

Chapter 6

GENDER AND INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL ECONOMY OF WOMEN AS A MEDIA PROFESSIONALS

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INTRODUCTION

Before we start this work it is important to introduce basically the feminist critique of IPE. “The feminist critique of International Political Economy (IPE) begins with the point that the world is not made up of states and markets, or proletariat and bourgeoisie, it is made up of men and women” (Balaam and Veseth, 2005, p.103). This paper will summarize the articles of Bakker (2007), Griffin (2007), Whitworth (2006) and Peterson (2005) with respectively. Then these four articles will be compared and contrasted with regards to their subjects, contents and interpretations. Lastly, it will be shown that Bakker (2007) with her clear descriptions about social reproduction and the constitution of a gendered political economy and Whitworth (2006) by addressing the apparent examples of the issues of gender and IPE.

INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL ECONOMY AND FEMINIST APPROACHES

To start with Bakker (2007) feminist approaches would be considered more powerful than others. Since most of the feminist approaches are more positivist and empiricist perspectives with regardless of the time and place. In the light of this sentence, Bakker (2007) outlines the terms social reproduction by challenges of historical material life and relationship between governance and governmentality. Significantly, everyday life, primitive accumulation, forms of state and the work/ labor distinction are the four major informative subtitles of Bakker’s (2007) articles. First, everyday life in the context of social reproduction indicates such daily unconscious routines. Moreover, Bakker (2007) emphasizes these daily routines as signals of trajectory in order to understand aspects of social reproduction. Here, one can remind the Althusser’s interpretations on capitalism that criticizes

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with increase on capitalism, human beings loses their creativity. In other words, for Althusser, human beings became robots with the help of the material life.

Second, according to Bakker (2007) primitive accumulation indicates the idea of the expropriation of public lands. Thus, primitive accumulations examine the changes in the social positions of women and the production of labor power. With respect to changes in constructed character of sexual roles and division of labor in capitalist society Bakker (2007) mentions new enclosures in order to explain social reproduction. Third, despite the other two items most of the researchers interested in the global macroeconomic changes in the light of implications for social reproduction. Besides, Bakker (2007) focuses on Diane Elson explanations of male bias. To put more emphasis on Elson arguments, male bias concludes the operations in favor of men by against women as a gender. With regards to this knowledge, some feminists' economists pointed out infinite flexibility of women's labor and efficiency of cutbacks is the result of wage labor with unproduced resources. According to Bakker (2007) "These assumptions rest on women's labor 'taking up the stock' of reduced public services provisioning and thereby intensifying the work and subordination of women and other marginal groups" (Bakker, 2007, p.546).

Furthermore, the debate between gender and welfare states on social reproduction shows the example of Latin American countries women's neighborhood associations presents the politicizing the sphere of social reproduction under the welfare state structure. Fourth, as Bakker (2007) draw attention to work of Marx, Gramsci and most of the feminist writers on distinction of labor and work, social reproduction not only mediates relations between social and natural orders but also combines the theoretical and practical activity of human beings.

On the other hand, global governance is the Foucauldian post-structuralist perspective associated with effects of globalization. Here, it is essential to mention for each country, there is a differentiation on governed rules, hierarchies and responsibilities. According to Bakker (2007) this can be explained by "The domestic sphere assigned women the responsibilities of care while patriarchy privileged men's position in economic and economic life" (Bakker, 2007, p.549). In addition to that most of the state regulations and laws support these privileges of sexual division of labor by exalting gender order. While global governance introduces these ideas, governmentality mostly stressed on the neo-liberal principles linked to intensification of gender. To put differently, the idea of externality on women's reproductivity stands on the basis of gender claims not only erased from policy making but also being delegitimised.

Importantly, Whitworth (2006) emphasizes the importance of international relations and feminism as well as the feminist examine of international relations. Among all other explanations, Whitworth (2006) mostly concentrated on the relation between gender oppression in workplace. In order to reinforce this subject, Whitworth (2006) addresses to Maria Mies or Gita Sen and Caren Grown work. Since they introduce the impact of the changing international division of labor on women, Whitworth (2006) accepts the women's subordination was occurred under the different historical modes of production. For instance, some argues that "with the introduction of private property during the colonial period, women tended to suffer more than men because they lost completely their access to traditional land-use rights" (Whitworth, 2006, p.92).

Moreover, as a result of the shift on production to the export sector women are exposed to work under the poorly paid positions as much as little opportunities to improve their wages. Therefore, as Whitworth (2006) criticizes, today we are witnessing the class and gender oppression work as in the case of introduction of private property during the colonial period. On the other hand, Whitworth (2006) shares Cynthia Enloe's accounts in order to show most important gender figures in IPE, such as tourism, foreign domestic servants and export-processing zones (EPZs). To put more emphasis on EPZs, one can support that most of the young women were favored. Since their tempting docility is ensured. Thus, according to Whitworth (2006) most of the young women recruit by MNCs as a first place. In the light of this knowledge about discrimination of women and work highlights by the IMF austerity measurements with the capacity to responses of women. Moreover, "this may include severe domestic financial management as well as traveling abroad as foreign domestic servants, often with the requirement that a significant proportion of their salaries be repatriated back to the home country" (Whitworth, 2006, p.94).

Furthermore, Whitworth (2006) in her article, mentions the United Nations System of Account in order to emphasis essential explanations not only in promoting, but also in sustaining assumptions around gender relations. Besides, UNSA is crucial for IPE with regards to its effects on aid. In other words, UNSA has vital role in deciding the way to aid to where, who and how. While economic sense with gender assumptions on IPE, Whitworth (2006) argues that women are also involved in international relations. For this respect Whitworth (2006) points out the idea that women tend to be more pacifistic than men. Therefore they can bring more powerful views on international relations.

For above mentioned examples, according to Griffin (2007) refashioning IPE describes the help of gender analysis in global political economy. Moreover,

Griffin (2007) accepts that gender is broader issue. Since gender is everywhere, feminist approach includes the valid explanations for implementation of international (global) political economy. Here, Griffin (2007) focuses on the fate of marginalized leads to suffer in IPE explanations with regards to gender. Despite the fact that there is an increasing number of inventive, challenging and provocative offerings of gendered political economy, the apparent view shows women's consistent over-representation in the most-hungry, least-paid lists.

Furthermore, Griffin (2007) exemplified an unequal treatment for women's by using MNCs and gendered capital. Significantly, Griffin (2007) used Elias's argument in order to explain unequal position of women in workplace in terms of the Third World. In other words, Elias (2004) identified that MNC not only benefits from gendered inequalities, but also creates another inequalities is gendered division of labor. Moreover, Elias (2004) summarizes this byword: "it actively creates and perpetuates such inequalities, exploiting gendered division of labor in order to mobilize a supply of low cost female labor to work as productive operatives in this labor intensive sector" (Griffin, 2007, p.728).

Finally, feminist approach towards IPE analysis is clearly titled by Peterson (2005). According to Peterson (2005) the issues that feminist approach provided are reflected distinction between empirical/substantive priorities and ideological preferences. Eventually, Peterson (2005) stresses the differences on comprehension and implementation of gender. Moreover, these differences divided into two major parts, which are empirical category and analytical category. For empirical, gender tends to refer a synonym for women. On the other hand, for analytical category involves generally whole system of feminist approach in IPE. For this respect, analytical category of gender is inspired by theoretical framework of constructivist and post-structuralist orientations. Thus, Peterson (2005) articulates, "unless we shift our epistemological orientations, feminism's most trenchant and transformative insights remain effectively invisible" (Peterson, 2005, p.517).

In order to compare and contrast these four articles, one can support all of them evaluated gender with important and valid explanations. Bakker deals with the social reproduction related to IPE. On the other hand, Whitworth focuses on the term export processing zones and gender respectively. Among other two articles Bakker and Whitworth with their clear illustration had influential critique on effects on globalization within the gender context. Here, it can be believed that globalization and globalized world goes as a gendered institutions. However, Griffin with his remarkable explanations on the linkage between social existence and economic process is much more intense in critical IPE compare to mainstream IPE. Moreover Peterson denies any kind of unity to gender analysis.

In conclusion, all articles have good dealing on the subject of gender and IPE. As it is apparent that gender is the vital center to the IPE analysis, it should take account seriously. Also, social reproduction and export processing zones are also neglecting issues for IPE. Therefore social conceptualization is needed to be explaining in the interpretations of IPE. Consequently, it is believed that instead of Griffin and Peterson, Bakker and Whitworth by focusing specific situation in the society make more clear and attractive explanations to the gender and IPE. Moreover, it can be support that as Bakker and Whitworth focus their article separately today with the help of the globalization we are witnessing the more exploitation on labor in most of the multinational corporations. Thus as women are the most favorable workers to the export processing zones, in IPE analysis gender should be emphasized deeply not only understand the discrimination in labor, but also exploitation in inflexible working hour. Therefore insisting on instead of just mentioning Marxism as just critical approach to IPE, with regards to deeper meaning of exploitation and working class, feminism should also be as much important as Marxism.

WOMEN AS THE MEDIA PROFESSIONALS

The media industry is one of the primary areas of gender inequality. Media is an industry that produces inequality not only in terms of the content it produces, but also in terms of women's labor and discrimination. Employment of women in the media industry has increased substantially since the 1990s. There is a gap between male and female laborers in terms of senior / executive employment, although women's employment in the media is intense. Women cannot be among decision makers. In addition, women's employment is concentrated only in certain areas of the media. It is observed that women reporters are mostly employed in areas such as education, health and life. Thus, the role of women at home is maintained in the labor market. Discrimination both horizontally and vertically has important consequences such as continuing the production of discriminatory media content against women and continuing negative conditions for women working in the media.

Women have been a part of production in every period in the historical process. The increase of the share of the female workforce in the total workforce occurred especially in the 1980s. As Yaman Öztürk stated, as a result of the neoliberal policies implemented after 1980, household income declined due to the increase in unemployment and wage decline, while household income declined, and public services, as a result of lowering state support, additional taxes and rising prices. it grew steadily. In this process, women also joined the labor market (Öztürk, 2010, p.115).

Therefore, one of the factors affecting women's participation in the labor market is the structure of the labor markets. For example, export-oriented development strategies implemented in developing countries have increased the number of women working in many countries. At the same time, female labor is increasingly used in the growing informal sector as a result of this strategy (Dedeoğlu, 2004). However, female employment is also determined by the possibilities and limitations of the patriarchal social structure (İzdeş 2010, p.133). compared to men in general employment of women in Turkey it is known to participate less.

The most important reason for this is that the main job of women in the society is housework and motherhood, but it is in the position of "reserve workforce" that will be included in the labor market when the male family is excluded from the individual workforce. The idea that led to this is the myth that men bring bread to the family, women are only those who earn additional income (Wichterich, 2004, p.25). As a direct consequence of this, women are first affected by an economic crisis throughout the country or an internal shrinkage decision. İzdeş states that, for example, the labor force participation rate of women fell considerably after the 2001 economic crisis and that women returned to their home roles again (2010, p.172). In addition to that working flexibly, research shows that women are more preferred than men for precarious employment. One of the sectors where insecurity is intense is the media.

The fact that journalism and the media sector is at the center of the public sphere brought with it the bias that this field is the men's field. The sexist nature of the media stems from the professional ideology in which the employees are present. The communication sector uses women in two stereotypes. The first is to take the woman into traditional roles such as mother, spouse, and housewife in the patriarchal structure, and the second is to display the female body in the form of submission to the concerns of interest, most watching and sensation (Timisi, 1997, p.2).

Yücesan-Özdemir and Kaderoğlu emphasize that the media industry is publicly circulating social communication and relationships, emphasizing that this field is composed of various sub-industries that present qualitative differences such as media, culture, advertising and publishing. For this reason, according to the authors, the mode of production in this industry, class relations in production, the labor process, relations with political power, censorship-self-censorship, holding, advocacy, insecurity, freedom of thought, control, Qualification, etc. It cannot be considered separately from such discussions (Yücesan-Özdemir and Kaderoğlu Bulut, 2016, p.86). Relations in the media that shape women's labor and produce

women can only be understood in this historical and social context. The originality of women's labor in the media can only be understood as such.

After 1980, a transformation took place in the media industry, as in other sectors, and media outlets owned by journalist families have been replaced by holders. After 1990, with the increase in the number of private televisions and radios, the number of women working in the media sector has also increased (General Directorate of the Status of Women's Presidency, 2008). But as in other sectors, it is observed that women work in jobs that are extensions of gender when they enter the labor market in the media sector.

According to Van Zoonen (1994, p.54), discriminatory attitudes faced by women in the media industries show that having a profession as a woman is problematic. While women are expected to reach professional criteria professionally, they also face the social and cultural expectations of femininity. While women take place as professional writers in the media's primary developing media field, today, they still continue to be seen as "other" and "different" by their male colleagues, and the difficulties of being a female journalist are frequently expressed in feminist news sites (Tahaoğlu, 2015; Şen, 2016) and takes part in research (Saygılı, 2014; Erdoğan 2014; Dursun, 2011).

The work done by women in working life is a continuation of their motherhood and femininity roles and consists of jobs deemed suitable for women (Dedeoğlu, 2004). For example, girls are often directed to jobs suitable for their domestic roles such as nursing and teaching. The media industry, on the other hand, is not suitable for women because of its long and tiring working hours and flexible and heavy working conditions, and it is described as "men's work". For this reason, women are preferred more in front of the camera works such as announcers or in desk jobs such as editorship, while they are less preferred in correspondent or cameraman jobs in conflict areas.

Described as a natural "professional journalistic features", the news culture is organized within the framework of women as an example of all practical and ideological goals, and as a structure that intervenes without limit (Chambers, et al., 2004: 123). According to a study in Uçan Haber "Women and Media" Special Issue (2006), the rate of journalist women in the world press is 37%. When it comes to newspapers only, this rate drops to 29%. It is considered as one of the reasons for the low number of women employees in this sector that professional women employees in the press are exposed to a sexist distinction both ideologically and practically, and that they are not taken seriously under professionalism and professional criteria. The fact that women are not professionally involved in

the media or the number of female employees or not being able to take part in management mechanisms in this sector may be associated with the absence of attitudes and thoughts about changing gender stereotypes and stereotypes where women are secondary. Because, as stated by Köker (2000, p.326), it is possible to come across many comments on the subject that if more women could work in the media and women could take responsibility for decision-making mechanisms, women's world designs could be more voiced.

In the media industry, this also arises as the number of female employees is not evenly distributed in each unit of a media organization. In other words, while women are employed more in some units or pages of a media organization, there are almost none in others (Tanrıöver, 2000, p.180). While female media workers generally look at areas such as life, education and health in newspapers and televisions, male correspondents are preferred for areas such as foreign policy, politics and economy.

Van Zoonen mentions that there are two different types of discrimination in the media industry, namely horizontal and vertical. In addition to horizontal discrimination experienced in certain units or professions and as described earlier, it is also possible to mention "vertical discrimination" that prevents women from becoming managers. When we look at the positions of television or newspapers in the media industry such as news manager, editor-in-chief, general editor, we can see that it consists mostly of men. Tanrıöver states that there are "transparent roofs" in the media industry that prevent women from becoming executive positions, and that this is due to both the industry itself and gender roles (2000, p.182).

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