

Turkish Women Working in TV Channels as Producers and Directors: Analysis of Professional Career Situation

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Abstract: The aim of this study is to make a professional career situation analysis of women working in state (TRT) or private TV channels in Turkey. “The glass ceiling hypothesis”, which is based on the idea that women are more disadvantageous and fewer than men in terms of professional career, has been applied in this study conducted with qualitative research method. In this context the study seeks answers for the questions of whether women working as producer-director face problems in their careers or not and the facts affecting their promotion. Based on the interviews with 171 women working as producers or directors in 16 TV channels, which form the entire state and private TV channels in Turkey, it is obviously seen that producers who are men and working as directors or top level executives in TV channels have outnumbered the women working in the same posts. When advancing in their professional careers, women experience different problems resulting from various causes such as; the quality of their jobs, the perspectives towards them and their roles in their families. However, among these problems, the most important one is found to be the fact that men are given more chances than women in terms of professional promotion.

Key words: Breaking the glass ceiling • Producer and director women • Job satisfaction • Professional career status consistency • Disadvantage

INTRODUCTION

Since the beginning of 1990s, the conjectural changes in the world (globalization, gender discrimination and environmental pollution) have resulted with an increase in the number of studies towards women and feminism. The reason for this is the fact that they are asked to show consent to the settled patriarchal conception, which starts from the birth of children and is based on the different growing and education methods of the boys and girls during their socialization periods and that women are forced to sustain their lives with the belief that they should accept the dominancy of man. As stated by Bourdieu [1], this situation, which has created the social reproduction and granted it sustainability, has been legitimated in the society with its form that has naturalized the dominancy with social practices. This kind of understanding can be best seen in marriage and motherhood and makes it impossible for women to compete with in the professional life.

The fact that the roles of women as mothers or wives cause them to remain in the same position in their professional careers or make them show more attempts than men to obtain the same status. Therefore in cultures where social relations (status and roles) are shaped by expectations, women are faced with a disadvantageous situation as a result of a gender discrimination and evaluation of their positions according to men. This situation leads to the evaluation of all fields of social life according to gender discrimination, in other words the strengthening of patriarchal conception and masculine perspective.

Although the modernity conceptions of the Western societies have broken the dominancy of patriarchal structure in some ways (laws), it cannot be ignored that still a male dominant conception is dominating the World. The optimist view stating that this understanding would lose its dominancy with the advent of technologic products still leads to the continuity of this male dominancy in a different dimension. Since the dominant discourse of the capitalist system is presented by either

media or education in the framework of patriarchal values and rebuilds the existing culture for providing the social control and cohesion in the society [2,3].

The broadcasting of the presentations regarding the practices of the social life in an attractive way for the viewers, especially through developments in the television technology, has led to reproduction of the existing culture. As stated by Althusser [4], the TV has turned to become an ideological device connecting the viewers to the screen, through its audio-visual dimension. Thus, this device and presentations function as consent-producers by using the persuasion procedures rather than using pressure/oppression to provide the adaptation of the individual to the society [5].

Individuals learn to show consent by producing the already existing cultural codes and this situation, according to Hall [6] creates a harmonized hegemony. It is also emphasized that the hegemony occurs not only on conscious level but also on an unconscious level and that the dominance of certain codes are provided through cultural formations, not ideological pressures. Thus, TV presentations turn into form of a pressure, which is not based on oppression and pacify the individuals with their consent and facilitate their adaptation to the society [5]. In this context, the system creates an illusion through ideological devices and makes individuals alienated from the society. According to Baudrillard [7], these virtual realities, which have got indicator values, lead the individuals to live a hyper-reality and provide the cybernetic control in the society by getting into a hyper-adaptation with the system. Thus with the use of patriarchal elements in TV programs, the social gender discrimination is normalized and naturalized as conceptualized by Foucault and this situation, as expressed by Bourdieu, causes the formation of an unequal power.

On the other hand, those adopting the feminist approach emphasize that the patriarchal discourse has been reproduced, based on the view that the social gender discrimination is being strengthened and the social gender role expectations for men and women are being fomented through media presentations [2]. Hence the gender discrimination turns out to be a process which functions to the benefit of men in all fields of social life. At this point, the core of feminist criticism is based on the idea that all sciences analyze the world from a male-dominant point of view and women's experience and tendency are being sidelined. In this context feminism introduces an alternative and critical approach to this subject. In this framework, defenders and activists of the

feminist approach suggest women to increase their efforts of increasing consciousness, creating sensibility of being, voice formation and breaking the hierarchical structures [8, 9].

One of the fields in which gender discrimination is seen in its most intense form is the professional life. The professional life in Turkey has been shaped by some discriminatory practices like the classification of professions depending on sexes, different expectations from men and women during the recruitment process, different conditions for men and women in terms of their professional promotion and resistance against women in terms of their employment to certain jobs. This situation constitutes a good example which shows that all fields in socio-cultural structure are sexualized. In this study, the professional career situations of women working as producers-directors in the TV channels in Turkey shall be analyzed.

Women in Professional Jobs in Turkey: Many studies performed in different sectors in Turkey reveal that women are subject to discrimination to a great extent in their professional life. According to a research conducted by Bekata-Mardin *et al.* [10], which aims to reveal the status of women in medical sector, the proportion of women and men working in jobs related to medicine is really close to each other and women even outnumber men in this sector with a slight difference. However, when examined more closely, it is realized that this is not a privileged situation for women. The fact that the proportion of men and women in this sector is close to each other is basically related to the perception that nursing is considered as a female job. Although all nurses are women, the number of female doctors is very small. On the other hand, whether they are nurse or doctor, women experience different problems due to their sex. Moreover, the number of women in management or senior level positions in health sector is really small. Nevertheless, it is seen that both male and female doctors have partially reached to a certain level of job satisfaction.

Another sector in which women are employed to a great extent is the banking sector. The number of women employees especially in private banks is very high. However, another research conducted by Eyüboğlu *et al.* [11] states that the jobs in banking sector are suitable for women; however women in this sector are not promoted to administrative levels. In other words, although jobs in banking sector are reflected as being female jobs, men are more advantageous than women in terms of promotion. According to another research;

the number of women working in the public sector in Turkey decrease as they get promoted to senior level management positions. The reasons for this situation are the role of women as mothers or wives and the expected behaviors from them in the society [12].

The rate of representation of women in administrative positions is much lower than men both at senior or middle level. For instance, women constituted only 4% of all senior level executives in 1960s. While the rate of women working as middle level executives in industrial sector was 15% in 1980s, this rate was only 3% in senior level executive positions. Another research conducted in 1990 examined more than 100 industrial establishments and the rate of senior level female executives was found to be 4%. A research conducted in 1992 in the fields of banking and insurance sectors where women are intensely employed, reveals that women constitute 43% of all workers, 26% of middle level executives and only 4% of senior level executives [13]. Another research conducted by Koray indicated that in professions requiring expertise, the proportion of female members registered in professional bodies among all members is 60% in pharmaceuticals, 19% in medicine and 30% in dentistry and finally 30% in law business. However, the representation rate of these women in the administrative boards of these associations is only 20% in pharmaceuticals, 6% in medicine, 9% in dentistry and 7% in law business [13].

Like in many other areas of specialization, the number of women working in universities has been increasing; however this number is gradually decreasing when senior level positions are considered [14]. According to data provided by YÖK (Turkish Council of Higher Education), the rate of female academicians was 39.68% in 2007 ([www/http:meb.gov.tr](http://www.meb.gov.tr)). On the other hand, women are again represented in lower numbers than men in terms of being elected as a deputy, which is one of the important high level professions requiring a great responsibility in the political field in Turkey. Since 1934 the number of women elected to the parliament has showed decreases [15], however 52 women were elected to the parliament in the general elections in 2007. Today one fifth of the parliament is composed of women and this proportion is again less than men. On the other hand, men are greater in number in high level positions of jurisdiction in Turkey [16]. In general, there has not been an major increase in the number of senior level managers among women between the period 1960-2000, although the population and educational opportunities have increased during this period. In other words, although it is possible to say that women in Turkey can get promoted to management levels,

it appears to be very difficult for them to get a top level executive position in their jobs. Women are more likely to be promoted and take charges in middle level management positions than senior level executive positions. This can be considered as an indication of the fact that women are subject to gender discrimination especially while getting promoted or advancing in their professional life [17].

In brief, although there is no negative approach towards women working for their careers in Turkey, their labor is evaluated in a different way from that of men. These differences result from the conception that the person who is responsible for providing the livelihood of the family is the man, whereas women's priority is always being responsible for household affairs. Moreover, money earned by women is only seen as a contribution to family budget or an additional income. On the other hand, it is claimed that women cannot be successful in management positions, based on the idea that women are more emotional. Encouraging women to renounce from their career ambitions based on the belief that they should give the priority to their families on one hand and on the other hand encouraging them to compete with men in highly prestigious jobs, proves that a policy exploiting the status of women is being pursued. Considering the difficulty of succeeding, men can be seen as those holding the power, taking the decisions and coming into power.

The Glass Ceiling Hypothesis: The male dominant discourse leads to a gender discriminatory perspective and the gender discrimination of the working life based on the approach that some professions can only be executed by men and some others only by women. This expression means that women are expected to give priority to their household responsibilities and cannot be successful in every job only because they have some "disadvantages" due to being woman. On the other hand, even for professions such as teaching and nursing, which are accepted to be more suitable for women, it is mentioned that women face obstacles conceptualized as "the glass ceiling" before promoting to administrative posts.

According to a research conducted by Morrison in 1992, the fact that women cannot obtain senior level positions in their jobs (breaking the glass ceiling), is related with the pressures they are subject to in their job environment. There are three sources of pressure that women managers experience in this field: (1) Pressures resulting from the job itself. (such as; long working hours, responsibilities, demands, troubles resulting from critical decisions taken). (2) Pressures related to the female role of

women at high-level positions. For instance, becoming a role model for other women or bearing the responsibility of minority regarding representing women as a group. (3) Pressures rising from problems in the family, in addition to professional pressures. These are the results of role conflicts related with demands of the non-professional life and the dual roles regarding work and family. All these pressures are mechanisms that hinder the advent of women in their careers or management positions [18].

Dreher, [19] asserts that the “glass ceiling” metaphor has first been used by Hymowitz and Schellhardt [20] to mean the barriers or restrictions before women to be promoted from assistant-level management positions to the highest management positions in their organizational hierarchies. According to the statements by Baxter and Wright [21], this concept explains the fact that although women can now obtain senior level positions in the administrative hierarchy, they encounter an invisible barrier at a certain point which prevents them to advance more in their jobs. Therefore this glass ceiling is a barrier that prevents qualified women from advancing beyond a certain level in their organization/company. It is used to prevent women from advancing more due to being woman. It is also a non-conductive barrier which hinders upward movement. While women can get promotions under this barrier, it is impossible for them to overpass it. In this case, women encounter more disadvantages than men as they advance within an organizational hierarchy. Although facing great disadvantages as getting promoted in the professional life is mentioned also for men, a different situation is applicable for women. Women cannot get promoted to senior level administrative positions, in other words they are hindered from getting such positions. Various evident mechanisms could become involved in this situation. These are old-fashioned sexist conception, exclusion of female executives from informal networks or other slighter sexist attitudes which put women into disadvantageous positions. Whatever the mechanisms are, the glass ceiling hypothesis bears the claim that women encounter more disadvantages than men when they are promoted or take charges at high-level positions. The glass ceiling is a basic, invisible, but very strong barrier and makes it impossible for women to advance to the highest points of management [18, 22]. According to the “The Glass Ceiling Initiative” report, “the glass ceiling, where it exists, hinders not only individuals but society as a whole.” [23].

In a comparative study by Baxter and Wright [21], it is mentioned that the rate of women working especially at

senior level positions in the United States of America (USA) is really low and women are prevented from advancing to senior level positions with the existence of the glass ceiling barrier. Although there is no significant difference between the number of men and women working at middle level management positions, the number of women at senior level management positions decreases when compared to men. However, in Australia and Sweden there is a glass ceiling barrier especially at middle level management positions of the organizational hierarchy. In other words, in these two countries the rate of women working at middle level management positions is lower than that of at low level positions. When compared to Australia, the glass ceiling barrier is more effective on women in Sweden. For instance, whereas the rate of women at middle level management positions in Australia is 46%, the rate in Sweden is 34%. Therefore this study reveals that the women who are most successful to overcome the glass ceiling barrier are in Australia, which is followed by Sweden and the USA.

According to researches conducted in Turkey, although women can break the glass ceiling and advance in their professional careers through the rights they acquired after the foundation of Republic [24], women generally experience certain structural barriers when advancing to management positions [14,25,11,13]. These barriers may be the results of the implementations and policies of the institution that is influential on the direction of these women or men’s careers.

The main objective of this study is to make a professional career analysis of women working as producer/director in 16 TV channels in total (TRT-state channels- private channels) broadcasting at national level. In this context, this study seeks the answers to the following questions based on the glass ceiling hypothesis:

1. What are the factors that affect the professional promotion of women working at management level positions?
2. Are there any barriers for female director or producers that hinder their promotion prospects?
3. Are there any interventions on programs made by women at the administrative level? If there are, what are reasons for that?
4. Are women satisfied with their present jobs?
5. What are the expectations of women on the subject of whether they will have a major role in media in the future?

MATERIALS AND METHODS

Participants: The scope of this study is composed of all women working as director or producer in a total of 16 state (TRT) and private TV channels which broadcast at national level. There is a frequent mobility among the producers and directors in Turkey between different channels from the points of financial issues or the channel's prestige. Since this kind of mobility is high in media sector, the number of men and women working in TV channels as producers-directors constantly changes. However, based on the data received from TV Program Coordination Directors, in spite of this constantly changing number, what remains unchanged is the greater number of producer or directors who are men than that of women in all of the TV channels.

Within the scope of this study, interviews have been made with a total number of 16 channel authorities and it has been found out that no female producer or director is employed in Mesaj-Meltem TV channel, which is one of these 16 channels and no female worker is found at lower level positions. Moreover, HBB TV channel authorities stated that the channel terminated all its activities due to financial and political reasons. Therefore, the whole scope of this study has proved to be accessible except Mesaj-Meltem and HBB TV channels. Another important point from the aspect of limitations of the study is the fact that those who are employed by TV channels transfer to other channels due to the nature of the profession. Hence, the numbers handled in this study constantly change. Besides, some problems have been faced during the interviews with producers-directors who are women, due to the difficulties caused by the nature of the profession (no fixed working hours, not being available within the institution for shooting and performing a work that always requires mobility). However, nearly all of these women have accepted our interview offer and interviews have been held with a total of 171 women producers-directors.

The reason for classifying the research under two categories as TRT (state channels) and private channels is that there are differences between TRT and private channels in terms of the date on which they started broadcasting, their broadcasting policies and their budgets. TRT started broadcasting (1963) long before private channels (in 1990s). TRT is composed of various channels that initiated and followed ever since the public broadcasting policy, however private channels do not have such policy. Besides, the budget of TRT is larger than that of private channels. Since it is thought that

Table 1: Participants Characteristics

	TRT (State Channels) (n= XXX)	Private Channels (n= XXX)	Total (N=171)
Age			
21-25	42.60%	7.90%	29.80%
26-30	30.60%	7.90%	22.20%
31-35	20.40%	11.10%	17%
36-40	3.70%	23.80%	11.10%
41-45	2.80%	7.90%	4.70%
46-50	-	20.76%	7.60%
51+ age	-	10.60%	7.60%
Total	100%	100%	100%
Education			
High school	16.7%	4.8%	12.3%
Vocational high school	-	4.6%	2.9%
Associate degree	1.9%	3.2%	2.3%
Faculty/College	76.8%	92.1%	72.4%
Total	100%	100%	100%
Total years in current post			
1-5 year(s)	83.3%	27.0%	62.6%
6-10 years	12.0%	12.70%	12.30%
11-15 years	4.60%	27.0%	12.90%
16-20 years	-	3.20%	1.20%
21+	-	30.20%	11.10%
Total	100%	100%	100%
Total years in previous post			
Less than 1 year	10.2%	1.6%	7.0%
2-Jan	30.6%	9.5%	22.8%
5-Mar	36.1%	25.4%	32.2%
9-Jun	5.6%	20.6%	11.1%
15-Oct	0.9%	7.9%	3.5%
16-20	-	1.6%	.6%
Never worked before	16.7%	5.3%	22.9%
Title of the Present Job			
Program director	28.7%	17.5%	24.6%
Assistant director	30.6%	1.6%	19.9%
Program producer	25.0%	34.9%	28.7%
Assistant producer	9.3%	3.2%	7.0%
Preparation and presentation	1.9%	1.6%	1.8%
Producer / Director	4.6%	41.3%	18.1%
Total	100%	100%	100%

these differences in the three topics could lead to some variations in the type of difficulties that female producers or directors encounter in their professional career or promotion prospects, the women working in state or private channels are evaluated on a comparative basis in this study. The characteristics of the participants regarding the above mentioned criterion are shown in Table 1.

As seen on Table 1, whereas the women participants working in private channels are below 45 years old,

however those working in TRT are generally (31.2% of them) over 45. The majority of participants both from TRT and private channels have either four-year or two-year university degrees (totally 72.4%). Most of the participants from private channels (83.3%) have been performing their job for 1-5 years, however more than half of participants from TRT (60.4%) have been working in their posts for more than 11 years.

In our study, it has been revealed that there is a significant difference between female producers and directors working in TRT and private channels in terms of their ages. 38.9% of women working in private channels, are between 21-25 years old, while 23.8% of women in TRT is between 36-40 years old, these are the highest rates for both cases. These rates indicate that private channels employ young producers/directors in more numbers. The reason for this is that working as a producer in the TRT, which is a public institution, requires examinations followed by an application period. With this practice, TRT aims to make its potential producers become more experienced and educated. On the other hand, becoming a producer in TRT has a qualification of civil service and requires working until retirement. However, the private channels employ contracted staff and the issue of the transfer of producers or directors to other channels or agencies is a matter of choice. Therefore, age concept differs among institutions as an important variable.

62.6% of women participating in our study have been working in their present jobs for 1 to 5 years. This rate is much higher in private channels (83.3%) than in TRT (27.0%). Besides, there is no female producer or director working in private channels for more than 15 years. Considering the broadcasting history of the private channels in Turkey, it is possible to state that women have subsequently started to get involved in this sector. Another reason for this is that female director or workers transfer to different channels and frequently change their employer in spite of their experience since there is a competitive environment between private channels due to their financial benefits.

Since TRT is a state institution, experienced women continue their professional life even after they get retired by being transferred to private channels or with certain agencies. Besides the possible retirement, it is observed that number of women working as producers-directors employed by the TRT, which is a public institution and has got an older history than private channels, has increased in course time. Another reason to prefer TRT is that it provides retirement and health assurance.

When the total years spent by women participating in this research in their previous posts is considered, it is seen that the highest rate (32.2%) is 3-5 years. The objective of this question is to determine the previous experience of these women before they were appointed to director or producer positions and find out if they have spent sufficient time in this position. Since it is rather a new situation that women are employed by TV channels as producers or directors, the time spent at the previous posts is not very high. Especially the women working for TRT stated that they acquired the necessary experience by participating in several courses and examinations and that they were considered as permanent staff after getting a certain level of success in these examinations. On the other hand, those working for 10 years or more acquired this position due to their works at different levels in the TRT. Those who do not fit these situations told that they got this position by direct appointment without having worked anywhere before.

In our study, 28.7% of women from private channels and 17.5% of women from TRT are directors. The rate of program producers in private channels is 25% whereas this is 34.9% in TRT. It has been found out that TRT has the highest level of women working both as director and producer with a rate of 41.3%.

This difference between private channels and TRT is found to be meaningful for the workers. Although the directors and producers in TRT work under the title of "Producer", women consider their job only as a "producer". On the other hand, another important point of this table is that the number of assistant director and producers (totally 39.9%) is greater than that of TRT. Even though there is no position in TRT as producer/director, it is assessed with assistant personnel.

Instruments: Interview forms composed of 55 questions (except socio-demographic and socio-economic questions, others being open-ended questions) have been prepared for women working at director/producer or assistant director/producer positions in General Directorate of TRT in Ankara and Istanbul and other General Directorates of private channels in Istanbul; and data about these women have been collected by researchers through direct conversations. In this study aiming to determine the situation, questions in the interview forms have been categorized under certain titles and the data obtained have been directly evaluated from a thematic perspective. This research took nearly 1.5 years.

Since these female producers and directors are mainly well-known people in their professional career and they

have given their permission to publish their opinion anonymously no participant's name has been revealed in our study. Instead, each participant has been given a code and their opinions have been explained through these codes. The letter 'A' and even numbers have been used for TRT whereas the letter 'B' and odd numbers have been used for private channels.

RESULTS

At this part of research, the data are examined under four headings. Firstly the reasons why women choose to work at TV channels are examined, then, the programs produced by these women and their audience are handled. Third heading is about the programs produced by these women and the reasons why these programs are intervened and lastly the promotional prospects of women towards management positions, their job satisfaction and their opinions regarding being executives in TV sector are evaluated.

Reasons for Producer/Director Women to Choose to Work at TV Channels: One may think that "What can be the reason(s) for a woman to choose to work as a producer or director?". The varieties and percentages regarding that challenging issue are shown in Table 2. As seen on Table 2, main concern for producer or director women working at private channels is their special interest while for women at TRT being trained on this issue are the main reason. The director and producer woman code B17 explained choosing this profession was related to be trained on this field with the following words:

"I had the chance to get a lot of professional information for four years and to improve myself; therefore you practice the job with all related and necessary information. This is a great chance in Turkey, it is really important."

A producer-director woman with the code of A48 who worked for TRT for many years stated that she has made a conscious choice due to her special interest:

"I wanted to be a pioneer in my profession as a woman, when I was employed by my channel there were nearly no female producers."

The choices of the A48 coded producer-director women and some other of her colleagues, who consciously preferred to work at TV channels indicate that they are pioneer in terms of raising consciousness and awareness among women on this subject.

Another producer woman from a private channel coded B43 said that she has coincidentally got involved in this profession and added:

Table 2: Reasons for why Producer / Director Women Choose to Work at TV Channels

Most important reasons for choosing to work at TV channels	Channels		
	Private channels (%)	TRT (%)	Total (%)
High status	10.2	4.8	8.2
High income	1.9	1.6	1.8
I have got special interest	47.2	34.9	42.7
My education was on this subject	37.0	50.8	42.1
Other (By chance/ Being a pioneer at this job)	3.7	7.9	5.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

"You are your own boss at this job. Our country has many problems and it is necessary for us to draw the attention of authorities to these problematic areas. It is also a great pride and pleasure to see how the problems are evaluated and solved."

From a general perspective, it is seen that director or producer women in private channels are motivated by their special interest while those in TRT consider being trained as their primary reason to work in that institution. Since those working at private channels are younger, therefore it is possible say that it becomes more attractive to emphasize on the visuality dimension of the television. Those in TRT, who are generally middle aged women, have emphasized during the interviews that knowledge and experience are important assets in this profession. Both groups of women have stated that they heed their job and have a difficult job since they are always in contact with the public and added: "*We don't want to lose their confidence.*"

Programs Produced by Director / Producer Women and Their Viewers: In this interview, women have been asked to answer an open-ended question about the type of programs they produce and their answers have been categorized under a table. When the type of programs produced by these female producers and directors is considered, it is seen that there is no significant difference between those work in the TRT and private channels. However, female producers mainly focus on entertainment and magazine issues at private channels. The types of programs produced by female producers are shown in Table 3.

Based on the percentages on Table 3, female producers at private channels produce products of the popular cultures such as entertainment-quiz shows (19.4%), woman programs (22.2%), magazine programs (9.3%) and music programs (6.8%). However, female producers in TRT produce arts and culture programs

Table 3: Types of Programs Produced by Women

Program Types	Private Channels (%)	TRT (%)	Total (%)
Arts and Culture	10.2	31.7	18.1
News and Documentary	10.2	23.8	15.3
Entertainment- Quiz Shows	19.4	4.8	14.8
Drama- Series	2.8	3.2	2.9
Woman	22.2	3.2	15.2
Sports	2.7	-	1.8
Magazine	9.3	3.2	7.0
Health	0.9	3.2	1.8
Music	6.8	7.9	6.6
Debate / Discussion	4.6	-	2.9
Economics	-	1.6	0.6
Fashion	1.9	-	1.2
Science and Technology	-	1.9	1.2
Kids and Youth	2.8	9.5	5.2
Education	-	7.9	2.9
Current Programs	3.4	-	2.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 4: Target Audience of the Programs Prepared by Female Producer and Directors

Target Audience	Private Channels (%)	TRT (%)	Total (%)
General	59.3	77.8	66.1
Women	28.7	4.8	19.9
Men	3.7	0.0	2.3
Teenagers	5.6	0.0	3.5
Children	2.8	12.7	6.4
Other (All)	-	4.8	1.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

(31.7%), news and documentaries (23.8%), programs for kids and teenagers (9.5%) and educational programs (7.9%), all of which can be considered as intellectual products.

The broadcasting of such programs on TRT depends on the public broadcasting conception of the channel. The concern of low viewer rates for such programs is not considered to be important by TRT due to its public broadcasting approach. A female producer-director, coded B67, explains the fact why private channels rarely produce such programs as such:

“The executives at private channels do not allow producing such intellectual programs since they may have a small level of rating. The female producers in TRT do not care about the rating because they are civil servants.”

On the other hand, the researchers have observed during their interviews in private channels that each day between 16.30 and 17.00 hours, a list showing the rating levels of entertainment programs for women which are broadcasted in the morning is put on the “Announcement Board” and staff responsible for these programs control

this list and feel relieved when they see that there is no decrease in their rating. This indicates how important the rating levels for female producer and directors are.

In the light of the above mentioned facts, the target audience of the programs prepared by female producers and directors are shown in Table 4.

As seen in Table 4, 66.1% of participatory women produce programs that aim to reach to general public. Whereas there is no woman in TRT producing a program for men, 3.7% of women at private channels are responsible for producing such programs. This is an example for the fact that women working as producers or TV announcers have started to get involved in sports sector, which is considered rather as male dominant area. This not only helps the sale of sports products from a perspective based on consumption but also the increasing rating levels of football, automobile or motorcycle racing programs among female viewers. The increase of the women’s interest to the areas defined over men and using women and their sexuality to produce and present such programs to attract men to the screen seems to have become a priority policy. The same idea is explained a women producer, coded B17, of a sports program, in the following statement:

“As a woman, it is really difficult to get involved in this sector. They tested me for some time, as I completely fulfilled my responsibilities without compromising my principles I still practice my job in this position. However, I should say that the policy followed by your channel is important at this point, in my channel female producers or directors are welcome.”

On the other hand, another difference between TRT and private channels is that children programs in TRT and entertainment programs for women in the private channels are in the second rank among the programs produced by women. In terms of the production of existing patriarchal values, it is interesting that children programs in TRT and entertainment programs (broadcasted in the morning, with special attention to women as the target audience) in private channels are produced by women and latter are programs exclusive to women. Therefore, it is possible to say that women in private channels generally choose to produce such popular programs for women since they are mainly concerned about ratings and know the subject better as a woman. A program coordinator (B19) in private channels explains this fact with the following statement:

“We hire professional agencies for our important production projects. Since these are serious and difficult programs. Those we produce are mainly for entertainment (meaning the morning programs).”

Table 5: Women Rates of Intervention by the Management to the Programs Produced by Women

Interventions to your program by the management	Channels		
	Private TV Channels	TRT	Total (%)
Yes	27.1	12.7	21.8
No	30.8	44.4	35.9
Depending on the subject	42.1	42.9	42.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Programs Produced by Female Producers/Directors and the Reasons for the Interventions on to These Programs:

Women producers and director may be exposed to an intervention situation regarding the programs they direct or produce. The rates of the intervention are shown in Table 5.

As seen in Table 5, 27.1% of women in private channels have stated that there have been certain interventions on their programs, whereas this rate is 12.8%. It is obviously seen that the rate of interventions in private channels is higher than in TRT. The reason for this fact is the presence of an authorized committee in TRT which is responsible for examining the program projects before they are broadcasted.

Another producer-director woman from TRT, with the code A78, also commented on this issue:

“We experience a very detailed program preparation period. We turn our programs into projects after a long period of research and interviews and present these to the executive board. Upon the approval of the board, we broadcast them.”

This shows that there are certain efforts to block these interventions in advance. In spite of this, A152 mentions the political dimension of the interventions:

“The executives of TRT are in close interaction with politicians. Sometimes our producers may have some conflicting idea with the political power in the country; in these cases both the producers and their programs encounter barriers before making programs”

On the other hand it has also been observed that the interventions in private channels may not only come from the hierarchic management of the organization, but also as a critical assessment of other departments within the channel. An assistant director woman coded B109 working for a debate program said:

“I realized that our programs, assuming to be reflecting the problems of women, later turned out to humiliate women. I told this to our program coordinator; however I am not sure whether they will take it seriously. All in all, I don’t want to see my channel under a certain level of quality.”

Table 6: Reasons for Interventions on Programs

Reasons for Interventions on Programs	Channels		
	Private TV Channels (%)	TRT (%)	Total (%)
Concern to disturb the viewer mass	54.7	19.0	41.4
Concern to disturb the politicians	5.7	23.8	12.4
Concern to disturb non-governmental organizations	1.9	3.2	2.4
Concern for a decrease in advertisement revenue	11.3	3.2	8.3
Absence	20.8	34.9	26.0
Other	5.6	15.9	9.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

This explanation is a good way to make us believe that intervention and criticism may lead to channels to produce more serious and qualified programs. In this context, it is clearly seen that programs are subject to interventions from different aspects; however these interventions are more common in private channels than in TRT.

The percentage of those saying “Intervention depends on the subject of the program” is nearly same both in private channels and TRT (42.1% for private channels and 42.9% for TRT). At this point, a producer woman coded A22 makes the following explanations:

“Sometimes we are dealing with issues that are directly related to public health and we receive really positive reactions for such programs. However, sometimes we have to deal with some issues that reflect problems in health sector stemming from either the negligence of a doctor or an area the Ministry of Health is responsible. In this case, we are suggested to handle the situation from a different perspective or we may see that our program is no longer broadcasted. This means that either the Ministry of Health or the Chamber of Doctors intervenes”.

On the other hand, the B141 coded producer woman working in a private channel states that there is no external pressure on programs and that it is directly associated with the viewers’ liking and she explains this situation with the following statement:

“There are very popular programs among those I produce, as well as those not broadcasted anymore; it depends on the subject.”

The management will come up with some reasons for the interventions. The primary reasons and the percentages are shown in Table 6.

As seen in Table 6, The concern of not to disturb “viewer mass”, which is shown as a reason for intervention to programs of the women producers in private channels, is higher with 54.7% than in TRT

(19.0%). Concerns not to offend politicians are 5.7% in private channels, yet it is 23.8% in TRT. The concern for mass audience is at high levels in private channels, whereas the concern for disturbing the politicians is higher in TRT. The following statement of the B53 coded woman producer, who works in one of the private channels, is very important in the framework of criticism from the non-governmental organizations:

“I cannot forget the protest of a group of women from a non-governmental organization in front of our channel about one of our women centered programs.”

Moreover, B37 coded producer assistant working in a private channel stated that even the approach to a janitor character in a drama series is very important:

“The Janitors Union Authority may form a public opinion by from the point that we are reflecting this character as expedience and negligent. I mean, both the channel executives and program producers take the critics from a non-governmental organization seriously and furthermore while stressing the negative behaviors of janitors in one series, they try to emphasize the positive behaviors in another one.”

These explanations show how the producers take the interventions and critics both from institutional and the non-governmental organizations seriously. On the other hand, for the choice “other”, the percentage of those giving “*unknown reasons deriving from RTÜK (Supreme Council of Radio and Televisions)*” as their pretext for interventions is 5.6% in private channels and 15.9% in TRT. The A152 coded woman producer explains the high rate in TRT as “*personal disputes, hostility and political view disparities*”; it would be useful to remember what she stated earlier. Concern for a possible decrease in advertisement revenue may be in accordance with the broadcasting policy of private channels (11,3%) and due to its broadcasting policy TRT is highly concerned with not to offend political section (23.8%) and is not very much anxious about a possible decrease in its advertisement revenues. In this context, the public broadcasting perception is more dominant in TRT. However, for the private channels, the decrease of advertisement income means the decrease of channel income in general. The following statements of B127 coded woman producer are very interesting:

“The administration has close relations with the business environment. Therefore, the low ratings of advertisements may reveal problems, because the owner of the channel is a businessman and he expects the consumption of his products, thus there is an organic link between the advertisement and ratings, therefore, the

Table 7: Distribution of the Advantageous Sections in Terms of Executive Positions

Advantageous Sections in Terms of Executive Positions	Channels		
	Private TV channels (%)	TRT (%)	Total (%)
Men	38.3	38.1	38.2
Women	5.6	4.8	5.3
Does not matter, success wins	56.1	47.6	52.9
Other (Being favored)	0.0	9.5	3.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

administration pays attention to this case, otherwise the revenues of the channels decrease and the producer may be dismissed.”

On the other hand, the concern of not to offend the viewer mass means the low rates in ratings. Therefore, the low ratings and decrease of advertisement revenues is not important TRT as it is financed by state budget and takes considerable amounts of revenue from the budget.

Promotion Prospects in Administration and Job Satisfactions of Woman Producers / Directors: The evaluations of the woman producers and directors about the more advantageous sex in terms of promotion prospects in administration stage are shown in Table 7.

As it is seen in Table 7, 56.1% of the workers in private channels and 47.6% of the workers in TRT primarily stated that the sex difference has no importance, only the successful ones can get promoted. The rate of those stating that men are more advantageous is very close both in private channels and TRT (private channel 38.3%, TRT 38.1%). This answer indicates that the participant women are not making gender discrimination. On the other hand, the view of “*favored person can promote*” is only accumulated in TRT with 9.5%, which is also another interesting result.

A138 coded woman producer-director stated the following about the of favoring and favoritism in TRT, which have become an institutionalized behavior:

“While the government changes in Turkey, the general manager and broadcasting policy changes and sometimes all the administrative staff is renewed even including the branch directorates, At this point, the favoritism turns into an operating mechanism. In this context, the broadcasting policy also changes.”

It is possible to say that this situation occurs due to the direct relation of TRT budget with the state (Ministry of Finance). It has been observed during the face to face meetings that in the private channels some of the female producers emphasize that in one of the

Table 8: Percentages on Recognition of Women As Successful Directors In TV Channels

Recognition as a successful director in your channel?	Channels		Total
	Private TV Channels	TRT	
Yes	75.9	73.0	74.9
No	11.1	7.9	9.9
Ask other people	13.0	19.0	15.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

channels the producers use women’s sexuality in order to get promotion. The B33 coded producer woman stated that:

“In this sector, knowledge and experience have no relation in the promotion of a woman as a president of a section. The promotion of the woman can be at most to directorate or vice-presidency levels.”

And she added this question:

“Have you ever seen or heard a woman as the general manager of a channel?”

These explanations are dramatic and can be seen as an indicator for the existence of gender discrimination. Although woman producers and directors think that they have broken the glass ceiling, the gender discrimination seems to be an important obstacle before them.

B13 coded woman emphasized the problems that caused her to quit her job by the following statements:

“My boyfriend and I were running a program. I mean, he was the responsible producer of the program. Then, we broke up and since that time we could not any more... have the possibility to work together... he does not want me to work, was creating troubles and putting obstacles. I would like to move to another channel, because relations within the professional environment have become really boring.”

Women, as all other directors and producers, need to be recognized as successful. The percentages on whether they are recognized as successful directors are shown in Table 8.

As seen on Table 8, producer or director women from both these institutions state that they are known as a successful producer/director in their institutions (75.9% in private channels and 73.0% in TRT).

Some participants from TRT think that this issue should be asked to others. A female director, whose code number is A168, said the following statement on this issue:

Table 9: Percentages of job satisfaction among women

Are you satisfied with your job?	Channels		
	Private TV Channels	TRT	Total
Yes	63.9	76.2	68.4
No	12.0	19.0	14.6
Financially insufficient	24.1	4.8	17.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

“This should be asked to others, it is difficult for a person to self evaluate, you may be misunderstood. People may think that you are conceited.”

The percentages on how women are satisfied from the job they do within the channels they work for are given in Table 9.

As seen on Table 9, job satisfaction levels among producer-director women in both institutions are very high (63.9% in private channels, 76.2% in TRT). Nonetheless, 12 % of women in private channels and 19% of those in TRT are unsatisfied with their jobs. Dissatisfaction levels in TRT are higher than private channels. However, 24.1% of women in private channels stated that their job does not satisfy them financially whereas this percentage is lower in TRT. It is seen that there is a difference between channels in this context. A woman working as a producer-director in the TRT, coded A148, explained her dissatisfaction with the following statement:

“Some people are favored or supported by politicians and as governments change you become anxious that some of the programs you prepare may disturb some people and you feel great discomfort since you feel that your programs may not be fully appreciated, nevertheless it is good to be a producer.”

Women both from TRT and private channels expressed their job satisfaction with similar statements. For instance, a female director, coded B145, said:

“It is a very dynamic and exciting job. You influence other people, you are always in touch with other people, you try to help them. Sometimes you get really encouraging messages from your fans. Our job is both entertaining and also difficult. It is not monotonous; it is good to experience such contradictions.”

These statements indicate could be interpreted as female director or producers have dynamic lives, experience contradictory things that make their lives more exciting and meaningful.

Opinions regarding the female producer and directors becoming the executives of TV sector: Women

Table 10: Percentages regarding whether the women may be more employed by TV channels as administrators in the future

Do women have a chance of becoming influential in the future at TV channels?	Private TV Channels (%)	TRT (%)	Total (%)
Yes	79.6	63.5	73.7
No	5.6	7.9	6.4
They are already influential	12.0	27.0	17.5
No. they are jealous and not good enough at their job	2.8	1.6	2.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

who are successful at the job they do expect to be promoted as the administrators of the sector they work in. Likewise, female directors and producers working for TV channels want to get the chance to be employed as executives. The percentages on whether they will have more chance to be employed as administrators in the future are shown in Table 10.

As seen in Table 10, 79.6% of women working in private channels as producer or directors say that they will become influential in the future, however this percentage falls to 63.5% in TRT. 12% of women in private channels state that they are already influential, whereas for women in TRT this percentage rises to 27%. Female producers acknowledge that they are already influential. This situation points to their positions in breaking the glass ceiling. A female producer from TRT, coded A170, explained this with the following statement:

“It is necessary that women control their jealous attitudes towards other women and do not emphasize their sexuality. They should do their job properly and fulfill their responsibilities.”

Another female producer (B91) commented on the situation with these words:

“If female executives start to behave as men or adopt mannish attitudes, it becomes more difficult for them to have a say in the future. Since they should have a feminine standing in their jobs.”

Nevertheless, it can be said that women at private channels are more hopeful about increasing their influence in the future. The reason for this may be the fact that since they are young and at the beginning of their career, they have a more hopeful attitude towards future. Moreover, 27.0% of women in TRT acknowledge that they are already influential. In this context, it is hard to say there is a significant difference between TRT and private channels at this point.

DISCUSSION

The data used in this research, which is conducted about producer or director women in TV channels, have

been obtained as a result of face-to face interviews with 171 women working in General Directorate of TRT in Ankara, Directorate of TRT2 in Istanbul and General Directorates of private channels in Istanbul.

Although in Turkey women have the possibility to advance to highest-level positions in professional chambers, universities and state management, the number of women at these positions is much lower than their male colleagues. Besides, women in Turkey have to struggle a lot to get appointed or elected to senior level positions. The function for establishing the image of the “Modern Turkey” has always been sustained based on women in universities, TV channels and elections for the parliament. Today a new type of lifestyle is being presented based on how women are dressed. As daughters of prestigious medium class and Republican families who have adopted the Kemalist discourse, those women who are at the top of their career have found the chance to build a career due to the institutions shaped by this political view [24, 26, 27]. These distinguished women are the rare ones who broke the glass ceiling and they are very numerous. However, these women have succeeded in representing the general status of women in the society only within the limits that men have determined for them and they represent an important role model in the modernization process of Turkey.

According to results of the research, women experiencing difficulties in being promoted are also subject to some interventions in their programs. These interventions vary based on the channels and are more common in private channels than in TRT. However, one of the results obtained through this research is that these interventions and criticism do not always have a negative impact and may sometimes lead to the production of more serious and qualified programs. The reasons for the interventions are mainly concerns of not to offend politicians in state channels and not to disturb the viewers in private channels.

The researches conducted in this field showed the fact that the number of women at senior level or executive suite positions in medicine [10] and banking sector [11], which are regarded by women in Turkey as career professions, is less than men and these women have more disadvantages than men in terms of getting promoted in their job. Nevertheless, female doctors have been found to be satisfied with their job. In our study, we have found out that there is a very small number of females at senior level positions at TV channels but women working as director or producers have a certain level of job satisfaction. This result also overlaps with the results of researches conducted by McKean and Burke and

Richardsen *et al.* [18]. Another research indicates that women are satisfied with working at male dominant jobs [28]. From a feminist perspective this finding can be interpreted as women are becoming more satisfied with their job as they become successful in male dominant jobs.

The scope of this study is composed of female producer or directors working in TV channels in Turkey. In this study, it has been found out through face-to-face interviews with program coordinators that the number of male producers or directors in Turkish TV channels is higher than women. However, the point that requires attention here is that female producers and directors have a high level of professional performance and own an important position in their channels. In general it can be said that the difficulties seen in exceeding the glass ceiling block as stated by Morris [18], have also appeared in our study. These producer and director women work for very long hours, try to become a role model for other women and sometimes have to cope with problems deriving from their families. In spite of all these, they struggle to break the glass ceiling.

Although these female producers and directors work for very long hours without any fixed time in a very dynamic atmosphere, they have proven themselves and showed how successful they are at their job. Within this framework, it can be easily said that these women are successful in “breaking the glass ceiling” based on studies done by [24, 29] These producer and director women in TV channels, which form an important field within the media, have produced very important programs under very difficult conditions and without any fixed working hour schedule. Regardless of their political opinion, all of these 171 women interviewed in this research struggle against both the well-established conception resourced from their gender and the difficulties occurring from the nature of their profession. Although the majority of female directors and producers in the media think that they have already broken the glass ceiling, it is possible to say that the barriers before this ceiling still exist considering the fact that there are no female general directors at the head of any TV channel in Turkey. However, it is very important and meaningful that these women struggle to be permanent at their jobs in the media sector which requires working for very long and unfixed hours. There are an increasing number of motivated, dynamic and skillful women in Turkey practicing career professions under very competitive and demanding conditions. This indicates that these women shall succeed very important jobs in the future, which is very encouraging for the researchers.

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