Gender representation in children's programming on Turkish television: A public, private mass media analysis of the popular cartoon, *Pepee*

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Abstract

This study was developed to examine the popular cartoon Pepee, which is broadcast on a private TV channel in Turkey, considering gender equality. The results are discussed by comparing them with the results of another study that scrutinizes the broadcast of the same cartoon on a Turkish public TV channel (Kalaycı, 2015). The purpose of this comparison is to determine whether the messages on gender equality/inequality differ in terms of TV channels' belonging to public and private media corporations and whether the messages are similar or different.

The research is designed in a descriptive model and has qualitative research characteristics due to utilizing the document review method. The documents analyzed in the study are audio-visuals, the 30 episodes of the cartoon Pepee which were broadcast on a private television channel. The themes determined by Kalaycı (2015) were used in the collection and analysis of the data. Although the number of gender equality messages were reduced in Pepee's private media broadcast episodes compared to the public media, they still exist.

The results show that women's and men's gender roles are considerably homogenized between private and public mass media. The differences are

notable but not greatly significant. This is a solidification of the critical literature on both state and private mass media and ideological hegemony. This paper works to analyze scientifically the behavioral characteristics of the characters regarding the development of gender role modelling. It finds that regardless of media company control, consistent themes of female domesticity, and relative passivity and male vocational activity putting them at a relative distance from the nurturing components of home living.

While democratic discourses are found in some episodes of the Pepee cartoon that were examined, the opposite practices are also present implicitly. Although the media are conceptually and practically categorized as private and public, the contents of broadcasts of both are shaped in line with the ideology of the "state," and the continued privatization and homogenization of both social and private space. As digital and social media expand greatly, traditional mass media still hold an important place in social education. If countries advocate a democratic way of life, continued critical evaluation of the expression of mass media is still essential, concerning the process of entertainment and it's ideological, educational function.

Key Words*: Gender equality, cartoons, mass media, ideology and media, private and public media.*

Introduction

In a country where democracy and law are adopted, the citizens' most basic right is to be provided with equal conditions, opportunities and services in all social, legal, and moral fields. This right has gained universal legitimacy with the statements in

Article 2 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, "*Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status*" (Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948, Article 2). Equality, which is a universal right, is guaranteed in the Republic of Turkey with Article 10 of the Constitution of the Republic of Turkey, "*Everyone is equal before the law without any discrimination based on language, race, color, gender, political opinion, philosophical belief, religion, sect and similar reasons*" and as an annex to this article (5/2004) with the article that sets forth "*Woman and man have equal rights. The state is obliged to ensure that this equality is realized.*" (Constitution of the Republic of Turkey, 1982, Article 10).

In some democratic societies based on equality and freedom, one of the most violated fundamental rights is inequality based on gender. This inequality emerges based on personality traits, roles, values and expectations attributed to women and men by society and culture. According to Giddens (2012), gender is a concept that is "differentiated by society and culture as a result of experiences, and is formed later by associating with the innate characteristics of the individual" (p.505). Gender is a cultural part of being a man or a woman (Archer and Lloyd, 2002). Butler (2012) explains gender with the concept of "performativity-performances system". Performativity is not a one-time act; it is repetitive and ritualistic. The concept implies a culturally sustained temporal process" (p.20).

The common point emphasized by all definitions is that gender is a socio-cultural process. The problem of cultural hegemony, which has been revealed in many studies in the literature and emerged in the ideological field, is beyond the school

and itself (Althusser, 2000; Apple, 2006; Connell, 2019; Gümüşoğlu, 2016; Kalaycı, 2015; Mastroianni, 2002; Mead, 1935; Sayılan, 2012; Sayılan and Özkazanç, 2009). Connell (2019) draws attention to the fact that learning, internalizing and realizing gender inequality takes place in the family, educational institutions, state structures and institutions, and media organs. However, Connell emphasizes that in order to analyze the system she refers to as the *"gender order",* the relations of these institutions with each other should also be analyzed.

Some studies on this subject are: **Family,** *parents and other relatives,* (Atkinson, 1987; Beaujot, Liu and Ravanera, 2017; Eren-Deniz, (2014); Hussain, Naz, Khan, Daraz and Khan, 2015; Kiecolt and Acock, 1988; Knodel, Loi, Jayakody and Huy, 2005; Marks, Lam and McHale, 2009; **education system,** *schools, educators, education programs, textbooks,* (Acker, 1987; Aksoy, Çoban Sural, and Yıldırım, 2019; Aksoy, Nurlu, and Çoban Sural, 2018; Dökmen, 2017; Eren-Deniz, 2014; Esen and Bağlı, 2003; Gümüşoğlu, 2016; Helvacıoğlu, 1996; Kalaycı and Güneş 2014; Kalaycı and Hayırsever 2014; Kalaycı, Hayırsever, and Özcan, 2012; Kılıç and Eyüp, 2011; Sayılan, 2012; Sayılan and Özkazanç, 2009; Tietz, 2007; Weiler, 1988); **business life,** (Altındal, 2017; Elliott and Smith, 2004; Gökçen and Büyükgöze-Kavas, 2018; Gyllensten, and Palmer, 2005; Leo, Reid, Geldenhuys and Gobind, 2014; O'Donnell and MacIntosh, 2015; Toksöz, 2011; Türeli and Dolmacı, 2013; Tomer, Xanthakos, Kim, Rao, Book, Litman and Fishman, 2015); **media,** *cartoons, movies, television series, advertisements, news,* (Aksoy, Eren- Deniz and Hayırsever, 2015; Baker, and Raney, 2007; Çolakoğlu, 2011; Gerding and Signorielli, 2014; Gökçearslan, 2010; Göltaş, 2020; Kalaycı, 2015; Luther and Legg, 2010; Özgür 1996; Öztan, 2015, Öztürk, 2020; Streicher, 1974; Türkoğlu and Alayoğlu, 2009; Yağan Güder, Ay, Saray and Kılıç, 2017).

One of the areas where gender-based discrimination and gender inequality encountered in every aspect of daily life is most visible is the media. In mass culture, individuals make sense of the environment and the world they live in, largely based on the information and images presented by the media.

According to the social learning theory developed by Bandura (1973), the individual takes a role model by imitating another individual and learning takes place. Bandura (1977) mentions three models in this theory, namely "*living model, symbolic model and verbal instructions*". ***The living model*** is girls imitating their mothers, boys imitating their fathers, ***the symbolic model*** is children's imitation of the characters they see in images and visuals such as cartoons, TV series, advertisements, photographs and pictures, and ***verbal instructions*** are the explanations and directives given about how the child should behave. The cartoons that are the focus of this research and the messages given by these cartoons are related to the symbolic model, one of the models explained by Bandura. Bern (1981) explains this modeling as follows in terms of gender schema theory:

> As children learn the contents of the society's gender schema, they learn which attributes are to be linked with their own sex and, hence, with themselves. (….) The child learns to apply this same schematic selectivity to the self, to choose from among the many possible dimensions of human personality only that subset defined as applicable to his or her own sex and thereby eligible for organizing the diverse contents of the self-concept. Thus do self-concepts become sex typed, and thus do the two sexes become, in their own eyes, not only different in degree but different in kind (p. 355).

Media

Media plays an important role in the socialization of individuals, learning social norms, values and forming their identities. The transfer of the value judgments of

the society to the media and their retransmission to the society through the media has continued since the existence of the media.

The fact that the media is an effective power has caused it to be effective on society, institutions, organizations and the political mechanism. This situation shows that the media also has an ideological function. Hall (1989) stated that in this process, the ideology of the media should be understood first. Althusser, (2000), in his book explaining the ideological apparatuses of the state, discussed the mass media in this ideological apparatus category. According to Althusser, while the dominant apparatuses of the state (government, army, police, etc.) work by "force", the ideological apparatuses of the state work by using "ideology". In this case, the ruling class that holds the power of the state constitutes this ideology itself. The state cannot hold its power permanently without exercising its hegemony within or over its apparatuses. Discussions on hegemony are frequently made in this relationship of the media with ideology. Although it is thought that the media provides an area for alternative thoughts and discourses, hegemony instrumentalized the media and uses it to adopt its own ideology. In this case, the media neutralizes possible alternative ideas and ultimately supports the views and value judgments of the powerful, dominant group (Laughey, 2010). As a result, the media plays an active role in transmitting and adopting the views and thoughts adopted by the powerful and dominant group in society. Ideological apparatuses discipline not only their target audience but also the society in which this target audience lives (Althusser, 2000). The advocacy of media owners or content producers that they reflect the topics and thoughts that the majority of individuals in society adopt, and love can often be a part of an interest mechanism (Laughey, 2010).

The critical approach states that this effect of the media aims to maintain social control. Since a social order that is desired to be created with power and authority regulations also requires the strengthening of political and legal discipline (Yavuz, 2011). It is investigated how the media ideologically functions as the extensions of powerful interest groups in the society and how the routines, values and institutional structures associated with the media come together in the reproduction of the dominant ideology and the maintenance of the control system (Irvan, 1997, p.102). When the capital structure of the media is examined, it can be said that almost all of the powerful and influential media actors are within the body of global capital groups. To take a closer look at how power and in society are maintained through the media, it is assumed that ideas have connections with interests and power, and the power to create symbols is not a neutral power (Irvan, 1997, 102). In addition to this, Yaylagül and Korkmaz (2008) stated that the most fundamental purpose of the activities of the media is to direct the society to the consumption of a certain product and to ensure that the society approves these thoughts or messages through messages containing certain thoughts and views. Another of the main functions of the media is to protect the culture in society or the borders in the cultures. In order to integrate social interests, some views and values are seen within the limits of acceptability, while others are defined as illegitimate. In fact, the question here is not whether there are boundaries -as there will always be- but is who sets the boundaries, and how to make them appear "natural". Here, the important point is the forces acting on the media. Who has the power to set boundaries and how does this process work? (Irvan, 1997, 103-107)

> To what extent is it possible for the media to be influenced by or independent of management, in trying to fulfill its fundamental role? How free should the media be? If it

should be, who will draw that border, with what right, and how?" are important questions (Arabacı, 2004, 105-106).

Gitlin (1978) actually answered these questions long ago. According to him, some limited changes can be made in the content of some television broadcasts, but no change can be made on the dominant values accepted by the society. Because ideological relations exist directly in these processes (Althusser, 2000). This relationship between the media and politics is defined as the "*relationship of coexistence*". The media sees politics as a news source; politicians, on the other hand, want their thoughts and attitudes to reach the public through the media. Of course, this relationship is reciprocal. But what constitutes the encompassing environment is actually politics and ideology rather than the media. Therefore, it can be said that just as a political regime prevails in society, mainstream mass media also act in accordance with this political regime. No media system can ever be independent of the political regime (Arabacı, 2004, 109).

An important mass media: Television

Media in general and television broadcasting in particular are similar to the cultural branches of the established industrial order. According to Van Zoonen (1994), media can convince the majority of society by showing the messages it wants to give as *'natural'*, *'ordinary'* or *'normal'*. Even though the language and discourses used in the content of television programs come out of the people's own vital practices, they also aim to reproduce the accepted and supported culture. The critical point here is that all this is done consciously. Althusser (2000) stated that a part of the reproduction of ideology is achieved by the power's own apparatus and an important part is achieved by ideological apparatus.

Gerbner (1998) describes television as the most common source for messages and information shared in history. According to Gerbner, television is the dominant media for telling the "*story*" in society. Television, appeals to a wide and diverse audience, the pattern of messages remains the same, even as the program options multiply.

Apple (2006) emphasized that attention should be paid to the ideological effect of the contents of television broadcasts, which are seen as only one element of the cultural apparatuses, and whose perspectives are presented. According to Apple,

> We miss an important point if we overlook the form that content takes, its meanings, the organization of our actions, its temporal sequence and interpersonal consequences, its integration with the process of capital accumulation and the legitimating of ideologies (p.76).

Radio and television broadcasting is done in two different ways as state and private broadcasting all over the world. In some countries, as in Turkey, state institutions have been appointed to make public broadcasting. These organizations, which are assigned within the hierarchy of the state and use state resources in the field of broadcasting, while performing broadcasting as a state service, undertake the aim of informing. Preserving the culture and preventing corruption with the effect of time can also be included in this purpose (Avşar, 2005, 98).

While the public media serves in line with the ideas portrayed by the state in different ways, without a commercial purpose, private media is mostly structured in terms of viewership rates and sales. However, Althusser (2000) states that when both public and private media are based on the ideology that the dominant

hegemony is trying to adopt, a large part of the relations of production between the exploited and the exploiters will be reproduced.

Media and gender

The media is a very powerful tool in the reproduction of roles, values and expectations associated with gender. However, the media reflect the dominant social values, not all the values of society, and shape the behavior of individuals through these dominant social values.

Baudrillard emphasized that the gender difference between the behaviors attributed to men and women in the reality produced by the media is not the differences arising from the nature of the sexes, but on the contrary, it arises because the system itself legitimizes this difference (Cited from Imançer, 2006). Van Zoonen (1994) talks about the concept of "*disruption*" introduced by feminist media theories. This concept has been used to explain the low representation of women in the media. According to the feminist perspective, corrupted media ensures the maintenance of cultural beliefs and habits, rather than following and reflecting the development and change in society (Toker, 2017). Mead (1935), in her pioneering research, stated that differences in terms of gender equality in societies are largely based on cultural conditioning.

Early research on media and gender inequality focused more on the frequency with which women were featured in media coverage, and the results were that men were more likely to be featured in the media than women (Şener, Çavuşoğlu and Irklı, 2016). The media either render women invisible or position them to produce gender stereotypes. This inequality-reinforcing role of the media is mainly due to the fact that the media is one of the main tools in regulating capitalist production

and consumption and creating consumer identity, as well as being a reflection of the gender inequality that already exists in society (Sener, Çavuşoğlu, and Irkli, 2016). The media classifies consumers according to their different characteristics and constructs and sells their cultural products according to these differentiated markets. Gender roles such as the age, sex, socio-economic status, cultural tastes and interests of the consumer are also used in the production of media products and texts. Among the mass media, news bulletins, commercials, TV series, women's programs, youth TV series, cartoons and the toy industry, where the characters in these cartoons are marketed, are important areas where gender roles are reproduced and reinforced. In Özgür's (1996) study on commercial films, it was seen that women were depicted as housewives in 17% of the advertisements analyzed. Similarly, Sabuncuoğlu (2006) in her research in which he analyzed television advertisements, determined that women were always shown as responsible for housework. Studies conducted by Uray and Burnaz (2003), Dündar (2012) and Erbaş (2019) have also found that traditional roles specific to women continue to be portrayed in the media. In these studies, it has been determined that in the fictions of advertisements, messages about gender roles are given explicitly, as well as implicitly given ideological messages.

By 2020, this situation has not changed much in the media. When the Turkish-made TV series were analyzed by Gürer, S.Z.V. and Gürer, M. (2020), it was concluded that there were similar gender roles. It has been determined that in the TV series, women are mostly shown as mothers, they are economically dependent on their husbands, and even if they have a profession, most of them do not have the necessary qualifications for this profession.

This situation does not change much in cartoons. There are many studies that have determined that cartoons are an important tool in reproducing and maintaining sexism, and that children's perceptions and views about gender are formed in a similar way to what is presented to them (Dawn, Descartes and Collier-Meek,2011; Eşitti, 2016; Gerding and Signorielli, 2014; Gündüz- Kalan, 2010; Kaypakoğlu, 2004; Keloğlu-İşler, 2014; Ogletree Martinez, Turner, and Mason, 2004; Oliver and Green, 2001; Thompson and Zerbinos, 1995,1997; Kalaycı, 2015; Yağan Güder, Ay, Saray and Kılıç, 2017).

When Thompson and Zerbinos (1995) analyzed 41 different cartoons, it was found that male characters were shown three times more than female characters. In the study conducted by Gerding and Signorielli (2014), women are mostly shown in youth TV series, while men are shown in action-adventure series. A similar study was conducted by Leaper, Breed, Hoffman, and Perlman (2002). According to the results, the male characters were significantly more represented especially in traditional adventure and comedy genres. On the other hand, the female characters were mostly represented while being afraid, romantic, kind and supportive. In Baker and Raney's (2007) study in which they analyzed 70 characters in cartoons, there was a tendency to define "superheroes" in traditional masculine terms. The situation is not very different in researches on cartoons broadcasted in Turkey. It has been determined that in the cartoon called "Keloğlan" broadcast on the Turkish Radio and Television Corporation (TRT), Kids Channel, the character, contrary to its original story version, was portrayed as a patriarchal, sexist character (Kalaycı and Şahin, 2013). Yağan Güder et al. (2017) analyzed another Turkish cartoon on TRT Kids, in terms of gender stereotypes. It has been determined that the characters have behaviors and appearances in accordance with stereotypes regarding gender.

Muratoğlu-Pehlivan (2019) also analyzed four Turkish-made cartoons broadcast on TRT Kids. According to the results, it has been determined that gender roles are dominant in the family member's roles, women are mostly interested in the house, kitchen and childcare, and the father is mostly not present in cartoons. Again, in another cartoon on the same channel, it was determined that the occupational groups continue their traditional gender roles in terms of game and toy selection, and daily life activities (Ekin-Duman and Koçtürk, 2021).

The Turkish-made Pepee cartoon broadcast on TRT Kids channel was analyzed in terms of gender equality by Kalaycı (2015). According to the results of the research, it has been determined that there are messages that can reproduce the sexist point of view, which the cartoon limits both male and female characters, roles, actions, clothing color and clothing type in accordance with gender stereotypes. Female characters are shown primarily in childcare, and doing chores in or around the home. Kalaycı stated that the gender-based division of labor in social life is also reflected in the content of the cartoon.

The purpose of this research is to examine the cartoon, whose name is Pepee, broadcast on a private television channel in Turkey, in terms of gender equality. The results were discussed by comparing them with the results of the research on the same cartoon broadcast on the Turkish public television channel (Kalaycı, 2015).

The purpose of this comparison is to determine whether the messages on gender equality/inequality differ according to public and private television channels, and which messages are different or similar.

Introducing the Pepee cartoon as the first Turkish production by its producer, it has been adopted by a significant part of the society since the day it was broadcast. After the cartoon was broadcast on the Turkish public television channel, it was broadcast on private television channels and digital platforms and still continues to be broadcast. At the same time, toys of cartoon characters were produced, and their pictures were used in many products from children's clothes to stationery products. In addition, a children's magazine called Pepee was also published. It has been stated by the producer of the film, the founder of Düşyeri, that the Pepee cartoon has made a monthly profit of 30 million Turkish lira on YouTube as of 2020, reaching 1 million 627 thousand followers and 1.3 billion views. In addition, it was stated that four thousand different product types were produced and 10 million products were sold in 2018 alone (Hürriyet, 2020). All these factors are a clear indication that this cartoon is very popular in Turkey. It is valuable to analyze the content and messages of such a popular cartoon. At the same time, the content of media broadcasts, the messages delivered directly or indirectly, vary according to media owners, decision makers and the target audience. In this study, it is important to reveal how the messages delivered by Pepee cartoon on public and private television channels change in terms of gender equality and inequality. Especially in this research, the analysis of how the messages given regarding gender equality/inequality in cartoons change in the context of public and private media will provide important data on the relationship between public and private media and gender equality.

Method

Research model

The model of this research is descriptive. The document analysis method was used in the research and the research has a qualitative research feature. Audio-visual

documents and cartoons from these documents were used in the research. Creswell (2012) expressed audio-visual materials as a separate type of qualitative data collection excluding documents (p.276). "Audio and visual materials such as photographs, video recordings, digital images, pictures and covert measurements, which are increasingly used in qualitative research, are important sources of information in qualitative research" (Creswell, 2012, 289). The purpose of this research is to examine the Pepee cartoon, broadcast on a private television channel in Turkey, in terms of gender equality. The results were discussed by comparing them with the results of the research on the same cartoon broadcast on the Turkish public television channel (Kalaycı, 2015). In this respect, the study has the feature of "comparative research".

Introducing Pepee cartoon

Pepee cartoon is a Turkish-made cartoon about the life of Pepee and his family and friends, with a target audience of 0-6+ years old. The cartoon started to be broadcast on the children's channel of the Turkish Radio and Television Corporation (TRT-Kids) in 2008 and continued to broadcast on this channel until 2014. Pepee cartoon, was broadcast on different Turkish private television channels from 2014 to 2016. The cartoon still continues to be broadcast by Düşyeri Cartoon Studio on Pepee TV internet channel (https://www.dusyeri.tv/pepee-yeni-bolumler). Positioned as a digital children's television, Pepee TV can also be watched via smart phones, tablets, notebooks and smart TVs (İçözü, 2019). Pepee, the protagonist of the cartoon, is a boy of 4-5 years old. Pepee lives in a family with traditional family characteristics with his mother, father, sister, grandmother and grandfather. In addition, Pepee has friends in various characters. In the episodes broadcast on the public television channel, there are 8 characters, 4 of which are female (mother, grandmother, sister, girlfriend, female giraffe friend),

4 are male (Pepee, father, grandfather, and male dog friend). It is seen that mostly family members take place in these episodes. In the episodes broadcast on the private television channel, it was seen that the characters were diversified. There are a total of 18 characters, including 10 women (mother, grandmother, sister, Pepee's girlfriends, teacher, friend's mother, female giraffe friend), 8 men (Pepee, father, grandfather, Pepee's boyfriends, friend's father, grocer, monkey friend). In addition, the invisible voice-over who speaks to the characters in the cartoon is also a woman (http://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pepee).

In this research, 30 episodes of the Pepee cartoon, broadcast on a private television channel in Turkey, were chosen as a sample. Maximum variation sampling method, one of the purposive sampling methods, was used. In this sampling method, individuals or situations that differ according to some characteristics and qualities are included in the sample group (Creswell, 2012). In this research, while selecting the episodes to analyze, attention was paid to pick the episodes including as many different characters and places as possible. The episodes were accessed via the internet and archived by downloading. The average duration of each episode is 10 minutes.

Data collection tools and analysis of data

In the research, the same themes created by Kalaycı (2015) were used in the analysis of the episodes broadcast on the public television channel. These themes are *"Works and activities done inside and outside the home," "Games, hobbies, and activities", "Clothing color" and "Clothing type".* The results of the studies were compared based on these themes.

Forms were created following each theme for the analysis of the cartoon. The data were analyzed by content analysis.

Columns are allocated for each section of the forms prepared for the themes of "*works and activities done inside and outside the home*" and "*games, hobbies and activities.*" In the following sections, all the actions and games within the scope of these themes were listed as codes, and which female and male characters performed these actions and how many times they were performed were recorded on the forms during the analysis. The codes in Kalaycı's (2015) study and the codes that are common and different are listed separately. In addition, while watching the episodes, the minute and second information of some of the sections were recorded to be used for the interpretation of the research findings. In this way, the scenes of the related recordings could be watched again when necessary.

In the form prepared within the scope of "*clothing type*" and "*clothing color*" themes, one column is allocated to each section. The clothes and color of the clothes of the characters in all the episodes watched were recorded according to their frequency of occurrence. The frequencies of each code in the episodes were digitized and descriptive statistics (f, %) calculations were made.

Due to the difficulty of noticing and recording all the events and phenomena at the same time while watching the cartoon, each episode was watched at least three times, and a more in-depth analysis was made in each viewing. Three (3) episodes corresponding to 10% of the 30 episodes of the cartoon were watched by another independent researcher in order to make a more objective analysis. The notes of the researchers were analyzed together, the records were compared, and the relevant sections were re-watched together to clarify the data with differences.

With this process, it was tried to ensure the reliability of the data. For these three sections, intercoder reliability defined as "Renewability-Repeatability", which is one of the three different reliability approaches stated by Krippendorff (2004), was calculated. According to this calculation, the "total agreement coefficient between researchers" was calculated as P_T: 0.840, and the "total agreement rate" was calculated as 84%. At the same time, obtaining the data of the research and explaining the steps followed in the analysis process in detail increase the internal validity of the research and the reliability of the data.

Findings

The cartoon broadcast on the public television channel was referred to as *"Pepee I",* and the cartoon broadcast on the private television channel was referred to as *"Pepee II".*
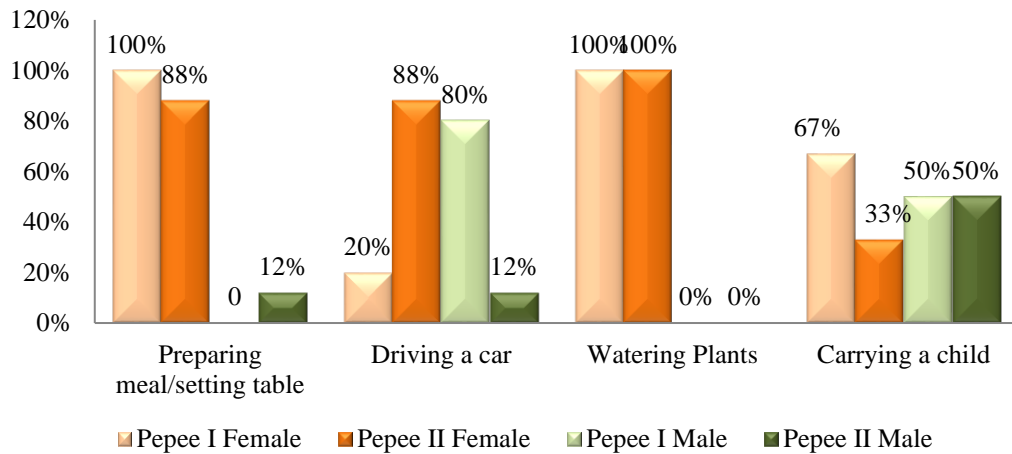
1. Findings concerning the theme of works and activities done inside and outside the home

The distribution of common and different works and activities done inside and outside the home in Pepee I and Pepee II by gender is presented in Table 1 comparatively.

Table 1. Gender Distribution and Comparison of Works and Activities Done Inside and Outside the Home in Pepee I and Pepee II

Theme	Codes (Works and Activities)	Pepee I (Public TV)						Pepee II (Private TV)					
		Female Characters		Male Characters		Total		Female Characters		Male Characters		Total	
		f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Works and Activities Done Inside and Outside the Home	Preparing meal/Setting table	6	100	0	0	6	100	14	88	2	12	16	100
	Driving a car	1	20	4	80	5	100	8	88	1	12	9	100
	Watering plants	52	100	0	0	52	100	2	100	0	0	2	100
	Carrying a child	18	67	9	33	27	100	1	50	1	50	2	100
	Baby care	5	100	0	0	5	100	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Playing with the baby	7	50	7	50	14	100	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Taking care of and communicating with children	-	-	-	-	-	-	15	58	11	42	26	100
	Drop off and pick up the child at school	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	100	0	0	4	100
	Visit a house	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	67	2	33	6	100
	Repair	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	67	1	33	3	100
	Going to grocery/shopping	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	0	2	100	2	100
	Making yoghurt	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	100	0	0	1	100
	Milking cow	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	100	0	0	1	100
	Cutting hair	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	100	0	0	1	100

Table 1 shows that the actions of *preparing meal/setting table*, *driving* a car, *watering plants,* and *carrying a child* within the scope of this theme are common actions in Pepee I and II comparison of these actions by gender is given in Graph 1.

Graph 1. Gender Distribution and Comparison of Common Works and Activities Done Inside and Outside the Home in Pepee I-II

Within this theme, it is seen that the task of preparing meal and setting table is completely done by female characters in Pepee I and mostly by female characters in Pepee II. These characters are Pepee's mother and grandmother. The frequency of this action increased in Pepee I. Kalaycı (2015) found that in the Pepee I, it is often emphasized that the action of "preparing meal and setting table is the duty of the female characters and that the women gladly fulfill this task. In many episodes of the Pepee II, female characters are constantly shown in roles related to cooking, despite the fact that cooking is not directly related to the scenario of the episode of the cartoon. For example, in one episode, grandmother tells Pepee's sister and girlfriend, "*Let me teach you a folk song, and let's dance together*". While they were singing the folk song, all three of them started dancing. However, just during

the folk dance, the grandmother told, "*Oh, the food on the stove will burn, you go ahead*" and she left the children.

Considering all the episodes of the cartoon, the father character was seen cooking in only two episodes. In one episode, it is Sunday, and the children wake up in the morning, after smelling the food, they say, "*my mother prepared something delicious, we can smell the breakfast*". When they come to the kitchen, they see that their father is preparing breakfast alone. In response, there is a long praise about how well the father prepared breakfast.

One of the common activities in both cartoons is *"driving a car".* In Pepee I, while almost all of cars are driven by the male characters, in Pepee II, cars are also driven by female characters, namely the mother of Pepee. However, the mother's reason for driving is *"drop off and pick up Pepee at school"* and visit Pepee's friends' houses with Pepee. Regarding this issue, the hidden message "*A woman can only drive the car to drop off and pick up the child at school, because childcare is only the mother's duty*" is given in the cartoon. In both cartoons, it is seen that too much emphasis is placed on the motherhood role of women in various forms.

It has been determined that the frequency of the actions of "*watering plants*" and "*carrying a child* ", which are done jointly within the scope of the works and activities done inside and outside the home, have decreased a lot in Pepee II. Among the activities in Pepee I, "*Baby care and playing with baby*" actions were also not observed in Pepee II as Pepee's sister grew up.

Within the scope of the works and activities done inside and outside the home, the distribution of the works and activities that are not included in Pepee I but are included in the Pepee II are shown in Table 2 and Graph 2.

Table 2. Gender Distribution and Comparison of Works and Activities Done Inside and Outside the Home in Pepee II

| Theme	Codes (Works and Activities)	Pepee II (Private TV)					
		Female Characters		Male Characters		Total	
		f	%	f	%	f	%
Works and Activities Done Inside and Outside the Home	Taking care of and communicating with children	15	58	11	42	26	100
	Drop off and pick up the child at school	4	100	0	0	4	100
	Visit a house	4	67	2	33	6	100
	Repair	2	67	1	33	3	100
	Going to grocery / shopping	0	0	2	100	2	100
	Making yoghurt, milking cow, cutting hair	1	100	0	0	1	100
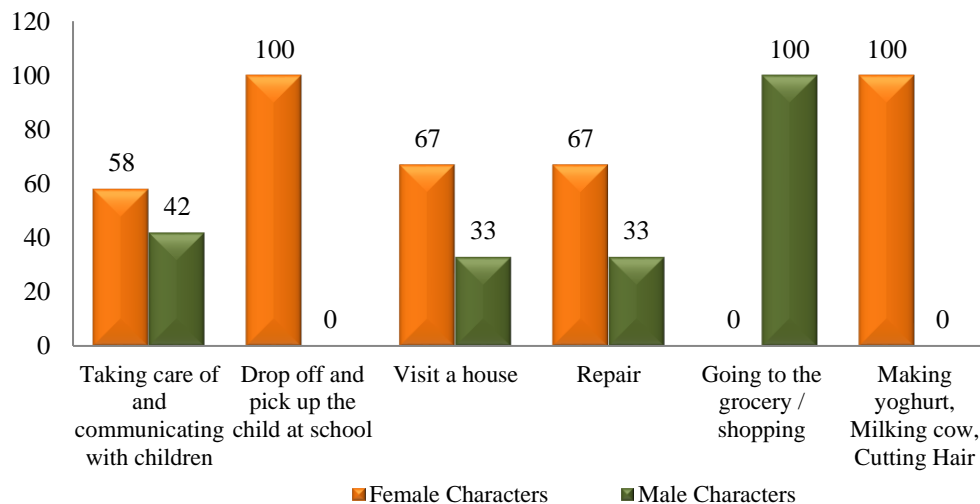
Graph 2. Gender Distribution and Comparison of Works and Activities Done Inside and Outside the Home in Pepee II

According to Table 2 and Graph 2, the most common action both women and men do in Pepee II is "*taking care of and communicating with children*". This activity includes behaviors such as "parents taking care of children, talking to them, sharing their happiness /sadness, listening to them when they have a problem and helping them find solutions, and giving information about the issues they are curious about". It has been observed that the female characters who take care of and communicate with children are mother and grandmother, while the male character is mostly grandfather. The father was in contact with his children in only two episodes of all 30 episodes. The grandfather has been shown as an accurate, dependable, and always-applicable source of information in the family for children. While the grandfather is mostly the person who gives information and is consulted, the mother and grandmother are the people who take care of the children. With reference to this result, the scenes in which the father is shown in the cartoon and his role were especially analyzed in the research. The findings are presented in Table 3 and Graph 3.

Table 3. The Frequency of Appearance of the Father and the Distribution of the Activities Done by the Father in Pepee II

Distribution of Activities Done by the Pepee's Father	Episodes Where Father Appears		Total Episodes	
	f	%	f	%
With his family for a brief time during the day	5	17	30	100
Only during dinner with his family	5	17	30	100
Communicating with his children	2	7	30	100
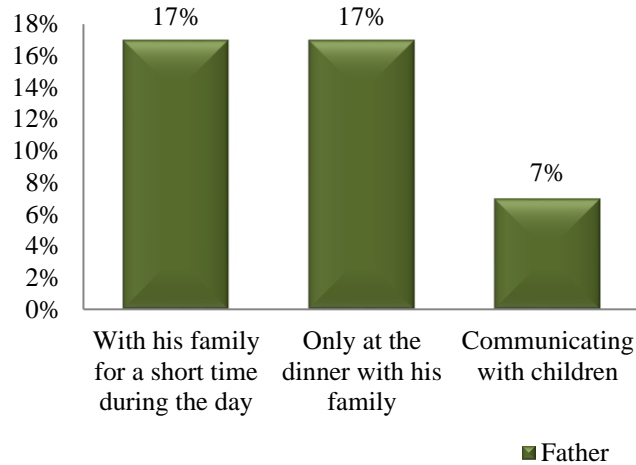
Graph 3. The Frequency of Appearance of the Father and the Distribution of the Activities Done by the Father in Pepee II

Pepee's father is seen only 17% (f=5) of the cartoon with his family and 17% (f=5) at the dinner. During these scenes, there is no dialogue belonging to the father. The father communicated directly with his children in only 7% (f=2) of the cartoons. In the cartoon Pepee II, the father is shown as the decision maker in the family, although he has little contact with his family, and little scene in the episodes. For instance, Pepee wants to start preschool education. He excitedly conveys his desire to go to school to his mother. The mother says that when his father comes home, they will talk about it and decide together. Father comes home in the evening. After talking to the father, the mother comes to the children and says that the father has decided that Pepee can start school. The father is never seen in this episode. Moreover, all day long, the mother shared Pepee's excitement about going to school, answered his questions about school and supported him. However, the father made the last decision. Pepee directed his gratitude to the father by saying "*Long live dad, long live*".

Another of the works and activities done inside and outside the home, which is the first theme of the research, is *"drop off and pick up the child at school."* It is also seen in Table 1 and Table 2 that this work is done only by the mother. The fact that the mother is at home in all episodes suggests that she does not have a job. Therefore, dropping off and picking up the child at school and taking care of the children are the mother's duty. Another work for mothers is to *"visit the house"* of her son's friends. This finding shows that the mothers of the other children don't have any job too. In some episodes, when Pepee goes to visit his friends' houses alone, his friends' mothers are always at home and are seen while preparing meals for the children. The only woman working in the cartoon is Pepee's teacher. In one episode of the cartoon, Pepee's friend Zulu (giraffe) is reading a magazine called Pepee in the garden. On the back page of the magazine, there is an article titled *"Suggestions for Working Parents, as Life Gets Hectic, Time for Children Shortens"*.

Although the subject of the cartoon is not related to the episode title and scenario of the cartoon, this title was shown for about three minutes. Considering that the target audience of the cartoon is children aged 0-6+, it can be said that the text is readable in size, especially for children in the age group of 6+ who are learning to read and write. If children see this article, they can receive the hidden message *"If parents work, they will spend less time with their children"*. In the light of all these findings, in the episodes of the Pepee on both public and private television channels, the fact that female characters, especially mothers, are mostly shown at home as a private area, not in the public area, that it is emphasized that they do not work, that the people who take care of the children are mostly mothers, that the father has a more distant relationship with their children create an extremely patriarchal structure regarding the gender role of women.

Among the other works and activities done inside and outside the home, it was determined that "*going to the grocery store/shopping*" was done by men (grandfather and Pepee), and "*milking cows, making yogurt, cutting hair*" was done by women (mother and grandmother).

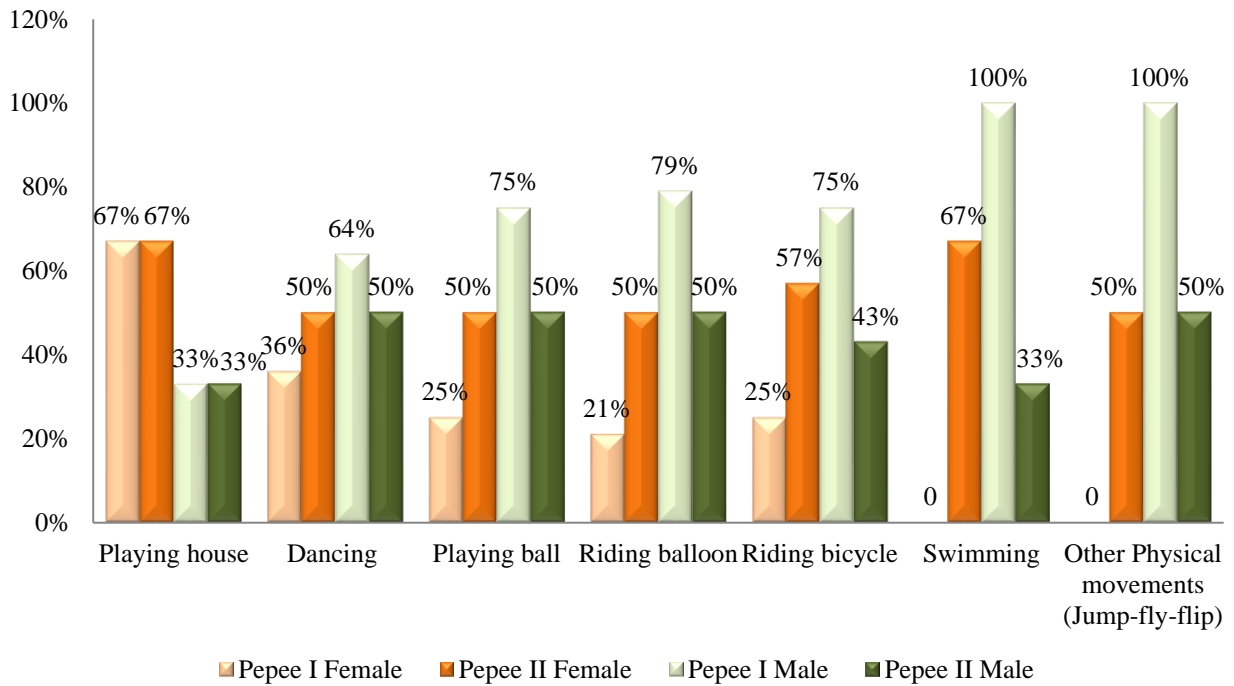## 2. Findings on the theme of games, hobbies and activities

The common and different activities under the theme of Games, Hobbies and Activities in Pepee I and II are presented in Table 4 comparatively by gender.

Table 4. Comparison of the Activities in the Theme of Games, Hobbies and Activities in Pepee I and Pepee II by Gender

Theme	Codes (Games, Hobbies and Activities)	Pepee I (Public TV)						Pepee II (Private TV)					
		Female Characters		Male Characters		Total		Female Characters		Male Characters		Total	
		f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Games, Hobbies and Activities	Playing house	2	67	1	33	3	100	4	67	2	33	6	100
	Dancing	5	36	9	64	14	100	27	50	27	50	54	100
	Playing ball	2	25	6	75	8	100	3	50	3	50	6	100
	Riding balloon	3	21	11	79	14	100	4	50	4	50	8	100
	Riding bicycle	2	25	6	75	8	100	8	57	6	43	14	100
	Swimming	0	0	10	100	10	100	6	67	3	33	9	100
	Other physical movements (Jumping-flying-flipping)	0	0	9	100	9	100	4	50	4	50	8	100
	Playing blind man's bluff / Playing doctor	4	67	2	33	6	100	-	-	-	-	-	-

Jumping rope	3	60	2	40	5	100	-	-	-	-	-	-
Racing (running, bicycling, etc.)	3	30	7	70	10	100	-	-	-	-	-	-
Karate	2	25	6	75	8	100	-	-	-	-	-	-
Taking a photo	0	0	6	100	6	100	-	-	-	-	-	-
Camping/trekking	0	0	5	100	5	100	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kayaking	0	0	6	100	6	100	-	-	-	-	-	-
Playing with swords/guns	0	0	3	100	3	100	-	-	-	-	-	-
Singing song	-	-	-	-	-	-	15	65	8	35	23	100
Playing catch up	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	50	6	50	12	100
Playing marbles	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	50	4	50	8	100
Theater	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	50	4	50	8	100
Riding a scooter	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	25	6	75	8	100
Painting	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	67	1	33	3	100
Ballet	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	67	1	33	3	100
Playing with a car	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	50	1	50	2	100
Playing barber	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	50	1	50	2	100
Sliding	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	33	2	67	3	100
Playing basketball	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	20	4	80	5	100
Wrestling	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	0	4	100	4	100
Making a mask	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	50	1	50	2	100
Writing Poetry	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	100	0	0	1	100

When Table 4 is examined, it is seen that there are quite a lot of common and different games, and activities in Pepee I and II. The first seven activities in the table are shown in both Pepee I and Pepee II. The distribution of these activities by gender is presented in Graph 4.

Graph 4. Comparison of the Activities in the Theme of Games, Hobbies and Activities in Pepee I and Pepee II by Gender

There are significant differences in the distribution of games, hobbies, and activities in both cartoons by gender. In Pepee I, it was determined that dancing, playing ball, riding balloon, riding bicycle and other physical games, which are mostly done outdoors and require movement, were mostly performed by male characters (Kalaycı, 2015). In Pepee II, these activities are performed equally by both male and female characters.

"*Playing house*" was played by girls in both cartoons. According to Kalaycı (2015), Pepee accepted to play house at the insistence of his girlfriend Şila, but played a patriarchal family man in the game. Considering that activities such as preparing the dinner table and taking care of the children are performed by women, it is not surprising that girls mostly play house. This is an important indicator that

the roles that are considered to be specific to women in the family are taught to girls through games.

It has been determined that there are more remarkable differences in the activities of "*riding a bicycle and swimming*" within the scope of the theme of games, hobbies and activities. There is a difference in especially the act of "*swimming*". Swimming, a common activity in both cartoons, is done only by male characters in Pepee I, while it is mostly performed by female characters in Pepee II. In Pepee I, sea and/or pool scenes were included in most episodes, only men (Pepee, father and grandfather) were shown swimming (Kalaycı, 2015). In Pepee II, all members of the family swim. Especially while the mother and grandmother swim very well in a swimsuit in Pepee II, in Pepee I, they are shown sitting by the sea in their daily clothes. In an episode, Pepee goes to the sea with his family and friend Şila. While the children are sitting by the sea, the grandmother is suddenly seen swimming in the sea in her swimsuit. To the surprise of the children, Pepee's mother also makes a very professional jump into the sea. Children react as if it was their first time seeing the mother and grandmother swimming. After Şila says to Pepee's mother, *"Oh, auntie, you are really good at swimming,"* the mother says, *"If you work hard and try hard, you can also swim like us."* Contrary to Pepee I, women's mastery of a sport and their motivating discourse is an extremely important message in terms of gender equality. However, it is also very important that there is such a radical difference between the two cartoons. In Pepee I, which is broadcast on the public television channel, while the grandmother is depicted as a traditional old woman who is weak, unable to perform activities, does not go to the sea, however, with the start of the cartoon's broadcast on the private television channel, the grandmother transforms into a woman who wears a swimsuit, is more energetic, knows how to swim at an advanced level especially in the sea scene. This finding is a clear

indication that the target audience of private and public media has changed and therefore the message given may also change.

Regarding cycling, while only Pepee is riding a bicycle in Pepee I (Kalaycı, 2015), Pepee and his other girl and boyfriends are also riding a bicycle in Pepee II. Some games, hobbies and activities are not included in Pepee I, but included in Pepee II. The distribution of these activities, which are only included in Pepee II, by gender is shown in Graph 5.
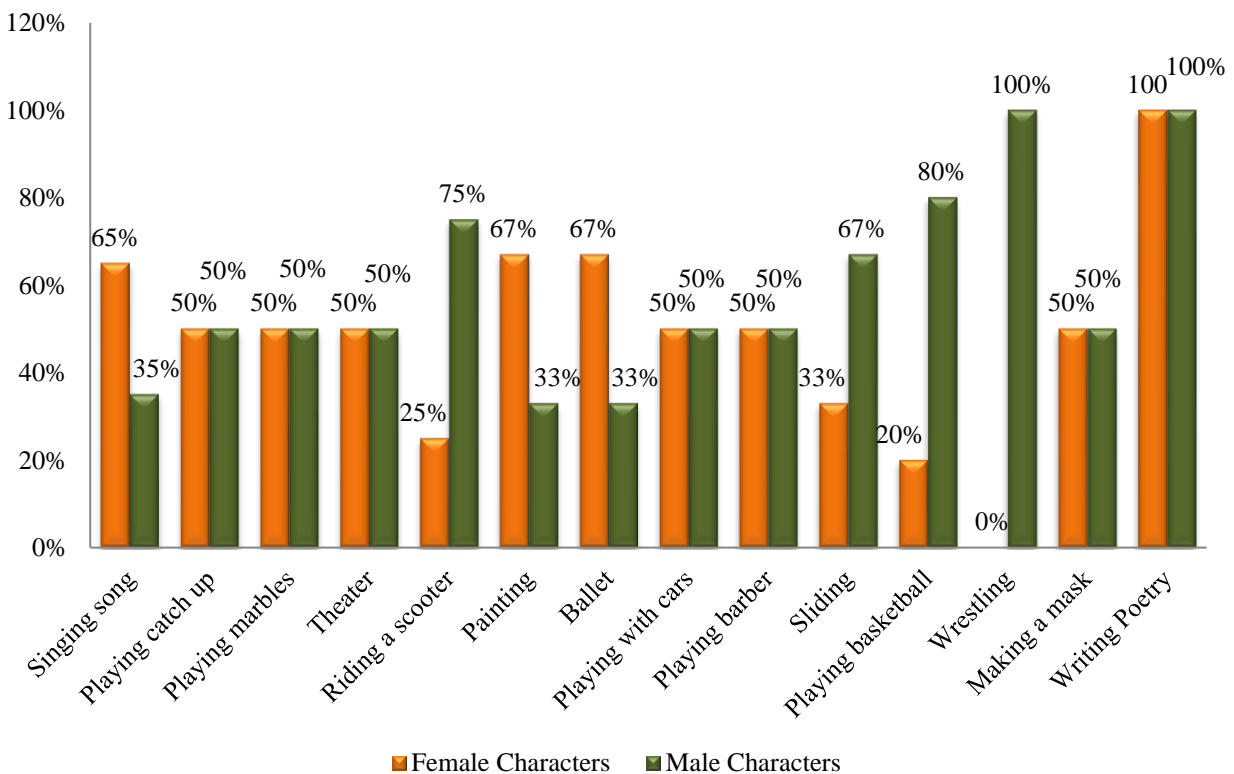
Graph 5. Distribution of Games, Hobbies and Activities by Gender in Pepee II

When only the games, hobbies and activities in Pepee II are examined, games and activities such as riding scooters, skiing on slides, playing basketball and wrestling, which are done outdoors and require more movement, are mostly performed by

male characters in Pepee II. Despite this, activities such as writing poetry, singing and painting, which are done indoors and do not require much movement, are mostly performed by female characters. This result is similar in both Pepees.

To give an example from an episode of wrestling regarding this finding, the grandfather tells Pepee and Pepee's school friend that wrestling is very important and valuable as a traditional and cultural Turkish sport, and a man who wrestle is called *'hero'*. Boys enthusiastically want to wrestle. Meanwhile, Pepee's sister hears the conversation and asks her grandmother, "*Do girls wrestle too?*". The grandmother says "*Of course they do, there are very important female wrestlers as well. Wrestling is a very important and enjoyable sport, but it is tiring.*" After Grandmother says "*it's tiring*", Pepee's sister says, "*Then I'm not going to wrestle today because I'm a little tired anyway*". The grandmother says, "*Let you help me with the meal preparations*". While the grandfather praised the sport of wrestling, the grandmother emphasized that wrestling is a tiring sport, revealing the messages can be changes based on the gender. While the boys wanted to wrestle, the girl gave up trying to wrestle. Moreover, "helping with cooking" was suggested as an alternative activity to the girl. While most scenes of the Pepee II seem to convey positive messages in terms of gender equality, in fact, gender inequality messages continue to be given implicitly.

Unlike Pepee I, Pepee II includes some artistic activities. These are activities such as theatre, ballet, writing poetry, making masks. Of these, theater, mask making, and poetry writing were performed equally by both girls and boys, while painting and ballet were performed at a higher rate by girls.

3. Findings regarding the types of clothes theme

In the third theme of the research, *"Types of Clothes,"* the distribution of the clothing types of the characters in the cartoon is presented in Table 6 and Graph 6.

Table 6. Distribution of Pepee II Character's Types of Clothes by Gender

Types of Clothes	Female Characters		Male Characters	
	f	%	f	%
Pants	27	31	57	79
Skirt/Dress	40	48	-	0
Shorts	5	6	5	7
Swimsuit	4	5	3	4
Pajamas	3	4	2	3
Folk Dance Clothing	3	4	4	6
Ballet Clothing	2	2	1	1
Total	84	100	72	100
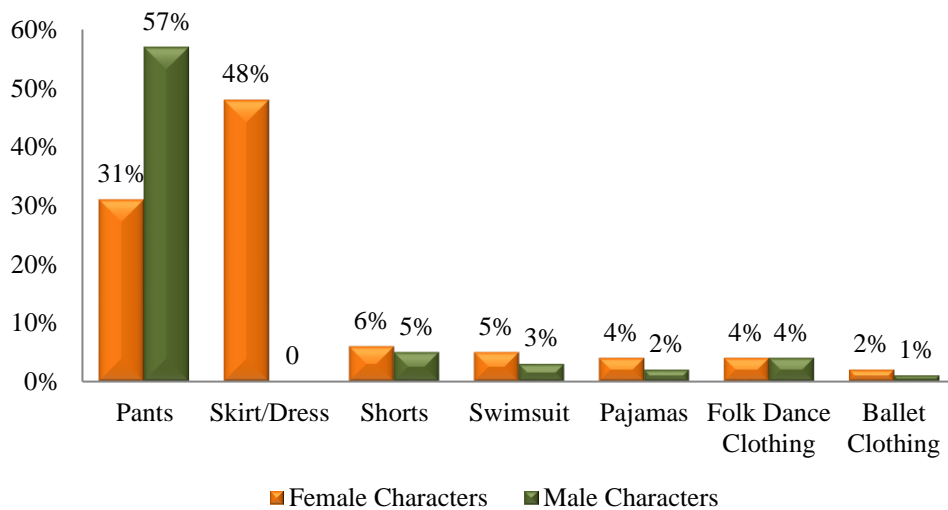
Graph 6. Distribution of Pepee II Character's Types of Clothes by Gender

In the research conducted by Kalaycı (2015), it was found that the female characters only wore skirts or dresses in Pepee I. Kalaycı stated that the girls wore

a skirt even while playing football. In Pepee II, it is seen that the clothes of the characters vary. Although skirts and dresses are more common than other clothes, it is seen that female characters also wear pants. In Pepee II, the clothes of the characters vary. However, there are sections that show that Pepee does not accept this diversity as normal. In one of the episodes of the cartoon, Pepee meets a girl named Zezee who has just moved to his neighborhood. Zezee wears short pants, not skirts. Comparing her friend Şila, who wears a skirt, to Zezee, who wears short pants, Pepee is surprised to see a girl wearing pants for the first time and thinks she is *"different".* The voice-over asks "*why*" and Pepee says, "*She is not fancy like Şila, she is not wearing a skirt either.*" Although Pepee's mother wears pants, he was surprised to see a girl wearing short pants for the first time. It is a sexist message to show girls wearing pants or shorts in the cartoon as such a surprising situation and to describe them as *"different!"* in the script.

4. Findings regarding colors of clothes theme

The distribution of the colors of the clothes of the characters in Pepee II by gender is presented in Table 7 and Graph 7.

Table 7. Distribution of Characters' Colors of the Clothes by Gender in Pepee II

Colors of Clothing	Female Characters		Male Characters	
	f	%	f	%
Blue	15	16	36	50
Pink / Purple	49	52	-	0
Other Colors	30	32	36	50
Total	94	100	72	100
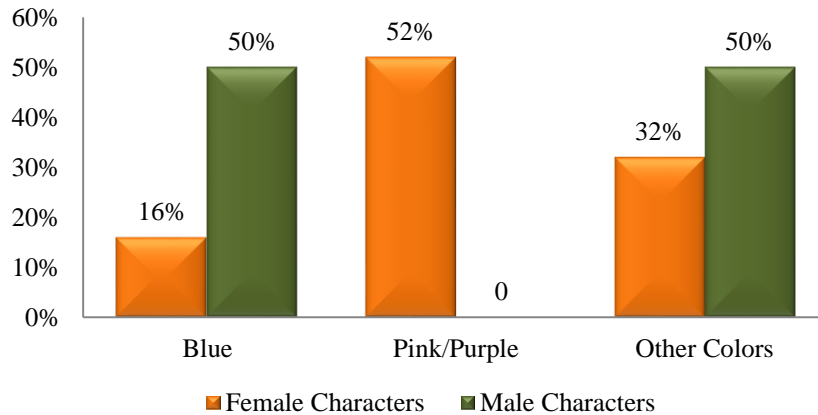
Graph 7. Distribution of Characters' Colors of the Clothes by Gender in Pepee II

While the colors of the clothes of female characters (mother, grandmother, Şila) are pink and shades of pink in all episodes analyzed in Pepee I, the clothing colors of male characters (Pepee, father, and grandfather) are blue and dark colors (Kalaycı, 2015). Although pink and shades of pink are highly preferred in Pepee II, it has been determined that assorted colors are also used. It is also seen that especially girls and women wear assorted colors other than pink. The same is also true for men. The new characters included in Pepee II are dressed in assorted colors such as green, yellow, white, etc. However, despite all these changes, it was determined that the clothes type and color of Pepee and his sister, who are the main characters of the cartoon, did not change. Pepee continued to wear blue pants and his sister a pink skirt. The same distinction is determined even in the colors of the pajamas of the children in some episodes.

Results and discussion

In order to understand civilizations, social and cultural structures, and to explain social transformations and changes, it is necessary to determine how women are perceived, positioned and objectified in these structures. The most important distinguishing feature is to understand the structural boundaries in order to

examine the structure of society through women, to understand the situation of women, and to analyze the society (Çınar-Köysüren, 2013). The level of development of countries is directly related to guaranteeing individual rights. It is a universal fact that gender equality problems continue in countries where traditional socio-cultural structures are preserved and quality and equality cannot be achieved in all structures of justice, education and social life.

The purpose of this research is to examine the Pepee cartoon, broadcast on a private television channel in Turkey, in terms of gender equality. The results were discussed by comparing them with the results of the research on the same cartoon broadcast on the Turkish public television channel (Kalaycı, 2015). The purpose of this comparison is to determine whether the messages on gender equality/inequality differ according to public and private television channels, and which messages are different or similar.

When the results of the first theme of the research, "*work/activities performed inside and outside the home*", are examined, the most important role of women in the family is also shown as cooking and housework in Pepee I and Pepee II. Kalaycı (2015) stated that it was often emphasized in Pepee I that this action was the duty of women. In Pepee II, about one of the two parts includes scenes and dialogues about women cooking, even if they are not related to the scenario of the cartoon.

In Pepee II, the father does not have any role/duty related to the house. However, although the father was cooking in only one episode among all the episodes watched, this behavior was appreciated by all family members. In a study conducted by Imamoglu (1991) about 25 years ago, it was concluded that the

housework done by men is perceived as more successful and important than what women do. Dökmen (2017) stated that performance is evaluated better if the work that is thought to be specific to a woman or a man is performed by an individual of the other sex. Even after all these years, the message "housework is a woman's duty" has not changed. More importantly, this message is taught to the preschool age group through cartoons. This result is clear proof of the desire to continue the existing patriarchal structure in the country.

In many studies on the representation of women in the media, it has been concluded that women are shown in traditional roles such as mother and housewife (Çolakoğlu, 2011; Kalaycı and Şahin, 2013; Öztürk, 2020; Türkoğlu and Alayoğlu, 2009; Yağan Güder et al., 2017). In the study by Muratoğlu-Pehlivan (2019), in which four Turkish-made cartoons were examined, it was concluded that the woman was more involved in the kitchen and childcare in the house. The representation of women in traditional family roles in a cartoon will pave the way for the continuation of the patriarchal structure in the future family lives of children.

A lot of research has been done about the Turkish cartoons broadcast on the Kid's channel of TRT, the official channel of the Republic of Turkey. In these studies, it has been determined that the subject of these Turkish-made cartoons is mostly *"family-oriented"*. Therefore, since gender roles are seen in the family in these cartoons, it will be inevitable for the family, the smallest unit of society, to form sexist patriarchal forms and reflect this to the whole.

The child, who takes their parents as an example, sometimes learns their roles, sometimes implements them by imitation, and these behaviors are reinforced over

time (Chartschlaa, 2004). For this reason, it is important how the parents communicate the messages about the family roles in the formation of the child's gender roles (Gürey, 2017).

Turkey is the first country to sign the "Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence Against Women and Domestic Violence" by 45 countries, including Turkey and the European Union, on 11 May 2011 and ratifying it in its parliament on 24 November 2011. This Agreement, also known as the "Istanbul Convention" because it was signed in Istanbul, was decided to be terminated by the Government of the Republic of Turkey on 20 March 2021, approximately 10 years later. As the most important reason for this, it was stated that it "damaged the national and moral values and the Turkish family structure".

In a study examining the woman-place relationship (Özgüven, 2010), it was stated that the relationship of women with the kitchen, among the indoor areas, is given in a definite way. In their work "*Woman and Place" (Kadın ve Mekan)*, Akpınar, Bakay and Dedehayır (2010), emphasize in their "Woman and Place" study that while supporting the sexuality and femininity of modern women in western societies, this approach may differ when it comes to traditional roles. No matter how modern, educated or professional a woman is, the kitchen is still considered a *"place"* belonging to women. The authors stated that this situation can be considered as an indication that the image of modern women is constructed with ideological approaches in the context of social and traditional norms. The dominant ideology offers messages about how the image of women should appear in society. It is inevitable that this desire will be reflected in various policies and practices.

According to Shelton and John (1996), one of the most notable features of the division of labor in the home is that women do most of the housework regardless of whether women work or not. They emphasized that although most of these studies were conducted in the U.S. and other western countries, this situation could be valid for the entire world.

In their study of gender in family life in Vietnam, Knodel et al. (2005) showed that women continue to have an overwhelming responsibility for housework compared to their spouses. The opinion that this responsibility should be shared if both spouses work is only around 50%. In a study on gender stereotyping in the family in Pakistan, it was determined that the formation of gender roles are socio-cultural and relational structures that are developed and inculcated in social relations, especially in the family. Although nearly 25 years have passed since Shelton and John's (1996) findings, the studies prove that the more prominent gender roles in the family occur in especially undeveloped, underdeveloped or developing societies.

The dominant power, which wants women to stay in the private sphere, not in the public sphere, begins to adopt this idea to the members of the society from the pre-school age group. This is no different for public or private media. This finding shows that especially some private media organs in the country act in line with the opinion of the dominant ideology. Gerdin and Signorielli (2014) mention that media coverage for children and youth is a lucrative market.

Another important result of the research on the Pepee cartoon is that the mother role of women is emphasized quite often as well as the role of housewife. This result is similar in public and private media. The fact that the mother is frequently shown driving a car in the cartoon broadcast on the private television channel gives

the impression that this is the opposite. Because "women" and "driving a car" are not phenomena shown together on public television. According to Sabuncuoğlu (2006), although male characters are usually associated with streets, sports, cars, driving, going to work, and having fun, women are rarely shown driving. In the cartoon published in private media, the purpose of the mother driving is only to take care of her son. In Turkey, private television channels try to implicitly impose a patriarchal family structure in their messages. In the cartoon, which is broadcast in both public and private media, the message that the father is working, and the mother is a housewife is given. The mother is at home all day, taking care of the children, talking to them, listening and solving their problems. The father spends little time with the children. In his research on cartoons published in Turkey, Muratoğlu-Pehlivan (2019) found that although the movies are family-oriented, the father is shown less often than the mother. The scenes where the father is shown are generally outside of the houses.

In the Pepee cartoon broadcast on the private television channel, the father is shown only in the last two minutes of the 20-minute episodes. In other words, according to the scenario, various events occur in the lives of the mother, grandmother, grandfather, children, friends, and other characters during the day, but the father comes home at the end of the day and a very limited time is shown. The fact that "Father" is not shown at all, as well as how it is shown in a family cartoon, is a very important result. This may be a sign of the extent to which fathers are a part of their children's lives.

Deniz (2019) examined the gender roles of 83 episodes of four different cartoons broadcast on both public and private television channels in Turkey. Supporting the above-mentioned result, in the cartoons Deniz examined, fathers are in the public

area and interact with the outside world, while mothers are at home, which is the private area, and deal with children or housework. Öztan (2015) states that the phenomenon of motherhood is one of the basic materials of national and international policies, apart from only the issue of mother and child, and new norms are constantly imposed on the phenomenon of motherhood. In our society, these impositions on women are felt even more intensely in social life. In order to maintain this social order, the reproductive role of women also determined their social roles. A woman's life is built on fulfilling her duties, responsibilities and roles at home, while she cannot do anything for her own wishes (Gürey, 2017). The man is given the task of ensuring the safety and economic future of the family. In various studies, results have been obtained showing that some changes have occurred in paternal roles after the 1970s. When these international studies conducted in the past are examined, it has been concluded that the changes in social life in the UK (Jacson, 1987), Sweden (Mussang, 1987), China (Ho and Kong, 1984) and the USA (Entwisle and Doering, 1988) have changed the father's role from the traditional authoritarian structure to a more egalitarian one. It is stated that as the education level of the father increases, he has a more democratic and flexible gender role and he is more prone to take parental responsibility because he sees himself more competent in child development (Coltrane, 1995; Model, 1981; Russell, 1982). It can be thought that the reasons for this change in fatherhood roles are the increase in women's participation in business life and the development of awareness about the effect of the father's role on the child (Beşpınar, 2015). However, studies conducted in Turkey in the same years determined that fathers considered income and decision-making as important roles for them (Evans, 1997; Öğüt, 1998).

In another study examining domestic serials in Turkey, it was stated that women are positioned within the family or home, whether they have a professional job or a university graduate. The stereotyped representations of women on television give a message of how society wants to see women (Şener, Çavuşoğlu, and Irklı, 2016).

In Turkey, there are many TV programs emphasizing the traditional roles of women in the home in daytime broadcasts on state and private television channels. The programs like *"My Bride in the Kitchen"* (Gelinim Mutfakta), *"Bridal House"* (Gelin Evi) *"In Mother's Arms"* (Anne Kucağında), *"The Girls in Our Village"* (Köyümüzdeki Kızlar), *"Cleaning Is My Job"* (Temizlik Benim İşim), *"Are You Meticulous?"* (Titiz misin?), can be given as an example. These programs are also competition programs and the women participating in the program are asked to do their household chores such as cooking, cleaning, etc. in the most perfect way.

These programs, broadcast on mainstream television channels, including the private television channel on which the Pepee cartoon is broadcast, play a role in helping housewives, who spend most of their lives at home, adopt housework as their main duty. Women participating in the program have also adopted that these duties are their own. These television broadcasts are a clear indication that the gender roles imposed on women are reminded, reinforced and stereotyped on almost every platform. The fact that all of these programs for women have the same purpose proves Van Zoonen's (1994) view over the years. According to him, the media ensures the continuation of the social order by highlighting sexist, patriarchal or capitalist values and can convince the majority of the society by showing the messages it wants to give as *"natural", "ordinary"* or *"normal"*. The purpose of *-The Girls in Our Village-*, which is one of these programs on the official website of the country's state television TRT, is stated as "to bring the

village life we miss to our homes, to teach our customs and traditions". In the program, especially young women are taught to adapt to rural life, to do all kinds of housework, especially to "*do what they are told*". All this shows that the power of the media to minimize cultural values and present a concentrated version of them, in this disturbing vulgar form, causes women to be represented in lower status and men in higher status (Fine, 2017, 248).

Kalaycı (2015) talks about how happy the girl is to serve the man, even when playing house, in the episodes of the cartoon broadcast on public television. Girls are taught from a very young age that the better they do housework and childcare, the more they will be accepted and appreciated. Fine (2017) stated that some women adopt domestic work as a way of presenting themselves as a *"good wife"*. All these results show that in Turkey, both the public and the private media teach children the roles of the family in a way that reinforces the patriarchal structure. The similar attitudes of both media organs on this issue are clear proof that the state ideology is also in this direction. Althusser (2000) emphasized that it may not matter whether the ideological apparatuses of the state are public or private, that what matters is their functioning and that these institutions can operate in an equivalent way.

In the report prepared by the European Commission, it is mentioned that working women are not sufficiently represented in political and economic decision-making positions. According to the report, women made up 6.7% of board chairs and 6.5% of CEOs in October 2018 (European Commission). Connell (2019) notes that where men are better prepared or trained than women for a given job, choosing the "best" among applicants is normally seen as choosing a man. The almost complete dominance of men in the upper levels of universities is one of the striking

examples of this indirect discrimination. According to the Turkish Higher Education Council [YÖK] 2020 data, among 207 universities in Turkey, 17 rectors are women. According to the report of the European University Association, while the average rate of female rectors in 48 member countries is 15 percent, this rate is 8.37 percent in Turkey (T24, 9 June 2021).

While the 2012 Female Labor Force Participation Average Rate is 60% in EU countries, this rate is 21% for Turkey (Aşık, 2012). According to the Turkish Statistical Institute (TÜİK), in 2011, the labor force participation rate of women in Turkey is 28.8%. When the labor force participation rates of women and men in 2014-2019 are analyzed, the labor force participation rate of men aged 15-64 was 76.6% in 2014 and 78.2% in 2019. While the same was 33.6% for women in 2014, it increased to only 38.7% in 2019. The labor force participation rate of men decreased to 68.2% and to 32% of women in 2020 (TÜİK, 2020). Finally, as of August 2021, the labor force participation rate was 70.4% for men and 32.3% for women (TÜİK, 2021). It seems that over the years, there has not only been any progress in women's labor force participation levels, but a further decline. One of the most important factors affecting economic productivity and efficiency in a society is the labor force participation rate. Undoubtedly, there are many variables that cause women not to participate in the workforce. However, emphasizing that women do not need to be involved in business life by the country's dominant policy and that housework duties are more important can be counted among the most important of these reasons.

According to the report prepared by the Confederation of Revolutionary Workers' Unions of Turkey (DİSK) and the Genel-İş Union, using the data of the Turkish Statistical Institute (TÜİK), Organization for Economic Co-operation and

Development (OECD), European Statistical Office (EUROSTAT), Turkish Ministry of Family, Labor and Social Services (AÇSHB);

> Only 3 out of 10 women in the workforce are working. In 2019, 500 thousand women quit their jobs due to domestic care services. 12 million women could not start working due to housework. The rate of female unemployment in Turkey has reached 2 times that of EU member countries and 3 times that of OECD member countries. The number of unemployed women increased by 52% from 2014 to 2019 and approached 2 million. More than 1 million women are employed for long periods and unregistered, and men in Turkey earn 8% more than women (DİSK-Genel-İş, 2020).

The low representation of women in business life also prevents them from taking part in decision-making processes. In the Pepee II, the father is the one who makes the decisions and the mother is the one who conveys this decision to the children. Moreover, the decision taken is related to the education of the child. Although the mother is mostly responsible for the care of the child, the woman cannot have a say in the decisions about the education of the child. Despite this, in this scene in Pepee II, it is tried to give the impression that the woman took part in this decision-making process. According to the results of the research conducted by the World Bank (2012) in 19 countries, the majority of the participants stated that the duty of women was to deal with family and domestic production; stated that men's duty is to earn income and make decisions.

The reality that the media presents to the society through its publications does not occur at the end of an objective process; it is consciously produced and reflected to society by the direction of government policies and the media.

Another theme explored in Pepee is *"games and entertainment activities".* In this category, there are significant differences in terms of gender equality in some

activities common to both cartoons. In Pepee I, dancing, playing ball, riding balloon, cycling and other physical games are mostly performed by male characters, while in Pepee II both female and male characters are performed equally. Swimming, one of the common activities in both cartoons, is performed only by male characters in Pepee I, while it is mostly performed by female characters in Pepee II. In Pepee I, women are sitting by the pool or the sea in their daily clothes (Kalaycı, 2015). In Pepee II, on the other hand, it is seen that the female characters swim very professionally in swimsuits.

Eşitti (2016) describes this character as "a traditional-looking, old, lovely grandmother" (p,32). Gürer, S.Z.V. and Gürer, M. (2020) also stated in their research that they examined Turkish-made TV series, that middle-aged women who play the role of the elder of the family are described as "traditional".
The grandmother is depicted as a traditional middle-aged woman in both cartoons. The grandmother, who walks hard, speaks slowly, and mostly takes care of the children, has the same characteristics in Pepee II, but has turned into a swimming and cheerful woman who wears a swimsuit in the sea and pool scenes. This may be due to the fact that the middle-aged grandmother figure, which received much criticism on various platforms in Pepee I, was wanted to be changed in Pepee II in line with these criticisms.

These conclusions in Pepee II contain supportive messages that support gender equality. The fact that public television and private television viewers are at different socio-cultural and economic levels is one of the reasons for this result. However, unlike the results with these egalitarian messages, the house playing is played more by girls in both cartoons.

When the game, hobbies and activities in Pepee II are examined, games and activities that require more movement such as riding scooters, sliding down slides, playing basketball and wrestling are mostly performed by male characters in Pepee II. Despite this, activities such as writing poetry, singing and painting, which are done indoors and do not require much movement, are mostly performed by female characters. This result is similar in both Pepees.

The games or activities played by the male characters represent the public space, while the games played by the female characters represent the private arena. This way of showing in the cartoons is like an example of the daily lives of adult men and women in our country. Undoubtedly, this situation is a representation of gender inequality. At the same time, this is an indication that the patriarchal structure in society is reflected in cartoons. Such representations can reinforce the patriarchal structure in society and cause the continuation of this structure. In this case, it can be thought that both television channels adopt the aim of broadcasting for their target audience. When the content of both cartoons is examined in general, it is seen that in some cases traditional and gender roles are preserved, and in some cases, the opposite is true. As long as both public and private televisions are supported directly or indirectly by governments, their messages are in line with the ideology of the governments. This may be one of the reasons for the above results. This idea reaffirms Althusser's view that the media is the ideological apparatus of the state. Althusser mentions that almost the majority of the media, which is the ideological apparatus, is scattered within the scope of the private area (Althusser, 2000).

Most of the revolutions carried out by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the founder of the Turkish Republic, between 1926 and 1934, aimed that women have equal rights

with men in social and cultural fields, education, law, family, working life, social life and politics (Benasuz, 2019).

Rights and freedoms that were not available in many Western societies at that time were given to Turkish women. However, after the 1950s, the socio-cultural fabric of the society gradually began to take shape with a more traditional and restrictive perspective on women, with various political changes and transformations over time. Although many rights gained thanks to Atatürk remain as "legal rights", it can be seen that these rights are not used or used sufficiently in some practices in social and cultural fields. As Sancar (2017) points out, issues such as women's participation in public life in Turkey, as in many parts of the world, have been the main determinant of many social and political conflicts. In such an environment, it is unlikely that the education system, media and other social institutions will not be affected by this conflict.

Sports activities are also included within the scope of the game and hobby activities theme. Boys are mostly interested in basketball and wrestling. In Pepee II, boys are encouraged to take part in these sports, while girls are directed to give up. Although Baker and Raney (2007) surprisingly found fewer examples of traditional gender role stereotyping in children in their research, they found, in particular, that there was a tendency to describe "superheroes" in strictly traditional masculine terms. Gerding and Signorielli (2014) also found that male characters are mostly shown in action scenes in cartoons. Koca (2006) stated that by integrating sports with the athletic structure of men, seeing it as a male-specific skill can be a product of the patriarchal understanding that accepts men as dominant in society. As a result of this emerging trend, Koca also states that there is a close relationship between the gender roles attributed by the society to women

and men and the sports experiences of women and men. In another study conducted by Kalaycı and Hayırsever (2014) in Turkey, the majority of the students in the lower socio-economic level school stated that football is a male-specific sport.

The other two themes of the research are "*types and colors of clothes*" worn by cartoon characters. In Pepee I, it was determined that the clothing types and colors defined according to the gender roles of women and men were chosen. (Kalaycı, 2015). In Pepee II, when the clothing types and colors were examined, it was determined that there was no gendered attitude in the clothing and color choices of the characters other than Pepee and her sister. However, Pepee and his sister, the main characters of the cartoon, continue to be seen in "blue" and "pink" colored clothes. Although a more egalitarian trend in the clothing types and colors of the other characters in the cartoon is considered positive, the fact that the clothing types and colors of the main characters of the movie continue to be sexist in Pepee I and Pepee II shows that the mentality of gender inequality still persists. Because the main character of the cartoon, Pepee and his sister, the frequency of being shown in the cartoon is higher than the other characters. As Kalaycı (2015) stated, this situation may cause a sexist understanding to be reinforced in children's minds. This process can affect children's own behavior when they grow up, and as Martin and Ruble (2004) stated, it will also pave the way for them to judge others' clothes and clothing colors.

Conclusions

All implicit and explicit messages regarding gender inequality in Pepee's content cause the perception of "*social roles and duties are separated by gender*" in children's cognitive schemas. Children who watch media broadcasts where the

representation of male and female characters is not equal, and the role distribution is made according to gender roles of men and women may learn that men are more important than women (Leaper et al. 2002). As a result of this situation, it is inevitable that the gender roles of men and women will become stereotypes in children's cognitive schemas, these judgments will be reinforced and this idea will gradually become normalized.

Apple (2006) mentions that it is important to question *'what is in the content'* and *'what is missing in the content'* regarding the content of a curriculum. Apple (2006) emphasizes Macherey's (1978) statement that in order to explore current ideological interests, the silent aspects of a text must be questioned (p.74). These questions that Apple asks for the curriculum can be asked about media programs.

It is extremely important to determine what is missing as well as what is included in the content of media broadcasts. In this study, an examination was made about what is and what is not in the content of Pepee regarding gender equality.
In Pepee's content, messages about roles that are more egalitarian, sharing, free from traditional family behaviors and stereotypes are not at the level required for gender equality to occur in children's minds. This result is the unspoken, muted, or hidden side of content, as Apple and Macherey point out.

Although areas of freedom and individuality have been opened to people with urbanization, the family has always been important in the narrative of religiosity and especially in the context of protecting values (Çınar-Köysüren, 2013). According to the author, the woman, the most important constructive figure of the

family, is in a decisive position in the phenomena of urbanization, education and religiosity.

In the scenario of a cartoon examined in this research, many daily facts and events seem to contain messages about gender equality, but in reality, when the subject is *"domestic roles"*, inequality continues openly to the detriment of women in both public and private media. Dahl (2010) states that most of the time, while political systems are not within democratic practices, the discourses that imply that the country is democratic to its citizens are an illusion and a lie. Even though democratic discourses are used in some cases in the cartoon in question, the opposite practices are "implicitly" included. Implicit messages provide structuring of knowledge and behavior. This structured knowledge and structured behaviors are part of the bureaucratic and administrative pressure of the society and cause individuals to consent to the dominant ideologies of dominant groups (Apple, 1989; Pinar, Reynolds, Slattery, and Taubman, 2004). In non-democratic or hybrid regimes, the media acts as an apparatus of the dominant ideology. Consequently, if the media presents stereotypes or a distorted image of reality, viewers with a high television frequency will have a reality based on what they see on television. This implication is extremely important, especially in terms of gender roles. Children's media often continues to limit children to gender roles, rather than adopting a world that includes possibilities that can transcend the reality of social male and female roles (Fine, 2017, 248). Fine underlines that this is sometimes more strictly than the real world imposes. Gerding and Signorielli (2014) also point out that the ongoing gender inequality in the media around the world is worrying.

Beane (2005) emphasizes that social institutions should be organized to support and expand the democratic way of life. Media is one of the most important of these institutions.

While the media emphasizes the value systems of society and the value of traditional life in their publications, on the other hand, it makes practices that may compromise these values in some cases.

The results of this research show that the messages of gender inequality, which Gerding and Signorielli (2014) describe as alarming, continue to exist either implicitly or explicitly both in public and private media. It is even more worrying that the sexist messages intended to be conveyed on private television are conveyed through a scenario that is more secret, not easily understood, and seems to convey an egalitarian message. It should not be forgotten that both state and private media in developing countries receive support from the state, government and other economic capitals in order to survive economically.

The ideology adopted by the dominant political power and economic capital will determine the message of the media. There is a Turkish proverb. *"The drum is on one's neck, the mallet is in another's hand."* Even though the drum is on the neck of the media, whoever has the mallet plays the song.

Dewey (1916) said that *"if it is desired to secure and maintain a democratic way of life, people should have the opportunity to learn what this way of life means and how it can be realized"* (cited in Apple and Beane 2007). While remembering Dewey once again; if countries advocate a democratic way of life, this way of life must be included, maintained and evaluated in all social institutions of the country.

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