

GENDER AND PROFESSIONAL ACHIEVEMENT: TURKISH WOMEN
CONDUCTORS IN CLASSICAL MUSIC ORCHESTRAS

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ABSTRACT

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Women's position in classical music orchestras has been characterized by gendered representations and exclusion in conducting (as a male-dominated field). This thesis study problematizes the numerical underrepresentation of women as conductors in the classical music orchestras by focusing on the Turkish case. Based on the insights from the analysis of women's situation as conductors in classical music sector in the West and the explanatory frameworks driving from a gender perspective, this thesis inquired into the education and career paths of the Turkish female classical music conductors to answer the questions of 'Why there has been a scarcity of women among conductors in classical music orchestras' and 'Whether and in what ways women's gendered experiences have created specific challenges and obstacles for aspiring women musicians in the long road to professional achievement and recognition in a male-dominated sector'. An interview survey with the Turkish

female orchestra conductors (and selected male conductors) aimed at uncovering the experiences, perceptions and explanations regarding the impact of gender stereotypes and the challenges for women. The study contends that similar to the gendered dynamics in the Western orchestras, despite the existence of formal institutional barriers, women's minority position within classical orchestras are shaped by a number of social, cultural and institutional factors. These highlight the lingering significance of gender-based stereotypes, roles and expectations, the effect of the scarcity of role models for women in the profession as well as the masculine norms which heavily associated with the identity and status of the conductor in the orchestras.

Keywords: Women Conductors, Gender Stereotypes, Western Classical Music, Women in Professions, Masculinity

ÖZ

TOPLUMSAL CİNSİYET VE PROFESYONEL BAŞARI: KLASİK MÜZİK ORKESTRALARINDAKİ TÜRK KADIN ORKESTRA ŞEFLERİ

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Yüksek Lisans, Toplumsal Cinsiyet ve Kadın Çalışmaları Bölümü

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Kadınların klasik müzik orkestralarındaki konumu, toplumsal cinsiyete dayalı temsiller ve orkestra şefliği alanındaki erkek egemen yapılanmadan dolayı dışarıda bırakılmıştır. Bu tez çalışması, Türkiye örneğine odaklanarak, kadınların klasik müzik orkestralarında orkestra şefi olarak yetersiz sayısal temsilini sorunsallaştırmaktadır. Batı'daki klasik müzik sektöründe orkestra şefi olan kadınların durumunun analizinden ve toplumsal cinsiyet perspektifinden hareket eden açıklayıcı çerçevelerden yola çıkarak; bu tez Türk kadın klasik müzik şeflerinin eğitim ve kariyer yollarını 'Klasik müzik orkestralarındaki kadın orkestra şeflerinin sayısı neden daha azdır' ve 'Bu mesleğe dâhil olmak isteyen kadın müzisyenlerin cinsiyete dayalı deneyimlediği ayrımcılıklar onlar için bu erkek egemen alanda uzun süren mesleki başarı ve tanınma açısındanne gibi problemler yaratmaktadır' sorularını yanıtlamaktadır. Çalışma, tüm Türk kadın orkestra şeflerinin yanı sıra bazı

erkek orkestra řefleri ile yapılan görüřmeleri, hem özne deneyimlerini hem de bu zorlukların oluşmasını saęlayan cinsiyetçi dinamikleri ve sonuçlarıyla ilgili kendi algı ve açıklamalarını analiz etmeye dayanmaktadır. Çalışma, Batı orkestralarındaki cinsiyet dinamiğine benzer şekilde, resmi, kurumsal engellemerin varlığına ek olarak kadınların klasik müzik orkestraları içindeki azınlık konumunun toplumsal cinsiyet temelli önemini vurgulayan bir dizi sosyal, kültürel ve kurumsal faktörle şekillendiğini ileri sürmektedir. Bunlar toplumsal cinsiyete dayalı kalıplar, roller ve beklentiler, meslekte kadınlar için rol modellerinin az olmasının etkisi ve orkestralardaki orkestra řefinin kimliği ve konumu ile yakından ilişkili eril normlardır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kadın Orkestra Şefleri, Toplumsal Cinsiyete Dayalı Kalıplar, Batı Klasik Müziği, İş Hayatındaki Kadınlar, Erkeklik



In Memory of Feride Büşra Taşlı

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Music is the universal language of *mankind*. – Henry Wadsworth
Longfellow

1.1. The Subject Matter of the Thesis

The problem of women's underrepresentation in professional occupations (in terms of numerical unbalanced distribution and gender segregation) has been a critical subject of research in academic studies in women's studies and gender research over decades. There are still significant inequalities in the career prospects of men and women in work life and in professional realm. At a general level, despite the increased presence of women in occupations and women's entrance into the male-dominated professions in greater numbers, overt and indirect/covert gendered discriminations, sexist norms and the resultant gender-based segregation at the workplace have not been totally overcome. Moreover, the perception of women in active workforce remains highly stereotypical and sexualized in the sense that women are still described without having necessary skills in particular professions. Until those discriminatory beliefs are changed, women will likely to continue to face a barrier as they navigate their careers.

The music industry is not often mentioned as the first area of employment to we compare men and women from the perspective of the gendered imbalances which sustains occupational segregation along gender lines. Music industry and classical music sector in particular are special areas of expertise and perfection as realms of artistic production. Nevertheless, the underrepresentation of women in the realm of

professional music across diverse genres remains a problem as it is the case in many other professions of art. Today, the realm of musical professions in the Western world remains clearly male-dominated; and gendered dynamics are rarely egalitarian which discouraged women and exclude them at specific stages of this profession (Larsson, 2017). Regarding Western classical music, there have always been issues of contention related to with women musicians and about their performances; women perform discourses of hegemony and gender even they only want to focus on musical performance (Cusick, 1994:93). Women are precisely in the minority level from being “instrument makers to sound engineers, from instrumental performers to orchestral conductors” (Doubleday, 2008:15). For an indicator of gender discrimination in the music sector, in 2017, The Royal Albert Hall surveyed 2000 British adults and found that a quarter of them feel that “women do not have the same opportunities as men in the music industry”. According to this survey, 40 per cent of women respondents were of the opinion that they thought the industry was dominated by men, while 45 per cent of women felt that women were objectified within the music industry (Roberts, 2017).

The relevant statistics seem to be even worse in the case of orchestral conducting. In the Western world, orchestra conductors have been overwhelmingly old, white and male. It has only been in the past few decades that women entered the profession to become conductors - which could be seen as the most important leadership role in the orchestra. There have been woman conductors in Western countries going back a full century, such as Nadia Boulanger (from France), Antonio Brico (from USA) and Ethel Leginska (from USA). But for decades, regardless of exceptional ability, women remained as exceptions; being in numerical minority. It's been only in the last two score years that Marin Alsop (from USA), Simone Young (from Australia), Xian Zhang (from China), Alice Farnham (from England), Susanna Mälkki (from Finland), Mirga Gražinyte-Tyla (from Lithuania), Alondra de la Parra (from Mexico) and many others have emerged, received guest-conducting opportunities, and eventually orchestras of their own. A 2014 survey of the 150 top-named conductors

in the world, shows that only five of them women¹. Five years after this survey, it can still be contended that women conductors continue to struggle in a profession which is constantly perceived as male-dominated. Recent data were revealed the list of top 100 busiest orchestra conductors of 2018; still only five of them² were women. Previously, in 2013, *Bachtrack* told the world that there was just one woman in the busiest one hundred concert conductors worldwide, who was Marin Alsop.

There are numerous reasons behind why women remained the exceptions in numbers in profession of orchestral conducting with slight that differences in each country; such as discrimination in education and hiring, personal career choices which are themselves shaped by gendered norms, difficulties of managing career and family and the challenges of adopting existing stereotyped views about this profession (Jagow, 1998: 141). While the national art works in the Western countries are part of classical music, Turkey included it to its formation of art just after the establishment of Republican regime. Today, Turkish orchestras are giving concerts with Turkish and foreign guest conductors, soloists and choruses; and they have distinguished themselves through numerous season events per year and television, and radio broadcasts. Although Turkey's female music performers are not yet getting the due they deserve, their place in music is vital and they are slowly making their mark in all positions.

This thesis inquires into the situation of Turkish women conductors in classical music orchestras in order to analyze the gendered dynamics at work which have caused covert discrimination and ultimately lead to women's marginalization in classical music orchestras as a professional career. The main research question to an answer in this thesis is, why the number of female orchestra conductors has been less

¹ Survey data sources; Rowland, H. (2016, February 11). *Why Are There So Few Female Conductors?* Retrieved from <https://theculturetrip.com/europe/united-kingdom/articles/where-are-all-the-women-conductors> and *Being a Woman Conductor and Overcoming the Prejudice* | Sonja Sepulveda | TEDxWinstonSalemWomen. (2016, December 13). Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zOFk3gupoFg>.

² The list for name of these women conductors; JoAnn Falletta (from USA), Marin Alsop, Mirga Gražinytė-Tyla, Karina Canellakis (from USA) and Susanna Mälkki. Source: *Bachtrack*.

than male orchestra conductors in Western classical music orchestras. To answer to this question it is necessary to look at the professional requirements of the conducting profession, the historical background of women musician's inclusion and the gendered stereotypes women faced in case of their professional achievements. As I am also a woman amateur musician who has been engaged in Western classical music for more than fifteen years now, I took part in many concerts in different cities of Turkey, both as a performer and listener. It was not difficult to observe that none of the orchestra conductors in the concerts that I attended were female. As a result of my personal observations which shaped my academic curiosity. I decided to analyze the situation of female conductors from a gender perspective. Thanks to my colleagues and my musician friends in the classical music community, I could also get access to all the women conductors who are currently in Turkey and I could complete my interviews without difficulty and this was a great motivation for this thesis study.

Women in musical professions have been underrepresented for a long time in all aspects of musical professions. Preliminary, the 18th century, in the West women's inclusion to classical music had been mostly in the areas of writing or performing religious music. In the Western world, up to 19th century, live performances held both in small and large concert halls; such as churches, opera halls or arts centres and society expected women to being a part of the music without performing it in public realm. Despite these conditions, the inclusion of women to classical music professions as singers, instrumentalists, and composers increased by number in the 18th and 19th centuries. Nearly end of the 19th century, conservatories and teachers were beginning to train young women in a professional level (Collins, 2015). During the time, women musicians began to take part in mixed gender orchestras and they also performed in their personal orchestras. This process indicates that women musicians' participation in classical music orchestras improved gradually. However, in contrast to their male colleagues, their numerical representation and recognition falls a long way below their numbers - especially at the higher levels of orchestra performance. It has only been since the 20th century (in late 1920s) that women

musicians were admitted in the traditionally all- male symphony orchestras. Before the year 1920, the few existing female orchestra conductors did not have the opportunity to conduct in the mixed-gender orchestras where female and male musicians were together (Edwards, 2015: 24).

This situation is likely to be related with the factors stemming from long held gender-based division of labour in the society and the predominance of gendered roles and expectations in the public private sphere. As social and professional attitudes towards women started to change in the Western countries, the contribution of women musicians to symphony orchestras will maintain high artistic standards in all sections of the orchestra (Collins, 2015). However, parallel to wider trends of the 21st century in the cultural industries, sexism and intersecting racial and class inequalities persisted in the classical music sector (Skillset Report, 2010). Women and ethnic minority groups continue to be underrepresented in prestigious orchestras. This situation picture in the international music community for a long time (Goldin & Rouse, 2000; Yoshihara, 2007).

It was argued that to overcome the gender gaps in Western classical music there were a few milestones to achieve, which could be possible only with individual efforts of women. A research conducted by Suby Raman which presented threats of female and male conductors in USA, in 2014 presented the numerical gap between male and female orchestra conductors (Figure 1³). Furthermore, the orchestra facts report of The League of American Orchestras indicated that into 22 highest budget US orchestras of 2012-2013 there is only 1 female orchestra conductor (Figure 2⁴). That one female conductor is Marin Alsop, of the Baltimore Symphony. Even five years passed and these studies were carried out on a single country (USA); the current situation still has similar rates and the underrepresentation of women orchestra conductors still appears in USA and many other countries.

³ Figure 1 retrived from personal web blog of Suby Raman; <https://subyraman.tumblr.com>

⁴ The Figure 2 retrived from website <https://americanorchestras.org>; Orchestra Facts: 2006-2014 section.

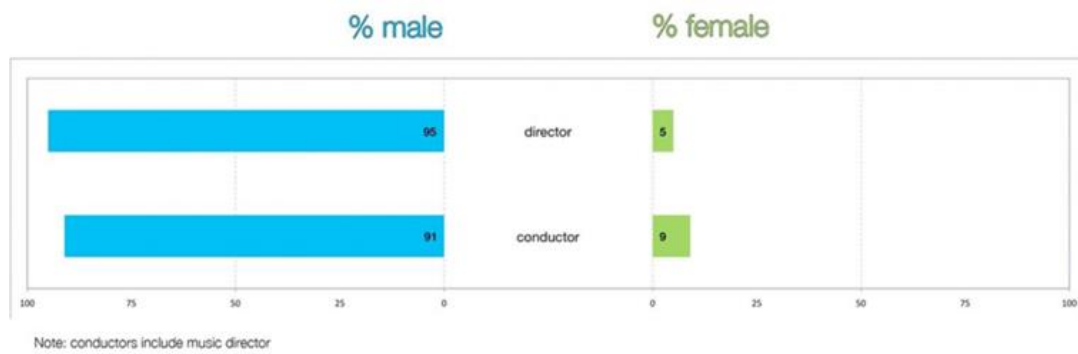


Figure 1. Percentage of male/female conductors

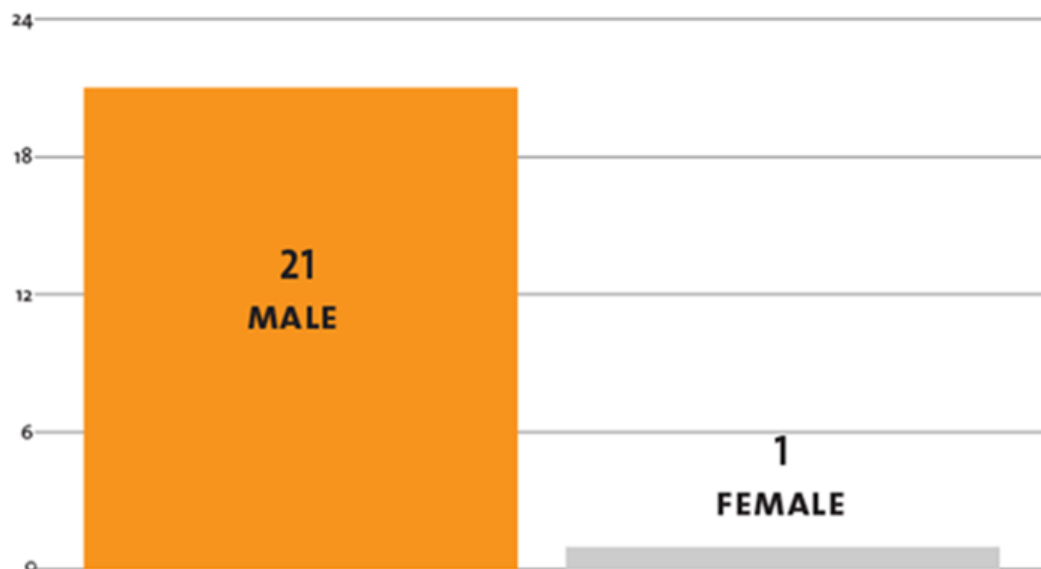


Figure 2. Male vs female conductors in 22 highest-budget US orchestras, 2012-2013

The subject matter of this study concerns the gendered dynamics (including gender stereotypes, gendered expectations, and gender role attitudes affecting women musicians and the gendered construction of the orchestral authority which is likely to discourage women) in profession of orchestral conducting in area of Western classical music in Turkey. The objective is to inquire into how Turkish women conductors have been positioning themselves into this male-dominated profession.

In the performance of Western classical music, conductors arrange the direction of musical performance by sharing their remarks to orchestra musicians through conducting. As they own a crucial role in enabling the audience to appreciate the music's shape and dynamics, conductors become well-respected figures in front of the audience. Unfortunately, women conductors have always faced sexism and discrimination in this prestigious and well-respected profession. It can be argued that this situation could be attributed to the dominance of male conductors in the conducting professions whose origin can be traced to composing and composers. Historically composers were also male. This situation historically has not been unique to Western countries, but we can also observe the effect of this situation in Turkey.

Women were not represented in composing profession since the beginning of classical period (18th century: 1750 – 1800) of Western music. Although there have been important women composers in classical period (like Fanny Mendelssohn and Clara Schumann), they have been underrepresented in the classical music repertoire, which perform publicly (Price, 2017). Due to the rare presence of female composers, composing and musical creativity are more often associated with men. This led to a myth i.e. gendered stereotypes about women's abilities and their suitability to the profession; they are the ideas about the lack of musical creativity attributed to women. Hence until the first half of the 20th century women's access to composition training was severely limited. Western classical music was created, practiced and still being practiced by mostly male composers. In other words, this music was defined and dominated by men, which then resulted in a paucity of women composers and then conductors in historical record. Obviously, an elitist approach has also been prevalent in Western classical music which in general, belongs to men, white, middle or upper class members of the society (Kutluk, 2016:60). This elitist approach can be observed in Turkey as well. In Turkey, fundamentals of classical music founded during the Ottoman Empire with

representations of *Mızıka-ı Humayun*⁵. After the proclamation of the Republic, Western music became more important with the new structuring of the state. Within the new structuring of the state, Western classical music has failed to attract the attention of people from the lower classes of the Turkish society because of the opinion that the upper class creates majority of the audience of arts and entertainment in from past till present.

The problem then, is likely to be ultimately systemic; patriarchal traditions and stereotypes has excluded women from active participation in classical music, especially in the disciplines of composition and conducting. Women's contributions to the profession of music have been predominantly ignored longer than we have witnessed, but certainly a few notable cases come to mind in case of women's success in 18th century. For example, Mozart's sister was an incredibly talented pianist, and both Schumann's wife and Felix Mendelssohn's sister were talented composers who all prevented from pursuing their arts (Price, 2017). It was hard for women musicians to have a great self-promotion on 18th century, because of the gender discrimination in the patriarchal culture of industrial capitalist societies. (Shepherd, 1987: 169). Within this male-dominated structure, women's opportunities to perform with musical instruments were limited, relative to those of men, across cultures and time (Koskoff, 1995: 115). As a result, separation between public-private areas lead exclusion of women in professions of arts.

This gender bias in Western classical music is a symptom of prevailing sexism, which characterized patriarchal norms of Western societies for centuries. Generally, Sexism refers to the belief that one sex is superior to the other, based on gendered stereotypes deriving from biological sex differences. Within the context of patriarchy, men (all men) benefit from women's oppression, and that they are able to do so because of the fundamental biological differences between the sexes (German,1981). The available research indicates that in orchestral order, sexism

⁵ The first band which established in Ottoman Empire. *Mızıka-i Hümayun* (Imperial Band) was established in 1828, by reformist sultan Mahmud II

often worked through the images of “father” the “unobstructed masculine aura” and “revelations” as the essence of orchestral patriarchy and sexism (Osborne, 1996). It is argued that because of the musicians’ desire to get a clear directives and strong sense of authority associated with male musicians, conducting implies and connotes gendered notions of leadership and power which promotes and privileges men’s abilities. This masculine construction of the orchestral status and performance conflicts with the ideals associated with womanhood and gender traits attributed to women (Handelsman, 2017:2). In fact, from the perspective of male musicians, the presence of women confuses the patterns of authority than women blame for their presence on orchestra podium (Osborne, 1996).

According to feminist criticism, such sexist bias in patriarchy is consolidated in the absence of women’s experiences due to exclusion from public realm (Westkott, 1979:424). That is why we need to explore experiences of women in studies of feminist music criticism and ethnomusicology. The ethnomusicology within art criticism itself reflects the larger context of socially grounded criticism which views all art forms as expressions related to ideologies of class, gender, and political formation (Kydd, 1992:1). Thanks to my music education which I developed through the orchestras that I performed since my childhood and the contacts I have gained with the help of my amateur musician identity; I have had the opportunity to participate and observe different classical music institutions in Turkey. Since my childhood, I have been always impressed by successful musicians with a desire to perform their music in front of crowded audiences. I have realized that the most spectacular and impressive person in classical music concerts were always conductors and solo artists (if any on the stage). It is up to the orchestra conductor to involve the audience in music and to adjust the pulse of the hall; so when I go to a concert, the orchestra conductor catches my attention mostly. As I go to the concerts with gender perspective, I realized that I had never seen a woman conductor, and I have never met with the names of female orchestra conductors in any programme. This awareness led me to carry out this research by combining the insights from the

studies of musicology⁶ and women's studies. There is still a scarcity of academic research which combines of musicology and women's studies disciplines, in Turkey (Çak & Beşiroğlu., 2017:54). As will be explained below, the insights and the concerns of feminist methodology has been the basis for this research and analysis. In this thesis, I aim to use terms from both musicology and women's studies areas. My findings of this thesis study is expected to provide a scholarly contribution to feminist research by making room for the voices of women in orchestral conducting profession from a gender perspective. Also this study will prove an important contribution with its's analysis and theoretical frame.

This thesis study hypothesizes that one of the primary reason for women's underrepresentation in Western classical music has been the scarcity of female role models for female musicians and conductors in classical music which historically stems from gender based discriminations. Moreover, the lingering dynamics of sexism in the musical profession regarding women's suitability to leadership and authority roles associated with masculinity is also likely to discourage aspiring women from entering into the profession and also which shapes the gendered expectations and norms within the orchestras. Looking at the Western experience, the origin of the conducting profession is based on the profession of composing. Historically, successful women composers, though only a minority, could not achieve the reputation that they deserved. This was because, the Western classical music was generally created, practiced and implemented by male composers. In other words, this music was defined by men who also gave direction to professional qualifications of orchestral conducting (Kutluk, 2016:33).

⁶ Musicology was first founded by Friedrich Chrysander in his *Jahrbuch für musikalische Wissenschaft* (1863), where the word "science of music" was used. Musicology did not yet have a unique research method at that time. He did his research in old ways. German musicologists who immigrated to the United States after World War II moved scientific musicology to the United States with new technical possibilities. The founder of musicology in the United States is Oscar G. T. Sonneck (1873-1928), who manages the music department of the Library of Congress and The Musical Quarterly. Today, according to the general acceptance, musicology is an independent science

Today, it is possible to see the names of both Turkish female orchestra conductors and female composers on concert posters, but all the successful women who we see on orchestra podium have great enthusiasm and determination for success. The personal experiences of women who have achieved to enter the orchestral stage and who ultimately incorporated the idea that 'women too could become conductors' into the conservative structure of classical music indicates that; it is very important to understand the personal motivations and the experiences of women performers and conductors. Therefore, in this study, the following aspects of sexism in orchestras are investigated: In what ways are Turkish classical music orchestras have a male-dominant structure? What are gendered perceptions of Turkish women conductors? Do women conductors or aspiring women in this field experience any blockage in their careers? Answers to all these questions will be answering through analysis of my interview survey with the orchestra conductors to explain the reasons of women conductors' underrepresentation in classical music orchestras; in general, and in Turkey.

1.2. The Methodology

This thesis deals with the problem of the underrepresentation of women (in terms of numerical scarcity and the gendered obstacles for their recognition in the profession) in the profession of orchestral conducting (in Turkey), on the basis of the approaches and insights from feminist methodological perspectives. The feminist methodology is not limited to analysis and understanding; but it also aims at transforming gender dynamics. Feminist research focuses on the subjective experiences of women and gendered construction of knowledge. Problematizing gender as a category of analysis in research means revealing how the patriarchal constructions of gendered identities and roles, discrimination and inequalities against women and how constraints the lives of both women and men. In this regard, feminist research has examined gender relations within patriarchal contexts: Gender dynamics are conceptualized and analysed in institutional and interactional realms, i.e other situational or identity-related factors may shape gender dynamic disadvantaging women more than men.

One such factor might be age; underrepresentation or gender-based discrimination is likely to be shaped by perceptions of age in the performance of certain professions. Hence, in addition to gender-based discrimination, we can also talk about age-based discrimination at work in the conducting profession. Agesim is a discrimination based on the number of years someone has lived and it is certainly not limited to women, but as with many similar things in Western society, women are affected harder by this. Ageism is just another prejudice in a profession of orchestral conducting. Because of the fact that experience was very important in this profession, I wanted to include in my study that young orchestra conductors had problems even if they were male or female. Depending on their age, orchestra conductors will have different advantages and disadvantages in the Western classical music orchestras. Despite different advantages and disadvantages, experience is very important for the proficiency in orchestral conducting profession. From general perception, experience is considered in relation to being old. In 2008, Sir Simon Rattle⁷ said “Conductors start getting good when everybody else retires. I start getting competent in my sixties – that’s a long way away.” in one of his interviews⁸. In research of this thesis, I have conducted an interview with a young male orchestra conductor to understand where the occupational requirements of conducting have led to discrimination against only within the framework of gender roles or not; being young also could be a disadvantage for women conductors in their career.

The underlying concern of this thesis is related to both the institutional context of the classical music sector and orchestras in particular and the male-female dynamics which shape and are shaped by the interactions within the orchestra performances. The feminist research aims to reveal the experiences of women through asking previously unasked questions (Harding, 1987). The feminist researchers aim to take women’s experiences as their source – as they stress the importance of intersectional analysis that highlights the intersection of race, class, gender, and sexuality in

⁷ Sir Simon Denis Rattle (64 years old) is a British conductor. He was principal conductor of the Berlin Philharmonic from 2002 to 2018.

⁸ Lennie, J. L. (2008, July 15). Sir Simon Rattle: Interview for *Time Out* in Aix-en-Provence. Retrieved from <https://www.timeout.com/london/opera-classical/sir-simon-rattle-interview>.

examining women's lives (Crenshaw, 1993:1243). Ollivier and Tremblay (2000) identified three defining principles of feminist research. Firstly, feminist research is characterized by its *double dimension*. As opposed to traditional research methods, it's objectives include both the construction of new knowledge and the production of social change. Second, feminist research is grounded in feminist values and beliefs. It seeks to include feminism within the process, to focus on the meanings women give to their world, while recognizing that research must often be conducted within institutions that are still patriarchal. Third, feminist research is characterized by its diversity. It is oriented towards being interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary, it relies on a variety of procedures, and it is constantly being reevaluated by the concerns of women who tend to have very different perspectives from different life experiences. In so doing, it analyses the standpoints and experiences of women.

Research methods of positivist sciences are designed mostly for empirical testing, and cannot help feminist researchers to define realities related with experiences of women. That is why the feminist researchers are more inclined to use qualitative research methods, which make it possible to observe, understand, and interpret women's experiences (Kümbetoğlu, 2008). Qualitative research is multi-faceted and challenging to define but it can be defined as; any research that does not use mathematical or other means of quantification to produce findings. (Corbin & Strauss, 1998). Qualitative methods like the semi-structured interviews, led a positive interaction between the researcher and the participant (Reinharz & Davidman, 1992). Interview surveys bring the opportunity to explore what the participant wants to say in his/her own words, not only through what he/she states but also with the observation of his/her body language. In order to build a relationship of trust, the researcher may have to reveal personal informations about himself/herself. The researcher and the participant should mutually share and learn from each other (Kümbetoğlu, 2008).

In line with the premises of feminist research, the primary data of this study is collected through semi-structured interview survey with ten Turkish women

conductors and also with three male conductors. This thesis aims to contribute to the feminist literature by analysing the experiences of women conductors who took (or still taking) academic education in the conducting classes of conservatories and who have been actively working with the classical music orchestras, in Turkey. I made interviews with all the women conductors currently in Turkey who have Turkish identity and got an academic education in area of orchestral conducting in Turkish conservatories or in foreign schools. To analyse all interviews, I will use Anderson and Jack's interview frameworks. Both Anderson and Jack attempted to help understand how women "define and evaluate their experience" (Anderson & Jack, 1998: 169) by using their own frameworks. From their point of view, oral history was the perfect tool to use to discover experiences of women about themselves in their words. Ideally, I aimed to apply the oral history method in my study, but limitations prevented it. Nevertheless, by using their framework, I could ask for clarification; ask new and different questions and react. As explained in Chapter 4 in more details, some of the interviews were conducted face-to-face, some via skype, and some interview questions were sent to interviewees via email. The purpose of this study is to understand the perceptions of women conductors' professional, and it is important to learn women's own narratives regarding how they approached and reflected on their achievement and entry into profession of orchestral conducting. Hence, in my interviews I also aimed to create a personal connection of empathy with my own reflections and experiences in the classical music community and I tried to make sure that all conductors interviewed answers of my questions with openness.

1.3. The Organization of the Thesis & Its Limitations

Following this introduction chapter, Chapter 2 reviews how discrimination against women in art and specifically in classical music was historically formed. Also this chapter focuses on how gendered norms and expectations are constructed for leadership positions which lead to sexism in profession of orchestral conducting by explaining how the orchestra conducting profession emerged. In the history of music,

women's position was shaped by the social construction of what is 'masculine' and 'feminine'. The cultural connections of the research women's history and the findings of ethnomusicology studies coincide with these fields.

Chapter 3 reviews the situation of Turkish women in music professions and the effect of the Republican equality policies for women, especially in education and the performance of women musicians, composers and conductors. Also this chapter reviews *Act of Child Prodigies* and *Village Institutes* and their contributions to inclusion of Turkish women to art education in Turkey.

Chapter 4 presents an explanatory framework from interviewees and the discussion part related with the data obtained through interviews within this study. To get an overall analysis in this section, I conducted interviews with all women who have been successful in orchestral conducting, in Turkey. The inclusion of women who wanted to be successful in this profession but failed to do so, in this study, could have provided a broader perspective for explaining the main research question; this is one of the limitations of this study. In addition, due to time limitations, I could only interview three male conductors. Due to the intensive work schedule of the conductors, I was able to conduct face-to-face interviews with limited number of males. For this reason, my study could not become an oral history study, contrary to what was intended initially. In addition, due to the lack of data from the Turkish classical music institutions (i.e. conservatories and state operas), I could not present sufficient data on some issues and indicators about the state of classical music sector (especially data to highlight gender differences) in Turkey. However, I made inferences from my interviews and tried to answer my research questions as detailed as possible.

Lastly, Chapter 5 summarizes the answer for the major research question and recapitulate, and it offers further insights regarding to interviews and their interpretations, and poses new questions based on the findings for the future research studies.

CHAPTER 2

THE UNDERREPRESENTATION OF WOMEN IN WESTERN CLASSICAL MUSIC AND THE PROFESSION OF ORCHESTRAL CONDUCTING

Gifted women musicians and composers rarely received their due. - James Cook

2.1. From Women's Confinement to the Private Sphere to Gender-based Segregation

Central to the feminist perspective is that the dynamics of gender discrimination and women's subordination to men are based on the patriarchal notions and practices which led men to be active and dominant in the public sphere whereas women have been essentially assigned to the private (domestic sphere). The public-private separation has entrenched the patriarchal system and ensure the oppression of women and the political process is biased towards the public sphere whilst largely ignoring the private realm (Phillips, 1991). Throughout centuries by confining women to the private sphere, men have maintained their dominance of the political process from one generation to the next by global unrest, propelling more women into the workforce and exposing them to social, professional, and political situations that had previously been limited to men. Feminists thereby seek to address this problem by redefining our understanding of what is 'political'. Millett's *Sexual Politics* (1971) questioned the public-private distinction which relegated women to the private sphere and failed to recognize the politics of power-structured relationships which led to a male dominated society. The feminist phrase "the personal is political" be considered the foundational principle of reproductive rights. The discrimination that arisen from the distinction between public and private sphere has negatively affected the position of women in the labour force and this discrimination has prevented

women from the participation of the economic and social life in an equal basis with men.

Gender-based discrimination in workplace has been largely based on gender roles as a result of the public-private separation endorsed by patriarchy. To explain discrimination in work place; Mitter (1986) compared male workers with women by claiming that “women’s work is more likely to be defined as unskilled or semi-skilled” (Rees, 1992); biological differences. Therefore, women’s skills seem as less valuable due to biological determinism. The ‘talents’ of women such as the capacity for and skills involved in caring activities were not rewarded either, and even when men and women worked in the same conditions and possesses the same skills, their qualifications came to have be devalued and women’s earnings lagged behind that of men’s. While in most occupations. men held leading positions, women mostly continued with the unskilled and low grade jobs. This phenomenon refers to the gender based occupational segregation or job segregation by sex (Rees, 1992). Women’s exclusion from professional jobs was the main problem that had kept them back for a long time in having progress in job opportunities. As Hartmann (1976: 146) explained “Job segregation by sex is the fundamental mechanism that maintained the male domination was over women, because it also justified lower wages for women in the labour market”.

Based on the public-private distinction, within the family where women had roles such as caring, men have more likely to have instrumental roles such as bread-winning (Rees, 1992). Women’s caring and nurturing role in private sphere is called as patriarchal mode of production. Walby (1977: 52) highlights this production as the one, “in which housework is treated as a form of production, both in the generational sense of producing children and in the day to day sense of replenishing the husband’s labour power” (Collinson et al., 1990). Early feminist critiques (such as Oakley, 1974) challenged these gender roles in the private sphere and problematized women’s domestic roles excluding them from the public sphere. Since women were associated with the reproductive and caring roles, they were also identified with

lower order of social and cultural production (Ortner, 1974). In cultural professions involving sub-fields such as the performing arts, women have made an effort to leave the domestic area and aspired for success in this area. Ortner explained how women are identified with 'nature' and man with 'culture'. The condition of female exclusion from public sphere is universal to all cultures and manifests itself on different levels through gender roles which exclude women from participation in creativity and also in leadership positions in public realm. Ortner states (1974, p.75):

Woman's body seems to doom her to mere reproduction of life; the male, in contrast, lacking natural creative functions, must (or has the opportunity to) assert his creativity externally, 'artificially,' through the medium of technology and symbols. In so doing, he creates relatively lasting, eternal, transcendent objects, while the woman creates only perishables – human beings.

The well-known art historian Linda Nochlin (1974) stated “A woman born with the potential of a Picasso would be more likely under the existing social conditions to become a wife and mother than a successful artist.” Nochlin's statement is accurate within the general context; as most of women's work in cultural occupations have prevailed over the traditional social constraints of motherhood and housework.

Work segregation by sex originates from social stereotypes for men and women, and it has been highly significant in the realm of creative professions (Pujar, 2016). Also we observe effects of both vertical and horizontal gender-based segregation for musicians (Ravet et al, 2005). Horizontal segregation refers to segregation by gender in male-dominated and female-dominated occupational areas, (Meulders et al, 2010, p.27). Besides horizontal segregation, vertical segregation, where women are concentrated in low level positions and men in high level positions inevitably has negative consequences for women's employment in terms of pay and prospects.

In Sandrine Pujar's (2016) report of “Gender Inequalities in The Cultural Sector” three mechanisms are identified in the art sectors to explain gender inequalities. Firstly, Pujar refers to “a mechanism that makes women invisible” that explain why we observe lack of women role models in teaching art history and why we still

observe debates on women artists today. Women have been particularly in need of a female role models (Sandell, 1979). Secondly, the audience in the art sector is also significant because it “distinguishes the career paths of men and those of women”. This group of people (for example male-dominated selection juries) lead gender segregation in the music profession and prevent women musicians to enter in prestigious creative positions. The male networks also lead to women’s exclusion. Another reason behind gender inequality in arts is a process where “one that takes legitimacy away from women”. Regarding gender-based vertical segregation of occupations, which is evident in music industry, women musicians are excluded from the highest ranks. Very few women could reach the leading positions, particularly as orchestra conductors. In terms of music industry; even if women succeed in overcoming the exclusion from entering the public realm, they were likely to be confronted with a number of indirect obstacles within institutions. In the gender analysis of occupational segregation the phrase 'glass ceiling'⁹ refers to unconscious discriminatory dynamics in business organizations. It is most often used to refer to behavioural barriers in the context of someone's age, gender, or ethnicity keeping them from advancing to a certain point in a business or when he or she cannot or will not be promoted to a higher level of position or power. Glass ceiling is most often observed in male-dominated organizations and are usually a barrier to achieving power and success i.e. a woman who has better skills, talent, and education than her male peers but is obviously being passed over for promotions and cannot reach leadership positions; often they are considered less motivated and less disciplined than male employees.

2.2. Women’s Exclusion in History of Art

Throughout centuries, women have been involved in producing art, whether as creators and innovators of new forms of artistic expression, patrons, collectors, sources of inspiration, or significant contributors as art historians and critics. Women have been and continue to be necessary to art institutions, but many women artists

⁹ An invisible barrier that prevents someone from achieving further success in his/her career.

have encounter opposition in the traditional structures and institutions of art history. They have faced challenges due to existing gender biases regarding women's appropriate roles and defined as patriarchy; from finding difficulty in training and gaining recognition. For centuries, women were systematically excluded from the records of art history. This was due to a number of factors: art forms like textiles and what we call the "decorative arts" were often dismissed as craft and not "fine art"; many women were kept from pursuing a general education, let alone arts training; and finally the men who dominated the discipline both in practice and history often believed women to be inferior artists (Gajewski, 2015).

Hopper states, "Prior to the 20th century, the predominant attitude and expectation was that women of the higher classes would manage their artistic talents in order to enhance their female qualities and desirability" (Hopper,2015, p.110). The women artists of the 1950s and 1960s discovered that women artists of the past had been virtually written out of the history of art (Broude & Garard, 1996) and, despite significant shifts in the position of women in society at that time, were continuing to be ignored without examining their talent. At the beginning of the 1960s, with contributions of first and second feminist movements, more women were included into teaching and studying in art schools in higher level, in the United States and Europe. With The Second Wave Feminist movement in the West, which fought for equal rights and demolishing gender roles, organisations devoted to women's interests, and a new generation of female professionals and artists changed the traditionally male-dominated social structure around the world (Gajewski, 2015). By the late period of the twenty century, women have much easily included to art education as many art schools admitting women for the first time.

At the beginning of the 1990s, the Arts Council¹⁰ funded "Women in Arts Project" (1993) which collected information from practising artists and senior decision makers in the arts industry. They identified five important contributory factors which

¹⁰ The Arts Council England is a non-departmental public body of the Department of Digital, Culture, Media and Support.

played a role in women's development within history of art from beginning of the twentieth century until present day: First, despite some progress in transforming negative attitudes to women artists, the quality and the access to art education were identified as a major concern. Second, the access to space and appropriateness of training and development were also seen as significant in women's inclusion (as their female predecessors had experienced centuries before). Third, the active employment issues were important to concern in case of role models. Fourth, child care facilities were significant for women's inclusion in public realm. Lastly, representation and recognition of women's work in general were also seen as significant. These factors enable us to understand factors behind deep-rooted tradition of women's exclusion from history of art. Furthermore, the profession of female artist was still largely viewed with some biases. The society continued to believe that careers in any field were unsuitable for women musicians since it was assumed that careers compromised their femininity and class 'membership' (Hopper, 2015, p. 148). Since past till present, membership through social class inform cultural attitudes and the way audience listen to music, especially the Western classical music. The "elites" are defined by a broad palette of preferences that sets them apart. Obviously social class influences the expression of cultural preference in a particular social interaction (Reeves et al., 2015: 6) both in Western countries and Turkey.

2.3. Women Performers of Western Classical Music in the West: Historical and Theoretical Review

As a result of the gender inequality brought to the attention of the academic world by a number of feminist scholars, the issues related with women musicians began to take a place in academic studies of musicology and ethnomusicology in the 1980s to have a better knowledge about past and present. Many early studies focused on public-sphere rituals performed by men. Ellen Koskoff's *Women and Music in Cross-Cultural Perspective* (1989) was a first work that acknowledged the studies that focused on women. Obviously, ethnomusicology provides an excellent opportunity to study women's musical activities in other disciplines of academic

framework. By focusing on subjects included in ethnomusicology and women's studies disciplines, one can get insights into how women musicians were included in the field of Western classical music, the history of orchestra conducting, whether gendered perceptions and gender stereotypes have proved to be obstacles to women's professional preferences.

2.3.1. The Participation of Women in Western Classical Music

The Western classical music is one of the ancient classical music traditions in the world. Its long history constitutes a bridge to better understanding the particular contributions of Western civilization (Jorgensen, 2003). This music constitutes a rich heritage of instruments, compositions, theories and performers as a part of operas, symphonies and suites.

McClary states “Since the beginnings of the seventeenth century, opera composers were called upon to write music to put into the mouths of both male and female characters; and under those conditions, a musical semiotics of gender emerged very rapidly. Not surprisingly, characteristics of the ‘feminine’ and the ‘masculine’ in music were informed by beliefs deeply held by the patriarchal societies about gender roles” (McClary, 1990). To address the problem of gender construction in a song or opera is still marginalized in elite music society in case of femininity and masculinity: gestures and structures engaged within a composition possess direct relationships to traits, qualities or behaviours perceived to be characteristic of either the masculine or feminine directions of gender (Sergeant & Himonides, 2016).

The orchestral music was spread widely and became popular even in lower socioeconomic groups in 18th century. From the middle of the 18th century the emerging bourgeoisie and progressive sections of the aristocracy replaced the church and the municipality as the primary patrons of music (Behrman, 2009). Music composers become independent from the church and court, for first time in history. In 1742, one of the first modern (for its time) symphony orchestras was established

by Johann Stamitz at the court of Duke Karl Theodor in Mannheim. Later on, these studies categorized under a specific structure which named 'The Mannheim School' in a history of music. The term also refers to the orchestral techniques pioneered by the same orchestra. Johann Stamitz (1717-1757), director of the Mannheim orchestra launched an entirely new style of orchestral music, laying the foundations of the symphonic style of classical Viennese School and this school is the basis of the modern European orchestras.

The modern European orchestra, consisting of an ensemble of strings, winds, and percussion, had its roots in the Baroque era (1600–1750), and, like many aspects of Western music, its performance venues were the church and court. Aside from groups in all-girl schools or orphanages, orchestras were closed to women until late 1800s because of women's misrepresentation in public sphere. Church-related ensemble works initially served the purpose of accompanying singing. St. Mark's Cathedral in Venice was an early developmental site for instrumental music, and its double choir lofts showcased not only double choirs, but antiphonal brass as well. Orchestral ensembles grew in size and expanded in purpose throughout the Baroque, so that by 1700 they frequently functioned as separate entities. Court orchestras were prevalent, and many of the world's most famous composers were men who were employed to direct all aspects of court-based musical activity. Court musicians composed and had orchestras under their direction, and a large number of new instrumental genres were developed by men in these settings. By the Classical era (c. 1750–1800), separate orchestral genres were firmly established but men continued to dominate both performance and composition. The most important reason for composition and musical creativity's association more with men; which created the myth of women's lack of musical creativity until the first half of 20th century and the limitation on women's composition education (Özkişi, 2013).

The western classical music tradition was thus based on gender-discrimination for a long time; in access to ensembles and education, women's participation was severely limited. In late period of 18th century, the support for women for their music learning

began – even governmental authorities support education of women musicians. For example, George Washington's step-granddaughter Eleanor Custis Parke and Thomas Jefferson's wife Martha Jefferson were musicians (Tick & Tsou, 2016). On the other hand, Bluett states “The first woman accepted into the Royal Academy classes in 1860, was Laura Herford and she was accepted only because she signed her work with her initials, so she was presumed to be male” (Bluett, 2015). Correspondingly, Collins states “The first orchestra in the world to ever hire women musicians was the Queen's Hall Orchestra in London in 1913, led by Sir Henry Wood. Before 1913, women played in women-only orchestras, the first of which was founded by Mary Wurm in 1898 in Berlin” (Collins, 2015). Women's integration into the ranks of the orchestra itself, however, would remain very rare even until the 1960s because of their exclusion from Western classical music orchestras.

In the world of music, while men always performed publically (i.e., for the church or court) in the two major areas in which western music developed – sacred and religious music, instrumental music – women were kept out of the public eye (Escal and Rousseau-Dujardin, 1999 cited in Coulangeon et al. 2005). Though there is a long tradition of women playing or otherwise practicing music in the domestic sphere, the very few women gradually came out to the music profession (Ravet, 2003). This history fact of excluding women by institutions and orchestras from the music profession is definitely a key to explore the existence of gender discrimination in Western music tradition (Goldin & Rouse, 2000).

Historically, the opening of orchestral ranks to women was slow and difficult process. As an example; we can observe in the brass (or percussion) section of any big orchestra and we will still find very few women. In 1999, women made up 38 per cent of orchestral players, but this ratio has only increase about 42 or 43 per cent recently, and you will find that most of these women players are sitting among the banks of strings (Chisholm, 2016). There were differences in the musical instruments played by boys and girls, with girls preferring smaller, higher-pitched instruments (Hallam et al., 2008). Women who played violin and harp had the first opportunities

to enter into the professional orchestral sphere, though women harpists sometimes were hired only because a male harpist could not be found. It was not uncommon for orchestras to feature guest appearances of women violin soloists who performed in elaborate attire in front of the ensemble (Dunbar,2016). From past to present, hosting female musicians as a ‘guest’ always made a positive contribution to the Western classical music orchestras both in terms of their reputation and public perception, like The Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra did.

The Vienna Philharmonic, did not accept female musicians to permanent membership until 1997 on the basis of women’s biology, more specifically by taking women’s fertility as a reason to exclude women musicians from its ranks. In fact, through the perceptions of the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra one could clearly infer that Western classical music had gender defined qualities. This could be most clearly expressed by a saying which held that “women would be gambling with the emotional unity” that they preserved with their male musicians (Holoman, 2012). Since orchestras also represented national culture, ethnic uniformity was considered essential and they were considered as the arbiters of national identity through music as they have importance from past centuries till present. From Vienna Philharmonic members’ perception, the musical institutions had gendered stereotypes, which can be most clearly expressed by masculine view (Osborne, 1996). For male members of Vienna Philharmonic, their musical soul and energy was special and should not be disturbed from any external force – i.e. from women musicians. The Vienna Philharmonic has changed little in its organizational structure since the composer and conductor Otto Nicolai founded the orchestra in 1842 as a self-governing association (Eakin, 2003). The Vienna Philharmonic orchestra started to accept women on a permanent basis in 1997, as a result of the efforts of International Alliance of Women in Music¹¹. Than, Anna Leike (a harpist) became the first woman member of the orchestra (Eakin,2003). Prior to that, she was a regular but unofficial part of the

¹¹ The International Alliance for Women in Music (IAWM) is an international membership organization of women and men dedicated to fostering and encouraging the activities of women in music, particularly in the areas of musical activity such as composing, performing, and research in which gender discrimination is an historic and ongoing concern. – From IAWM’s website

orchestra. Her name was never listed on the program. She was paid artist but not publicly acknowledged. For her acceptance to this permanent membership, orchestra took a vote from its' members and some of the male members voiced concerns that admitting women to the ranks would lower their musical standards. When the vote was taken, even though the outcome was not unanimous, it favoured accepting women (Collins, 2015) as their permanent members. In the case of conducting profession, it is even worse; in January 2005, Australian conductor Simone Young became the first woman to conduct the Vienna Philharmonic – i.e. more than 150 years had to be passed before a woman conductor entered into entry this prestigious and well-known orchestra¹².

In addition to its structured rules, Collins states “The road to membership in the Vienna Philharmonic was a lengthy process. The musician was expected first successfully audition for the Vienna State Opera Orchestra. After a period of three years with the Vienna State Opera, a musician could then apply for membership with the Vienna Philharmonic. All members were selected from the opera orchestra. In the case of Lehel, she had been with the Vienna State Opera from 1971 to 1974, then an adjunct member with the Vienna Philharmonic from 1974 to 1997 when she was accepted into membership” (Collins, 2015). Though the Vienna Philharmonic maintained gender and ethnic uniformity among its members, they also allowed for outside recruitment through guest conductors and soloists. The administrative authorities of the Vienna Philharmonic found it beneficial to employ these guests to reconstruct the orchestra's public image, while at the same time quietly denying rank and file membership to women and racial minorities (Osborne, 1996). Even they made an effort, their inclusion of guest conductors and soloists without ensuring gender equality for women and other (from different ethnic minorities) musicians.

As explained, in all every male -dominated professions, the structures and processes generating gender inequality and their reproduction negatively affected women's

¹² The Sydney Morning Herald wrote that “Australian Simone Young has broken one of the world's last bastions of male domination by being named the first woman to conduct the prestigious Vienna Philharmonic orchestra.” on November 9, 2005

access to high level career opportunities. In the case of arts and music, constructions of gender and sexuality in professional music performances vary widely from time to time, from place to place (McClary, 1991), but commonly a standard way of assessing sexist beliefs about women has been to measure the endorsement of traditional gender roles – that related with structured stereotypes within Western classical music (Swim & Cohen, 1997). This reconstruction and the endorsement of traditional gender role beliefs (women's role as the caretaker at home and in the family and men's role is to provide financial support) created barriers for women musicians in all professional fields of classical music; composing, performance and conducting. Another obstacle for female artists was related to prevailing notions of creativity, which again remained gendered. Nevertheless, the professional orchestral scene was supposed to be about the music itself, and thus it would seem that capable women would enjoy equal opportunities. Although musicality was the main criterion on the surface, in practice gender did have a major impact on hiring and retention (Dunbar, 2016). In the universal music environment, women have been usually found in their traditional roles as supporters of the arts, as rank and file players rather than section principals, as teachers rather than professors, conductors and organizers (Neuls-Bates, 1996; Whitesitt, 1991). In the contemporary Western perception, the artist (musician) is understood to be male (Bain, 2004: 172). This myth also got an effect on women's exclusion from creative processes (Proctor-Thomson, 2013). This myth may also explain the reason why female musicians continue to be overrepresented in supportive roles (such as teaching), while men mostly occupied the roles that are considered more creative (such as orchestral conducting).

2.3.2. The Profession of Orchestral Conducting

About historical fact of orchestral conducting, Cheng states “We can date the earliest ‘conducting’ to around 2800 BC; Egyptian and Sumerian reliefs describe people giving hand signals to harp and flute players, a form of conducting called

chironomy¹³ than by the end of the 17th century, the first violinist or concertmaster began to function as leader” (Cheng, 1998). The expression to conduct is derived from the Latin *conducere*, which means “To lead or to guide”. During past decades, this term has taken on more specific meanings; which include to leading an orchestra¹⁴. At the very beginning of this profession, conductors used to indicate the time by movements of their hand or their foot; then they started to use different kind of sticks according to principle of time-beating¹⁵. After the 1830s a conductor stand independently before an orchestra, as we expect today. The sticks that they used previously caused accidents for conductors whom have this profession in early stages; Jean-Baptiste Lully (1632-1687) used a large stick like a drum-major’s mace while directing a performance of his *Te Deum* in 1687¹⁶ (Figure 3). In a moment of excitement, “rapping forcefully”, he stabbed himself in the foot. This accident unfortunately caused an injury which eventually led to his death¹⁷ (Galkin, 1988). From mid-18th century, the baton started gaining popularity, which is the most appropriate tool for conducting. Since then, certain modifications were made to the baton to allow for a steadier grip, evolving it into the baton we see conductors use today.

¹³ A form of music conducting, typically with choral music and choral groups (choirs), where the use of hand gestures directs musical performance. In the modern art form, conductors tend to hoist batons for indicating melodic curves and ornaments.

¹⁴ According to the Oxford English Dictionary the conductor was recognized as a musical specialist from the first time in 1784.

¹⁵ The most fundamental principle of time beating is: The baton must not usually come to a standstill at the points marking the beats, neither must it move in a straight line from one point to another, except in the case of the down beat; for it is the free and varying movement of the baton between any two beats that gives the singers or players their cue as to where the second of the two is to come.

¹⁶ Figure 1 taken from Elliott Galkin’s (1988) “History of Orchestral Conducting: in Theory and Practice” Chapter 4, page 193

¹⁷ This accident is now known as a pivotal event in music history for being the most unusual and ironic death of all time. In addition, other smaller devices, such as rolled-up sheets of paper, sticks and even bare hands, also came into play during the 17th century, which made it seem likely that Lully’s passing might have caused the withdrawal of the use of the long conducting staff.



Figure 3. Lully with conducting stick

By the 19th century, Romantic-era music was performed by an orchestral ensemble that replicated modern proportions, utilizing as many as 90–110 members. Some of the smaller orchestras did not utilize or need a conductor but the increasing size of the orchestra led to the adoption of the conductor-led ensemble. For a very long time, the classical music orchestras were led from the lead violin or the keyboard, but at the beginning of the 19th century things started to change and the first professional conductor showed in the mid-19th century. Carl Maria von Weber received the baton (as we known presently) for the first time in 1817 at a concert in Dresden. In 1835 Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, director of the Leipzig Gewandhaus concerts, applied the same method too. These batons were made of either ivory or ebony wood (Millard, 2012). Even when the baton was in use, the conductor's position in the orchestral anatomy had not been decided. This place was first determined at the Bayreuth Festival¹⁸ in 1876.

Orchestra conductors select musical arrangements and direct orchestras for audiences. In order to prepare an orchestra for a performance, conductors select musicians, organize rehearsals and choose soloists. Conductors may work for opera houses, musical theatre venues, churches or universities. Music conductors travel

¹⁸ The Bayreuth Festival is a music festival held annually in Bayreuth, Germany, at which performances of operas by the 19th-century German composer Richard Wagner are presented.

frequently, and many performances take place during weekends and evenings, with practices normally occurring during weekdays. Most conductors begin their musical careers at a young age by learning to play an instrument. While no specific instrument is necessary to prepare for a career as a conductor, it is important for individuals to begin developing an ear for sound and pitch. The candidate conductors need to know how to sight-read music and learn about different musical styles. Joseph Young stated the following a career and education roadmap for orchestra conductor candidates on *Careers in Music*¹⁹;

The path to advancement as a conductor will vary according to the ensemble with which he or she is employed. Different ensembles use different titles and have different hierarchies. In general, the path to advancement would be from Assistant Conductor to Associate Conductor. From there on, he or she could step into the more prestigious role of Conductor, Music Director or Artistic Director, although some organizations do not use all of these titles/positions. A bachelor's degree is essential, although a masters is usually preferred in the profession of orchestral conducting.

Apart from a music education degree (in composition and instrument), performance degrees and the experience are also matter a lot in this profession. An orchestra conductor has to be someone who is able to manage their time very well. An aspiring conductor also has to understand group dynamics and group psychology because they are working with a lot of different types of people with different personalities.

2.3.3. How Do Gender Stereotypes Affect Women Conductors in Western Classical Music?

As explained, the idea that artistic creativity in the public sphere was seen as a masculine trait and quality has for a long time led to leads to the exclusion of women from prestigious creative roles in the cultural industries (Pujar, 2016). The problem of gender-based occupational segregation is also more in the hierarchical structure of qualities and skills; male qualities lead to more prestigious jobs, because of the

¹⁹ Joseph Young is the Assistant Conductor and Youth Orchestra Music Director of the Atlanta Symphony Orchestra. He wrote in <https://www.careersinmusic.com>, "Conductor" section.

exclusion of women from key creative roles and leadership positions (Hesmondhalgh & Baker, 2015).

Likewise, the Western public have long identified and regarded a conductor as a man (Cheng, 1998). In the musical profession of conducting, men have had the power to construct and cultivate customs and traditions and, as a result, the role of the conductor has been imbued with so-called 'masculine traits' (Bartleet, 2008). By showing gender traits as an excuse for women's exclusion, the masculine perspective tends to justify the biological sex differences such as fertility, especially in area of musical conducting. About this, Bartleet states "This capitalizing on women's differences fuels prevailing patriarchal norms on the podium by ignoring woman's ability to conduct over decades. As a result, related with women conductors' problematized status, the masculine perspective often cannot attempt too far away from the profession's rules and regulations that set by conservative structure of Western classical music" (Bartleet, 2008). This is similar to the "glass ceiling" within organisations which leads to reproduction of existed stereotypes on professions. In the 1980s, the term "glass ceiling" was often used in shift with another term, "mommy track" which mostly appear in private sector than public (Sava, 2008). This term appeared as a result of the belief which held that young women of childbearing age were less motivated and less disciplined than male employees or older females. The perception was that women would take extensive time off or leave the workforce altogether once they had children. If women did return to work, they were believed to be less dedicated employees because of their maternal duties – just as an excuse of the Vienna Philharmonic for they did not accept female musicians to permanent membership for a long time, because of women's nurturing roles in their private life.

Cultural or creative professions were considered unacceptable when practised by women to make them be perceived as unsuitable for family life and Pujar underlines "Domestic and caring responsibilities, in which women still play a bigger role than their male counterparts, are hard to combine with the long and irregular work hours and absences dedicated to creation, production, networking, promotion and

performance in a creative career (and in many others)” (Pujar,2016). Motherhood was seen as likely to slow down career progression and to lead to role conflict for women’s concerns related to balancing their professional career advancement. Furthermore, women’s status in the profession of conducting could be problematized from another aspect; with ‘The Cinderella Complex’. The Cinderella Complex leads to role conflict on the job, with concerns about one’s professional success and with independence that is thought to result in loss of femininity (Dowling,1981). Even orchestra musicians expect significant leadership skills rather than a pure authority figure, a directive style of leadership can improve an orchestra’s artistic quality, especially if the musicians respect his or her reputation (Boerner-Krause & Gebert, 2004). This direct way of leadership can be seen as a loss of feminine identity, from perspectives of women conductors.

Even in the 19th century, women who were concerned about improving themselves in the art of conducting were not invited to conduct in professional instrumental groups because male authorities did not think women musicians were able to conduct. Women were neither admitted to conducting classes, nor welcomed as apprentices (Zhang, 2018). Women did not enter the professional conducting scenario until late 1920s – before that they only conducted female orchestras like Fadette Ladies Orchestra (in USA) and Vienna Damen Orchester (in Australia). For USA Ethel Leginska and Antonia Brico were the first female professional conductors of both male and female orchestras (Edwards, 2015, p.26). A 2016 production, the film, *De Dirigent*²⁰, tells the story of Antonia Brico who became the first woman to gain wide recognition and acceptance as a leader of world-class symphony orchestras²¹. Her story presents important clues for all women musicians as to why they should never give up in their careers. When Brico returned home to the United States after completing her conducting education, she received no offers to conduct at all (Cheng, 1998). In the film, she was to make a decision of either getting married

²⁰ *De Dirigent* (The Conductor) is written and directed by Maria Peters, in 2018. Movie is about Antonia Brico and her dreams of becoming a conductor, but she isn't taken seriously on her time because of her gender.

²¹ In 1930, Antonia Brico got on the stage with the Berlin Philharmonic.

and having children or to continue with her conducting career. Her passion for music told her to not. On a specific scene, a male concert organizer states “When I close my eyes I can’t tell it’s a women conducting” when Brico was conducting on stage. This indicates the mentality of 19th and 20th century. Then women were forced by society to sacrifice their career for their family, and this would be accepted by the public norm.

Women conductors faced sexism, racism, and gender discrimination throughout the 19th century and 20th century and we are still able to observe these discriminative elements in today’s world of music. It would not be an overstatement to note that the audiences are still predominantly entertained by men in the large concert halls (Kloepfer, 2018). It is obvious that patriarchal structures have been deeply rooted in classical music industry. The majority of existing descriptions of women’s musical activities and rationales for their behaviour focused on their primary social roles, for these roles were central to women’s gender identity in Western societies and many others (Koskoff, 1989). This sexist approach led to gender segregation and affected performances of women conductors in negative way.

The major requirements for conductors in their profession can be listed as; musical intuition, personality with communicative competence. The orchestra musicians generally expect from conductors to be respectful in communication, prepared, comfortable and dedicated to their jobs. Even women conductors meet with all these requirements, only a small number of female conductors got a chance to conduct top-ranked international conductors. Slyvia Caduff²² said “Women conductors don’t just have to prove they are capable of doing the job – they have to prove it a hundred times over.” as there were male conductors who directly state their dissatisfaction in case of entry of women conductors to conducting profession²³. On the podium,

²² A Swiss woman conductor who was conducted New York Philharmonic for the first time as a woman in 1966

²³ For example, Yuri Temirnakov’s (A Russian conductor who has been the Music Director and Chief Conductor of the St. Petersburg Philharmonic since 1988) statement: “The essence of the conductor’s profession is strength. The essence of a woman is weakness.”

women conductors were being judged according to their gender, in a separate, and inferior, category to her male colleagues which prove the field of orchestra continues to remain mostly white and male – which caused a double standard within environment for Western classical music. In 2008, Marin Alsop²⁴ said “I became the first woman to become the music director and principal conductor of a major US orchestra when I won the top job at the Baltimore Symphony. There were protests from a large audience of the Baltimore Symphony when I was first named ‘Music Director’, but since that time, approach of the audience changed in positive way. I claimed that when my conducting career began to take off I had assumed that there was a larger trend of women conductors making their way in the orchestra world. I thought it was changing, and then it didn’t change.”²⁵.

2.3.4. The Social Construction of Orchestral Authority as t3.2he Masculine

As a result, in case of “dominating and directing” both authority and leadership skills matter. The conductor gains authority through total acceptance by the orchestra, board, and audience (Cheng, 1998). It was contented that Weber’s definition of *charismatic authority* would be an appropriate definition for the profession of conducting as it points to an individual who possesses charisma that make a leader extraordinary in the eyes of (Maboloc, 2015). The power of this type of leader comes from the massive trust and almost unbreakable faith people put in him/her; just as a relationship between orchestra conductor and orchestra musicians. One way to defeat gender discrimination on stage is related to having an image of ‘charisma’. Nisbett & Walmsley states “Not only in classical music but also in the arts sector more widely, the influence of charismatic leaders, and caution that charisma can ‘supplant ethics, strategy and reason’” (Nisbett & Walmsley, 2016) which could help to overcome gender traits on stage and to have ‘genderless’ stage performance. On the other hand,

²⁴ An American conductor and violinist.

²⁵ Ricky O’Bannon (11 October 2016). "By the Numbers: Female Composers". Retrieved 12 February 2017.

Bull states “The charisma on which orchestra conductors gendered authority was based on the particular form of authority which is enabled by music as non-linguistic, embodied communication. Bodily gestures, the posture, the tone of voice, and the use of emotion were all carefully channelled by conductors in order to get particular effects from the musicians” (Bull, 2016). In addition to the issue of authority, the role of conductor is defined as the “leader”, and methods of communication between conductor and ensemble members have historically been direct and not subject to argumentation (Dunbar, 2016).

2.3.5. Gendered Expectations about Leadership Skills

Due to patriarchal cultural notions of gender-specific personality traits which have reproduced gender biases against women conductors; women musicians came to possess fewer opportunities to pursue careers in classical music and they were less likely find an opportunity than men to apply for leadership positions (Bennett, 2008). Despite this, there has been an increase in their participation at all levels of the music profession in late period of 19th century. As the tradition or social conditioning in classical music explain, if we make decisions, we succeed by doing so in instinctive way.

Much of conducting involves leadership qualities that have been traditionally perceived as masculine, and women who take on these qualities are not respected in the same way that a man might have been. The gender norms in patriarchy expects women to stay away from power other than reproduction that would give them complete control over the lives and fertility of community. The conductor, as a leader, must earn respect and discipline from the orchestra’s members; this, however, is not possible by any other means than through artistic and personal attributes (Galkin, 1988) and stated “A conductor must be the boss: assertive, decisive, with no room for doubt; sure he alone knows the way. Decisions which affect a group of sometimes 150 or 200 individuals are made instantly during a concert or rehearsal”. According to Eagly and Karau (2002), there are two types of prejudice toward

women who hold leadership positions, in general. The first type of prejudice stems from the descriptive norms of gender roles, which are demonstrated by less favourable evaluation of women; due to there is also the perceived potential for leadership because leadership ability is more stereotypical of men than women (Eagly & Karau, 2002), and such attributes as masculinity, authority and dominancy, are unlike the qualities expected and desired in a female conductor. The second type of prejudice derives from the norms related with of gender roles, and the beliefs of society about how women supposedly behave (Eagly & Karau, 2002). As for assertion of conducting profession; the conductor candidate must be willing to appear on the podium definitely before anyone else, to be a conductor, in future.

In the next chapter, the situation of Turkish women in music professions is reviewed along with the effect of the Republican equality policies for women, especially in the education and the professional rise of women musicians, composers and conductors in classical music.

CHAPTER 3

TURKISH WOMEN IN ARTS AND WESTERN CLASSICAL MUSIC EDUCATION & PERFORMANCE

Everything we see in the world is the creative work of women. - Mustafa Kemal Atatürk

3.1. The Place of Women in the Modernization Project of the Turkish Republic

The issue of women's access to employment and education has been one of the most important demands in the late Ottoman era; the secluded status of women in the Ottoman society was accompanied by the absence of a supportive legal rights. The Islamic norms and conservative values in society prohibited Muslim women from their inclusion to public realm. Starting from the second half of the 19th century, mainly a part of upper or middle-class women living in big cities such as Istanbul and Thessalonica, campaigned for equal rights for women and for right to education and established associations – as their counterparts in Europe did during the same time. In this pre-Republic era the first publication published by women for women *Terakki-i Muhadderat*, was published in 1869 – a year later the first teacher's school for women would be opened and the first woman principle would be assigned. Women openly wanted to be a part of social sphere. In Istanbul women started to voice their opinions in a rally in 1919. These women were protesting the invasion of the country after the defeat at World War I. Among these activist Muslim women who mobilized the crowd gathered at the Sultanahmet Square were Halide Edip and Münevver Saime²⁶. The Ottoman women in during the First World War period had

²⁶ Halide Edip Adıvar, born in 1882, is one of the prominent female authors of Turkish literature. She was also involved in Turkish War of Independence as a female officer, and was previously a renowned social activist during the British occupation of Istanbul. Münevver Saime (a.k.a Saime

filled in the government ranks and factories as workers. Urban women also benefitted from the Decree of Family in 1917, which forbid polygamy and arrange legal legislations to gave the women the right to divorce; This was a first in the Islamic world.

However, a complete process of transformation of Turkish women into equal citizens took place as a part of the modernization & Westernization reforms of the Republic in the early 1920s. The ensuing political and legal reforms undertaken by the modernizing regime led by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk was oriented to build a modern, secular state in Turkey after the fall of the Ottoman Empire. Kemalist secularism encouraged, legitimized and laid the judicial foundation for women's equal status with men in public roles by allowing them to take part in education and work as citizens through acquiring equal political rights. The Kemalist modernization project also introduced co-education enabling women to become the professionals to enable their access to jobs and formal education (Arıkan, 1998). Contrary to the long-held official view that the Turkish women were granted all these rights, this process had a background as well through decades-long efforts of women in the Ottoman Empire. By providing legal rights to women, Kemalist reforms were "Designated as 'reaching the level of contemporary civilizations' in all aspects of life, by abolishing Islamic basis of the state and replacing state structures with westernized innovations of modernism that were accepted as the contrary of everything 'traditional'" and Turkey aims to move on future with leading roles of women (Arat, 1997). In the later decades, Feminists scholars analysed discussed the meaning of early Republican reforms for Turkish women and contented that these reforms did not aim at women's individual liberation but redefined their roles as citizens and educators of the new generations (Tekeli, 1988; Kandiyoti, 1987). In the Republican construction ideal Turkish woman citizen was symbolized in two primary ways. In first way, she was used as a model for the 'ideal political subject'. In second way, the ideal Turkish woman citizen, as described by White (2003), symbolized Turkey's embracement

Hanım) participated on May 15, 1919, in a Kadikoy rally during War of Independence period. She received Independence Medal. After the war he taught literature to students at Istanbul High School.

and employment of Western political and ideological progress, or modernity, for a Western audience. Ultimately, this ideal female political subject (essential to the Turkish modernization project) worked to enable to have an ideal nation state with western values. It was important to raise group of young people with similar ages who achieve success or are expected to achieve success for their country; to join Western ranks.

Especially, the Republican's women were encouraged to attend higher education to make a contribution to the development of Republic; from engineering to social sciences, from law to medicine and arts. In early Republican years (1920-1938), ten per cent of all university graduates were women (White, 2003, p. 150). This achievement proves Republican reforms put great efforts to raise its' ideal generation. The ideal Republican generations in the country could only be possible with government-oriented projects and special education policies. This is why an understanding of art is dominated and formed by hand of government in Turkey. We can analyse the significance government oriented projects and new education policies – as a result of such an understanding of art – within *Village Institutes* (before the establishment of *Village Institutes*, there is *Musiki Muallim Mektebi*) and *Act of Child Prodigies*.

This new construction of Turkish citizenship as enlightened individual; free, mature and able to make his/her own decisions independent from communal pressure and restrictions, was a *sine qua non* for the republican regime (Kadioğlu, 1998). The Village institutes (which established in 1940 and served until 1954) have been an important step in the formation of this new enlightened individual. The aim of the Village Institutes was to “liberate” young people through education and culture. They were the means to enlightenment for Anatolian villages, to modernize the whole country in the social, cultural and education areas. In this sense, the Village Institutes were a social transformation project. The education provided by these institutes utilized a secular, democratic and scientific curriculum with a student-centered pedagogy, which aimed to help participants realize their full human

potential. The Village Institutes, besides being a place of education, was also a centre of culture and arts. At the institutes, in addition to the position of fine arts in general and music in particular, their place in daily life is emphasized as well. Within curriculum of the Village Institutes male and female students received music training (instrumental and vocal) for 460 hours in five years training (Aytaç & Vexliard, 1964: 44).

Up until 1946, the institutes raised more than 30.000 male and female teachers, medical officers and educators covering the needs of villages. Hasan Âli Yücel's term²⁷ as Minister of Education was a period of positive outcomes in the first steps in cultural field and a period when new advances were taken. The establishment of State Theatre, Opera and Ballet; legislation of conservatory (in 1934); the first theatre and opera plays in Ankara under direction by the famous director Carl Ebert²⁸; the constant organization of the state painting and sculpture exhibitions; the preparation of the decree allowing gifted children in music such as İdil Biret and Suna Kan to get education abroad, all were introduced under Hasan Âli Yücel's term. *Harika Çocuklar Yasası* (The Act of Child Prodigies) of July 7, 1948 is the critical point for the Republic's goal of raising ideal citizens (İlyas, 2017).

One of the major initiatives of state-led investigation policy aimed at raising artists was to send students abroad to study art - in order to raise special talented children to gain international success in the contemporary sense. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk on most occasions underlined the importance of fine arts in his speech on the occasion of the Tenth Anniversary of the Republic (1933) by saying:

²⁷ Hasan Âli Yücel (17 December 1897 in Istanbul – 26 February 1961) was a Turkish writer, teacher and politician who served as Minister of National Education of Turkey from December 1938 to August 1946. He is remembered for his reforms of the education system, and the foundation of Village Institutes.

²⁸ Carl Anton Charles Ebert (20 February 1887 – 14 May 1980), was an actor, stage director and arts administrator. In the 1930s and 1940s Ebert helped establish a national conservatory in Turkey, where he and his family lived from 1940 to 1947.

I would like to point out with special emphasis that one of the historical characteristics of the Turkish nation, is to appreciate the fine arts and to advance in them as well. Therefore, it is our national ideal to support and to develop the worthy and noble character of the Turkish nation, her industrious quality, her intelligence, her dedication to science, her love of fine arts, and her feeling of national unity always and with every available means and measure. This aim, which is one very suited to the Turkish nation, will make her successful in fulfilling her obligation to cultivate real peace in the entire world.

About the law of the unification of education (Law No.430), Gürol states “The re-organization of the educational facilities under the Ministry of Education, was accepted on March 3, 1924, and it was the most important step in educational reforms, which is a new page in the contemporary educational system in Turkey. By this law, all the educational associations were connected to the Ministry of National Education” (Gürol, 2003, p.10). Then, on July 7, 1948, a law called “Act of Child Prodigies No.5248” was enacted. At first this law named as “Law on the sending of İdil Biret and Suna Kan²⁹ to foreign countries for music education”. As the Republican regime aimed at transforming the traditional identity of women into a modern members of the society, the inclusion of women into social life and their education matter a lot. İdil Biret and Suna Kan went to France, to the Paris Conservatory. Both of our artists, working with well-known musicians from Europe and America - during their studies in abroad. They graduated from the Paris Conservatory with the first prize. Both were worked as a soloist of the Presidential Symphony Orchestra. They performed the first performance of their original works. Also they introduced universal music as a performer in many Anatolian cities with recital and orchestral concerts. They aimed to make a contribution to the music culture of our country in every aspect (Tunçdemir, 2004).

Then the scope of this law was enlarged to include new children with the law No 6660 in 1956. According to the new law, the applicants who applied to the Directorate of Fine Arts with a petition would be tested by a commission of ten experts from Ministry of National Education and would be sent abroad if they were

²⁹ The Turkish pianist, İdil Biret, manifested an outstanding gift for music at the age of 3. Suna Kan is a Turkish violinist. She started playing the violin at the age of five.

found to have extraordinary talent. In addition, talented children would benefit from the law not only in the field of music but in all branches of fine arts (Iridağ, 2000). After 1968, the Ministry of National Education and Culture did not form a commission and the law became ineffective. Finally, in 1976, the “special status” regulation was issued for special talented children to receive intensive music education at the State Conservatory, and some young people who were educated in this status and graduated from the conservatory were sent abroad with various scholarships. A total of 20 talented children have graduated from these scholarships and government supports. Of these 20 children, 8 were female; İdil Biret, Suna Kan, Verda Arman, Gülsin Onay, Oya Ünler, Yeşim Alkaya, Çağlayan Ünal and Çağıl Yücelen.

This situation emerges both in education policies and in the internal structure of art institutions. Every year, dozens of talented young musicians and artists seek scholarships for their higher education. Only a few of these young people receive state support³⁰. There is state and family support for the art education of female students in early Republican years. Unlike the Western countries, middle class member girls can also receive art education through Republican education policies. Today, educational opportunities for girls are eroded.

3.2. The Integration of Turkish Women Performers into Musical Professions and Western Classical Music Orchestras?

When the basic sources of Turkish Music are examined, these sources generally describe the style of Ottoman music which performed in the cities and the importance of the musical identity of women is determined by visual and written documents of the Ottoman palace and city life. The position and social profile of women in Ottoman culture is a complicated issue. Contrary to the view that women

³⁰ For example Merve Başoğlu a 21-year-old raised in a children’s shelter under the protection of Turkey’s Family and Social Policies Ministry, has been accepted to the Conservatory of Nice in France, in 2017. Family and Social Policies Minister Fatma Betül Sayan Kaya helped her to find scholarship.

are not included in the society, they are depicted in the palace isolated from sociality and cannot play an active role in the relations of production, we see that women existed in life with art and music. Women, who were interested in music, not only practiced music as a part of daily life, but also they used to work in the Ottoman Palace as instrument players, composers, and some reached the level of teacher.

The 20th century can be considered as the period in which the Turkish citizens were exposed to Western culture, and consequently, to Western music. In 1900 the first gramophone disc recordings were carried out in Istanbul. These recordings were made with the help of technicians from E. Berliner's Gramophone Company and other German companies. Naturally these discs had been recorded first by the male artists. Because of religious rules that excludes women from public sphere, Muslim Turkish women were not able to record until 1926-27, even after the proclamation of the Turkish Republic. Hence, the first female singers were Jewish, Armenian, Greek and Gypsy-origin Ottoman citizens. No such obstacles existed for male singers and ensembles – male singer of the royal band at the service of Sultan called "Mızıka -ı Humayun (the Imperial Band) " recorded several of their famous marches. (Ünlü, 2019).

Considering the fact that that the origins of performing music in the public sphere used to depend on a background in composing, we need to examine the inclusion of women in the profession of composition. The book “Women Composers”, prepared by composer Turhan Taşan, provides names of women composers who performed in the vicinity of the palace in terms of composition, lyrics, instrumental music: Gülfer Kalfa, Cavide Hayre Hanım, Fatma Zinnur Hanım and several others (Taşan, 2000) Even if we saw the names of important female composers in Ottoman era, written sources on composition, it was not reflecting the full number of female composers due to the lack of written sources. Also the field of composition was associated with creativity and more intense male participation (Özkişi, 2009). In education of composition and women's access through this education; it is more difficult than access to general music and hence instrument learning. Ottoman women were

engaged in the struggle to get access to field of composition, which prevented them from succeeding in the field of music in the early years of the Republic – which caused questioning of the creativity of women musicians' and their inclusion to Western classical music. Since the question of the creativity of female musicians has always been controversial both in the West and in Turkey, it has been a slow and long process for women to be involved in and to achieve success in arts - especially in music. Turkish women were visible rather in those art fields such as painting and sculpture (which were not performed in public spheres) at past. During the early Republican westernization process, many important developments were seen in fields of art and music; i.e. we can observe the spread of Contemporary Turkish Art Music by introducing the art forms of the Western countries with a modern structuring in Turkey, and Turkish women who dedicated themselves to represent Turkey in international area played a crucial role in these developments.

It was only possible that women were actively involved in Western classical music and were able to express themselves better in the public sphere after the foundation of the Turkish Republic. The establishment of the State orchestra and conservatory has a great effect on this. The State orchestra moved to the new capital Ankara on April 27, 1924, upon the orders of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and orchestra was named the "Riyaseti Cumhur Orkestrası" (The Republican Orchestra). Later, this orchestra has taken an active role in the establishment of the conservatory as one of the most important art institutions in the Republic of Turkey. Conservatories in Turkey is a middle-level vocational schools in which applied and theoretical education is configured. The teaching staff consists of local and foreign music experts and educators. Western music education is provided in the conservatory. It is about national cultural policy to achieve modernization of the education system – which aimed national music development and its' dissemination on performing arts. In 1936, The State Conservatory was established. With the State Conservatory Act enacted in 1940, music and representation arms are separated. Music branch, composition and orchestral direction got several branches; piano, string instruments; blown and percussion instruments; singing (opera, choir and concert singing). Than

conservatory theatre and ballet departments were opened. Thus, Ankara State Conservatory, has formed the beginning of music artist education, with a modern understanding (Anıl, 1977). Thanks to this modern understanding and policies of Turkish Republic, women started to progress and have a profession in Western classical music.

3.3. The Elitist Aspect of Western Classical Music on Turkish Women Conductors

As explained, the Republican reforms and educational policies aimed at equality of women with men had aimed at transforming the social status of women after the proclamation of the Turkish Republic. However, despite the state-led mobilization in the educational realm and egalitarian policies the majority of Turkish women were still trapped in mid-prestige female dominated jobs within the *hierarchy elevator*. This represents the vertical segregation they face due to their exclusion from high-prestige, and leading jobs dominated by men. The horizontal segregation women experience simultaneously in being largely concentrated in female-dominated jobs (Ermiş-Mert, 2017). In the field of Western classical music, the opening of the profession for women was possible after the establishment of Turkish conservatories. With the establishment of Conservatories, for professional education in arts an understanding of western classical music also started to develop in Turkey. The perception of Western classical music institutions reflected the Western classical music appeals to elitist and upper level people - just like classical era listeners in the European countries. The music audience in the West had overcome this perception during the Romantic Period. The Romantic Period's music listeners differed from that of Classical Era in the West. With the rise of the bourgeoisie, Western composers under the monopoly of sovereigns, expanded to the public, living through the incomes of public concerts. The principle of 'equal number of female and male students in all educational institutions' also applied to conservatory education. This transformation led to the construction of concert halls where large masses could fit in and to the organization of great music festivals. The end of the Romantic Era took

place in the early 20th century. It is important to note that this transformation in the West did not occur in Turkey; nevertheless, Western classical music was regarded an elite music just appreciated and consumed by a minority as it was in the Classical Era (Pohlit, 2010).

As a result of this elitist understanding, mostly the girls of the middle and upper-middle-class families succeeded in this field by getting a good degree in classical music education. For example, Suna Kan and İdil Biret, who went abroad with a state scholarship, who grow up with classical music in their family structure. The support of their families is great to realize their talents – for example the father of Suna Kan was a violinist in State Orchestra. A similar situation applies to the education process of our first female conductor. In Turkey, İnci Özdil is the first woman conductor. She started music education with Nimet Karatekin³¹ in the Department of Piano at Ankara State Conservatory in 1971. She continued her study at the Department of Composition in 1976. In 1981, she also studied at the Department of Orchestra Conducting. She graduated from the Department of Piano in 1983. In the same year, Özdil received a fellowship from the Turkish government and went to England to study orchestra conducting. In the Guildhall School of Music and Royal Academy of Music, she studied orchestra and chorus conducting - she is the first female conductor to be admitted to school. She was graduated from there in 1988. Within her career, she worked with numerous orchestras and retired after she worked as the conductor of Bursa Regional State Symphony Orchestra between 2009-2013. Following her, the number of female orchestra conductors gradually increased from past till today. Undoubtedly, the first female orchestra conductor of our country had a great family support behind her, without which it was very difficult for the social conditions of this period. Only three female conductors have conducted the symphony orchestra in the status of the state since the proclamation of the Republic. All other female orchestra conductors performed in private orchestras or orchestras on abroad.

³¹ Turkish pianist, lecturer. Former head of the piano department of Ankara State Conservatory.

Behind the fact that only three female orchestra conductors have held the status of conducting state orchestras, there are gender patterns of conducting the orchestra. As we can see from national and international concerts there has been a stereotype of an orchestra conductor as a white male with an accent, and 60 – plus age. Nevertheless, in Turkey, we see the numerical percentage of women orchestra conductors is higher than the percentage of women orchestra conductors in global and woman conductors. As a result of my research, I found out that while the world average of female orchestra conductors is 4%³², it is around 13%³³ in Turkey.

In Turkey professional rights of orchestra conductors were guaranteed by BESOM-
DER (Composers, Conductors and Musicologist Association). The major objective of this association, is to provide the opportunities for composers, conductors and musicologist to contribute to the continuous development of the Contemporary Turkish Art Music in terms of quantity and quality. Moreover, they aim to represent the Republic of Turkey with the artistic products of contemporary Turkish art music both in national and international stages; creating an environment conducive to raising more qualified artists in the fields of composition-vocalization-management-research-education and publication; creating an environment for making composers, conductors and music researchers more productive, defending and securing their material, moral and professional rights.

While there are reputable institutions for the advancement of the conducting profession in our country and the participation of women to the conducting profession is increasing day by day, the problems regarding their representation on the podium still continue. The efforts taken after İnci Özdil in the field of art, in the name of gender equality in orchestral conducting are progressing slowly. This is why

³² From MAWOMA website. The MAWOMA (for MusicAnd Women MAestra) is the first worldwide itinerant competition devoted to women orchestra conductors. Their statistics showed only 4% of orchestra conductors on the international stage are women. (21 women, 586 men)

³³ My research that I conduct by web search based on coding. I found 69 male conductors were actively working on Turkish symphony orchestras. These male conductors are currently living, conducting the symphony orchestra and / or the state opera ballet orchestra and have received academic training in this field.

the number of Turkish female orchestra conductors has a higher percentage compared to the rest of the world, but the representation in the scenes is low, just like in Western countries. We still have more male orchestra conductors represented on stage than women and conducting profession is still seeming as men's job.



CHAPTER 4

THE RESEARCH PROCEDURE AND FINDINGS

The great leaders are like the best conductors - they reach beyond the notes to reach the magic in the players. - Blaine Lee

4.1. The Research Procedure

This thesis study followed qualitative research strategies based on semi-structured interviews which examined individual perceptions and experiences of Turkish women conductors regarding the women's presence in the conducting profession in Turkish classical music orchestras. As such, the thesis research has the objective of uncovering the gendered dynamics for women conductors in the difficult path to becoming a classical music orchestra conductor starting from their educational backgrounds and the challenges that they faced (and also how they coped with) due to gendered expectations in this profession. It is hoped that the analysis of these issues will enable us to throw light on the reasons behind the question of "Why have there not been more women conductors in Turkish classical music orchestras?" To this end, I made interviews with ten women conductors who have been conducting classical music orchestras in Turkey. This sample included all the Turkish women conductors currently in the profession with an academic background in area of orchestral conducting at Turkish conservatories or at foreign schools. Only three of the female conductors I interviewed had seized the chance to conduct one of the Turkish state orchestras. In addition, these three female orchestra conductors are retired from the profession today, but nevertheless they continue their musical career as an instructor.

I also interviewed three male orchestra conductors from three different age groups in order to further get their insights into women's recognition in the profession and gendered representation shaped by the cultural and institutional dynamics in the conducting profession. Representation here refers to both numerical existence of women orchestra conductors, the rate of names on the concert posters and their recognition according to the people who are interested in classical music. These interviews with male conductors were also important to see whether they themselves internalized or challenged any institutional gendered dynamics in this profession. At the preliminary process of this thesis, I made an inquiry contacting with female orchestra conductors (Turkish citizens). I accessed some of their names through internet search and communicated with them through several social media applications and some of them were accessed through these female conductors', which I had previously accessed.

As explained in Chapter 1, this study is based on qualitative method of research to analyse gender dynamics shaping the inclusion of women, and circumstances that determined the presence of women conductors on stages of Turkish classical music orchestras; in doing so, I looked into professional qualifications, gender stereotypes that overt and covert discrimination that they experienced. What makes this thesis a feminist study is that women's personal experiences and their subjective evaluations of these experiences as women formulated in response to the questions organized around a gender problematique underlie the research procedure of the study. Listening to and understanding of female orchestra conductors is one of the main priorities of this study. By listening to them I also aimed to learn their social and educational backgrounds, in addition to their personal experiences. After an insight into the perceptions of the female orchestra conductors, the expected contributions of this thesis can be listed as follows; to understand why Turkish female orchestra conductors have chosen this prestigious profession even though only a handful of women musicians in the classical music sector have done so; what kind of cultural and institutional barriers have been at work for women despite the absence of any institutional gatekeepers, and to understand whether and how it seems possible to

change the specific gender roles attributed to this profession with the prospective increase in the inclusion of female orchestra conductors in this profession.

The research process for the interviewees of this study covered the period between June 2017-June 2019. Within this period, I contacted all of the Turkish women classical music conductors who have received their academic education in area of orchestral conducting in Turkey or in abroad (see Appendix B for the list of interviewees and their personal details). Then, I conducted one-to-one interviews with each of them between June 2019 and December 2019.

As the interview focused on narrative of the woman's, the interview questions varied from one respondent to another (see Appendix A for the list of primary interview questions). In order to find out and evaluate the female orchestra conductors' thoughts, I conducted semi-structured interviews with them. The semi-structured interview provides a clear set of instructions for interviewers and could provide reliable, comparable qualitative data. The questions were drawn from my own experiences as an amateur musician, as well as the broader theoretical ideas explored in my research. While the questions were designed to cover key themes, they also allowed for flexibility for interviewees. The processes of analysis were based on the process of listening and understanding. In this process of understanding, all interviewees and I relied on mutual trust and understanding with one another. My own status as an amateur musician played an important part in this process; it provided a point of introduction and a point of common ground with the orchestra conductors and myself – as I have knowledge about Western classical music. It defined me as more 'native' than others might be, more as an insider than outsider; in a process of collecting interview data, which facilitated my research.

When I requested an interview appointment, both female and male orchestra conductors responded positively. Only the male orchestra conductors stated that they did not fully understand how they would contribute to my research when I told them that the problematique of the thesis was about female conductors. I aimed to conduct

all my 13 interviews in a short period of time, but this was not possible as they all live in different locations. Therefore, the completion of the interviews spread over a period of about 6 months.

After the interview data was collected, thematic data analysis was applied to analyze the findings that I presented in Chapter 4. Boyatzis (1998: 4) explains that “a theme is a pattern found in the information that at minimum describes and organizes the possible observation at the manifest level, or at the latent level”. As part of the thematic analysis, the theory-driven coding approach (Boyatzis, 1998) was based on the theoretic framework, developing codes from the subsections of Chapter Two. As I made interviews with all the women conductors in Turkey, I didn’t need to do sampling – rather I opted to talk with the entire group of Turkish women orchestra conductors to generalize the study findings. In case of framing questions, I used Gluck and Patai’s “Topical Guide for Oral History Interviews with Women” as a source (1991). In her guide, she suggested topics to prepare questions about basic background information – including family, childhood and adolescence period; education, early adulthood; professional career, adult roles/life; marriage and motherhood. I tried to prepare the questions I asked during my interviews in the light of this guide, despite the limitations of my research. As to the male interviewees, I had to carry out a process of selection to conduct my research. As the number of the male conductors in Turkey is far higher than women conductors, and the main focus of the research is female conductors, yet the perceptions of the male conductors will also be taken into consideration, I decided to set specific criteria which is age, experience and accessibility for the male conductors. As an interviewer, for practicality purposes due to limitation of time, I contacted the people who I assumed would answer me in the shortest time possible. Through interviews with male orchestra conductors, I was able to analyse the subjective approach of female orchestra conductors in a more efficient way. As a result of my interviews, I realized that male orchestra conductors support the success of their female colleagues but they also underline how difficult this profession is.

To analyse interview data, I generated themes through the coding procedure. The coding procedure involved careful reading and interpreting to all the interview data (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006). Three main themes were generated as a result. The common patterns amongst thirteen interviews were found and categorized into three main headings in relation to gender dynamics: *The Long Road to Being Conductor*, *The Role Conflict of Orchestra Conductors*, *The Scarcity of Pioneers* and *Recognition of Women Conductors*. I find these themes important and relevant to group the answers I received to the questions I asked.

4.2. The Findings

The orchestral conducting is a special, prestigious and difficult profession that requires a specialized and long-term education, individual hard work and effort. The education curriculum of conducting is identical for women and men. It will not be wrong to say that conducting is a gender-neutral profession in terms of access to education and the education process. Thus, even though there is no gatekeeping in the field of education, there have always been gender-based problems faced by women in their representations on orchestra podium. Women orchestra conductors are not discriminated due to their biological differences in education and nomination processes; but when their educational process was completed and they begin their career as conductors, their gender became important, which leads to their underrepresentation in western classical music orchestras. As women faced challenges to secure their positions in the male oriented career of orchestra conducting, it might be hard to have encouragement or motivation to continue this profession. Based on the interview data, the following section explores three themes concerning gender in relation to the conducting profession from the perspective of 10 Turkish women orchestra conductors and 3 male orchestra conductors. The majority of the interviewees were of the opinion that the reason why we have fewer women conductors in the conducting profession is about the historical roots of orchestral conducting; which results in late exclusion of women in the public sphere and

institutional discrimination based on their gender. In other respects, the majority of the interviewees stated that the reason why the number of female orchestra conductors is scarce in this profession is about the lack of motivation and the lack of role models. These results provide insights into how gender dynamics affect Turkish orchestra conductors (especially women conductors) in their professional career.

4.2.1. The Long Road to Being a Conductor

Conducting can be defined as the art or technique of controlling the orchestra (Kennedy, 2004: 157). The first duty of the conductor is to build successful relations with the orchestra musicians and to lead the ensemble to achieve the determined goals, and then the second task is to work on the partitions which are hundreds of pages and in which around twenty different instruments will be played according to notes on each page. This profession requires individuals with highest qualification, possessing educational and pedagogical proficiency to perform the conductor's technique. The conductor's technique is a combination of the decisive hand-arm movements in line with the music score that gives rhythm and tempo to the orchestra. The conductor should be able to make the movements related to the tempo automatically so that he or she can focus his or her thoughts on the more important issues of music; to start directing the instruments in a timely manner or to hold the orchestra in silence. This means that the first problem that must be solved above all is the problem of tempo beating. Apart from technical problems, the conductor should have an advanced level of theoretical knowledge and ability to apply their knowledge on all problems of music in front of the orchestra musicians. When the orchestra conductor begins to work on a new music piece, he/she should be able to see the structure of the work, the development of themes, the balance of musical instruments, and the interrelated features of the harmonic, rhythmic and melodic structure, and be able to apply them when he or she takes the place on orchestra podium. It can only be possible for a person to acquire all these professional qualifications after a long and difficult process. Therefore, to be successful in the orchestra conducting profession requires more than individual aspiration for both

men and women. Hard work, motivation and determination are very important for this profession. Related to this point Interviewee J stated that “In orchestra conducting classes, every student studying in each class does not continue his/her career as conductor upon graduation. Almost all of them do not continue their life as a conductor; this is because conducting is a soloistic career.”. This statement indicates that, those who prefer the conducting profession should work for long years without losing their motivation - despite the gatekeepers as professional authorities, occupational norms and the masculine perception of authority figure through orchestra musicians.

In Turkey seven universities out of 213 universities have department of orchestral conducting (Ankara University, Hacettepe University, Dokuz Eylul University, Mimar Sinan University, Uludag University, Istanbul University and Anadolu University)³⁴. The aim of the conducting department is to educate contemporary artists who are equipped with sufficient knowledge and skills in the field of art, teach the ethics of art and science, and to raise artists with high aesthetic appreciation. It takes a long while until the orchestra conductor becomes an expert on the podium. A common point emphasized by the interviewees is that the majority of the orchestra conductors decided to continue their graduate studies in area of conducting abroad rather than in Turkey. Even though the Turkish conservatories and music faculties offer advanced educational opportunities, for them it was preferable to study abroad in order to follow the developments and the new techniques available around the world as Western classical music is internationally performed and it was also because orchestra conductors often work as guest conductors in various countries.

4.2.1.1. Are there any gatekeepers in conducting profession in Turkey?

Brydie-Leigh Bartleet (2008) describes how the pedagogic literature on conducting examines “a conductor's arms, hands, neck, face, posture, and legs, and so on,

³⁴ Data retrieved from <https://blog.youthall.com/turkiyedeki-universiteler-listesi> : “Türkiye’deki Üniversiteler Listesi” data page from Youthall webpage

without any consideration of how these corporeal regions are inscribed with societal, cultural, political and gendered significance”. Generally, in the Western experience it is underlined that women conductors are seen as “confusing figures” by orchestra musicians that challenge dominant social and professional norms with their presence on the orchestra podium. Judgements regarding a woman conductor and recognition of her abilities are often made in relation to her gender (Bartleet, 2008). As a male conductor Interviewee J explained, “...the reason for the underrepresentation of women orchestra conductors is the historical continuity as a consequence of gendered roles and stereotypical norms.”. This statement supports the idea that women’s musical ability to conduct has been underrepresented on stage throughout the history. No matter what the success of women in assuming this male-oriented role is, their difference always remains distinctly visible. Both orchestra musicians and audience are always crucial in their observations through women conductors, from past to present. When I examined the educational programs of conservatories during the research phase of the thesis, I observed that there was no institutional gatekeeping against female students; gatekeeping in case of institutional obstacles and legal regulations. As Interviewee M stated “During my education period, I had six teachers and they were all men. I haven’t heard any discourse related with my gender even one day. I completed my conducting education in an extremely equal and fair manner.” In Turkey, the instructors at the conservatory have an egalitarian attitude towards female conductors, but this attitude does not apply to orchestra musicians and audience. After the rehearsals of the orchestra musicians with the female orchestra conductors, I witnessed a conversation between them in which they evaluated the performance of the female conductor because of the *otherness* of women conductors – because women conductors do not appear regularly. As another women conductor, Interviewee C put it:

I have confronted obstacles without which, I am sure that I would be one of the best known conductors in the world. I’m sure of that. The musical interpretations I have made are very remarkable. I performed very difficult interpretations that no male conductor had previously performed. The biggest difficulty for me is that I have never been appreciated by my male counterparts. I felt that male conductors were completely biased.

When women conductors stand on the podium they have to block out thoughts about their *otherness* and make a concerted effort simply to focus on the music. There were not only thoughts, but also occupational stereotypes against women conductors in this profession. For example, Interviewee D experienced problems with her male and old colleagues in her career path - she was dismissed from her job because she opposed the decision of the male orchestra conductor in a rehearsal. To overcome this barrier, women conductors need extensive communication skills. Given the visual nature of conducting and the importance of the body in communication, a woman's physical difference serves to strengthen her *otherness*. To support this thought Bull states "The social and musical control which was intended to bring about, was also achieved more directly through the physicality of the conductor" (Bull, 2016). When it comes to dealing with this *otherness* on the podium, every woman conductor whom I interviewed spoke about the necessity of hard working and underlined the importance of great musical knowledge in the process of music making. They all have great motivation which led to their inclusion into this prestigious profession. For example, Interviewee A stated that "It is a crucial challenge to eliminate the negative bias of the orchestra musicians against female conductors and female conductors should bear all responsibilities of her orchestra." The other way to eliminate this *otherness* is related with improving communication skills. For women conductors, a careful balance between conforming to the traditions of the profession is really important. During the process of women's inclusion to orchestral conducting profession, these embodied techniques, and authoritative but carefully neutral tone of voice that accompanied them, and created a great balance in the relationship between musicians and orchestra conductor. To support this neutral tone of communication, humour was such an important part of the repertoire of conductors. This humour was used to maintain the delicate balance of the rehearsals, where emotions such as excitement, boredom, frustration, and competitiveness were constantly being cultivated or managed (Bull, 2019). Some of interviewees (Interviewee D, E, H and L) mentioned that their way of communication relied on being cheerful and having humorous communication with musicians in rehearsals. In addition, Interviewee E stated that she overcame problems related with her gender,

by being herself, by stop not showing any gender specific attitude in case of creating a 'new language' of conducting that is relevant to her previous experiences.

4.2.1.2. The Norms on Professional Acceptability

As explained in Chapter 2, despite the fact that many countries made significant progress in women's participation in occupations, the organizational reality is that women still have to struggle with rigid and male-dominated hierarchies, job opportunities based on career paths with little flexibility, lack of credibility in a masculine culture, isolation from other women and transactional rather than transformational management styles (Rosener, 1990). In many professions women have faced the challenge of adapting their dress, gestures, behaviour, leadership styles, and familial commitments to conform to this male-oriented professional norms and expectations. In this research the statements of the male interviewee (Interviewee L) who was the youngest of all the male and female respondents, indicates that he too faced with a problem of physical adaptation:

The Western classical music is based on a bigoted structure, unfortunately. When I entered to examination of Conducting Masters' degree, jury members judged me for my outlook. But I think the important thing is how you make music, not how your outlook is.

He was subjected to discrimination from his seniors for being young and his personal style which was significantly different from his seniors – he got tattoos and earrings. Therefore, the norms in the conducting field not only have discouraging effect for female conductors but also these norms can create problems in the career progression of young male conductors. Even though these professional norms have a discouraging effect on young male conductor candidates, they are able to motivate themselves with the awareness that getting old will put them in an advantageous position in the future, but female conductors are often subjected to double-standards over their gender in addition to being young. Interviewee D talked about her own experience:

I participated in an orchestra conducting competition last year. The winner (male) of the competition was officially flirting with musicians, and then blinking while he was conducting. If any female conductor does this, she is judged to be very feminine. I think the masculinity of male orchestra conductor is identical to the Herbert Karajan³⁵ ecole. When male orchestra conductors flirt and conduct the orchestra it is seen as an innovative action. However, women's body movements are not included in innovation because the female orchestra conductors are new to the leadership positions and have been associated with sexuality. This, in contrast, reveals the idea that women are using their bodies to rise to higher positions.

In a supporting statement to her point, Interviewee H explained that if women conductors are dressed up on stage in an attractively feminine style, they will have a bad reputation in the world of Western classical music. The orchestra musicians were trained in such a way to make observations and display a judgemental attitude toward the conductors. Generally, the concepts of experience and knowledge are related to being old in age. That is why professional norms of orchestra conducting include being old in addition to being 'male and white'. Male conductors are definitely more advantageous in this regard; On this point, Interviewee K stated that "...right now I am "young, male and white". I don't think I can do anything to demolish the norms of conducting profession and within 15 years (although I'm against all forms of discrimination in art), I'll be a member of the same pattern.". In the case of experience and age association, Interviewee G made the following critical point, as a male and middle-aged conductor:

There is a profound contradiction in the orchestra conducting; I have to be experienced in front of the orchestra and at the same time I have to go in front of the orchestra to be experienced. I cannot be the conductor of the Presidential Symphony Orchestra without having 10 years of experience, but I have to be in front of the orchestra within these 10 years.

Professionally, a female orchestra conductor in her 30s is more advantageous compared to a male orchestra conductor in his 20s – because the orchestra members identify being older with having more knowledge. Interviewee I confirmed this point, as the youngest women interviewee:

³⁵ Herbert von Karajan was an Austrian conductor. He was principal conductor of the Berlin Philharmonic for 35 years. Generally regarded as one of the greatest conductors of the 20th century, he was a dominant figure in European classical music from the mid-1950s until his death (in 1989).

There is a perception of ignoring the young people in our country. The young orchestra conductor should not have a problem within professional norms of conducting because you never know one's education and experience. Nevertheless, they say that the most productive years of an orchestra conductor are between the ages of 60-80 and I am waiting to reach that age.

While in the case of peers, I have observed that the male orchestra conductor is generally preferred more commonly in order to perform in the orchestras. As will be explained in the following section, the main reason for this preference stems from the fact that the reputation of orchestra conductor is equated with masculine norms – which creates the gender obstacle for women conductors.

4.2.1.3. The Perception of Conductor as “Masculine Authority”

The gender norms, roles and accompanying expectations imposed on women throughout history required a modest and accommodating attitude, which is related to the masculine authority of the conductor. Women conductors had to deal with these social expectations to overcome the masculine authority. The appearance of the first women classical music conductor in Turkey, Inci Ozdil, was a significant turning point for women conductors and provided an opportunity to challenge the masculine stereotype i.e. the identification of conductor's role with the masculine authority. She also symbolized women's achievement to be successful in profession of orchestral conducting. She pushed the boundaries of convention in both her personal and professional life, perhaps further than any other female of her generation with the support from her family and teachers. As a conductor, she established herself as an authority through mutual respect and musical trust. As explained, in the conducting profession, communication techniques matter a lot in the case of orchestral authority represented by the conductor who is traditionally identified as the male. In this regard, Interviewee B stated that “You will either be able to create create authority within first three minutes or not.” we could understand that orchestra members criticize conductors from the very beginning of their first sight. As an experienced male conductor, Interviewee C, also considered an orchestra

conductor to be a person who could demonstrate his/her talents to establish authority over musicians.

The perception about a 'genderless' style of conducting and leadership has significant implications for the profession of orchestral conducting. Effective leaders need to behave humanely, as well as to motivate people successfully, in order to achieve the highest performance in their work. One is useless without the other (Gordon, 1997: 8). In case of comparison between leadership vs authority; Interviewee H stated that leadership as more important than solid authority, a trustful relation between conductor and musicians matter more than figurative authority. The orchestra musicians need a qualified leader much more than a domination over the orchestra and they defined the orchestral authority as the “male”. For example, Interviewee J said “If you are a true leader, you have established your authority without trying to establish authority. You should try to reveal your leadership qualities without trying to be authoritarian.”. It is important to analyse the importance of leadership skills and authority and how did they were socially constructed. Even orchestra musicians expect great leadership skills rather than a pure authority figure. The direct way of leadership can be seen as a loss of feminine identity, from perspectives of orchestra musicians.

The definition of orchestral authority as “male” creates the perception of aspiring women that they will never be successful in this profession, which will lead woman to exclude from themselves from representation on stage as conductors even if they were proceeding in the profession. The female orchestra conductors first get into the profession and hear about the way they have to dress ‘like a man’. After joining the profession, they have to constantly struggle with the existing masculine norms. This situation is the same both in Turkey and Western countries, because the orchestra conducting education in Turkey is a system which is entirely based on Western values. As a Turkish woman conductor who completed her graduate studies in area of orchestral conducting in England, Interviewee A states:

I always wanted to be noticed as a woman. An organization in England told me that the orchestra conductors preferred to wear pants and frock on the stage. I told them only men would prefer these clothes. I only prefer to wear a dress or long skirt with jacket on stage. Although, I never give up on my identity as a woman and feminine outlook, I never wear inappropriate clothes on the stage

Also as a result of masculine norms women conductors rarely got a chance to perform in concerts. Even though the issue of representation of women has begun to improve, presently, the idea of “masculine authority” prevents them from taking the place they deserve on the orchestra podium. The establishment of masculine patterns in the field of conducting is based on the existence of masculine patterns in the profession of composing and imposing the idea of 'you can't do this because you are a woman and you lack creativity' to female composers. Interviewee I also stated the following about the historical factors behind this issue:

Historically, the first conductors arose from composers who wanted to interpret their own works and then said 'Let me manage my work, and let me interpret it' which is an advanced improvement of conducting profession. For this reason, the fact that the number of women is less in conducting is due to the profession of composition at first – as male composers outnumber women in this area.

Also Interviewee A accepts the importance of composing for orchestra conductors by stating that “A person who has no direction in composition cannot be an orchestra conductor because he cannot understand and interpret the composer otherwise.”. Interviewee D states “I was studying composition in my Bachelor degree. While writing music compositions, you also manage the music pieces so I realized that I have an interest in conducting.”. And Interviewee I began her education with composing firstly, and she states:

I first realized that I wanted to be an orchestra conductor in high school. I met Erdem Çöloğlu (Assistant Professor in Anadolu University Conservatory) when I was in the third year of high school and he told me that I could study composition before conducting, and I realized the composition education was very important for orchestral conducting.

Therefore, women have had difficulties not only because of the masculine establishment of authority but also the creativity in the music field is associated with masculinity.

4.2.2. The Role Conflict of Women Orchestra Conductors

Women in all careers still face an important issue: the difficulties of balancing private life, relationships with the family and professional life. Women are underrepresented in the cultural sector in the face of the difficult challenge of reconciling a career with raising a family (Skillset, 2010). One of the reasons that affect the career developments of women and men in different ways in conducting profession is care responsibilities of women and the time management to balance work and private life. In Pujar report Rosalind Gill states “It is true that, it is difficult to combine parenting with the flexible, long and irregular hours in the cultural industries, which has cautioned against positing ‘mothering’ as the sole explanation for gender inequalities in the cultural sector. These arguments overlook the fact that men as well as women are parents, and presume that women are the primary caregivers (Pujar, 2016). This fact should not be ignored because of socially attributed gender roles.

The nature of work in the cultural industries would help us to understand why inequalities persist for women to have a role conflict (Scharff, 2018). Education is seen as a positively reinforcing component for women’s representation in high-prestige male-dominated jobs, while marital status and having children are potentially a source of gender discrimination. This stems from employers’ prejudices regarding women’s traditionally ascribed domestic roles, based on how these affect their performance and continuity at work (Ermiş-Mert, 2017). Although the educational opportunities were only limited to daughters of elite families in the early years of the Republic, accessibility of education has widened and there are no significant differences between the social status of female orchestra conductors at present, which means that regardless of their social status every female in the Turkish society can receive music education. This is an indication that the female orchestra conductors are more advantageous in establishing the balance between their private and public life, when past and present circumstances are compared.

In case of motherhood Cheng states: “Is it possible to juggle career, marriage, motherhood, household management, volunteering, and more? The conductors of professional orchestras must move from one orchestra to the next, regularly. Jetting around the world for guest-conducting stints, they are rarely stable in one place. Conductors have really busy schedules. In many orchestras, rehearsals fall on weekday evenings; concerts are scheduled for Friday, Saturday, and Sunday evenings, nights the rest of the world thinks of as time off to spend with family. All of these situations create significant challenges for a woman in their conducting career” (Cheng, 1998). Famous male conductors generally tend to be married to wives who devote themselves totally to their husbands’ careers (Bartleet, 2008: 129). Although this situation reflects the Turkish society characterized by a patriarchal family structure; this is also observed in conductors in Western countries.

The housework was often considered the primary responsibility of women. As women became accepted outside the home, they faced worse difficulties separating their personal lives, family, marriage, from their professional engagements – because of their nurturing roles. In case of women conductors, this would not suit their busy schedule. As Interviewee F underlined, women conductors possess leader characteristics instinctively - it is not possible for people with high leadership qualities to obey the orders of another person which requires their partners to be respectful. This is why it is necessary to promote awareness about care responsibilities belonging equally to men and women on both personal and societal levels, and public and institutional care services need to be expanded and made accessible (Göker, 2019). Interviewee E pointed out that regular family life was possible if you managed well and if your partner showed respect to your professional career. This situation could be categorized under ‘gender as a social institution’ (Martin, 2004). As the concepts of conformity and stasis are regarded as usual whereas conflict and change are considered to be unusual in social institutions of a society (2004: 1254), the appearance of women conductors within masculine

structure into the profession of conducting is unusual and women conductors have to make efforts to normalize this situation.

While pregnancy and motherhood slowed down the careers of many women, most continued their careers while balancing motherhood. Only one of women interviewees (Interviewee B) was able to reconcile well her family life and professional life. Only one of the interviewees is married previously, but her husband passed away. Other women conductors prefer not to marry or still continuing to their education. Interviewee B, who has three sons, indicated the following:

I had both a child and a career. I think anything is possible, but it is more difficult for female orchestra conductors to establish a regular family life than for male conductors. Because you have a family to manage at home in addition to your profession. I would have done it under the most difficult conditions but it would be wrong to say it is not possible. In this case, male orchestra conductors are more advantageous than women because they can walk around like a conductor at home and do nothing.

Women's life experiences differ from each orchestra conductor, but as a common point, they all aim to create a balance between their private and public lives. When the orchestra conductor is on stage, he/she must leave behind his/her personal problems. Interviewee I "We are not the same on every day because of human nature. Even if we're professional people, it affects us. The main problem in orchestral conducting is that we have to exclude our personal problems and focus on music.". This professional requirement poses another challenge for women conductors as women are more emotional.

4.2.3. The Absence of Pioneers and Recognition of Women Conductors

The absence of appropriate role models creates an important barrier for women to achieve senior positions. It seems reasonable that if analysing men and women in gender congruent roles fosters gender-congruent aspirations and behaviour, then frequently observing gender-incongruent role models (e.g., male kindergarten teachers or female scientists and leaders) should reduce gender stereotyping and

promote gender-counter stereotypical aspirations and behaviour (Olsson & Martiny, 2018). Hill et al. have stated that exposing girls to successful female role models can help counter negative stereotypes because girls see that people “like them” can be successful in the field (Hill et al., 2010). When women see other women in roles they find it easier to imagine themselves in those roles and are more likely to put themselves forward. On the contrary, researchers postulated that observing same-sex role models triggers learning processes whereby observers internalize gender-stereotypical knowledge of roles and act accordingly, which results in gender-congruent aspirations and behaviour (Olsson & Martiny, 2018). Also same age role models can have a positive effect on women conductors just as Interviewee D experienced and said “The person who made me feel like I could do this job was a young male conductor.”. Young female conductors are aspired by their successful peers who are able to perform in a profession normally dominated by old, male counterparts. At this point, we can talk about the problem of ageism related to the fact that young people have fewer opportunities in case of their representation on stage, in profession of conducting.

The scarcity of women role models prevented many aspiring women from entering the profession. Although many women studied with talented conductors, few of these role models were women. To underline the necessity of same sex role models, in this research Interviewee I stated that “I was scared at first; because the profession of conducting is a difficult profession and the fact that it is not a female orchestra conductor makes me a little startled.” All of women conductors interviewed for this study, studied conducting with notable male conductors. However, women often were also discouraged from conducting by their male counterparts. Interviewee D stated that:

When women want to become orchestra conductors, she may hear expressions such as "You will be hired in this profession for your beauty as, it is against women's nature to perform as an orchestra conductor". I think the masculinity of men is actually so fragile; As I proceed in this profession, I realize how fragile the white,

old, male trilogy is. When I tried to take any action in rehearsals or a concert, I noticed that my senior male counterparts were trying to push me back and I was eliminated from some competitions.

Instead, they were encouraged to pursue other areas of interest, like to be choir conductor – as it seems more ‘feminine’ profession. Mercier states “Conductors in training today have the advantage of a more diverse range of expertise to draw upon. Given the physicality of conducting, senior women may have specific advice to offer female students. They have the opportunity to train, compete, and prove themselves, and they can look to older women in the field as role models” (Mercier, 2005).

Breaking stereotypes especially gender stereotypes in male-dominated professions is difficult. Barriers based on gender rather than talent have diminished within the last two decades. The most fundamental aspects of managing barriers are role models – for people to actively demonstrate that barriers can be overcome. If we can get this right, then perhaps the other barriers – whether it's motherhood, age or lack of experience — will become more manageable and less marked over time. Interviewee G stated that “Because of social roles, men have already been described as leaders and powerful figures. Therefore, the women themselves need to prove the idea that ‘I can also lead.’”.

One of the male conductors (Interviewee K) interviewed for this research stated that “I think the reason behind the fact that the number of female conductors is less than the number of male conductors is related to direction and orientation”. By this he underlined the importance of preference in case of the selection of working area. It is important to understand; to be successful in this challenging profession women should set their minds on success then educational institutions would help them to attend conducting classes to improve themselves. With the positive contribution of the role models, the personal motivation of the female orchestra conductors will increase, which will enable them to work to gain recognition within the orchestras. Interviewee G states “In addition to occupational obstacles there is also the problems

related with lack of role model and choice.”. In this respect, the increase in the number of female role models have great importance in terms of the inclusion of female orchestra conductors in this profession.

Women’s recognition seems to be the key to obtaining opportunities for career advancement; which makes possible to enter high level leading professions like orchestral conducting. It is related to personality as well as professional qualifications and the recognition provides an approval for women in reputable Western classical music orchestras. Also the young male orchestra conductors need an approval from music authorities to succeed in their careers. In case of their recognition each women conductor follows a different path. For example, Interviewee E stated that “To overcome competition my colleagues, I am acting like a baby – humble, cute and cheerful, if I act like a baby he/she won’t see me as a danger.” and in her opinion this worked as far as she conducted many reputable symphony orchestras. At this point, I infer that older women orchestra musicians may demonstrate jealous attitudes towards young women conductors - it can be difficult to accept the authority of a same-sex junior counterparts.

In another example Interviewee M stated she adopts an empathetic attitude while working with orchestras. She stated that “As orchestra musicians and conductors, we reflect each other just like a mirror. We reflect the energy and emotion we receive from each other to the audience with the help of high level of empathy.” It is true that women conductors were not able to have a recognition without having empathy and positive characteristics. In this respect, she must also face with the feminine traits. Interviewee F states that:

One day a female conductor was conducting in one of our state symphony orchestras and I was watching her rehearsal. At the end of the rehearsal something happened; for the female conductor, orchestra musicians said 'she is probably on her period that is why she acts in such a nervous and stressful manner, let's not call her again to conduct us'. Even though she is a very good conductor, the orchestra has never called her again.

The orchestra musicians will never make a sexist interpretation for a male orchestra conductor as in this example. They simply state that the conductor's attitude is 'dominant' and that this is part of his character. For this reason, it is quite correct and necessary for female conductors to develop personal strategies for their professional recognition. Majority of the female orchestra conductors I interviewed stated that they developed strategies in order to be successful in the profession.

4.3. Discussion

Gender roles are formed in early childhood and continue to influence behaviour through adolescence and adulthood, including the choice of academic majors and careers. Theories focusing on the development of gender roles suggest that across the lifespan people certain roles to be more or less appropriate for their gender – as explicated in the Gender Schema Theory (Martin and Halverson, 1981) and Social Role Theory (Eagly & Wood, 2011). The assumption that children learn to associate men and women with certain attributes through observing their environment is a central tenet of Gender Schema Theory. According to Social Role Theory, people attribute the underlying cause of the unequal distribution of men and women in various roles to inherent gendered characteristics (Olsson & Martiny, 2018: 5). Thus people associate women with caring responsibilities and weakness. That is why women have always faced obstacles in certain professions that have historically been dominated by their male associates. Despite considerable gains in participation and performance in music, negative stereotypes about girls' abilities in these areas persist. According to Aronson "Stereotype threat is the threat of being viewed through the lens of a negative stereotype or the fear of doing something that would confirm that stereotype. Girls may attempt to reduce the likelihood that they will be judged through the lens of negative stereotypes by saying they are not interested and by avoiding these fields" (cited in Hill et al., 2010). – which could also be categorized under the lack of motivation related with historical stereotypes and lack of pioneers in professions.

In addition to family and class support, Turkey's modernization policies also give importance to the inclusion of women to professions. In the modernization process of Turkey, it has been emphasized that women should take a more active role in professional life. However, especially in positions that require leadership in the field of art, women find it difficult to gain a place, as in other prestigious work fields. As a result of my research, I examined social and institutional factors, sociocultural dynamics, gender stereotypes on leadership skills in Chapter 2 and 3.

As explained in Chapter 2, men traditionally constructed the professional definition of conducting, and there has been a stereotypical image of the “male” conductor rooted in the western classical music world. Gendered prejudice against women aspirants is formed by gendered customs in the conducting profession. “The Long Road of Being a Conductor” theme provides evidence of how interviewees consider the current status of themselves as female conductors by focusing on authority and leadership qualifications. By understanding how an individual’s gendered perceptions are formed and influenced by social and cultural factors, and how gender inequality in the Western classical music world is institutionalized, this theme provides insights into gendered perceptions regarding women’s capabilities and the “masculine construction” of the “conductor”. “The Role Conflict of Orchestra Conductors,” theme demonstrates sociocultural factors in relation to the influences on perception of female conductors. It includes women’s access to music education and how motherhood and nurturing roles had an effect on their professional career, and it is discussed whether these two notions have a negative effect on women conductors’ career path. Women’s recognition their professional acceptance was important for them to continuously pursue the conducting profession. The availability of female conductor role models would help to change stereotyped gender conventions of conductors (Bartleet, 2008). “The Absence of Pioneers and Recognition of Women Conductors” theme reveals the importance of women’s recognition. This theme also proves the importance of counterstereotypical role models for female conductors to succeed in their career.

As a result of my research and its findings one can contend that, women orchestra conductors are not discriminated due to their biological differences in education and nomination processes; but when their educational process and the period of being ‘candidate conductor’ was completed and they begin their career as conductors, their gender differences with men became important and this leads to their underrepresentation in Western classical music orchestras in Turkey – which is a similar pattern with Western countries.



CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The great secret is that an orchestra can actually play without a conductor at all. Of course, a great conductor will have a concept and will help them play together and unify them. - Joshua Bell

The profession of conducting for women has only existed since the beginning of the 20th century. Conducting is a novelty as a profession for women. While women instrumentalists have made great efforts in professional orchestras, women conductors still account for “four percent of all professional conductors” in the orchestra field, globally. Although this number is higher in Turkey (around thirteen percent currently, women have been a rarity in the Turkish classical music orchestras. This thesis study analyzes the numerical underrepresentation of Turkish women as conductors in the classical music orchestras. Based on the insights from the analysis of women’s situation as conductors in classical music sector in the West, and the explanatory frameworks driving from a gender theories; this thesis inquired into the education and career paths of the Turkish female classical music conductors to answer the questions of ‘Why there has been a scarcity of women among conductors in classical music orchestras’ and ‘Whether and in what ways women’s gendered experiences have created specific challenges and obstacles for aspiring women musicians in the long road to professional achievement and recognition in a male-dominated sector’.

Progressive state policies aimed at the inclusion of Turkish women in work life especially in arts and liberal professions, since the first years of the Republic. However, despite women’s significant presence in professions even in higher numbers than it was in the Western countries, women still remain a minority in

certain male-dominated occupational professional realms which require or associated with leadership qualities. In fact, both vertical and horizontal segregation of the workplace on the basis of gender has been significant in the Turkish case.

The forms of modernization and Westernization in Republican Turkey since 1923 became the turning point for the transformation of the role of women in the Turkish society. Women's status and position in employment and particularly in the professional realm have improved significantly as women also started to enter traditionally male-dominated fields. Arat states "The equal representation of women in the public and professional sphere played an important symbolic role during the formation of modern nation states in developing countries. Turkish women were also considered as the carriers of both tradition and modernity, with their respective roles in the private sphere as reproducers of the tradition of nation and in the public sphere as symbols of modernity. During the formation of the Turkish nation state, the role and status of women became one of the major areas of intervention for cultural transformation based on the principle of republican secularism. The low status of women was equated with underdevelopment, and the modernization movement was mainly marked by the entrance of women into the public space, which was associated with the strengthening of secularism" (Arat, 1994). On the other hand Tekeli states "Despite the creation of employment opportunities for women and promotion of women's presence in the public domain, egalitarian reforms did not attempt to alter either the domestic division of labour, or sexual ethics, causing a split between the private and public identities of working women" (Tekeli, 1982). As a result, Turkish women continued to be defined primarily in relation to the private sphere with their roles as mothers and wives; which led their underrepresentation in professions.

Although gendered stereotypes still work against women in the professional realms and in certain artistic fields both in Turkey and in the West, it is plausible to expect that there are both similarities and differences in some of relevant factors which underline this problem. Turkish women started to be admitted into academic

education in arts and music in the early decades of Republican Turkey. However, given the time lag with the West in the integration of women in the public sphere, women in Turkey were faced with the problem of the scarcity of female pioneers in the area of arts rather than institutional obstacles which excluded them and discriminated against them. Moreover, gender norms in the patriarchal society held that leadership notion was a trait associated with men and masculinity rather than with femininity. Since the conducting profession is a profession that Turkish institutions of adopted from Western countries, it is not surprising that we have similar circumstances to Western countries – in case of women’s presence.

This research is led by the core question: *Why have there not been more women conductors in Turkish classical music orchestras?* In order to answer this research question, it was important for me to step inside individual female conductors’ perspectives and experiences in their careers by carrying a survey research with the Turkish female conductors who have directed Turkish classical music orchestras. In other words, it was important to understand how women perceived their profession based on their experiences, positions, age and sex. Conducting, regardless of gender, is a demanding profession. Although, women conductors may be a vision of the future; they are not, at present, a reality.

Elkin summarizes this situation by saying, “The art of conducting is steeped in tradition; therefore, slow to change” (Elkins, 2011). The first women conductor in Turkey appeared after the 1980s (in 1988). Several reasons can be listed for this fifty-year gap; lack of equal education opportunities, family factor, musical tendency etc... Many women began careers in music as accompanists, instrumentalists, singers, educators, and patrons before focusing on conducting. Turkish women entered into work force after the establishment of Republic especially in fields of arts and music. The participation of Turkish women in the labour force is faster compared to the western countries. Educational institutions have supported women's music education in the state conservatories and abroad since the early years of the Republic.

Beyond the question *why the number of female orchestra conductors is less than male orchestra conductors in field of Western classical music orchestras*; it is important to look at the indirect and covert obstacles which work against aspiring women in the entry (if any) and in the practice of their profession. In doing so, occupational stereotypes of the conducting are based on the masculine as the authority figure seems highly relevant to explore. This gender stereotyping dynamic assume that women as too feminine and weak to appropriately meet the expectations of the discipline of orchestral conducting. In this thesis study, I looked into this issue through the analysis of women who have proved professional achievement in terms of the education and acceptance into the conductor position. In order to understand how they could break down occupational stereotypes and pass the hurdles on their way as women to be accepted as a conductor in a male-dominated field their personal views, it was important to look at their own reflections on their career paths, i.e. how and why they chose to become conductors and how they could manage to reconcile with the requirements of their careers and their personal/family lives. It was also important to analyse the gendered expectations and portrayal of the conductor's job as a traditionally masculine position to get insights into how they could overcome the gendered challenges and how they approach the gendered expectations of the profession.

Since this research surveyed all ten Turkish female conductors and also three male conductors. Not all respondents in the interviews considered the unbalanced representation of male and female conductors as a sign of gender inequality, but all interviewees were very aware of the issue of gender inequality for female conductors. Especially male interviewees stressed at the beginning of the interview that they did not have any conscious prejudice against women in the classical music world. The only matter they claimed to be concerned about is the expertise and ability of conductor. However, there is perception bias in ways people perceive female conductors. The descriptions based on gender roles indicate that gender stereotypes functions as a symbolic boundary influenced by the social expectations

and cultural beliefs in gendered roles; expectations for any occupation and professions. The lack of awareness of gender stereotypes is the source of gender inequality for the conducting profession, which leads to social conditioning in the patriarchal culture that link leadership positions to masculinity. Beyond the major research question, the objectives and methodology of this interview survey were: To analyse those cultural and institutional factors that impact on women's motivations and decision to become conductors, to inquire into the challenges for women conductors to combine their personal and professional lives, to observe the perceived differences according to women conductors regarding communication and technique in conducting, to observe the nature and the extent of gender-based discrimination experienced by women conductors, to understand whether the assumed qualities of a 'good' conductor differ based on gender. A qualitative method research design was developed, making use of semi-structured interviews that aimed to explore the experiences of women conductors and answers of all these objectives in-depth. The Chapter 4 outlined the findings of these semi-structured interviews; the facts surrounding women and their abilities as conductors. Findings of my study will serve as a background for further studies which will reveal women conductors' experiences in a more detailed and comprehensive way.

In terms of the findings of this research professional challenges for aspiring women and female conductors based on the perceptions of authority and leadership as masculine traits, the contradictions of personal and professional life for women conductors due to the requirements of the job (especially over the issue of motherhood), the significance of the scarcity of female role models in the profession, and the gendered dynamics issues involved in passing the hurdles of the education were presented.

The interviewees' responses stressed the importance of leadership notions coded as masculine in the conducting profession. Although the respondents did not emphasize a definition based on leadership and conducting and rather they referred to authority and power, the assumption still persists that a conductor would be male as a result of an

authority figure in the sense of directing the orchestra. A significant finding from interviews revealed that younger women conductors tend to approach matters of leadership and authority in a less strict way, although they equally emphasize that the latter (authority) is a trait any conductor, regardless of gender, needs to encompass.

This finding confirms the argument in the relevant literature that “if women want to overcome the ‘authority’ myth of a conductor, they should break the social expectations of women viewed as incompetent until they can prove themselves. The research also found out that women conductors are more likely to embody a more collaborative model of leadership to build trust between them and the orchestra members. This is true, especially if they are at the beginning of their careers.” It is clear that the longevity of male dominance in conducting has consolidated the gender stereotypical perspective about leadership and authority as a masculine figure.

With regard to the interviewees’ responses concerning balancing their private and professional lives, it is clear that women continue to be disadvantaged due to the fact that conducting profession is highly demanding job, considering the many hours they put into conducting, especially if they need to travel. Such Balance, therefore, is hard to be accomplished. In spite of the difficulties, the respondents agreed that, with the support of their partners, families, friends and relatives, it was easier to achieve balance and combine the personal with the professional issues in their lives. Regarding motherhood and female conductors interviewed in this study did not rule out motherhood in their lives; and yet the fact that only one of the woman interviewees were married with children means that women conductors had to postpone marriage and motherhood and give priority to their professions.

The communication methods in comparison to men and women conductors is perceived and criticised differently according to people, audiences and music critics. Some of the interviewees comment on the limitation of their bodily communication due to societal norms of their ‘proper’ use of space and remark that audiences perceive a gesture differently when it is made by a woman rather than by a man.

As the interviews indicate, there is no institutional gatekeeping in orchestral conducting area in Turkey but women's lack of numerical presence can be explained by the fact that most women do not see the conducting profession as an option in their professional preferences and in their educational path as they follow contrary to the socially expected roles. In other words, there is sexism in the form of gender-stereotypical approach to aspiring women who aim to be successful in profession of orchestral conducting; which caused the over representation of their male counterparts on the stage. Although there is no institutional gatekeeping in the field of conducting, other reasons (personal preferences and personal preferences and historical factors) impacted on number and representation of women. Family encouragement, institutional support (like conservatories and teachers), as well as a musical background are major factors in women conductors' decision to pursue and develop their musical careers. Hence as it is also emphasized in the relevant literature, presence of supporting and encouraging family circles in general, a supporting environment, will motivate women conductors to begin their career (Lazarou, 2017).

As Lazarou states "The nature of gender discrimination toward women conductors varies and can occur in the form of bias and sexist remarks owing to societal norms and expectations of women, not only in real life but also within musicology and the conducting field." (Lazarou, 2017). Due to the arising awareness of gender equality, the sexist bias towards female conductors has slowly shifted to positive – an attempt of awareness of unequal gender perception, eliminating one's biased perception, and acknowledge female music ability. The increasing awareness of gender inequality of female conductors also made people rethink women's status. Because of long-time oppression, women's abilities have long been overlooked. Mainly, people believe women have equal qualifications so as to compete with men if they have an equal chance (or a greater chance) to present themselves. Thus, giving more attention to talented and qualified female conductors is the means to eliminate the gender inequality. However, the unconscious double standards i.e. expecting higher

qualifications from female conductors in order to compete with male counterparts, still seems to be concealed in the claim of “equal qualification,” In other words, people expect women to be better than men in terms of the ability in conducting (Zhang, 2018).

The structural and systematic problems require taking institutional precautions to eliminate gender imbalances and establishing incentive and support mechanisms. These include, highlighting women role models and achievements, setting up mentoring programs to promote cooperation and mutual learning among women, programs to encourage early career women researchers to apply for grants and other similar formal or informal incentives, support and solidarity mechanisms. (Göker, 2019). Because of the conventional gendered role of conductors, the classical music audience judge women differently than men when women violate gender conventions (Bartleet, 2008). To change this perspective; motivation, self-esteem and self-promotion are primary issues for women in dealing with achievement in professional career and the deconstruction of gender allows us to protect individuals by reference to their social role but not their gender (Williams, 1989). To see musical conducting as a ‘genderless’ profession and to highlight the universality of classical music could help women conductors to advance their careers. Also, the alliance of woman’s studies and musicology departments seems necessary in academic order to understand better the situation of Turkish women in Western classical music and identify the gender challenges and also to come up with solutions for underrepresentation of women performing in the music sector especially in male-dominated positions.

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APPENDICES

A.PRIMARY INTERVIEW QUESTIONS (TEMEL MÜLAKAT SORULARI)

Kadın Şefler için (For female orchestra conductors)

- 1- Orkestra şefi olmaya nasıl ve ne zaman karar verdiniz?
- 2- Şeflik yolunda ilerleme kararınızda sizi etkileyen kişiler ve/veya kurumlar kimlerdir?
- 3- Orkestra şefliğinde sizce eğitim mi daha önemlidir yoksa kişinin müzik yeteneği mi?
- 4- Orkestraları yönetirken müzisyenler ile nasıl iletişim kurarsınız?
- 5- Bir şef olarak sahneye çıkmadan önce nelere dikkat edersiniz?
- 6- Bu mesleğin sizce ne gibi zorlukları vardır ve bu meslekte ilerlemek isteyen bireyler ne gibi zorlukların üstesinden gelmelidirler?
- 7- “Orkestra şefliği mesleği genellikle otoriter bir erkek figürü üzerinde şekillenmiştir.” Cümlesi sizce doğru mu yoksa yanlış mı bir ifadedir?
- 8- Orkestra şefliği alanında var olan mesleki genel kalıpları yıktığınıza dair kişisel bir tecrübeniz oldu mu?
- 9- Kadın orkestra şefi sayısının Dünya genelinde ve özellikle Türkiye’de bu kadar az olmasına nasıl bir açıklama getirirsiniz?
- 10- Kadınların orkestra şefliği alanında daha fazla yer edinmesi için sizin tavsiyeniz/tavsiyeleriniz nedir?

Erkek Şefler için (For male orchestra conductors)

- 1- Orkestra şefi olmaya nasıl ve ne zaman karar verdiniz?
- 2- Şeflik yolunda ilerleme kararınızda sizi etkileyen kişiler ve/veya kurumlar kimlerdir?
- 3- Şeflik mesleği için sizce eğitim mi yoksa yetenek mi daha önemlidir?

- 4- Orkestra şefi ve orkestra üyelerini bir puzzle'ın ayrılmaz iki parçası olarak görürsek; siz orkestra üyeleri ile iletişiminizi nasıl betimlersiniz? (sempatik/komik, kibar/kaba, maskülen/feminen gibi)
- 5- Sahneye çıkmadan önce ne gibi hazırlıklar yaparsınız?
- 6- Şefliğin mesleki zorlukları sizce nelerdir? Otorite kurmak konusunda ne düşünüyorsunuz? Sizce şeflik mesleğine liderlik vasfı otoriteden daha önemlidir dememiz doğru olur mu?
- 7- Şeflik mesleğine aile hayatı kurmak size mümkün müdür? Sizce kadın orkestra şeflerinin düzenli aile hayatına sahip olması mümkün müdür? Özel alan ve mesleki yaşantıda eş zamanlı başarı şeflik mesleği çerçevesinde diğer mesleklere kıyasla zorlayıcı mıdır?
- 8- Orkestra şefliği mesleğinde ülkemizde ve Dünya genelinde "yaşlı-erkek-beyaz ırk mensubu" kalıbı olduğunu öngörürsek; siz bu kalıbı yıkmak adına meslek hayatınızda bireysel olarak neler yaptınız?
- 9- Sizce ülkemizde ve Dünya genelinde kadın orkestra şeflerinin sayısı erkek şeflerin sayısına göre neden daha azdır?
- 10- Şeflik mesleğinde kadın meslektaşlarınızın daha çok podyumda olması için ne gibi tavsiyeleriniz olur?

B.THE PROFILE OF THE INTERVIEWEES

Interviewee A (58 years old) Interview on phone. 8 July 2019, 64 Min.	She graduated from Ankara State Conservatory Department of Piano and Composition. She studied conducting at the Guildhall School of Music and later at the Royal Academy of Music in London. The list of orchestras conducted by her: Istanbul State Symphony Orchestra, Antalya State Symphony Orchestra, Bursa Regional State Symphony Orchestra and many others...
Interviewee B (51 years old) Interview on Skype 10 July 2019, 48 Min.	She completed her undergraduate studies in Bulgaria on violin and then completed her master's degree in conducting at the Moscow Academy of Music "GNESIN". She is widowed and got three sons. The list of orchestras conducted by her: Izmir State Opera and Ballet Orchestra, Istanbul State Symphony Orchestra, Cukurova State Symphony Orchestra, Mersin Chamber Orchestra, Bursa Regional Symphony Orchestra and Antalya State Symphony Orchestra.
Interviewee C (Older than 50 years old) Face to face Interview 6 July 2019, 57 Min.	She completed all undergraduate, graduate and doctorate studies in areas of music and conducting in France. In addition, she has academic degrees and studies in philosophy and neuroscience. The list of orchestras conducted by her: Şişli Symphony Orchestra, The Philharmonia Chambre de Lutèce in France., Izmir State Symphony Orchestra
Interviewee D (28 years old) Interview on Skype 2 July 2019, 72 Min.	She graduated from Istanbul Bilgi University Composition Department and completed her master's degree at Queens College in the USA. She is currently a PhD student in conducting at the University of South Carolina. The list of orchestras conducted by her: Aiken Symphony Orchestra, Oratorio Society of Richmond, Bruch Chamber Orchestra, Orquesta Sinfonica UAEH
Interviewee E (25 years old) Interview on Skype 9 July 2019, 42 Min.	She completed her undergraduate studies in Cello in Italy and began her master's degree in conducting in Zurich. At a young age she won the first two important conducting competitions. This year she was appointed as assistant conductor to the Netherlands Philharmonie Orchestra. The list of orchestras conducted by her: Bilkent Symphony Orchestra, Orten Philharmonic Orchestra, Orchestra Sinfonica Rossini, Orchestra Sinfonica del Teatro Regio di Torino, Orchestra do Sul, Slovenian Philharmonic Orchestra
Interviewee F (25 years old) Face to face Interview 19 July 2019, 90 Min.	She graduated from Bursa Uludağ University Music Education Department. After her graduation, she took conducting and composition lessons from professors who were experts in their fields; and then started her master's degree program at Hacettepe University, department of Orchestral Conducting and Composition. For the last two years, she has been assisting the renowned Turkish orchestra conductor Rengim Gökmen. Also she worked with Karşıyaka Municipality Chamber Orchestra for several times. Bursa Youth Chamber Orchestra, DMD Chamber Orchestra

Interviewee G (29 years old) Interview on Skype 22 September 2019, 55 Min.	She graduated from Yıldız Technical University with a double major in Mathematics and Composition. Then she completed her master's degree in conducting at Istanbul Technical University and is still doing her doctorate in the same department. She has been working as an assistant conductor in Tekfen Philharmonic Orchestra for the last two years. Orchestras she conducted: Muğla Metropolitan Municipality Orchestra, Istanbul Film Musics Orchestra
Interviewee H (31years old) Face to face Interview 11 July 2019, 75 Min.	She graduated from the Department of Composition and Music Theory at Başkent University State Conservatory. She continued her studies between 2017 and 2019 with the distinguished conductor Işın Metin. The list of orchestras conducted by her: Hayal Sahnesi Symphony Orchestra, Youth Orchestra of Izmir, Turkey Müzed Music Teachers Orchestra, Bilintur Women's Chamber Orchestra, Başkent Chamber Orchestra
Interviewee I (22 years old) Face to face Interview 13 July 2019, 50 Min.	She is the sole winner of Mimar Sinan University Conducting Department in 2015 and will graduate in June 2020. She continues conducting studies with the renowned conductor Antonio Pirolli. To add she is participating in masterclasses to improve herself and thus gaining the experience of conducting against orchestras such as Karşıyaka Municipality Chamber Orchestra. Also she worked with Bodrum Chamber Orchestra and Taşplak Symphony Orchestra
Interviewee M (25 years old) Interview questions answered by email 27 November 2019	She graduated from Mimar Sinan University with a double major; musicology and Musicology. She graduated from Musicology department in June 2016 then she graduated from conducting department in June 2019. She studied her conducting studies with the renowned conductor Antonio Pirolli. Between 2013-2019 she directed all the student orchestras in the Mimar Sinan University .
Interviewee J (64 years old) Face to face Interview 8 October 2019, 42 Min	After graduating from Ankara State Conservatory, department of composition, he completed his graduate studies in conducting with a scholarship from the Turkish government in Italy. He graduated first in Rome Santa Cecilia Conservatory, then Siena Accademia Chigiana and Santa Cecilia Academy of Music. He is married and got one daughter. The list of orchestras conducted by him: Ankara State Opera and Ballet Orchestra, Izmir State Symphony Orchestra, Presidential Symphony Orchestra and many others...
Interviewee K (38 years old) Interview questions answered by email 3 September 2019	He graduated from the Opera / Singing Department of the State Conservatory of Dokuz Eylül University. He completed his master's degree at Istanbul University State Conservatory and Brooklyn College of Music in New York, USA. He is married and got three daughters. The list of orchestras conducted by him: Çukurova State Symphony Orchestra, Bursa Region Symphony Orchestra, Antalya State Symphony Orchestra, İzmir State Symphony Orchestra, İstanbul State Symphony Orchestra, Karşıyaka Chamber Orchestra, Ankara State Opera and Ballet Orchestra, Bilkent Symphony Orchestra.
Interviewee L (27 years old) Interview questions answered by email 22 July 2019	After completing his bachelor's degree in piano at Hacettepe University State Conservatory, he started his master's degree at the same school – department of orchestra conducting and composition. He will be graduating in June 2020. During his studies, he was a student at the Chopin University of Music in Warsaw during the Erasmus + program, where he conducted the Polish Radio Philharmonic Orchestra.

C.METU HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICS COMMITTEE APPROVAL
PAGE

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06 MART 2019

Konu: Değerlendirme Sonucu

Gönderen: ODTÜ İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu (İAEK)

İlgili: İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu Başvurusu

Sayın Doç. Dr. Canan Aslan AKMAN

Danışmanlığımı yaptığınız Ecenur GÜVENDİK'in "Bilmeyen Senfoni: Kadın Orkestra Şeflerinin Türkiye'deki Klasik Müzik Orkestralarındaki Yetersiz Temsili" başlıklı araştırması İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu tarafından uygun görülmüş ve 110-ODTÜ-2019 protokol numarası ile onaylanmıştır.

Saygılarımızla bilgilerinize sunarız.

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D.TURKISH SUMMARY/TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Kadınların profesyonel mesleklerde yetersiz temsil sorunu (sayısal dengesiz dağılım ve cinsiyet ayrımı açısından), on yıllardır kadın çalışmaları ve cinsiyet araştırmalarındaki akademik çalışmalarda kritik bir araştırma konusu olmuştur. Erkeklerin ve kadınların çalışma hayatında ve profesyonel alanda kariyer beklentilerinde hala önemli eşitsizlikler bulunmaktadır. Genel olarak, kadınların mesleklerde artan mevcudiyetine ve kadınların daha fazla sayıda erkek egemen mesleklere girmesine rağmen, açık ve dolaylı / gizli cinsiyet ayrımcılıkları, cinsiyetçi normlar ve sonuçta cinsiyete dayalı ayrımcılık hala varlığını göstermektedir. Dahası, aktif işgücünde kadınların algılanması, kadınların hâlâ belirli mesleklerde ihtiyaç duyulmaksızın tanımlanabilmesi anlamında oldukça kalıplaşmış ve cinselleştirilmiş olmaya devam etmektedir. Bu ayrımcı düşünce yapısı değişinceye kadar, kadınlar kariyerlerinde ilerlerken daima engelle karşılaşmaya devam edeceklerdir. Feminist perspektifin merkezinde, cinsiyet ayrımcılığı ve kadınların erkeklere itaatlerinin dinamikleri, erkeklerin kamusal alanda aktif ve baskın olmasına neden olan ataerkil kavramlara ve uygulamalara dayandığı, kadınlar ise esas olarak özel (iç alana) atandığı yönündedir. Kamusal-özel alan ayrılığı ataerkil sistemi sağlamlaştırmış ve kadınların baskısını sağlamıştır ve siyasi süreç özel alana büyük ölçüde göz ardı ederken kamusal alana doğru yönelmiştir (Phillips, 1991). Yüzyıllar boyunca kadınları özel alana hapsederek, erkekler küresel ayrımcılık yüzünden bir kuşaktan diğerine siyasi süreçteki hakimiyetini korumuş, daha fazla kadını işgücünün dışına itmiş ve bundan ötürü sosyal, profesyonel ve politik sonuçları doğurmuştur.

Müzik endüstrisi, kadın ve erkekleri cinsiyet rolleri açısından mesleki ayrımcılığı sürdüren cinsiyet eşitsizlikleri açısından karşılaştırdığımız ilk istihdam alanı olarak sık sık dile getirilmemektedir. Özellikle müzik endüstrisi ve klasik müzik sektörü sanatsal üretim alanları olarak özel uzmanlık ve mükemmellik gerektiren alanlardır. Bununla birlikte, çeşitli iş alanları arasında profesyonel müzik alanında kadınların yeterince temsil edilmemesi, diğer birçok sanat alanında olduğu gibi bir sorun olmaya devam etmektedir. Bugün, Batı dünyasında müzikal meslekler açıkça erkek

egemenliğini koruyor; ve cinsiyetçi dinamikler, kadınları caydıran ve onları bu mesleğin belirli aşamalarında hariç tutan koşullar nadiren eşitlikçidir (Larsson, 2017). Batı klasik müziği ile ilgili olarak, her zaman kadın müzisyenlerle ve performanslarıyla ilgili bir tartışma konusu olmuştur; kadınlar sadece müzik performansına odaklanmak isteseler bile hegemonya ve cinsiyet söylemleri onların üzerinde uygulanır (Cusick, 1994: 93). Kadınlar enstrüman yapımcılarından ses mühendislerine, enstrümantal sanatçılardan orkestra şeflerine kadar azınlık düzeyindedir (Doubleday, 2008: 15). Müzik sektöründe cinsiyet ayrımcılığının bir göstergesi olarak, Royal Albert Hall, 2000 yılında 2000 İngiliz yetişkini araştırmıştır ve bunların dörtte birinin “kadınların müzik endüstrisindeki erkeklerle aynı fırsatlara sahip olmadığını” hissettiği sonucuna ulaşmıştır. Bu araştırmaya göre, katılımcıların yüzde 40'ı endüstrinin erkeklerin egemen olduğunu düşündüklerini belirtirken, kadınların yüzde 45'i kadınların müzik endüstrisinde nesnelleştirildiğini belirtmiştir (Roberts, 2017).

Batı klasik müziğinin icrasında, orkestra şefleri orkestra müzisyenlerine sözlerini ileterek, paylaşarak müzik performansına yön verir. İzleyicilerin müziğin şeklini ve dinamiklerini takdir etmesini sağlamada görevlerinden önemli biri olduğundan, şefler izleyicilerin önünde saygın figürler haline gelirler. Ne yazık ki, kadın şefler bu prestijli ve saygın meslek içerisinde her zaman cinsiyetçilik ve ayrımcılıkla karşılaştılar. Bu durumun, kökenleri bestecilere ve bestecilere kadar izlenebilir bu neden bestecilikteki durum günümüzde erkek orkestra şeflerinin egemenliğine atfedilebileceği söylenebilir, çünkü tarihsel olarak besteciler de çoğunlukla erkektir. Bu durum tarihsel olarak Batılı ülkelere özgü değildir, ve bu durumun Türkiye'deki etkisini de gözlemleyebiliriz.

1923'te Cumhuriyetin ilanı, kadınların Türk toplumundaki rollü, kadınların istihdam alanındaki durumu ve konumu açısından dönüm noktasıdır. 1923'ten bu yana, istihdamda cinsiyet eşitliği, “modernleşme” ve “batılılaşıma” ilkeleri ile şekillendirilen hükümet politikaları yoluyla bilinçli olarak desteklenmektedir. Türkiye'de kadınlar iş gücü içerisinde yasal yaptırımlar yoluyla istihdamda eşitliği

desteklenmiştir çünkü kadınların temsili konusu, gelişmekte olan ülkelerde modern ulus devletlerin oluşumu sırasında önemli bir sembolik yere sahiptir. Türk kadınları, hem geleneğin hem de modernliğin taşıyıcıları olarak kabul edilir, özel alanda ulusların geleneğinin ve kamusal alanda kendi rolleri, modernliğin sembolü olarak görülür. Kadınların modernleşmesi hareketi esas olarak kadınların kamusal alana girmesiyle belirginleşmiştir, bu da laikliğin güçlendirilmesi ile bağlantılıdır (Arat, 1994). Kadınlar için istihdam fırsatlarının yaratılmasına ve kadınların kamusal alanda varlığının teşvik edilmesine rağmen kadınların özel ve kamusal kimlikleri arasında bir bölünmeye neden oldu (Tekeli, 1982). Sonuç olarak, kadınlar esas olarak anne ve eş rolleriyle özel alanla ilgili olarak tanımlanmaya devam ettiler; bu da mesleklerde yetersiz temsil edilmelerine yol açtı.

Mesleklerde ve sanatta kadınlara yönelik cinsiyet ayrımcılığı, hem Türkiye'de hem de Batı'da hâlâ yaygın olan evrensel bir sorun olsa da, bu sorunun altını çizen ilgili faktörlerde önemli farklılıklar bulunduğu belirtilmek gerekir; çünkü Türkiye'de resmi olarak kadınlar Cumhuriyet'ten bu yana sanat ve müzik alanında akademik eğitim görmeye başladılar. Türkiye'deki kadınlar, bu alanda kendilerini dışlayan ve onlara karşı ayrımcılık yapan kurumsal engellerden ziyade kadın öncülerin kıtlığı sorunu ile karşı karşıya kaldılar. Devlet politikaları, Cumhuriyet'in ilk yıllarından beri Türk kadınlarının çalışma hayatına, özellikle sanat ve liberal mesleklere dahil edilmesi için önemlidir. Bununla birlikte, Türkiye'de kadınların pek çok meslekte Batı ülkelerinden daha fazla sayıda olmasına rağmen, kadınların liderlik nitelikleri ortaya koyan veya bunlarla ilişkili olan bazı meslek alanlarında azınlık olarak kalmaları devam etmektedir. Ataerkil toplumdaki cinsiyet normları, liderlik kavramının kadınlıktan ziyade erkeklerle ve erkeklikle ilişkili bir özellik olduğu anlamını içermektedir. Şeflik mesleği Batılı ülkelere benimsediğimiz bir meslek olduğundan, Türk kadınlarının bu meslekte varlığı konusunda Batılı ülkelere benzer koşullarımız olması şaşırtıcı değildir. Türk kadınları, Cumhuriyet'in kuruluşundan sonra özellikle sanat ve müzik alanlarında iş gücüne dahil olmuştur. Eğitim kurumları, Cumhuriyet'in ilk yıllarından bu yana kadınların eğitimi desteklemektedir (İdil Biret ve Suna Kan örneği). Cumhuriyet'in kuruluşundan sonra

kadınların orkestra şefliği de dahil olmak üzere birçok alanda profesyonel ilkleri deneyimlediği açıktır. Türkiye'de ilk kadın orkestra şefi 1980'lerden sonra ortaya çıkmıştır (1988'de). Batı ülkelerine kıyasla ülkemizde ortaya çıkan bu elli yıllık fark için çeşitli nedenler sıralanabilir; eşit eğitim fırsatları, aile faktörü, müzikal eğilim vb...

Bu tez çalışmasında, Türk kadın orkestra şeflerinin eğitim geçmişlerinden başlayarak klasik bir müzik orkestrası şefi olmak için zor yoldaki kadın orkestra şefleri için cinsiyetçi dinamikleri ve cinsiyete bağlı olarak karşılaştıkları zorlukları (ve nasıl başa çıktıkları) ortaya çıkarmak en önemli noktadır. Bu amaçla, on kadın orkestra şefiyle mülakat yaptım. Görüştüğüm kadınlar, şu anda orkestra şefliği mesleğinde bulunan Türk konservatuarlarında veya yabancı okullarda orkestra şefliği alanında akademik geçmişe sahip Türk kadın orkestra şefleridir. Görüştüğüm kadın şeflerden sadece üç tanesi Türk devlet orkestralarından birini yönetme şansını yakalamıştır. Buna ek olarak, bu üç kadın orkestra şefi bugün meslekten emekliye ayrılmış, ancak yine de müzik kariyerine eğitmen olarak devam etmektedirler.

Bu araştırmanın temel sorusu: Neden Türk klasik müzik orkestralarında kadın orkestra şefi sayısı azdır? ve araştırma sorusunu cevaplamak için her bireyin bakış açısına hakim olmam ve mesleklerini deneyimlerine, konumlarına, yaşlarına ve cinsiyetlerine göre nasıl algıladıklarını anlamam önemliydi. Şeflik mesleği M.Ö. 2800 yıllarında ortaya çıktığı halde (Cheng, 1998), kadınlar geleneksel olarak bu mesleğe katılımdan dışlanmıştır. Kadınları orchestra şefliği mesleğine dahil olması sadece 20. yüzyılın başından beri var olmuştur. Kadın enstrümantalistler profesyonel orkestralarda büyük adımlar atmış olsa da, kadın orkestralar günümüzde orkestra alanındaki tüm profesyonel orkestra şeflerinin yüzde dördünü oluşturuyor, ancak Türkiye'de bu oran daha yüksektir (yaklaşık yüzde 13).

Batı klasik müzik orkestraları alanındaki kadın orkestra şeflerinin sayısının neden erkek orkestra şeflerinden daha az olduğu sorusunun ötesinde; mesleğe girişte (eğer varsa) ve mesleklerinin pratiğinde kadınlara karşı çalışan dolaylı ve gizli

engellemelere bakmak önemlidir. Bunu yaparken, otorite figürünün araştırılması son derece önemlidir. Bu cinsiyet kalıplaştırma dinamiği, kadınların orkestra şefliği disiplini beklentilerini uygun şekilde karşılayamayacak kadar kadınsı ve zayıf olduğunu varsaymaktadır. Bu tez çalışmasında, mesleki başarıya ulaşmış olduğunu kanıtlayan kadınların eğitim ve orchestra şefliği pozisyonuna kabulü açısından bu takip ettikleri kariyer yolunu inceledim Mesleki kalıpları nasıl yıkabileceklerini ve erkek egemen bir alanda yenilikçi olarak kabul edilecek kadınların kişisel görüşlerini nasıl kabul edebileceklerini anlamak için kariyer yollarına kendi yöntemlerini incelemek ve anlamak önemliydi, yani nasıl ve neden bu mesleğe dahil olmayı seçtikleri ve kariyerlerinin ve kişisel / aile yaşamlarının gereksinimleriyle nasıl uzlaşabildiklerini anlamak. Toplumsal cinsiyetle ilgili zorlukların üstesinden nasıl gelebildikleri ve mesleğin cinsiyete dayalı kalıplaşmış beklentilerine nasıl yaklaştıkları hakkında fikir edinmek için cinsiyetin beklentilerini analiz etmek ve şefin işinin geleneksel olarak erkeksi bir pozisyon olarak tasvir edilmesi de not etmek önemlidir.

Toplumsal cinsiyet kalıplarının farkında olmamak, orchestra şefliği mesleği için cinsiyet eşitsizliğinin kaynağıdır ve bu da ataerkil kültürde liderlik pozisyonlarını erkeklığe bağlayan eğilimlere yol açmaktadır. Bu nedenle, bu tez çalışması aşağıdaki amaçlara yönelik yazılmıştır; kadınların orchestra şefi olma kararını etkileyen faktörleri incelemek, kadın orchestra şeflerinin kişisel ve mesleki yaşamlarını birleştirebilme yeteneklerini ve kabiliyetlerini incelemek, kadın orchestra şeflerine göre iletişim ve teknikle ilgili algılanan farklılıkların ne anlama geldiğini gözlemlemek, ayrımcılığın derecesini gözlemlemek 'iyi' bir orchestra şefinin varsayılan özelliklerinin cinsiyete göre değişip değişmediğini gözlemlemek. Kadın orchestra şeflerinin deneyimlerini ve tüm bu hedeflerin cevaplarını derinlemesine araştırmayı amaçlayan yarı yapılandırılmış görüşmelerden yararlanarak nitel bir araştırma yöntemi tasarımı geliştirilmiştir.

Bölmeleri öztlemek gerekirse: Bölüm 2, sanatta ve özellikle klasik müzikte kadınlara karşı ayrımcılığın tarihsel olarak nasıl oluştuğunu gözden geçirmektedir. Ayrıca bu

bölüm, orkestra şefliği mesleğinde cinsiyetçiliğe yol açan liderlik pozisyonları için cinsiyet ve normların ve beklentilerin orkestra şefliği mesleğinin nasıl ortaya çıktığını açıklayarak nasıl oluşturulduğuna odaklanmaktadır. Müzik tarihinde, kadınların konumu 'eril' ve 'kadınsı' olanların toplumsal yapısı tarafından şekillendirildi. Araştırma kadın tarihinin kültürel bağlantıları ve etnomüzikoloji çalışmalarının bulguları bu alanlarla örtüşmektedir.

Bölüm 3, Türk kadınlarının müzik mesleklerindeki durumunu ve Cumhuriyetçi eşitlik politikalarının, özellikle eğitimdeki ve kadın müzisyenlerin, bestecilerin ve orkestra şeflerinin performansındaki etkisini gözden geçirmektedir. Bu bölümde ayrıca, Üstün Yetenekli Çocuklar ve Köy Enstitüleri Kanunu ve Türk kadınlarının Türkiye'de sanat eğitimine dahil edilmelerine katkıları incelenmektedir.

Bölüm 4, bu çalışmada yapılan görüşmeler yoluyla elde edilen verilerle ilgili görüşmecilerin açıklayıcı bir çerçevesini ve tartışma bölümünü sunmaktadır. Bu bölümde genel bir analiz yapmak için, Türkiye'de orkestra şefliğinde başarılı olan tüm kadınlarla görüşmeler yaptım. Bu mesleğe başarılı olmak isteyen ancak bunu başaramayan kadınların dahil edilmesi, bu çalışmada, ana araştırma sorusunu açıklamak için daha geniş bir perspektif sağlayabilirdi; fakat bu, çalışmanın sınırlamalarından biridir. Buna ek olarak, zaman sınırlamaları nedeniyle, sadece üç erkek orkestra şefi ile görüşebildim. Orkestra şeflerinin yoğun çalışma programı nedeniyle, sınırlı sayıda erkekle yüz yüze görüşme yapabildim. Bu nedenle, çalışmam başlangıçta amaçlananın aksine bir sözlü tarih çalışması olamazdı. Buna ek olarak, Türk klasik müzik kurumlarından (yani konservatuarlar ve devlet operaları) veri eksikliği nedeniyle, hakkında yeterli veri sunamadım. Türkiye'de klasik müzik sektörünün durumu (özellikle cinsiyet farklılıklarını vurgulayan veriler) hakkında bazı konular ve göstergeler. Ancak röportajlarımdan çıkarımlarda bulundum ve araştırma sorularımı olabildiğince ayrıntılı olarak cevaplamaya çalıştım.

Son olarak, Bölüm 5 ana araştırma sorusunun cevabını özetlemekte ve tekrar özetlemekte ve görüşmeler ve yorumlarıyla ilgili daha fazla bilgi sunmaktadır ve

gelecekteki araştırma çalışmalarının bulgularına dayanarak yeni sorular ortaya koymaktadır.

Bölüm 2'de açıklandığı gibi, erkekler geleneksel olarak profesyonel orchestra şefi tanımını inşa ettiler ve batı klasik müzik dünyasında kök salmış “erkek” orchestra şefinin kalıplaşmış bir görüntüsü vardı. Kadın adaylara karşı cinsiyetçi önyargı, yönetmenlik mesleğinde cinsiyetçi geleneklerden oluşur. “Orkestra Şefi Olmanın Uzun Yolculuğu” teması, görüşülen kişilerin otorite ve liderlik niteliklerine odaklanarak kendilerini mevcut kadın statüsü olarak nasıl değerlendirdiklerine dair kanıt sağlar. Bireyin cinsiyet algılarının sosyal ve kültürel faktörlerden nasıl oluştuğunu ve etkilendiğini ve Batı klasik müzik dünyasındaki toplumsal cinsiyet eşitsizliğinin nasıl kurumsallaştığını anlayarak, bu tema kadınların yetenekleri ve “Orkestra Şefinin Erkeksi Yapılanması” ile ilgili toplumsal cinsiyet algılarına ilişkin kavrayışlar sunmaktadır. “Orkestra Şeflerinin Toplumsal Rol Çatışması” teması, kadın orkestra şeflerinin algılanması üzerindeki etkilerle ilişkili olarak sosyokültürel faktörleri göstermektedir. Kadınların müzik eğitime erişimini ve annelik ve besleyici rollerin profesyonel kariyerleri üzerinde nasıl bir etkisi olduğunu içerir ve bu iki kavramın kadın şeflerin kariyer yolu üzerinde olumsuz bir etkisi olup olmadığı tartışılmaktadır. Kadınların mesleki kabullerini tanımak, şeflik mesleğini sürekli olarak sürdürmeleri için önemliydi. Kadın orkestra şefi rol modellerinin mevcudiyeti, orkestra şeflerinin klişeleşmiş cinsiyet kurallarını değiştirmeye yardımcı olacaktır (Bartleet, 2008). “Öncülerin Yokluğu ve Kadın Orkestra Şeflerinin Tanınması” teması, kadınların tanınmasının önemini ortaya koymaktadır. Bu tema aynı zamanda kadın orkestra şeflerinin kariyerlerinde başarılı olmaları için karşı-stratejotipik rol modellerinin önemini kanıtlamaktadır. Bölüm 4, bu yarı yapılandırılmış görüşmelerin bulgularını ana hatlarıyla ortaya koydu; kadınları çevreleyen gerçekler ve şef olarak yetenekleri. Çalışmamın bulguları, kadın orkestra şeflerinin deneyimlerini daha ayrıntılı ve kapsamlı bir şekilde ortaya koyacak ileri çalışmaların arka planı olarak hizmet edecek. Çalışmamın bulgularında; erkeksi otorite ve liderlik algısı, kişisel ve mesleki yaşamın ayrılması, annelik sorunu, kadın rol modellerinin eksikliği ve eğitime erişim konularındaki zorluklar sunulmuştur.

Görüşmecilerin yanıtları çerçevesinde liderliğin önemini vurgulamaktadır. Bununla birlikte, katılımcılar liderlik ile ilgili bir tanım vermeyi vurgulamamış ve bir şefin kapsamı gereken ek özellikler olarak otorite ve gücü ifade etmişlerdir. Yetki durumunda bir şefin erkek olacağı varsayımı hala devam etmektedir. Görüşmelerden elde edilen bir bulgu, genç kadın orkestra şeflerinin liderlik ve otorite konularına daha alttan alarak yaklaştıklarını ortaya koymaktadır, ancak ikincisinin (otoritenin) cinsiyete bakılmaksızın herhangi bir şef için gerekli bir özellik olduğunu vurgulaması gerekir. Elkins'e göre, eğer kadınlar bir orkestra şefinin “otorite” mitinin üstesinden gelmek istiyorlarsa, kendilerini ispat edinceye kadar kadınların üzerine atfedilmiş olarak sosyal beklentileri kırmalıdır. Kadın orkestra şefleri, özellikle kariyerlerinin başlangıcındaysa, orkestra üyeleri arasında güven oluşturmak için daha işbirlikçi bir liderlik modelini tercih edebilirler. Orkestra şefliğindeki uzun erkek egemenliği, toplumu erkeksi bir figür olarak liderlik ve otorite hakkında belirli bir perspektife sahip olmasını sağlamıştır.

Mülakat yapılan kişilerin özel ve mesleki yaşamlarını dengelemeye ilişkin cevapları ile ilgili olarak, özellikle seyahat etmeleri gerekiyorsa, orchestra şefi olarak çalıştıkları süreyi göz önünde bulundurarak mesleğin sürdürülmesinin çok talepkar olduğunu belirtmektedirler. Bu nedenle kadınlar için bu meslekte denge unsurunun gerçekleştirilmesi zordur. Zorluklara rağmen, katılımcılar, partnerlerinin, ailelerinin, arkadaşlarının ve akrabalarının desteğiyle, dengeyi elde etmenin ve kişiyi yaşamlarında profesyonel ile birleştirmenin daha kolay olduğunu belirtmektedir. Annelik ve denge ilişkisi ile ilgili olarak, katılımcıların cevapları anne olmanın mümkün olabileceğini, ancak görüşülen kadınlardan sadece birinin evlendiğini ve çocuk sahibi olduğunu göstermektedir.

Görüşmeler boyunca, müzikalite ve hazırlığın ideal bir şefin önemli yönleri olduğu görülürken, iletişim hayati öneme sahip görünmektedir ve orchestra şeflerinin hedeflerine ulaşmak için birleştirmeleri gereken temel becerilerden biri olmuştur. Kadın ve erkek orchestra şeflerine kıyasla iletişim yöntemleri insanlara, dinleyicilere ve müzik eleştirmenlerine göre farklı algılanmakta ve eleştirilmektedir.

Görüşmecilerin bazıları, 'uygun' alan kullanımının toplumsal normları nedeniyle bedensel iletişiminin sınırlandırılması hakkında yorum yapıyor ve izleyicilerin bir hareketi bir kadın tarafından değil, bir kadın tarafından yapıldığında farklı algıladığını söylüyor.

Görüşmelerde de belirtildiği gibi, Türkiye'de orkestra şefliği alanında kurumsal bir kapı bekçiliği yoktur, ancak kadınların sayısal mevcudiyet eksikliği, çoğu kadının yönetim mesleğini mesleki tercihlerinde ve eğitim yollarında bir seçenek olarak görmemesi ile açıklanabilir. sosyal olarak beklenen rollerin tersini takip ederler. Başka bir deyişle, orkestra şefliği mesleğinde başarılı olmayı amaçlayan kadınlara kalıplaşmış yaklaşım biçiminde cinsiyetçilik vardır; bu da erkek meslektaşlarının sahnede daha fazla temsil edilmesine neden oldu. Yürütme alanında kurumsal bir engelleme olmamasına rağmen, kadınların sayısı ve temsilini etkileyen diğer nedenler (kişisel tercihler ve kişisel tercihler ve tarihsel faktörler). Aile teşviki, kurumsal destek (konservatuarlar ve öğretmenler gibi) ve müzikal bir arka plan, kadın orchestra şeflerini genel olarak aile üyelerini ve akrabalarını teşvik eden bir destek ortamı olması nedeniyle müzik kariyerlerini sürdürme ve geliştirme kararında önemli faktörlerdir. kadın orkestra şefleri kariyerlerine başlayacak (Lazarou, 2017).

Kadın orkestra şeflerine karşı cinsiyet ayrımcılığının doğası değişir ve sadece gerçek hayatta değil aynı zamanda müzikoloji ve orchestra şefliği alanında kadınların toplumsal normları ve beklentileri nedeniyle önyargı ve cinsiyetçi açıklamalar şeklinde de ortaya çıkabilir. Cinsiyet eşitliği konusundaki farkındalık nedeniyle, kadın orchestra şeflerine yönelik cinsiyetçi önyargı yavaşça olumluya kaymıştır - eşit olmayan cinsiyet algısının farkında olma, birinin önyargılı algısını ortadan kaldırma ve kadın müzik yeteneğini kabul etme girişimi. Kadın orkestra şeflerinin cinsiyet eşitsizliği konusundaki artan farkındalık, insanları kadınların statüsü hakkında yeniden düşünmeye sevk etti. Uzun süren baskılardan dolayı, kadınların yetenekleri uzun süredir göz ardı edildi. Temel olarak, insanlar kadınların kendilerini sunmak için eşit bir şansa (veya daha büyük bir şansa) sahipse erkeklerle rekabet edebilmek için eşit niteliklere sahip olduklarına inanırlar. Bu nedenle, yetenekli ve nitelikli kadın orchestra şeflerine daha fazla dikkat etmek, cinsiyet eşitsizliğini ortadan

kaldırmak için bir araçtır. Bununla birlikte, erkek meslektaşlarıyla rekabet edebilmek için kadın orchestra şeflerinden daha yüksek yeterliliklere ihtiyaç duyulan çift standart, insanların kadınların erkeklerden daha iyi olmasını bekledikleri gerçeği ile gösterilen “eşit yeterlilik” iddiasında gizlenmektedir. (Zhang, 2018).

Yapısal ve sistematik sorunlar, bunları ortadan kaldırmak için kurumsal önlemlerin alınmasını ve teşvik ve destek mekanizmalarının oluşturulmasını gerektirir. Bunlar, kadın rol modellerini ve başarılarını vurgulamak, kadınlar arasında işbirliğini ve karşılıklı öğrenmeyi teşvik etmek için mentorluk programları oluşturmak, erken dönem kariyeri kadın araştırmacılarını hibe ve diğer benzer resmi veya gayri resmi teşvikler, destek ve dayanışma mekanizmalarına başvurmaya teşvik eden programları içerir. (Göker, 2019). Orkestra şeflerinin geleneksel toplumsal cinsiyetçi rolü nedeniyle, kadınlar toplumsal cinsiyet sözleşmelerini ihlal ettiklerinde kadınları erkeklerden farklı değerlendirir (Bartleet, 2008). Bu bakış açısını değiştirmek için; motivasyon, benlik saygısı ve kendini geliştirme, kadınların mesleki kariyerdeki başarı ile başa çıkmalarında temel konulardır ve cinsiyetin yapısökümü, bireyleri toplumsal cinsiyetlerine göre değil toplumsal rollerine göre korumamıza olanak tanır (Williams, 1989). Müzik yönetimini 'cinsiyetsiz' bir meslek olarak görmek ve klasik müziğin evrenselliğini vurgulamak, kadın şeflerin kariyerlerini ilerletmelerine yardımcı olabilir. Ayrıca, Türkiye'nin Batı klasik müziğindeki durumunun farkını anlamak ve kadın sanatçıların cinsiyet farklılıklarına göre sınırlı temsiline yönelik olası çözümler üretmek için kadın çalışmaları ve müzikoloji bölümlerinin ittifakının daha fazla akademik çevrelerde yer alması gerekmektedir.

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