional moments while describing that they had a major problem with poverty and said the following; *Because of poverty, for example, I used to eat here. It used to get stuck here (showing her throat), my kids were hungry at home. How do I explain this? My oldest child came home from the 5th grade at school. For example, I closed him at home and came here. I was afraid that that someone would do something, we were in so much pain. In 1997, we were in a very bad financial situation. If you gave me this (biscuit) I would take it and give it to my children. So that they don't go hungry. Of course, they would eat if you gave them, they wouldn't eat if you didn't. I mean, with the clothes they gave you. My husband still has no pension now. He didn't have it at the time. Still does not have now. He couldn't afford to retire. His profession was mold making, he could not work. He got sick. Bring it, bring that, this that that, he helped. Spouse, friendly neighbor. He still can't work. I have to work. I have to stand on my feet. I was 35 when I started working. But it's so nice to work here now. Here, our headmen, foremen, managers behaved very well in my environment as well as my friends and neighbors. I couldn't say anything because the financial situation in my own family was bad.*

It shows that poverty is the biggest problem women must solve, on the one hand, working as a woman has a double problem in terms of coping with the value judgments of the society and on the other hand, earning money and supporting the house. In this regard, M7, M8 and M10 also found similar narratives. M7 and M10 made the most striking statement. M7: *The financial situation is not good. I am not really in a position to work, but if only the financial situation is good, my house is rented, I just married my son off. His wedding debts are huge. My husband said of course don't work. He also does not have regular work. He has no insurance. He was making and selling wallets. We had no money to pay rent. Now that I have to go to work, I have brought my husband to reason. He started to cook my*

food. He's used to it now. He came to the place where I worked, saw, and looked around. Now he says "save yourself". Be the one who retires," he says. My husband has no insurance. No health insurance. As it is understood, the woman's job is at the level of subsistence, and since her husband does not have a qualified education and a job that generates regular income, it is understood that she sees the workplace as the only guarantee in her own and family life and makes an effort to retire from here.

The story of M10, who expresses the pressure of the environment on her work, is as follows; *The environment reacted first. They were saying something like look, his wife works. Now they always appreciate me. They talked about it as if the man was eating the woman's bread. They still do. My husband didn't work a bit. My husband was angry at first. After he got used to it, he's done with it. Of course, when there is no money, there is a fight. It gets better when there is.* Although it is seen that the understanding that women's work is still evaluated within the framework of stereotypes because the patriarchal culture imposes on men to work and earn money, it is seen in the narratives of M8 that there is a different situation in this regard. M8, who said that she did not receive any reaction about her working and has a different story in this sense, expressed the following; *Since I wanted to work myself, I did not see any reaction from anyone. But when I first started working in Ostim, I used to cry when I was traveling by minibüs. Because my children came home from school without food, they were hungry. They would eat whatever they found. So, at first I had a hard time.*

M11 who is extremely satisfied with her workplace, stated that she worked in the service sector before due to her graduation from the department of child development, but later found a job in the factory because the previous employer went bankrupt, and expressed the difficulties of working with the following words; *I worked as a secretary in the Teachers' House for a year. I worked in the accounting department part time. After that I worked in my own department. Then I got married and had 2 daughters. I got married at 21. Thanks to Allah. Because I'm from the Child Development department. I worked in kindergartens. Then I couldn't get along with kindergartens. They took a lot of money because of my kids. I couldn't afford the expenses. Then I worked in the factory. First I worked in Çorum Factory. Workers were mostly women there. You know, we were relieved because of women. Nobody was saying anything to anybody. Then I quit because the factory went bankrupt. Otherwise, I was comfortable. Our head, our chief was a woman, our manager was a woman, and our Deputy Director was a woman. There were men only in the Dough Section. That was also in the hidden compartment. It was very comfortable that way. After that, we came to a place like Ankara. The children have grown. It was hard. I worked again. In the production of Plasticad Dishwashers in Arçelik's subsidiary factory. Things were heavy there. You are always beside the machine. M11 continued her narrative as follows; *If you have a passion, you learn everything. You do everything, as long as you have the will to work. I don't know, I just graduated from high school. I went to university. I wasn't thinking of going into the factory and working. I was thinking of doing my own profession. I was saying I'd get a job at a nice kindergarten. As I was saying, it provides assistance to the children of those**

working there. That's how I heard it. But it wasn't. Once I got into it, I understood. When you get a separate fee, nothing is left of the salary. Because Kindergarten expenses never end.

These narratives show us that the women who participated in the interview were not prepared to work (except for M11), but they started working because they thought it was compulsory. It shows that as a conscious choice and as a woman, she has a thought towards meeting the needs of her children before contributing to herself and the country's economy. It is necessary to interpret this situation in relation to the cultural stereotypes of the society. It can be said that they contribute to macro development as a labor force within the framework of labor laws after they get a job with regular income and job security. While classical modernization theory deals with the "backwardness" of women based on this information, it explains the reason for this with the effect of traditional attitudes and simple technology. Because, according to this theory, the economic development that develops due to industrialization in a society will increase the employment opportunities of women, especially in the service sector (Hoşgör, 2014). The system, which puts forward individual success with industrialization, emphasizes that providing employment to women is particularly important in terms of generating their income and enabling them to take responsibility for their own lives. It is pointed out that it is important that women's participation in the labor force provides freedom, as well as making their position stronger in order to resist patriarchal values within the institution of marriage (Rosen, 1982).

2.3. The Effect of Women's Work in the Workplace on Development

Two sub-categories were devised under this topic. One of them is the gains women workers have in terms of development and the other is their children's education and becoming a qualified workforce. Now let us try to evaluate these categories.

2.3.1. Gains of Women Workers in Terms of Economic Freedom

The differentiation brought about by the division of labor in modern societies has a positive effect on the position of women in society according to this school. As a result of the structural differentiation, many different institutions in modern societies assume the functions of the family in traditional society. The care and education of the child, which is one of the most important functions of the family in the traditional society, is now taken from the responsibility of the family, and the industrial society and the institutions created by the nation state such as nurseries, kindergartens and secondary schools that provide basic education come into play (Rosen, 1982: 32). Women who leave their domestic care work to these institutions have more time and opportunities to strengthen their social position thanks to industrialization. (Hoşgör, 2014). On the other hand, according to the classical modernization theory, women who are employed by taking advantage of the opportunities created by the development policies based on economic foundations also benefit from the opportunities offered by liberal values. Beaujot (1995:275), who evaluated this situation in terms of family relations, emphasizes that the sanctions imposed by industrialization and modernization also transform the family relations of women who

participate in working life. M1, one of the women participating in the research, expressed this situation as follows; *I couldn't get along with my husband, I was working. He wouldn't bring home a single piece of bread, he always did like his brothers said. I had to break up with my husband, I had bought a house on loan myself then and had to sell the house. Home, work, children were always on me and I tried to hold on. I paid off the children's debt and bought myself a house. May Allah bless everyone, I have some problems, but I hope I can overcome them. All I want is to retire and go on a pilgrimage. I proudly sent my children to the military and had my children married when they came out of the military, I helped them move out, they had their children. I love grandchildren. May Allah bless everyone. Of course, while doing these, I continue my work, I work and I started to be proud of myself. I tried to get a driver's license at one stage. I passed the written exam. But I couldn't go to the driving test because I was busy at that time. So I spent 14 years at work. If you ask me "do you regret it" I would say "no". On the contrary, I am proud of myself. Harvesting crops and removing logs with a tractor is not a job for every woman. I did all of these.* The story of M1 seems to be an example of changes within the family with industrialization and modernization.

The fact that the participating women gain their economic freedom makes them feel self-confident and proud and reveals that they see themselves as a factor that connects them to life. In this regard, M2 says the following; *There is also something like this. You want to do something for yourself, to stand on my feet. I want to make money with my own work. So that's a big thing. So when I think about it, it's great for me. Making money has changed the environment at home. We don't bother. We save at least 3-5 cents. Since there was only one income before, what we wanted did not come true. But now what I say is happening. When we say let's do this, let's do that, it is appreciated.*

The views of M3, M5, M6, M7, M8, M9 and M10 on how economic freedom changes women and family life and make women stronger are similar. In this regard, M5 says the following; *My child can get what they want financially. He has already applied somewhere. "You will chill your mind and see the environment," I told him. He will also start working at the Cafe. His father also works there. I was on leave, we went together and applied. I want him to work too. My husband, my son and I took out a loan and bought a house. We are paying it now.*

Women who are satisfied with their working life stated that they want to work until they receive their retirement rights and that their children are now raising, and they are living a relatively more comfortable life. M8; *I plan to work until I retire. A woman should work. So work means freedom for a woman. To stand on your feet. I have never underestimated my salary. I was always grateful. I am convinced that my Lord has given it to me. I haven't had any problems. I've always been grateful. Thanks to Allah I have been here for 9 years.* As stated by modernization theories, women's work in this study transforms family relations and reveals that it strengthens women. Likewise, the story of M9 constitutes a remarkable explanation. *I am satisfied with my job. I also love what I do. I will work while I can work.*

I wanted to have insurance. I said I will have a retirement. That's how we started. I have been working for 5 years. I've never worked before. My children were small. I support my home a little. The house that the woman will buy, her clothes, I don't know what else is different. Those of a man are separate. You can't always want everything from your husband. Because the man's financial means are not enough. But if this is the case, we can buy what we want with our own money. We can travel when we have time. A woman needs to work for herself to be comfortable. After I started working, my husband started to be proud of me and to support me. He also says he is proud. I have been married for 28 years. In 28 years, he brought what he found to our house, a little or a lot, in other words, there were no other women, girls, no alcohol, no gambling nothing of that sort. That's why I support him. He also supports me. We do not distinguish between our income saying that this is my money this is your money. He worked for our comfort. We are helping him now. We have to be comfortable together without being dependent on anyone. My daughters are not working. They are both at home. High school graduates. My little girl won't work. Maybe my older daughter can work in the future. My older daughter loves to work. She does say it sometimes. I want her to work. Let them stand on their feet. Let them be as comfortable as I am. You can't tell everything to your husband to get it. It's hard to depend on your husband for a living. But that's your own money, freedom. For example, I have a 70-year-old mother. My elderly mother. If I were to buy something for my mother. I go and buy it with my own money. My husband allows it though. It's better if I don't ask and do it myself. For example, my nephews are going to university. I make the children happy when I give them pocket money with my own money when they come. Not much, but maybe it sees their needs. M9, describing women's work and their position in society, shows that earning money causes them to spend as they wish, and this makes them feel happy. Thus, it can be said that it contributes both to its own development and to the development of the country, even to a limited extent, and is also effective in transforming family relations.

When we look at the achievements of women's work, it is understood from the statements of M10 that standing on one's feet creates a situation that raises women's authority and status; *Because I worked, I became my own authority. For example, I am not grateful to anyone. I am working. I'm taking my money. For example, I went through a lot while I was not working. I asked my brother-in-law for sugar when we ran out of sugar. He told me to go buy it at the grocery store. He told me he had nothing to give me. But now I am very happy that I earn my own money. I go and get what I want, I do it. Everyone despised me because I was poor. Now I have helped my husband. Thank Allah. Everyone should help their spouse. They say you came into play. I have always been a supporter to my husband.*

The fact that women are in working life enables them to take advantage from the benefits of the public sphere. Therefore, they make statements that continuing to work cannot be attributed solely to economic reasons, even if they are entitled to retirement. In this regard, M14 states the following; *But some of them do not resign even though they are retired. They say, "I'm going to sit at home and what do I do". I think people who are used to working do not want to stay at home very much. In other words,*

one employee came even though he was sick. I said, "Stay at home. You are in a very difficult situation". He says, "No, I'm working sitting here, anyway". The environment here is very important to them. If they can get along well with their colleagues, they want to come more. "I meet a lot of people here, at least. I can't sit at home for a long time," they say. They have worked for many years. And the women working here have been working for many years. That's why I think they like it. I don't think it's just from an economic point of view.

The classical modernization approach, which evaluates women's participation in employment as very positive for the institution of the family, argues that the family institution will be strengthened, while at the same time it argues that the inequality between the couples in the household will decrease, and it will weaken the attitudes related to traditional gender roles, and the structure based on the excessive division of labor will be broken. Again, this theory claims that with industrialization, women will be more involved in decision-making, while men will take more household responsibilities. It is emphasized that while women in modern and industrialized societies increase the egalitarian social norms, the patriarchal ideology will weaken, on the other hand, it will increase the power of women (Rosen, 1982; Inkeles and Smith, 1974; Taplin, 1989). Therefore, the classical modernization approach argues that while women's status and authorities transform from traditional structure to modern, their opportunities to reach social and economic resources will increase and they will develop and transform positively with the internalization of modern values (Ward, 1984: 9). However, the marginalization approach, which is within the scope of the development and women's approach, argues that in the basic stage of the development process, women will be in the background both economically and socially, and will be marginalized with their dependence on domestic production. While it is stated that the marginalization of women will increase even more because women will create the future workforce with the responsibilities of their children in the capitalist production stage, because it will increase the care burden of women, neo-liberal policies developed to close the labor force gap of the capitalist system show that women's participation in working life is effective in increasing their quality of life, as can be understood from their narratives. However, this does not eliminate the class and gender inequality of women.

2.3.2. Creating a Qualified Workforce by Educating Their Children

The main argument of the alternative approach in women and development is based on the division of labor within the family, which makes women responsible for domestic services. Men, on the other hand, are identified with active participation in production in the public sphere. This understanding leads to the interpretation of women as being second in development and the services rendered by women in the family as responsibility for reproduction. In this case, while women engage in childcare, patient and elderly care, men participate in paid work to earn income in the public work area. Although the labor of the woman in the family is valuable, it causes it to be seen as insignificant because it is paid

differently from the labor of the man. While conducting domestic obligations, women take care of the children who will form the workforce of the future, and ensure that the labor is included in production for the continuity of capitalism as a use value. This understanding detaches women from production in the public sphere and makes them economically dependent on men. A woman's stay at home marginalizes her and prevents her from accessing resources. This situation causes the social position of women to be negatively affected. Because financial difficulties make it compulsory for women to work. In fact, these issues have been expressed in this study.

However, when we look at the explanations of the participating women about how they cope with childcare and housework, it is seen that bringing income to the house increases their children's comfort of life. Although M8 and M9 made similar narratives on this subject, M8 said the following; *Our children took the university entrance exam. They both passed it. I'm crying, I can't educate you. They cry, we will study. My brother helped a little. We sent the children to university. They studied like that for a year. The next year, our relative found this place to work. I'm glad I started working here. In the meantime, we improved a lot. My children started to work. My daughter became an Audit Inspector at Halk Bank. My son became a police officer. They graduated. Thank Allah. My husband retired in 2011. He worked for 2-3 more years after that, but he can't work anymore. He has diabetes.* The education of children made it possible for them to work in white-collar jobs in the labor market. They raised the social status of the family. Therefore, the M8 seems quite satisfied with this situation.

On the other hand, M11 and M12 talk about the necessity of working in a job to provide a future for their children. *If I don't work, my husband's salary is not enough. We cannot provide a better future for our children. I don't want to send them to boarding school because I myself grew up in a boarding house. Let them take their education with me and grow up with me. Let their mother take care of them, let their father take care of them. Because I was very lonely there. If you fall, there is no one you can go and cry "mother". I had teachers there. I was going to my teachers to cry. That's why I didn't want my children to experience it. We work, husband and wife, but just for them to stay with us. We endure these difficulties so that they do not grow up with the longing for their mother and father. We can spend even the smallest time with them. she spoke. As for M12; I started working. I supported my child, they went to school, studied Gazi Oral Dental Health, and graduated. "Thank Allah I continue my work" she emphasizes the importance of educating her child.*

Among the responsibilities imposed on women, child and patient care are evaluated from a distinct perspective. Care work includes not only responsibilities for care, but also emotional ties like love for the individual being cared for. In this case, there is an intertwined relationship between care work and emotional labor. When the male workforce is evaluated in terms of this situation, it is seen that it is the primary subject of the physical capital that produces goods and services in the labor market (Özkaplan & Serdaroğlu, 2010). Although emotional labor is related to the labor market (public sphere),

its value cannot be determined because it is related to the family (household). The social and cultural roles attributed to women are directly related to non-income-generating emotional labor.

2.4. Identification of Female Workers with Their Jobs – Sense of Belonging

One of the reasons why the concept of alternative approach in development is defined as "sustainable human development" in the literature can be interpreted as emphasizing the importance of replacing the economic-based development approach with a human-centered development approach. While alternative development approaches center on the individual, it is stated that it is possible for the individual to be "well-being", that is, "meeting his basic needs", by "developing his current capacity" and being "free". In this context, the fact that the participating women are successful in their own work as subjects enables them to meet their own needs and makes it possible for us to evaluate them in the context of well-being.

M1; I began to love my job. Although it is difficult for me. Due to the crisis, we were receiving low salaries and salaries were paid late. Despite that, we worked day and night and we succeeded. Our salaries began to be paid on time. Our business has improved. I would be very happy to see things improve at work. I did not say that I would do this job but not that job. I did everything. I understand every job. I got more confidence in myself. I was doing my job, but my kids were always on my mind. Thankfully, I think I did my job well. Thanks to our manager, they earn we earn as well, may Allah keep us all together.

The gratitude that female workers feel to their managers despite the crisis they face in their working life shows that their enthusiasm for working has not declined even though they have not been paid, and that they support their managers on this occasion. This understanding reveals that women identify themselves with their work and the sense of belonging is high. *M3; Allah bless you a thousand times. I always say. Allah bless our managers. They've done a lot of work. It was going to ruin. We didn't get any money for 3 months. We didn't leave it like that again. Again, I even fed cows so that our factory would not be ruined. So that our factory would not be ruined. We used to get some scrap, mushy potato skins and pour it in front of the cows. We couldn't get any money. It didn't come from anywhere. That's how we managed. It did not come to us from anywhere. I love our Production Manager. Allah bless him a thousand times. He used to smile at me. I pray a lot. If this was not the case, if it were any other way, I would be offended and I would not be able to work. I loved this place like my home. We had those difficult days. My income came to me from here. I left whatever job I had at home and came to work. Let's go ahead, let's not be poor. Not let it be ruined here. We have always taught the good and the beautiful to the newcomers so that they are not bad for each other. We taught the job to the recruits who came. We always taught each other. So that our workplace can progress better. My husband used to work, but he had no travel or food allowance. Sometimes he earned money from construction sometimes he didn't. He was not contributing properly to the house. I withstood I worked. I didn't want to be a*

burden to anyone. I tried to advance my children and myself with my own hands and my own strength. Allah bless this business. They have been a great support to me. Our manager, our production manager, are like my children. They're like Sabrim (Son's name).

While emphasizing that the factory has experienced difficult times in the past and they have overcome these times together, employer representatives (M18 and M19) describe the identification with the manager and the sense of contribution to the workplace with the following words: M18; *Earlier there was a problem with the salary. In 2001. Until 2005-2006, there were days when we could not receive the salary on the pay day. No, it didn't remain here, our salary was paid, but the day has come, it didn't. It's been 15-20 days, some of it was paid, but I don't remember that our salaries were not paid. After that, the condition of the factory improved. We started getting our salaries on time. We don't have any problems with leaves either. I've been here for 15 years. I worked in another factory before, other factories will definitely not allow it. One leave, two leaves, the third one and you are fired but our factory is not like that. Their child is sick, their spouse is sick ... Because we all have a family, our management also has family, they know we have family too. The only thing we say is "Get well soon, but try to come back as soon as possible". One says, "Master, I took my child to the hospital for the following reasons. Our managers, all of them know the old staff. Our production manager knows all of them. Because our manager was chatting one-on-one, something happened to me once. I remember it very well. Our manager came across. He said, "Mahmut what are you doing here?" Aren't you on a sick leave? I said, "My sick leave is over." The pallet truck came out to my feet. It was crushed. Our manager said to the production manager, "Let's find a solution for these pallet trucks." After that we bought a battery powered pallet truck. Let me tell you, I worked in three places except here. There was also a manager there. But I have never seen a manager and factory owner like this manager.*

M19; *I don't see any problems, be it the insurance or the salary. We've had more difficulties before. We got through that time together. As our manager told us in times of crisis, I am not a supporter of laying off workers. You will handle me and I will handle you. You know, there were some delays in my salary days. For that reason, we managed, and he managed us. Thankfully he didn't lay us off. We have come to these days. God bless, we are fine now. We do not have any problems with insurance, about payment, about salary. We were getting it, but we were getting pretty late. You know, there was a crisis because the room product was not sold. No, there was a crisis in the country, most of the factories were closed at that time. Thank Allah this place withstood and became a source of bread for most of us. Our manager could have dismissed us saying we can't sell, we can't produce, but he didn't, thank goodness. What did he do, you will manage me he said, if the salary is now on the 20th of the month, for example, let me say that on the 35th or the 30th, not the 20th at that time. We got it 10-15 days late, but we managed, they managed us, but we came to these situations. This is our golden time. We already know the value of our boss like a diamond. I also worked in some other places, where I saw bosses insulting their staff with harsh words. I've seen bosses swearing. I have been working here for over 14*

years. *I have never seen our manager shout or insult any worker so loudly. Our manager goes down to the factory from time to time. He tours the factory. He stops and listens when you talk about a problem. You are going to tell something about the business, he waits, listens, directs about the solution, instructs "let it be like this let it be treated like this". He is interested in us. The production manager is always with us. Well, as far as I know, he knows almost everyone. Even newcomers, he knows everyone well since he has been here for a very long time.*

While employer representatives emphasize that they want to make women feel like they belong there by giving them light jobs compared to male workers, they also express the binding and empowering effect of the feeling of contribution created by the production manager's close attention to the workplace and the work, and being in the factory all the time: M15; *Because most of them have financial problems. It is not easy to find a job. There are very few people here who have worked for 1 or 2 years. The majority have been working for 8 years, 5 years or much more. 5,6 women work in my department. As such, we try to give lighter jobs so as not to upset the female workers. In other words, we have them do the work such as wiping or assembling, and we make the men do the transport. Our Production Manager is always in the factory. he spends almost 6 or 7 hours at the factory unless there are any meetings or mishaps. In production with us. He is always in control of everything, both with us and with the workers. As far as I heard from my friends, they say that we see the production manager at their workplaces once a month. They say they won't go down. They say that only supervisors deal with workers. As I said, they are always downstairs with us.*

Another employer representative, while expressing that they have been working in this workplace for 20 years, states the importance of the trust of belonging to a place, the sense of solidarity and doing her job with love and devotion. M13; *I've been here for nearly 20 years. As I said, I think that especially Şerife's working performance is worth 4 people in our formation. Despite her age, I cannot describe her performance, her determination to work, and her love for this place. She has a passion for our manager. Here is not like the workplace. She sees our manager as her son, she has a determination to work because of her love for him. I worked with the ladies in my department. I also worked with women in other departments. I took an active role in all departments. I usually see them as my sisters and mothers. Because I am younger than them. Others younger than me are like my siblings. I've been working here for 20 years, and it's always been this way.* It is seen that women work in a place where they feel safe and belong, making them happy and improving themselves more.

In the same way M6 expresses that she is satisfied with the workplace where she works at and that she adopts it with the following words. M6; *I wasn't put too much on because I worked in the factory. I am also willing to work. This job is my own job. Because the job is ours. If you embrace the job, if you want to do it perfectly, you will. Because you adopt that job. Others, for example, should do that job willingly. For example, if I ruin one side of it. Anyone of these people will be sad. But first I*

have to feel sorry myself. I have to make an effort to do the job well. If someone does something, I would like to say I will do it well, so this is a fact. Because my husband, a contractor, went bankrupt in the industry. Therefore, I have 4 children left with me. My husband left us. He would not pay the debt. My husband went elsewhere. I worked here. I came here on the occasion of a familiar friend. I was very happy here. I have been eating bread from here for 17 years. May Allah bless them a thousand times. May Allah give them more and give them to us. We were poor, my father could not send us to school. We were in the village, when we got married, we migrated to the city.

The return of these gender-related situations and the exclusion of women from economic life, especially in terms of occupational discrimination, result in human resources being used incorrectly and weaken the ability of the economy to adapt to change (Parlaktuna, 2010). Therefore, while this situation puts women at a disadvantage in the labor market, it is seen that it negatively affects social variables such as access to education, income status, and health needs. While this negative situation of women is transferred from generation to generation, it can be said that the role of women in development remains at an extremely low level. The relationship created in connection with women's gaining their freedom in the economic field and the feasibility approach determines the position of women in development. In particular, this situation can be explained by conceptually being able to achieve something, being able to do something and acquiring different functional qualities, as the human development approach is based on the theoretical feasibility approach. The essence of the feasibility approach put forward by A.Sen (1993) is that the freedom of the person within his feasibility forms the basis of his being able to reach the goals he has set for his life, while at the same time it is seen that it is related to individual characteristics and social factors (Sen, 1993). With this understanding women's practicability is the basic determinant of the practicability of women's production, with the freedom they gain individually in economic terms and their ability to benefit from democratic rights such as education, fundamental rights and freedoms, and equality of opportunity.

3. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Development policies in general aim at the transformation of societies in terms of socio-economic and cultural aspects within a certain ideology. However, when these policies are analyzed based on gender, it is seen that they have different effects on men and women. It is stated that patriarchy plays a fundamental role in creating these effects. While the Women in Development approach explains the patriarchy with cultural factors, the Women and Development and Gender and Development approaches state that patriarchy is not only cultural but also economic and political. Each of these approaches questions the other theory and reveals the necessity of the development of alternative development approaches and practices. While producing development policies, these approaches can be produced by considering their own strengths and weaknesses (Hoşgör. 2010). While the modernization approach brought a critical perspective to the progressive and optimistic development approach in the

1960s; that a more egalitarian social order promised by development has not materialized; on the contrary, it argues that development policies have different and often negative effects for women and men. Through Boserup's development policies, women are also marginalized in their economic and social positions, which causes women to remain reproducing in their own private field. The high rate of women's labor force participation in these countries indicates that there is a relationship between the high-income group of countries and women's participation in the workforce. This situation shows the role of women in the development stage and the economic value of women in overcoming the middle-income trap in order to increase added value in countries with high income levels. According to this situation, it is seen that Turkey's inability to overcome the middle-income trap is also related to the low female labor force participation rate. Considering the levels of countries in their development processes, it is seen that one of the most decisive factors in getting out of the middle-income trap is to increase the employment of women. The ways to get out of the middle-income trap by increasing economic incomes in development can also be explained by the creation of development strategies that give priority to women in terms of gender. Empirical findings related to women's employment (Güven and Bhatti, 2004-2005; İnce and Demir, 2006; Özkan and Özkan, 2010; Kılıç and Öztürk, 2014) reveal that education is one of the most determining factors for women's participation in the workforce.

According to the marginalization approach, despite the concept of equality, which is especially emphasized in the understanding of modernization, the marginality of women both economically and socially increases during the development phase. As the first thinker to criticize approach to women in development (modernization), Boserup (1970) clarifies the differences in knowledge and education levels between men and women during the development phase in Latin America, during the transition from traditional to modern farming, and states the reasons for increasing the prestige of men in society as follows: women can be victims of it as well as men, but women's access to the modern production stage is much more limited. Among the reasons for this, women's family responsibilities are limited due to the traditional structure, women's access to education and technical information is more limited due to the effect of the patriarchal structure, even if they do not encounter these obstacles during their employment, women are more likely to face discrimination based on gender, and again men being the workforce preferred by modern enterprises, women continue their working life as the workforce in traditional production (Boserup, 1977). The marginalization approach asserts that women's participation in the labor force in the public sphere does not reduce domestic obligations, and this situation further increases the workload of women. As the modernization approach claims, development does not provide an unconditional improvement in women's status and social welfare. Again, according to this approach, financial means play a particularly important role in the formation of women's social position. In this case, in our research, it is seen that it is a complicated process for women to work and carry out housework together, and this situation called double shift creates a barrier in front of women's work and gender inequality.

Due to the need for women's labor to have an important value in development in Turkey, it is seen that the economy needs to get rid of the middle-income trap and the vicious circle in the industry. Therefore, it is considered especially important to reconsider the society's perspective towards women in the framework of gender equality, and to raise awareness by drawing attention to investments in people such as economic inclusion, equality, participation, and social justice on gender at the macro and micro level.

According to the results of this research, it can be said that the women who participated in the interview actually increased their quality of life in terms of developing their own families, indirectly actively participated in the workforce, had their children educated about planning a good future, and contributed to the country in matters such as owning property and securing their future. Despite these developments the fact that the roles assigned to women still cause gender inequality and that domestic care services assume a woman's reproductive quality, should not be ignored.

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