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DEFINING PRECARIOUS WORK THROUGH THE EXPERIENCES OF SET
WORKERS IN TURKEY

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Defining Precarious Work Through The Experiences Of Set Workers In Turkey

Türkiye'deki Set İşçilerinin Deneyimleri Üzerinden Güvencesiz Çalışmayı Tanımlamak

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	iii
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	iv
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....	vii
LIST OF FIGURES.....	ix
LIST OF TABLES.....	x
ABSTRACT.....	xi
ÖZET.....	xii
INTRODUCTION.....	1
CHAPTER 1 THE PRECARIAT.....	13
1.1. CONCEPTUALIZATION OF THE PRECARIOUS WORK.....	13
1.2. PRECARIOUS WORK IN TURKEY.....	15
1.3. FLEXIBILITY AND INSECURITY.....	16
1.4. CONCEPTUALIZATION OF THE PRECARIAT AND THE MOVEMENTS.....	17
1.5. GUY STANDING'S 'PRECARIAT: THE NEW DANGEROUS CLASS'.....	22
1.6. TRANSNATIONALISM AND PRECARIAT.....	26
1.7. CREATIVE INDUSTRIES AND PRECARIAT.....	30
1.7.1. Definition of the Creative Industry.....	30
1.7.1.1. History of Creative Industry Concept.....	34
1.7.2. Creative Labor.....	37
1.7.3. Creative Workers.....	40
1.7.3.1. Creative Labor in Turkey	43
CHAPTER 2 FILM/TV INDUSTRY & SET WORKERS.....	49
2.1. FILM INDUSTRY.....	49
2.1.1. Film Industry in Turkey.....	50
2.2. TELEVISION INDUSTRY.....	52
2.2.1. Television Industry in Turkey.....	53
2.2.1.1. Television Series.....	54
2.2.1.2. Commercials.....	57

2.3. DIGITAL PLATFORMS.....	58
2.4. SET WORKERS.....	60
2.4.1. Departments.....	61
2.4.2. Working Conditions of the Set Workers.....	65
2.4.3. Unions.....	65
2.4.4. Research on Set Workers.....	67
CHAPTER 3 CULTURAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS (CuDA) AS A METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK.....	69
3.1. CULTURAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS (CuDA)	69
3.1.1. Participants.....	72
3.1.2. Procedure.....	73
3.2. IDENTIFYING THE HUBS OF CuDA.....	75
3.2.1. Identity.....	75
3.2.1.1. Definition of the Set.....	76
3.2.1.1.1. Speed of the Set.....	78
3.2.1.1.2. Hierarchy.....	79
3.2.1.1.3. Creation.....	80
3.2.1.1.4. Set Language.....	81
3.2.1.1.5. Motivation.....	82
3.2.1.1.5.1. Satisfaction.....	83
3.2.1.2. Definition of the Set Worker.....	84
3.2.1.2.1. Being a Woman on Set.....	85
3.2.1.2.2. Public Awareness of the Workers.....	86
3.2.2. Action.....	87
3.2.2.1. Hard to Change Occupation.....	88
3.2.2.1.1. Plan B.....	88
3.2.2.2. Quitting a Project.....	89
3.2.2.3. Unemployment as a Result.....	90
3.2.2.4. How to Change the Conditions.....	91
3.2.3. Feeling.....	93
3.2.3.1. Feelings While Working.....	93

3.2.3.1.1. Hopelessness.....	95
3.2.3.1.2. Psychological Conditions.....	96
3.2.3.1.3. Compromise.....	96
3.2.3.1.4. Liking the Crew.....	97
3.2.3.1.5. Uncertainty.....	98
3.2.3.1.6. Insecurity.....	99
3.2.3.1.7. Risk.....	100
3.2.3.1.8. Pretentiousness.....	101
3.2.3.1.9. Awareness of Self-worth.....	103
3.2.3.1.10. Respect.....	104
3.2.4. Relating.....	105
3.2.4.1. Self-representation.....	105
3.2.4.1.1. Networking.....	106
3.2.4.2. Unionization.....	107
3.2.4.2.1. Solidarity.....	109
3.2.5. Dwelling.....	110
3.2.5.1. Physical Conditions.....	111
3.2.5.2. Reference to foreign sets.....	112
CHAPTER 4 SET AS A CONDITION DEFINED BY THE STRUGGLE..	114
4.1. SET AS A SPACE OF STRUGGLE.....	114
4.1.1. Physical Struggle.....	114
4.1.1.1. Changes with the Investment of Digital Platforms.....	118
4.1.1.2. Changes with COVID-19.....	121
4.1.2. Psychological Struggle.....	122
4.1.3. Ambivalence in Action.....	125
4.2. A NEW DEFINITION OF THE PRECARIAT.....	127
CONCLUSION.....	133
Limitations of the Study.....	136
REFERENCES.....	138
APPENDICES.....	167

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AD	Assisting Director
BECTU	The Broadcasting, Entertainment, Communications and Theatre Union
CCIs	Creative Cultural Industries
CGT	Confederation Generale du Travail
COVID-19	Coronavirus disease of 2019
CuDA	Cultural Discourse Analysis
DCMS	British Digital, Culture, Media, and Sports Department
DIT	Digital Imaging Technician
DoP	Director of Photography
SFX	Special effects
SİNE-SEN	Cinema Workers Union (Sinema Emekçileri Sendikası)
IATSE	The International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees
ILO	International Labor Office
PA	Production Assistant
PCR test	Polymerase chain reaction test
PR	Public relations
RTÜK	Radio and Television Supreme Council
SVOD	Streaming video-on-demand
TRT	Turkish Radio and Television Corporation

TV	Television
UK	United Kingdom
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
US	United States of America
WEF	The World Economic Forum
WIPO	The World Intellectual Property Organization
WWI	World War One
WWII	World War Two

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 3.1. Creative coding of the sub-codes of identity.....	76
Figure 3.2. Creative coding of the sub-codes of action.....	87
Figure 3.3. Creative coding of the sub-codes of feeling.....	94
Figure 3.4. Creative coding of the sub-codes of relating.....	105
Figure 3.5. Creative coding of the sub-codes of dwelling.....	111

LIST OF TABLES

Table 2.1. Hierarchical organizational chart of a production with the most used titles in Turkey.....	62
Table 3.1. Demographic Information of the Participants (N=31).....	74



ABSTRACT

This study (re)defines the precarious work in cultural industries in Turkey through the accounts of 31 set workers working in different tasks and departments in the film and television industries. Standing observes that as a result of globalization, a more fragmented emerging global class structure arises defined by insecurity and uncertainty, and he identifies the precariat as a distinct class that rises to the fore (2011). In order to provide a comprehensive, complex, and systematic understanding, Cultural Discourse Analysis (CuDA) by Donal Carbaugh is applied in the analysis of the interviews to explore the precarious employment of set workers in Turkey as a multilayered process, in this study. It is argued that precarious work constitutes a condition defined by struggles. This study unequivocally shows that set workers struggle in the workplace. It demonstrates that set workers in Turkey may be understood as a condition rather than a class and that their precarious situation is distinct. The qualitative research tries to offer a fresh perspective on everyday activity in a multi-dollar industry and introduces a new definition of precarious work through set workers, contributing to the existing literature.

Keywords: Precarious work, creative industry, media industry, set workers, Cultural Discourse Analysis

ÖZET

Bu çalışma, film ve televizyon endüstrilerinde farklı görevlerde ve departmanlarda çalışan 31 set işçisinin anlatıları üzerinden Türkiye'de kültür endüstrilerindeki güvencesiz çalışmayı (yeniden) tanımlamaktadır. Standing, küreselleşmenin bir sonucu olarak, güvensizlik ve belirsizlikle tanımlanan daha parçalı bir küresel sınıf yapısının ortaya çıktığını gözlemlemekte ve prekaryayı öne çıkan farklı bir sınıf olarak tanımlamaktadır (2011). Kapsamlı, karmaşık ve sistematik bir anlayış sağlamak amacıyla, bu çalışmada Türkiye'deki set işçilerinin güvencesiz istihdamını çok katmanlı bir süreç olarak incelemek için görüşmelerin analizinde Donal Carbaugh'un Kültürel Söylem Analizi (CuDA) uygulanmıştır. Güvencesiz çalışmanın mücadeleler tarafından tanımlanan bir durum olduğu savunulmaktadır. Bu çalışma, set işçilerinin işyerinde mücadele ettiğini açık bir şekilde göstermektedir. Türkiye'deki set işçilerinin bir sınıftan ziyade bir durum olarak anlaşılabilirliğini ve güvencesiz durumlarının farklı olduğunu göstermektedir. Nitel araştırma, milyon dolarlık bir sektördeki gündelik faaliyetlere yeni bir bakış açısı sunmaya çalışmakta ve set işçileri üzerinden güvencesiz çalışmaya yeni bir tanım getirerek mevcut literatüre katkıda bulunmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Güvencesiz çalışma, yaratıcı endüstri, medya endüstrisi, set işçileri, Kültürel Söylem Analizi



*For those who lost
their lives while filming...*

INTRODUCTION

“Once you are in, you never get out!” said a production assistant to me, laughing, on the first day I was in the set, “You will get used to it, don’t worry, we all did!”. I remember using the exact words to an intern years later and adding “Now forget everything you have learned at the university, and run like your life depends on it, the sun is coming!”.

After high school, I started to study economics in a university unwillingly, due to a mistake I have done in compiling my university preference list. I did not want to go to campus 3 hours far from home, so started to look for a job. My flatmate was a senior in Radio, Television and Film department and was already receiving calls from production companies. She constantly rejected every offer by complaining about working conditions. One day, the person behind the call asked whether she knew someone unqualified. In 2 days, I found myself in another city working as a costume assistant, washing and ironing the clothes of the actors in a well-known TV series. We were working 6 days a week, under -10 degrees, in a very risky and unhealthy setup, with only 3-4 hours of sleep a day. Sometimes a working day lasted more than 48 hours. We were perpetually running to finish the shooting of the episodes that were each longer than 100 minutes. I remember the crew being unhappy, angry, and exhausted all the time. The channel the show aired, was making a lot of money, but we were paid weeks behind. People were getting sick, having a lot of accidents with physical injuries, fighting with each other, and lots of mobbing and harassment were going on, and yet no one was quitting.

I worked under these conditions for 10 years, in Turkish, European, and American productions in Turkey. Whether it was movies, commercials, music clips, TV series, or catalogs, one were different from the others A few members died because of driving after 40 hours of work, or during the set simply due to the lack of safety measures in a risky environment. The working conditions were taken for granted by the crew, and there was little if any mutiny, as networking was the only way to secure the next job. None of the production companies wanted a rebel in the crew. Everyone had dreams about quitting one day, but only a few did. Many of

them, returned after a while, as they could not find better alternatives. Once you are in, you never get out...

From the beginning, I have always known lots of things were wrong in set work, and not just me but I guess every member of the crew was aware of the inhumane conditions. A few years after I quit, with the solidarity of the camera departments and Cinema-TV Union, the working hours were limited to 12-16 hours a day. The occupation began to be labeled as a "hazardous occupation" in January 2015 (Kenarlı, 2015). It became mandatory to have Occupational Health and Safety Specialists and Paramedics on set. There are still some production sets that are not following the rule, but there is no law enforcement for breaking the rule. If one quits, they can always find a substitute crew member for less payment and more work.

It's a common belief that those employed in the film and television industries enjoy their job just as much as the audience does. It can be thought of as a dream career for someone who does not understand what truly occurs behind the scenes, with all the luxury, action, love, revenge, and horror; renown for the flawless lives and perfect body images of actors. With what I and my friends have been through while working in a job we somehow liked in mind, I conducted this study for the experiences and the narratives of the set workers in Turkey to be heard. I wanted to show the various perspectives of the crew behind the camera of a million-dollar creative media industry. Furthermore, I would like to trace the relationship between set work and the production process in Turkey and explore what it means to be a set worker from the perspectives of set workers.

There is limited study concentrated on set workers in Film/TV Series industry and they often concentrate on the institutional regulations and social relations in film industries (Blair, 2003; Blair et al., 2003; the British Film Institute Study, 1997). This dissertation intends to contribute to such an understudied area of set workers within the media and communication studies through in-depth interview with set workers with 10 years of experience working in different tasks and departments. Cultural Discourse Analysis (CuDA) as framed by Donal Carbaugh is employed as a methodological framework in the analysis of the

interviews to understand the concept of precarious employment in relation to the narrations of the set workers in Turkey in a multilayered process, To develop a comprehensive understanding and insight into the experiences of set workers, the research is designed as an exploratory study. The production set visits I have done before the pandemic started and my previous experience of working on the set helped in the interpretation of the interviews.

The research questions of the study are:

1. How is the relationship between set work and production process defined in Turkey?
2. What does it mean to be a set worker from the perspective of set workers in Turkey?
3. What meanings are active in set workers' discourse? What motivates them to keep on working despite the working conditions?
4. What forms of action are taken to change the working conditions?

The circumstances of the modern era modify how capital controls labor. Numerous procedures have been devised in Europe to allow workers to work without the protection of fundamental rights. The exclusion of the concept and the representative of class from politics is another notable aspect of this time period. The precariat is now being acknowledged as a distinct class from the working class. *Precarity* and *precarious work* are used as the main concepts to define the working conditions of the set workers. Therefore, Chapter 1 covers the theoretical discussions related to precarious work in the literature. According to the International Labour Organization, there are 73% of workers in 90 countries are employed in unstable situations (Somavia, 2004). Precarious employment serves as a metaphor for employment that lacks the stability and permanence of full-time employment. It does not provide any protection against mistreatment or hazardous working circumstances, and it restricts the ability of employees to push for change.

Since the late 1990s, precarious employment—which is referred to be the second phase of neoliberalism—has gained popularity in Turkey. Labor Law No. 4857 is the most significant action taken in this direction in the private sector (adopted in 2003) (Güngen, 2010). In the 1990s, the Public Personnel Regime

Reform brought insecure kinds of work to the forefront in the public sector. Instead of being an exception, contracted employment is starting to become more common in the public sector. Particularly in the domains of health and education, part-time, limited, temporary, and individual employment contracts have been expanded (Poçan, 2005). Throughout the chapter, the concept of precarious work and its difference from traditional work is explored by introducing the concepts of immaterial labor, flexibility, and insecurity in relation to transnationalism. The notion of flexibility refers to the freedom of capital to hire labor as, when, and in whatever quantities it sees fit. Workers with precarious employment must be ready to relocate and adjust their lifestyles as necessary. In this regard, insecurity serves as a unifying characteristic for all types of flexible employment. Although historically converging in the neoliberal age, processes of flexibilization and precarization have opposite consequences on class formation. Insecurity has the capacity to bring the working class together, whilst resilience causes division (Thompson, 2016). Subsequently, the conceptualization of the precariat and the important movements are mentioned, with reference to Guy Standing's 'Precariat: The New Dangerous Class' (2011).

Standing states that although the precariat is not yet a class in itself, it can be argued that it is an emerging class. According to Standing, the precariat is a group that 'could be the basis of a political movement' (Standing, 2011). The precariat finds its place in society as a part of a class hierarchy, which includes different labor groups. This hierarchy and the classes within it seem to have been determined due to class analysis that could be identified as neo-Weberian. While Standing makes claims about the existence of a new class, he neither talks about class theories to which he is affiliated or not, nor does he conduct a theoretical discussion of class analysis. The precariat is not about production relations, it is derived from the forms of labor relations in a certain period, and appears as an ahistorical concept. Guy Standing argues that what makes the precariat is not relations of production but labor relations including employment, money/income, and occupations. According to Standing, women, young people, the elderly, and members of racial and ethnic minorities have been affected by the transformation

of capitalism and neo-liberal policies. The proletariat is a class that does not form the majority but is shrinking, according to him. Standing does not address precarity as a homogenizing feature of labor, in line with the approaches in the literature that perceive class fragmentation as the only trend. Most of those who are gradually breaking away from the salaried are also joining this group. Despite the precariat not yet being a distinct class, Standing claims that it is an emerging class. The precariat, in Standing's words, "could be the basis of a political movement" (Standing, 2011). The precariat occupies a position in society as a member of a class structure that also includes several labor unions. This hierarchy and the classes that make up it appears to have been chosen by neo-Weberian class analysis. Standing asserts the existence of a new class and even classes, but he makes no mention of class theories to which he subscribes or does not subscribe, nor does he engage in a theoretical debate of class analysis.

Later on, the chapter inspects the creative industries, starting with the definition and history of the industries and the precarious working conditions. Both established and developing nations have significant potential in the creative industries (Yaratıcı Endüstriler Mali Destek Programı, 2021). There are glitzy, dazzling, flattering declarations and discourses for these industries, but from the perspective of the labor force, the reality is different. The term "creative industries" can be used to describe all actualized activities that use intellectual capital and creativity as their primary inputs when producing, delivering, and creating new products. Through support interventions in other industries, publicly supported organizations in charge of maximizing the economic potential of the creative economy are giving them a global reach. Traditional artistic concepts and various independently developed creative activities are both included in the creative industries. Creative industries have a wide range of fields from small-sized workshops to holdings (Akın, 2020). Industries that are productive and use culture as both an input and an output are the creative industries. Since creativity in its original form cannot be equated with materialism or industrialization, it is seen as the wellspring of goods that are unaffected by market concerns in its first forms. Beyond the current state of wage labor, the social equivalent of creative labor that

gives an industry its creativity extends to social media, computer games, user labor, and expanding space for leisure time waste. Because labor exploitation occurs in creative societies in a covert manner through gilded, calm, charming discourses and declarations, it differs from other industries in this regard. This results from the neoliberal approaches' acceptance of capitalist implements with new rhetoric. Modern slavery can be abolished by raising consciousness and comprehension of the fundamentals of the new capitalist thinking. A significant distinction from this is that it makes this possible by putting creativity into circulation in favor of the capital, as opposed to simply realizing itself when it associates with the name of the industry. These oblique claims imply that employees in the creative sectors continue to serve as members of the precariat, or modern proletariat, and even as modern slaves.

The structure of the precariat is not homogeneous. People who work in temporary occupations have substantial differences from those who are jobless after graduating from college, immigrants who should leave their nation due to living conditions, and private sector employees who work under precarious contracts. Every group shares the fact that there is no assurance of the future, nevertheless. The precariat that the conditions of life bring can be used to describe this (Odabaş, 2020).

After the theoretical background, Chapter 2 defines the film and TV industry (TV series and commercials specifically), and digital platforms. According to Manuel Castells, the 20th century saw the emergence of a brand-new reality that is supported by the infrastructure created by information and communication technology (Castells, 2008). The majority of Western countries saw the emergence of cinema at the same time as other notable inventions like the car, electricity, chemicals, and airplane (Bakker, 2003). In Turkey, a typical day of watching television lasts 3 hours and 34 minutes (RTÜK, 2018). In 1952, regular television broadcasting commenced in the open studios of Istanbul Technical University. The first professional television (and radio) broadcaster in the country was the publicly funded Turkish Radio and Television Corporation (TRT). Turkish-language

German satellite transmissions were made possible when Turkey became the first Middle Eastern country to authorize domestic private broadcasting.

In the first half of the 1970s, television shows were introduced to Turkey. Theater performers with the right tones and accents for dubbing have benefited TRT. When Turkish TV executives learned that there were viewers outside of Turkey, they were first horrified (Algan, 2020). Before their first seasons are even halfway through, more than half of TV shows are canceled due to low ratings. With this accomplishment, 196 new TV stations have emerged in less than three decades, 19 of which are nationwide.

In a capitalist society, advertising is a form of commercial communication with the main objective of boosting sales. It also acts as a means of creating and promoting capitalism ideology. Its objective is to encourage people to desire new possessions and boost consumption so that advertiser businesses can profit (Williamson, 1978; Tan Çelebi, 2020).

In 2016, Netflix entered the Turkish television market in a way that changed everything. In 2017, Turkish television programs were first broadcast on Puhu TV and Blu TV. Due to its high potential, the Turkish digital television market is highly competitive. The ability to allow users to binge-watch entire seasons of TV shows is a crucial feature of digital platforms based on paid memberships. Netflix's ability to successfully compete with traditional television right away is a result of a superior understanding of its target demographic.

Later on, the chapter describes the set workers, the departments, and the working conditions of set workers in Turkey, and unionization in Europe, Canada, and Turkey throughout history. The term "workers" in this study refers to the team behind the camera in motion pictures, television shows, commercials, music videos, etc. Both professionals in the film industry and those who work on TV shows find the interpretations of job classifications to be ambiguous and perplexing. The fact that production and post-production businesses now work not only in television broadcasting but also in advertising and the film industry has created a controversy about which professions should be grouped (Çelikcan & Bükler, 2013). Due to the

nature of the professions, it may be difficult to distinguish between a member's obligations and those of another in the same department.

After defining the different departments, the chapter concludes by examining the research on set workers. In her empirical study, Helen Blair explored the uncertainty that project managers in the movie industry experience and how they manage it (Blair, 2003). Blair contrasted the regional labor markets for the UK and US film industries with Culkin and Randall. They discovered that set workers share a variety of career-building behaviors and networking activities (Culkin, Randall, & Blair, 2003). In this sector, unionization aims to influence the government to recognize actors and performers, provide professional definitions, and reduce workplace accidents (Bulut, 2016). With the help of 432 set workers, Akten and Wise looked into the factors that lead to burnout and the idea of problem-focused coping (2022). They discovered that employee well-being and burnout may be decreased or worsened in the setting of Turkish cultural and social dynamics.

Chapter 3 explains the methodological framework of the study: Cultural Discourse Analysis (CuDA), which is a method for investigating communication and communication codes as a practice and culture, focusing on the interpretation of meaningful comments that are understandable to participants on their lives, providing a rich, nuanced, and systematic way of describing and interpreting the cultural significance of communication (Carbaugh, 2007; Scollo, 2011). CuDA is a conceptual paradigm for analyzing terminology in cross-cultural and international communication. CuDA can be applied in a range of cultural contexts and activities thanks to its multidisciplinary application. The researcher then defines each tale, organizes them, and assesses the importance of key symbols and concepts to the participants. CuDA provides a number of hypotheses and questions that form its core and guide the development of cultural premises and discourses. Carbaugh provides five hubs through which to probe each analytical dimension: identity, action, feeling, relation, or dwelling. As a methodological and theoretical framework for comprehending discourses both within and between cultures, CuDA has been very beneficial.

After giving examples of research using CuDA, the chapter introduces the participants and the procedure of the research. 31 participants in (11 female and 20 male) were interviewed for the study. Participants had to be in a newly created department (such as COVID coordinator, paramedic, occupational health and safety, etc.) or have worked on a set for at least ten years. Every semi-structured interview lasted one to one and a half hours. The interviews were recorded using an electronic voice recorder and were done in Turkish. Some of the interviews were conducted through video communication tools like Zoom or Skype due to COVID-19. MAXQDA 2022 software was used to evaluate all the data. Based on interpretation and inter-coder agreement, emerging themes were identified for each case, and the examples were then contrasted. On the software's creative coding, the sub-codes were grouped using Carbaugh's five hubs. Later the chapter explores the narratives of the set workers in relation to the 5 hubs of CuDA. The chapter discusses how the set workers define themselves, employment conditions, self-representation, networking, feelings during the shootings, and the actions that can be taken to change the overall working conditions.

Finally in Chapter 4, the set being a space of struggle is discussed in terms of physical and psychological struggles. The film and television industries are undervalued, frequently dangerous, and structurally unclear. Due to inadequate regulation, set workers are more likely to face high labor demands, precarity, and instability. Unstable working conditions, when coupled with a lack of resources, can result in significant burnout and anxiety. One's health may suffer from working in a fast-paced setting. The pandemic forced the majority of people in the world to stay at home and distract themselves with media, which increased demand for new shows and forced production teams to work harder and more dangerously while also being severely exhausted. The influence of sectoral business networks, circle of acquaintances, and recognition/sector awareness on landing a job is clear for those who work in Turkey's film and TV series industries. It is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to find a job by merely presenting oneself, one's knowledge, and one's talents.

Interviews demonstrate that motivation for set workers comes from sources other than money, particularly from being a part of a tale that will be seen by others. According to the interviews, there is a lot of creativity in both constructing and destroying worlds. The set workers are motivated and entertained by this creation akin to God, which keeps them working. A number of non-work realms, including one's own health and well-being, are impacted by precarious labor. Long working hours, according to research, negatively affect conflict between the family and the job. By encroaching on colleagues' personal and social time, another unfavorable effect is to create an imbalance between work and social life. Hopelessness has a harmful impact on people in many different ways, including an increase in physical health problems and psychological disorders. In a project, set workers battle with their rights, their fundamental needs, their emotions, or their identities. Uncertainty takes over when a project is completed since no one knows if a viable project will follow.

Throughout the chapter, changes after the investment of digital platforms and COVID-19 are also argued. The practice of filming and watching a broadcast has completely changed thanks to digital media. One season of a series on a digital platform can be watched all at once. Exxen, Blutv, Gain, and other digital platforms with Turkish roots offer the same working conditions as Netflix to their employees. Standing contends that the methods of worker exploitation brought forth by globalization have had a more detrimental effect on the precariat class (2011). The introduction of digital platforms to Turkey did help to moderate the situation to some extent, but the exploitation is still happening more covertly. The director, who must be the most inventive during production—their authorial signature is typically attached to the film—is occasionally suppressed. Even the director disappears, as the digital distribution channels switch out directors for different episodes of the same program.

Following the research's pilot interview, the dynamics of set workers as well as everyone else in the world were impacted by the COVID-19 global epidemic. With the cry "Stop the sets!" the Actors' Union appealed to television networks following the COVID-19 virus' debut in Turkey in March 2020. While some

stopped working, the others carried on as normal while donning masks. The personnel was already separated from their families before COVID-19, but because each of them ran the risk of contracting and spreading the infection, they were further separated. The pandemic worsened the working environment.

It is a serious problem that there are unions and structured working conditions in the television sector. These unions were unable to unite and demonstrate a sufficient level of unionism, and as a result, they were unable to significantly and sustainably strengthen employee rights (Çora, 2019). Regardless of whether they are union members or not, all of the participants agreed that even if they also think it will be challenging or even impossible, they must work together to change the situation. According to the research, a person is less likely to think about leaving their current job if they are more satisfied with either the material or social aspects of it. The interviews also made clear that there is little cohesiveness among the set employees. In contrast to countries where the film industry is industrialized like as Europe and America, where unions and professional associations are more common, the Turkish film industry is organized mostly through associations and foundations. Although there is a desire for change, set workers are reluctant to take action.

Insecurity and uncertainty are a constant part of the set workers' jobs. Participants said that to alter the conditions, they must stand together, whether or not they are union members. They all have different suggestions for how to improve the working environment. The fact that every participant in the study felt that the working conditions in the sector could improve to be more compassionate, especially in Hollywood, was noteworthy. The main aims of this study were to provide an account of the set workers' reported narratives, understand their experiences, and use these experiences to contribute to the understudied literature in Communication Studies because there hasn't been much research on set workers in the film and television industry. In a multilayered approach, cultural discourse analysis was used to examine the precarious employment of set workers in Turkey. The interviews make it possible to identify a brand-new precariat category for creative workers, especially for set workers. At the end of the chapter, the

implications of the methodology and the limitations are reviewed with a general inspection of what the research may have accomplished in terms of defining a new kind of precariat and comments on potential future projects.



CHAPTER 1

THE PRECARIAT

The methods of capital controlling labor, change by the conditions of the current era. Control mechanisms created for factory workers in the past two centuries are stretched to include all types of workers. Nowadays, work has become an unfinished pursuit, with the reorganization of occupations and ways of doing business through the benefaction of technology. Simultaneously, the rights of the employees are changing. With the new regulations, states are attacking workers' rights, such as severance wages, retirement rights, and health insurance. In Europe, many practices have been developed to enable workers to work without fundamental rights, with the excuse of overcoming the economic crisis and recession. The restrictions on the interns' rights and the employment of individuals without any guarantee of the term of work are just some examples of the new regulations. Another striking feature of this era is removing the idea and the agent of the class from politics more than ever before. Workers fighting for their rights are moving closer to the idea of class, but the vast majority of the employees prefer to define themselves in terms of occupational position or salary. For the ones whose working life is uncertain, futureless, and insecure, there emerges a new term, a new class: the precariat. Many researchers have identified the precariat notion as being particularly important for new class analysis. The idea of the precariat being a new and dangerous class created hope for some and fear for others. The precariat has begun to be recognized as a class that is different from working class.

1.1. CONCEPTUALIZATION OF THE PRECARIOUS WORK

Work that is unstable and insecure in terms of quantity and continuity is referred to as precarious work. It limits the power of workers to argue in favor of change and it does not offer any protection against abuse or unsafe working conditions (Kalleberg, 2009). Precarious work has grown significantly over the past three decades in both developed and developing nations and is now practically the

rule rather than the exception in working life. According to a study of the International Labor Organization, 73% of the workers in 90 countries work in precarious conditions (Somavia, 2004).

The precarious work symbolizes work that is different from full-time work in terms of stability and being permanent. To show the distinction between precarious work and traditional work, scholars have developed different terms such as non-standard or atypical work (Kalleberg, 2000), alternative work arrangements (Katz & Kruger, 2019), and flexible work (Spreitzer, Cameron, & Garrett, 2017; Allan, Autin, & Wilkins-Yel, 2021).

Economic insecurity is another aspect of precarious labor, such as uneven pay or limited benefits. Precarious employment may not provide a living wage or a stable income to cover essential expenses (Allan, Tay, & Sterling, 2017), and does not offer full-time employment advantages like access to healthcare or retirement savings, adding consequential costs to the workers' budgets (Frank, Liebman, Ryder, Weir, & Arcury, 2013). These conditions also grant limited power and control over the workers, which results in the lack of collective bargaining or promoting organizational change (Allan et al., 2021). Because they do not have workplace protection, precarious workers may depend on their employers for the continuity of their work, leaving them open to abuse and harassment (Perry, Berlingieri, & Mirchandani, 2020). Precarious employment has raised the risk and unpredictability of employment quality as well as job availability. Individual health and well-being (mental stress, poor physical health, etc.), family formation (delayed marriage and having children), and isolation in social life are only a few of the non-work domains that are affected by it (Kalleberg & Vallas, 2018).

Precarious work is linked to a number of health issues, including physical and mental ailments, disorders particular to certain occupations, unhealthy lifestyle choices, and socioeconomic deprivation. In contrast to being evenly distributed throughout the population, precarious work is more likely to be concentrated along the lines of intersecting socially created disadvantages that may exist in any society, such as racial or ethnic origin, gender, age, level of education, household income, social class, citizenship, immigration status, and disability. As a result, some groups

of employees, such as women, young people, members of racial, ethnic, or other minority subgroups, those who are foreign-born, less educated, disabled, and informal workers, are more likely to experience precarious employment (Gunn et al., 2021).

1.2. PRECARIOUS WORK IN TURKEY

In Turkey, precarious work has become popular since the late 1990s, defined as the second phase of neoliberalism. In the first phase of neoliberalism (the 1980s-1990s), control over labor was established through policies aiming to lower wages. A discourse emphasizing the budgetary constraints imposed by structural adjustment programs legitimized these policies. Beginning at the end of the 1990s and continuing to the present, the second phase, through the policies of flexibility and insecurity of the workforce, has come to fore to control the labor directly in the fields of production and reproduction, and these policies were legitimized by the new discourse of ‘increasing global competitiveness’ (Ercan, & Oğuz, 2007). After the 2008 crisis, these policies were reinforced by hiding behind the rhetoric of ‘increasing employment’ (Müftüoğlu, & Özgün, 2010).

During the ongoing process, important steps have been taken into action to promote precarious work in both the private and public sectors. The most important step taken in this direction in the private sector is Labor Law No. 4857 (adopted in 2003), giving a basis to part-time, temporary, and contracted work, aiming to expand flexible and precarious working styles through private employment agencies (Güngen, 2010).

In the public sector, precarious forms of work came to the fore in the late 1990s within the framework of the Public Personnel Regime Reform. In this context, most of the public employees within the status of ‘officer’ according to Article 4-A of the Civil Servants Law (No. 657) have been transferred to the status of ‘contracted personnel’ according to Article 4-B, allowing part-time, limited, temporary, individual employment contracts to be expanded especially in the fields

of health and education (Poçan, 2005). In this process, contracted work has started to become the norm in the public sector, rather than being an exception.

Another type of precarious employment that has been wanted to be expanded in the public sector recently has been employed with the status of 'temporary personnel' according to Article 4-C. This status, which has been created to ensure the fulfillment of temporary public services with a duration of at most one year, is rarely used for only non-permanent jobs that do not require any qualification and the for the workers who have lost their jobs during the privatization process with a Council of Minister's decision (adopted in 2004-also article 4-C). With this new article, it is recommended that workers with minimum wage in temporary jobs do not have any social security and do not require any qualifications, condemning them to live in permanent migration. This is the type of employment that 12.000 Tekel workers resisted; therefore, their struggle from the very beginning meant a struggle not only for themselves but also for all the precarious workers (Yıldırım, 2013).

1.3. FLEXIBILITY AND INSECURITY

Before continuing, it is useful to briefly dwell on the closely related concepts of 'flexibility' and 'insecurity'. Flexibility is a concept that is about capital's freedom to employ workers when it wants, as much, and as it wants. As a result of labor market liberalization and fragmentation, flexibility manifests itself practically in the spread of various employment types such as temporary, part-time, contract, seasonal, irregular, and short-term employment. (Çerkezoğlu, & Göztepe, 2010).

Contrarily, insecurity fundamentally refers to a lack of social or employment stability, which leaves one constantly concerned about the future (Tsianos, & Papadopoulos, 2006). In this sense, the situation can be defined as uncertainty, not only in working conditions but in living conditions as a whole. For example, precarious workers have to be prepared to move wherever they can find work and change their lives accordingly. Similarly, precarious workers have to accept any job, whether related to their area of expertise or not. This eventually might cause

both the devaluation of their labor power and the deterioration of their integrity. In this sense, insecurity is a homogenizing feature that embodies all forms of flexible employment.

Processes of flexibilization and precarization, although historically coincident in the neoliberal era, have opposing effects on class formation. While resilience divides the working class, insecurity has the potential to unify. To make the labor market flexible, forms of employment have become highly diversified. This deepened the differences within the working class and led to the consolidation of differentiation. It goes beyond the fragmented labor market and diversified forms of employment; therefore, there is a fundamental tendency that homogenizes class differences along the line of common destiny: the precarization of work (Özüğurlu, 2011).

Another reason why insecurity is a unifying phenomenon is that it is a situation that workers themselves feel at the conscious level. While flexibility comes before workers as a more objective situation, insecurity is also an experience that workers feel subjective; or flexibility embodied in their consciousness. According to this perspective, workers are united by their shared experience and consciousness as a result of their insecurity, which bears the features of a class phenomenon (Thompson, 2016). At this point, the issue culminates in Özüğurlu's critical question: "Can the precarious working trend, which homogenizes the working class, regardless of the form of employment, whatever level of education and qualification, be the organizing link of a united class movement?" (2011, p. 181).

1.4. CONCEPTUALIZATION OF THE PRECARIAT AND THE MOVEMENTS

Since the start of the 2000s, social struggles in Europe against precarious labor have given rise to the idea of the "precariat," which is a combination of the words "precarious" and "proletariat." The word *précarité* was first used by a group of French sociologists to highlight commonality in the struggles of unemployed and

irregular workers. The etymological origin of the word *précarité* is based on the Latin word *Precor*, which means ‘to pray’; therefore, it refers to a universal human condition that includes so much helplessness and uncertainty that it requires "praying" (Barbier, 2004).

André Malraux used the expression *l'homme précaire* (precarious man) in his literary writings to describe the condition of humanity in the face of civilization, whereas Bourdieu was the first sociologist to apply the idea to the working life. Bourdieu utilized the idea of *précarité* to highlight the contrast between the living situations of workers in regular and irregular jobs in his study on working conditions in Algeria (1963). Another French sociologist, Agnès Pitrou, developed the term *précarité* to describe the precarious living situations of families who were unable to acquire social help from the government and their worries for the future of their children in her 1982 research (Barbier, 2004).

Since Bourdieu emphasized that "precarity is everywhere," the term *précarité* has come to be understood as a broad term for the ambiguity of working and living conditions. However, the spread of the concept by gaining political content started with the rise of a new social movement against precarious work in Europe in the early 2000s. The theoretical predecessors of the movement in question are based on the concept of ‘immaterial labor’ used in 1996 by sociologist Maurizio Lazzarato, who comes from the Italian autonomous Marxist tradition (Emirgil, 2010).

Immaterial labor, as defined by Lazzarato, is work that creates the cognitive (informational) and cultural content of goods, which has been increasingly important in the post-industrial production process since the early 1970s (Lazzarato, 1996). The concept refers to two dimensions of labor. On the one hand, workers in large corporations in the industrial and service sectors have skills that require cybernetic and computer control of their labor processes due to the development of the "cognitive content" of commodities. On the other hand, the creation of a commodity's "cultural content" allows it to influence public opinion and define artistic and cultural standards, styles, tastes, and consumer norms. In this process, while manual labor has become ‘intellectual’, mental labor has become ‘massive’

and the distinction between the two becomes insignificant (Lazzarato, 1996). In the same process, both types of labor have shifted into flexible and insecure and met on a new class basis. The name of this meeting is 'precariat'.

Chain Workers Crew, founded in Milan in 1999, started a political movement based on the concept of the precariat in this sense. The Chainworkers Movement aimed to bring together two types of workers on the basis of precarity and to establish a network of solidarity between them: chainworkers (chain workers - those working in large shopping malls, supermarket chains, large retail chains, fast food, and similar chains) and brainworkers (head workers - Those who work in "creative jobs" with high wages but insecure in sectors such as media and information technologies). The movement combined the art of cultural resistance based on parodies of corporate and political advertisements, called subvertising as an organizing tool, with traditional forms of anarcho-syndicalism (direct actions such as blocking trucks transporting to fast-food chains distributing leaflets to customers). Alex Foti, one of the leaders of the movement, explains the reasons for choosing this style of the organization as follows: "Since there is no trace of the class struggle in the minds of the young workers who are paying the price of the 'new flexibility' policies of neoliberalism, we tried to make the struggle attractive to them in such ways (Disch, 2011). For this purpose, graphic designers designed their websites to attract the attention of young people and even organized a digital march called 'precariopoly' with the participation of 20,000 people. Thus, they provided the opportunity to express themselves to young chain workers who worked in big shopping chains in almost prison conditions but who could not find any cultural reference system to resist these conditions. On the other hand, the same process reminded those who work in 'creative jobs' that they are 'workers' (Oğuz, 2011). According to Foti, no matter how different their wages, education levels, and living standards may be, the fact that these two groups come together based on "precarity" gives people who work at opposite poles (on one extreme) of the two sectors where employment has increased the fastest in the last two decades of neoliberalism - the information and service sectors, technicians, programmers,

cashiers at the other end, drivers, pizza delivery people- are fundamental in terms of giving social visibility and working-class identity (Foti, 2017).

Another country where a strong movement against insecurity emerged during this period was France. The group called *Collectif de Solidarité* (Solidarity Collective), which was born in 1995 after the general strike against pension reform, pioneered this new movement. The group consisted of precarious workers who saw the inadequacy of traditional union structures in the 1995 general strike. They proceeded from the point that the strikes of precarious workers working in large chains in isolation from each other could only be successful when the activists from outside their 'workplaces' (but who were also working precarious and were not members of the 'leftist' groups who came to the protests to recruit members) spread the demonstrations throughout the city. The group's first action took the form of support for the strike launched in Paris in 2002 when five McDonalds' employees were accused of stealing money from the safe and were fired. Although the strikers were members of the restaurant unit of the *Confederation Generale du Travail* (CGT- the largest French union), they received only symbolic support from the union. The main group that kept the strike alive was the Solidarity Collective. A vital role was played by the collective in the 115 days of the strike by explaining the strike to customers and sending them back, ensuring regular solidarity at other McDonalds' and fast-food restaurants in Paris. The strike resulted in the reinstatement of employees. Another strike actively supported by the collective was the 10-month strike of African migrant female workers working as room cleaners in the three-star international hotel chain ACCOR. These workers, who work for very low wages per piece (according to the number of rooms they clean), have been exposed to various diseases due to overwork and irregular working hours, which are determined completely arbitrarily, in addition to low wages, when the cleaning works are transferred to a subcontractor company. The workers, who were members of a small alternative union when they started the strike, continued their strike only with the support of the Solidarity Collective after the union withdrew its support completely in the first days of the strike. The collective helped keep the strike alive by translating non-French workers, distributing leaflets in the hotel lobby twice a

week, explaining the strike to customers and providing support, organizing solidarity concerts, and providing financial support to the strikers. At the end of the strike that lasted for 10 months, the employer relieved the pressure on piece wages, regulated the working hours, and reinstated the dismissed strikers (Goldner, 2005; Oğuz, 2011).

Another important example from France is the Intermittent (Irregulars) movement which was founded in 2003. This movement, which was initiated by the stage workers, - most of whom work part-time and irregularly, on the cut in unemployment insurance - started with the stage workers blocking all the festivals and the evening news on television in France. Later, the participation of the film director and actors, resulted in the questioning of the neoliberal job insurance system itself and created a general public opinion against precarious work (Corsani, 2007).

The strike initiated by young people working part-time at McDonald's and Pizza Hut with the slogan of Stop Précarité and the "European march against unemployment, insecurity and social exclusion" organized by anti-globalization activists were turning points in the transformation of the precarious movement into a European-wide political movement. In 2001, while the Italian anti-globalization groups were preparing to protest the G8 summit in Geneva, they started an alternative May Day celebration in Milan, which they called MayDay and which they defined especially in the axis of the representation of the 'precarious generation'. They also held the celebrations in the form of a carnival in order to emphasize their differences from traditional unions and conciliatory social democrats who do not put the fight against precarity on their agenda. MayDay was repeated every year in Italy with wider participation. In 2005, EuroMayDay was celebrated in twelve European cities as the 1st of May for precarious and migrant workers across Europe. In 2006, EuroMayDay was celebrated in twenty European cities with the participation of 300 thousand people and for the first time in Tokyo outside Europe. Thus, EuroMayDay has turned into a day of solidarity for the insecure, who are not represented in the traditional May Day celebrations. However, since 2006, the momentum of the EuroMayDay movement has

decreased, and this situation has been interpreted in two different ways. While some interpreted EuroMayDay's crisis as a defeat, others argued that EuroMayDay withered precisely because it managed to achieve its goals. According to the second group, EuroMayDay has achieved its goal of bringing insecurity to the public agenda by providing social visibility to precarious employees; and precisely for this reason, the struggle goes beyond the symbolic EuroMayDay celebrations; it has turned into a longer-term struggle that takes different forms in different localities (Casas-Cortés, & Cobarrubias, 2007). These discussions about the crisis of EuroMayDay have brought to the fore the questioning of the precariat as a political concept and the political movements that have developed around this concept.

1.5. GUY STANDING'S 'PRECARIAT: THE NEW DANGEROUS CLASS'

Guy Standing's book *The Precariat: The New Dangerous Class* contains the precariat and the idea of precariat with citizenship. The subtitle of the book was determined as 'From Denizens to Citizens'. This sub-title has been translated into Turkish as 'From Restriction of Rights to Citizenship'. In this sense, 'restriction of rights' seems to be compatible with the meaning and content of Standing when it says 'denizen,' while 'denizen' is a foreigner status whose residence and citizenship rights have been accepted, or being able to stay in a country whether or not he is a citizen of that country, or is used to describe the person who has the right to return to that country. With this content, it can be thought that it is intended to draw attention to the phenomenon of immigration, which is among the most important issues and social problems of the 21st century, as well as the erosion of rights with the neo-liberal agenda. While on the one hand, the precariat debate is associated with the neoliberal transformation of citizenship and rights, on the other hand, immigrants are mentioned as one of the leading social segments that make up the precariat. According to Standing, the social segments constituting the precariat and the precariat attain their class affiliation based on their relationship with jobs and occupations, labor market positions, employment, money, or income, not with the point of production and means of production (2011). He argues that what makes the

precariat is not relations of production but labor relations including employment, money/income, and occupations. Thus, it can be said that while defining the precariat, Standing embarked on an analysis based on class and status with reference to Weber. Standing asserts that women, young people, the elderly, and members of racial and ethnic minorities have affected the precariat as a result of the transformation of capitalism and neo-liberal policies. It is a unique class that is still forming, with recurring contributions from various facets of the populace, including the disabled and the criminal. The majority of these groups join the precariat in experiencing chronic insecurity, and the precariat must deal with a special mix of insecurity types.

Standing treats the precariat as a separate and distinct class, and respectively the plutocracy, the elites. It places professionals, salaried workers, and the old core working class (proletariat) under a class schema to follow. He also defines the unemployed and lumpen-precariat (or underclass) in a way to settle under the precariat. Standing argues that the proletariat is a class that does not form the majority but is shrinking. He lists the following characteristics of the precariat as some of its distinguishing traits: distinctive relations of production and distribution; distinctive relations with the state; lack of professional identity; lack of control over time; isolation from the labor force; low social mobility; and the traps of over-qualification; uncertainty; poverty; and insecurity (Standing, 2014). Standing's goal is not to define each of these terms carefully or analytically; rather, he is solely interested in defining the precariat as distinct from the rest of the class structure, particularly the working class. The primary strategy used by Standing to defend the precariat as a class is to claim that their circumstances are unique from those of the conventional working class. He recognizes that the precariat and some segments of the working class overlap when looked at individually, but when combined, these traits create a clear line of demarcation (Wright, 2016). Standing claims that persons who are cut off from working-class communities and families are included in the precariat as defined by these traits. It comprises of the least protected, including immigrants, members of racial or ethnic minorities, those seeking asylum, and an

increasingly large population of educated people. Most of those who are gradually breaking away from the salaried are also joining this group.

Standing's definition of the precariat as a separate class comes to the fore as part of the observation that 'a more fragmented global class structure emerges' in the globalization process. Standing does not address precarity as a homogenizing feature of labor, in line with the approaches in the literature that perceive class fragmentation as the only trend. On the other hand, Standing does not present an analysis framework that combines the existence of the precariat as a separate class within the global propensity for workerization and dispossession. Standing states that although the precariat is not yet a class in itself, it can be argued that it is an emerging class. Standing explains that the precariat is not yet a class for itself, not because of the prevailing ideological and political tendencies, the development of capitalism, the means of class struggle, and its inability to control the technological forces it encounters. He states that the precariat is a class in formation in its current form and has to become a class for itself to seek ways to eliminate itself. He maintains and repeats the idea that 'it should be'. According to Standing, the precariat is 'different from the classes that want to reproduce themselves more powerfully'. This difference is defined as the precariat being a 'transformative class'. The precariat is mentioned as a group that 'could be the basis of a political movement' (Standing, 2011).

The precariat is introduced as an emerging class. While the impression of an understanding is aroused within the framework of the class theory of Marxism with an emphasis on a class in formation, the precariat finds its place in society as a part of a class hierarchy, which includes different labor groups, with a schematization completely outside the Marxist class criteria. This hierarchy and the classes within it (elites, professionals, salaried, core working class/proletariat, precariat, unemployed, and lumpen-precariat) seem to have been determined due to class analysis that could be identified as neo-Weberian. While Standing makes claims about the existence of a new class - and even classes - he neither talks about class theories to which he is affiliated or not, nor does he conduct a theoretical discussion of class analysis. The precariat is not about production relations, it is

derived from the forms of labor relations in a certain period, and with this feature, it appears as an ahistorical concept.

Precariousness is viewed as a tool to identify and organize a collective actor as well as new forms of political struggle and solidarity that go beyond the conventional organizational models of political parties or labor unions in the current discussions (Tarri & Vanni, 2005). According to this perspective, precariousness "offers the opportunity for new subjectivities, new socialities, and new sorts of politics" in addition to being repressive (Gill & Pratt, 2008). Guy Standing, who popularized a phrase previously extensively used by social movements, refers to this *class-in-the-making* as "the Precariat" (2011). This way, the transformation of production processes, the rights associated with them, and most importantly, capitalism's deliberate governance tactics all contribute to the emergence of the precariat. It is not just the outcome of labor market changes and an increase in short-term contracts. Because of this, this phrase does not intend to designate a specific socioeconomic group but rather to suggest the possibility of creating an identity and an iconography for the shared experience of precarious subjectivities. This provides a glimpse of the concept of precariousness' multifaceted and polysemantic nature, as well as the ways it permeates modern societies in a variety of contexts, from the industrial to class, gender, family relationships, and political engagement and citizenship (Bove, Murgia, & Armano, 2017).

The majority of people in all parts of the precariat live in material conditions that are worse than those of the majority of people in the working class under the current norms of capitalism, or more specifically, under the rules of neo-liberal capitalism. After all, precarity itself causes enormous suffering. Erik Olin Wright (2016) argues that the real question to ask is not whether neo-liberal capitalism harms the precariat, but rather whether there are major distinctions between modifications to the current laws of capitalism that would benefit the precariat and the working class. When conflicts over the "fence" are the focus, are they on the same side or the opposing side?

1.6. TRANSNATIONALISM AND PRECARIAT

According to Standing, in the occurrence process of the precariat, there is the impact of the economy and labor policies of neo-liberalism. Flexibility increasing in the workforce markets and loading of the risks created by this fact on the working and non-working households, and cutting of the contribution and aids of the companies towards social protection has triggered a worldwide precariat existence (Kutlu, 2015). Depending on this systematic transformation, the precariat becomes an “anti-class” consisting of the people that are increasing numbers all over the world and even being deprived of minimum job security (Kızıldağ, 2019).

The labor exploiting mechanisms stemming from globalization have been effecting the precariat class more and this situation creates a danger by creating a growing population all over the world. Standing states that the precariat defined as a child of globalization was born as a new contribution to the class analysis of flexible production. For this reason, the precariat puts forward a reality that cannot even benefit from the minimum job security, and which number is increasing despite being qualified or non-qualified as a parallel to the impact of the flexible production relations on the workforce (Altıntaş, 2015).

The precariat is the product of globalization. The flexibility policies in the labor market in the 1980s are decisive in the occurrence of this fact. As globalization permeates human life, the number of people working in precarious jobs has started to increase exponentially. As flexible labor and policies in this direction spread, inequalities have increased and the class structure in the essence of the industrial society has been replaced with a more complex but not class-independent structure (Standing, 2014).

Standing (2014) mentions that in particular, the acceleration of the globalization movement with each passing day and the neo-liberal policies accompanying this process creates an atmosphere of insecurity and this process somehow makes everyone precariat. Although the characteristics of precariousness are different, ethnic minorities, women, criminalized people, interns, youth, and the elderly are the main actors of the precarization process.

Making women more visible in the working environment albeit on security, being of men in the economic recession, participation of the elderly people in the workforce again, and the possibility of being rivals for the millions of unemployed youth in the work market, pushing many adults into socially recognizable disability status with each day, and criminalizing too many people can be counted as among the main reasons for the worldwide expansion of the precariat (Kızıldağ, 2019).

The precariat is evaluated with performance-based lifestyles and working processes without any sense of professional development and competence. In addition, the precariat is a key to revealing the precarious atmosphere of work relations through fancy names such as the US-based 'hygiene consultant' (the person who cleans the toilets) and the French 'surface technician' (cleaning women) (Altıntaş, 2015).

Standing (2014) made research in countries with very different socio-cultural, political, and economic backgrounds such as Russia, the USA, China, France, Germany, England, Japan, and India, and similar results were obtained within the scope of his research made him conclude that the precariat and the reality of precarization are now a global phenomenon. Especially, low wages and worker mobility in the Chinese markets have led to a widening of the gap between wages on a world scale, and in this sense, it has left the labor market powerless against the flexible and precarious working environment. 'Foxconn City' in Shenzhen and similar capital formations, which has the world's largest contract manufacturing center and where has an annual worker turnover rate of 40% and presents the most important indicators of flexible labor policies in terms of low wages and work intensity, and which is partly owned by brands such as Sony, Apple, HP and Nintendo are among the most important reasons for the rapid development of the precariat process on a global scale.

This class, whose basic dynamic is the globalization wave and the flexibility policies of the neo-liberal model, is the photograph of today's human typology, which spreads almost all over the world, cannot benefit from the concept of security even at the minimum level, regardless of its quality, and whose numbers are increasing day by day. In this respect, the concept of precariat not only explains

how policies of flexibility affect labor relations and social life; the concept has also an important potential in terms of understanding the dynamics of the recent Arab Spring, Occupy, and social movements in the USA and London (Altıntaş, 2015).

On the other hand, Standing stated that the precariat, which has different statuses, can be examined in three main sections. By naming the first category as ancestorists, he mentioned that the families of this precariousness can be considered as proletarian that are in different work branches like mine, steel, harbor, automotive and have partial job security and social rights. However, the class consisting of the children of these parents is the one that feels the deprivation of status and social rights of their families as well as of a lost past (Odabaş, 2020).

The second-class precariat is the class that Standing focuses on the most is the educated, university graduate class. This class had higher education for the hope of a regular and secure job, however, the members of this class could not reach out to such security (İlhan & Yavuz, 2017).

The third one consists of immigrants, minorities, and refugees. Standing mentions that this class shows a nostalgic attitude as they are deprived of a sense of home and belonging. While the immigrants are the victims of the implementation of the precariat worldwide, however, they also help the spread of this implementation on a global scale (Standing, 2011). The immigrants or refugees are the ones that need to leave their own countries because of different problems such as war, conflicts, financial crises, etc., or want to have higher living standards in the countries where they want to emigrate. They may also cause to be evaluated by the authorities of the countries where they go as reserve workforce or a tool for pressure on wages (Aztimur, 2019).

Fear of deprivation that the precariats live to remind the movements such as Yellow Vest and Occupy in terms of transnational acts. People of different worldviews that have various education levels, ethnicity, and political tendencies being the driving force of the movements participated in these movements to express different concerns and deprivation besides their objections to the economic, political, social, and cultural system.

In this context, although the immigrant actions in the Paris suburbs in 2005 started as an act of protest against police violence, they became the platforms for expressing immigrants of their objections as denied social rights. economic deprivation and social exclusion. Similar actions can also be seen in the rights of the Afro-Americans in Los Angeles in 1995. When two events are evaluated together, they can be explained as the endeavor of self-expression of the groups that they felt as disadvantaged and discriminated against. If we consider the fact of social movements and precariat together, the diversity of the structures that make up the precariat and the differences in their responses to the anxiety of deprivation they experience with the diversity and heterogeneity of social movements make it easier to evaluate the two concepts together. The irregular reactions of the immigrants and refugees that do not generally have a political response enable being defined of these groups as social public movements rather than relatively more permanent and systematic moving social classes (Odabaş, 2020).

On the other hand, according to Bauman (2013), any negativity anywhere in the world that is expected to yield local results has globalization potential through a universal effect. This can be stated for every kind of negativity that can produce a universal fear as wars, financial crises, and pandemics when having a globalization potential. With the approach of Bauman, the situation is global on a globalized planet, and no one is exempt from the consequences of this fact. This also can result in different security problems for the countries.

In a conclusion, the third group of the precariat, immigrants, refugees, and minorities has more potential for being the precariat concept as a more transnational character. Its effects have been seen since the beginning of the Millennium and it seems that this fact will be one of the main social, economic, political, and cultural issues that should be dealt with worldwide. In this framework, security policies can be applied in different parts of the world. Contrary to the widespread precariat stemming from the immigrant and refugee basis, there can be more radical political movements opposing this situation. Different economic troubles and the problems that are specific to the welfare society feature of the countries reinforce the future anxiety and social insecurity feeling among the indigenous people of these

countries. Many socio-economic problems in the country as unemployment cause the blame of the immigrants for damaging the social welfare and increasing ambiguousness. Therefore, for a more peaceful world, especially the different social, cultural, and political decision-makers should depend on more implementations and approaches based on human rights, the rule of rights, social welfare, and democratic governance principles. And trying to solve different local problems such as financial crises and civil wars with direct and effective solutions.

1.7. CREATIVE INDUSTRIES AND PRECARIAT

The creative industry concept started to be used at the end of the last century. Increasing competition and its transformation process resulted in the countries tending to the fields adding value and competitive advantage through reevaluating their economical potentials. Innovation and creativity became key concepts providing added value increasing in this transformation process. Feeding with the cultural accumulation of countries and their dynamism and the transformation of this accumulation to economic value through considering current developments and global trends, primarily digital technologies, creative industries have an important potential not only for the developed countries but also for developing ones (Yaratıcı Endüstriler Mali Destek Programı, 2021). On the other hand, while the working conditions of the labor force in these industries are elaborated, there are different scenarios. Although there are sparky, bright, flattering statements and discourses for these industries, the reality occurs differently from the point of view of the labor force.

1.7.1. Definition of the Creative Industry

Since the 1980s, creativity has been a feature of economic policies. It is found in various concepts such as the "creative sector," the "copyright industry,"

the "content industry," the "experience economy," the "creative business sector," the "art-oriented business," the "cultural communication industry," the "media industry," and the "information economy." Although the creative industry has been defined with different terms for these years, it cannot express certainty on the definitional level and is open to interpretation (Akin, 2020). On the contrary, Debord (2012), an expert on creative industries, stated that there would be no development without creativity and the same patterns would be repeated and blessed 'creative industry' depending on the origin of the 'creativity' term to Antique Greece in the introduction part of Think Creative Journal.

According to the UNCTAD report (2008), the development paradigm of the modern world should be supporting each other economically, culturally, technologically, and socially in the micro and macro perspectives. The important thing in this paradigm, the information, and access to the information are defined as significant tool that impacts economic development and supports the advancement in the global world. In line with all these, the definition of creativity is forming new ideas and using them to produce original works of art and culture, usable designs, scientific investigations, and technological advancements. Therefore, creativity is crucial for encouraging entrepreneurship, fostering innovation, boosting productivity, and fostering economic growth. Moreover, according to the WIPO report (2014), literary talent, capabilities, and artistic creativity are accepted as the main way of new business ideas and social welfare.

Especially in the millennium era, it is thought that creativity has a significant role in economic development and increasing awareness. This awareness is stemming from the perspectives of the decision-makers and opinion leaders for creativity as a leading factor in strengthening the economical and social structure (Seçilmiş, 2015). The publicly funded entities in charge of maximizing the economic potential of the creative economy are successfully promoting new business branches and giving them a worldwide scope through support interventions in other industries. Although some producers are aware of the growing interest in and support for the creative economy, they are taking precautions to avoid accepting commercial opportunities that can restrict or harm

the creative spirit, genius, or statement. The increase in related academic research causes more interest in the subjects of the creative economy (Collins & Cunningham, 2017).

Bilton and Leary (2002) mentioned that the term ‘creativity’ became a definition in the management understanding of the current world and a fashion concept in the political ground. The concept was used for putting forth the innovation, flexibility, and autonomy capacity and to be seen as more productive than the long-term strategical planning for achieving competitive advantage. Creativity has currently become the language and currency of the information economy.

According to Negus and Pickering (2000), it is difficult to avoid from creativity concepts. The usage of creativity is quite customary in media and entertainment industries and it is possible to get ideas about the works and abilities of film directors, actors, and writers as well as a number of people that work in similar fields in any newspaper, journal, or social media platform. With the advancement of the advertising industry recently, creativity term gained a different meaning via creative promotions, campaigns, and personal rewards. With the expansion of context of the creativity, since it was used in many different areas that were not related to each other, the term lost its meaning and became an instrument of another jargon.

The term creative industries could be used to refer to all actualized activities that utilize creativity and intellectual capital as their main inputs while manufacturing, delivering, and generating new products. (UNCTAD, 2008). Creative content consists of economical value and market targets with a series of activities depending on the information that produces concrete and inconcrete intellectual or art services. The activities based on increasing intellectual capital are seen as the important keys to development and having a competitive advantage in the society. Creative industries include traditional art thinking as well as different creative activities that are independently put forward. They also consist of industrial film, television, radio broadcasting, and the branches that are more technology-based and service-oriented as new media, design, and software studies. Creative

industries have a wide range of fields from small-sized workshops to holdings (Akin, 2020).

The concept of the creative industries is dependent on a mixture, according to Hartley (2005). Creative arts and culture industry, freedom and comfort, public and private, government and commercial, citizen and consumer, and political individual all have ambiguous borders, and it is via them that an idea emerges. Hartley defines these as “twin realities” and the most important one of these is the reality separation in the perception of creativity. According to the first reality, the origin of the culture is still creativity, however, on the other hand, creativity is the reality that is produced, delivered, consumed again, made into entertainment, and completely separated from the essence of the past.

Due to the report of Deloitte (2019), the productive industries that incorporate culture as both an input and an output are known as creative industries. The sub-sectors of graphic design, fashion design, and advertising participate in the process in addition to architecture and design, which incorporate creative tools into larger processes.

The creative industry concept has a hidden oxymoron feature. This approach claims that creativity term brings originality related to the art to the mind at first. Creativity in its first form cannot be considered with materiality or industrialization and it is regarded as the source of the products being away from market concerns in original conditions. Nevertheless, there become differences in the feature and perceptions of the concept with the creative industry concept (Aslan, 2017).

Wang (2004) evaluates the creative concept as historical rather than a category and in this context, he states that it can include geographical differences according to the local cultures and conditions. For example, while creativity focuses on consumption and the market in the US, it is an appearance of a more traditional understanding that reflects the national and social culture in Europe. However, creative industries show development in the fields of the game, consumer, culture, market economy, and citizenship in both places. England, Singapore, Australia, Taiwan, and Hong Kong are the first places that implement the term creative

industries. In other places, especially in China, this idea was accepted less at first and creative attempts and innovations were based on development policies more.

The convergence of the internet, computer communication technologies, and television have a significant impact on the creative industries. These industries also profit from the capabilities of digital storage, big data, connected data, manipulation, and reproduction of digital media. The Internet created a revolution for the distribution and sharing of artworks and however, became a guide for the reproduction and distribution of these artworks. In the present world, bookstores and music shops can state more than their physical entities (Seçilmiş, 2015).

1.7.1.1. History of Creative Industry Concept

Certification of creativity industry term as a concept emerged with new cultural policies report that was named as “Creative Public” and issued by Australian Government in 1994. Expansion of the creative public was an important step for compiling the new technological opportunities of Australia with its global cultural policies growing like a wave and being able to activate in digital media. Although the creative public was presented as a cultural politics at first, it includes political economy at the essence. These cultural policies developed formally during Australian Prime Minister Keating having the feature of the policies that take the fund support firstly. The report that includes films, radio, literature, and other areas had a clear expression on the importance of occurring of national identity and definition of the culture (Akın, 2020). In his speech, Prime Minister mentions that culture creates welfare. Australia gains 13 billion dollars annually from the activities that are generally described as culture industry. There were about 336 thousand Australians working in culturally related fields. Culture creates value and has a big impact on design, marketing, and innovation. The degree of inventiveness heavily influences talent adoption for new economic difficulties. It is a valuable export and it accompanies other commercial activities in an important way. It

attracts the interest of tourists and students and it is significant for economical success (Office for the Arts, 1994).

The statement of the creative industry began with the acceptance of the New Labor as a power in the UK in 1997. The activation of the National Trade Center and the creative idea existed parallel with the development of the economy in the same period. Firstly, with the effect of art and media economy, the creative industry was considered as a concept that was replaced with culture industry. However, creative industries began to be accepted more widely through efforts of the international industries and showing of creative industries themselves as a different statement (Akin, 2020).

According to the statement of Nicolas Garnham in 2001, there was a huge development in information communication technologies with neo-liberal movements in the UK in the 1980s and 1990s. Consequently, the creative industry can only be meaningful when it is thought with an information society context. Garnham put forth two main claims for the understanding of creative industries in British culture and indirectly involved in social life in an active way as a cultural element. According to him, creative industries became the primary growth sector of the economy in both national and international dimensions and for this reason, they are key sources for future employment increase and expansion of export volume. This sector is seen as the essential source of richness in the next century (Moore, 2014).

Creative industries are employment and welfare production supporting creativity, talent, and content protected by copyright through prioritizing individualism. This statement took place in the report by the British Digital, Culture, Media and Sports Department (DCMS, 2001). Things expressed to a certain extent are the presentation of economy-political activities under the culture industry. However, artisanal content such as dance, virtual arts, jewelry, fashion, and furniture design were also added to these and the scope was expanded. These possibilities became new employment and creativity resource of new economies with digitalization.

Creative industries' concept expanded its field after the realization of the control of the governments as a political implementation and it began to be guarded in every field that belonged to the public and cities. 'Creative city' works of British expert Charles Landry (2012) was an important first. Following this, American city researches theorist Richard Florida (2014) made the second international study and realized his study that he called 'creative class' for providing development of the cities successfully. Florida included many professionals, managers, technical workers as well as information workers that are related to the subject in his study. Therefore, Florida thought that all these groups would create a new class that was the source of the energy and cultural dynamism of the city people (Markusen et al., 2008).

Spare time became a new cultural identity for individuals and societies. Florida's work became one that consisted of all the parts of the cultural activities that took place in the urban structure and systematically fulfilled spare time activities. According to his view of point, it was targeted to fulfill the spare time in the urban structure and other parts with demanded purpose. Although this work was met with great enthusiasm in the US, Northern Europe, and Eastern Asia at the beginning, since it was seen that the essence of it did not depend on the scientific data, this study lost its effect and being the focus of attention. According to the academicians that objected to Florida, the hopeful actors that could be active in economical and social development did not have the required features and were not strong enough and they could not find sufficient guidance. After this, Florida also accepted that talent and creativity became a cluster and very little progress had been made (Moore, 2014).

Akın (2020) claims that although the importance of creative industries has been increasing both informal authorities and academic environments, they are not admitted sufficiently by many governments and are deprived of fund support. Nevertheless, the becoming of creative industries as an understandable concept is increasing in countries bases, and finding either national or international support is getting easier day by day. Just for this reason, while the related statistical data enable the opinion leaders to develop an idea through thinking in a more healthy

way, they also help creative industries to get a wider area through growth. Whilst developed countries such as the UK, Australia, and the US support the policies of creative industries, they are also accepted by developing countries such as China, Brasil, Thailand, and Turkey.

According to the Creative Economy Outlook and Country Profiles Report of UNCTAD (2018), while the creative product trade was 208 billion US dollars in 2002, it reached 509 billion US dollars in 2015. According to the same report, the first five countries in creative products export are respectively: China (168 billion dollars), the US (39 billion), France (34 billion), Italy, and Hong Kong (27 billion). While the export of creative products in Turkey was 3,3 billion dollars in 2014, it reached nearly triple times, 9,8 billion dollars, in 2014. At the same time with a 5 billion dollars surplus in creative product trade, Turkey became the 4. country for having an export surplus in 2015 (Yaratıcı Endüstriler Mali Destek Programı, 2021).

1.7.2. Creative Labor

Sennet (2010) claims that there was a transition to bureaucratic labor from muscle labor in twentieth-century labor processes, and therefore, states that this century is a bureaucrat labor age. He mentioned that white-collar workers enhanced the bureaucratic structure by verifying the decrease of the ratio of the traditional industry worker in industrialized countries. And he also explained that this process was defined as eliminating muscle labor evolved in the bottom level working-class group (secretariat, filing, etc.) through expansion of this bureaucratic area. In this context, as an alternative to the ‘proletariat’ concept that is the essential instrument of the Marxist literature in the Fordist production process, the precariat concept came to the fore as a mass context which is new and insecure working conditions oriented and has disputes on itself and has a wide range of diversification in itself (Erdoğdu et al., 2021).

As the most famous writer for defining and disseminating of precariat concept, Guy Standing (2014) presents a popular general view on the contrary to the effect of neoliberalism on working relations and the emergence of a group that he sees as an advancing class in his book. According to this, keeping up and surviving as a differential feature of neoliberalism begins with the comprehensive changes in the globalizing capitalist production relations. International production and neoliberal capital powers that act with the desire of realizing the trade and investment circles for the sake of the expansion of their own commercial volumes did not like the state with which they identified central government as a planning and regulating device. They saw the world as a place into which investment, employment, and revenue flow and will increasingly be an open one (Bailey, 2012).

Standing mentions that this is a flexibilization suggestion by neoliberal economists for overcoming the contraction in the market and crisis (2014). According to this, there is a flexibilization strategy that will be realized by decreasing the costs of the companies and calculating the emerging reaction against this implementation. These economists stated that flexibility policies should function in the labor market, or else, the labor costs would increase, and therefore, the finance would be invested in the countries that had low costs. The flexibility mentioned here includes many fields as payment, employment, work branch, and qualifications. All these flexibilization kinds were anticipating decreasing the costs over labor and of course putting forward a strategy that would cause the workers to be more precarious. While globalization was entering our lives and the governments and companies were contesting with each other for flexibilization of their own labor relations the ones working in precarious jobs multiplied exponentially. Whilst the flexible labor was disseminating, inequalities increased and the class structure is the essence of the industrial society replaced with the one which was definitely not independent from the class and more complex than this structure (Standing, 2014).

At the beginning of his book when he evaluated the precariat, Standing mentioned that he made presentations to a group of academicians on this subject, however, he was criticized and insulted. This group claimed that there was nothing new in his approaches and the response to the possible demand of the precariat was

the union rights in the context of old and traditional information in the literature. However, he assessed that this response was at fault. Standing asserted that the group of workers that he define as precariat did not demand old union rights and they would not be satisfied with these. Additionally, he differentiates the precariat from the proletariat as is known in labor history literature (Standing, 2014).

Although Standing stated that it was not independent of the class, in later parts of his work, he differentiated the precariat from the working class or proletariat clearly. According to him, this diversification stems from the demands of the proletariat as working continuously in the same job, working full time, stability, unionization, knowing and understanding the nature and expertise of the work, known local employers do not take place in the precariat. For example, he states that the precariat does not know the employer and when, how, and whom the employer employs. He also says that this group does not belong to the middle class as they do not have the regular salary that the middle-class conditions require. Standing associates the content of the context with Marxist literature and additionally it can be said that it is a new class structuring rather than being a “class for itself” that comes to the meaning of achieving class cognition and awareness (Erdoğdu et al., 2021).

On the other hand, Nicholas Garnham, one of the theorists of the eco-politic approach, mentioned that behind the transition to create the rom culture in the definition of cultural policies since the 1990s there were transformations created by the information society and information economy and the new approach could only be understood within this context. Despite including risks, Garnham claimed that innovation understanding created a convenient environment for creative industries. Therefore, he also mentioned that the service economy and post-Fordist production structure played an important role in the development of consumption patterns and creative class through articulating a new creative class and consumption understanding (Garnham, 2005).

1.7.3. Creative Workers

No doubt that the sectors forming the creative industries have specific differences in themselves, work branches depending on production, and other types of the service sector in terms of work organization, management, and working conditions. The most important difference is the workers in the creative industries have more original and individual-oriented practices than other work branches. This working class is also called creative labor or classwork based on high technology rather than muscle power and the workers should not follow the industry, however, the industry should follow the workers (Hartley et al., 2018). When it comes to the autonomous and individual involvement of employees in work, the transition of the work to the pleasure and receiving of labor its own reward in this way is brilliant, however, it is also a determination that needs to be considered (Miller, 2016). Therefore, proceeding with the work in the line with individual features can also be a sign of getting rid of the usual meanings of the work from the point of the workers. It should be noted that the creativity notion is presented as a formula for liberation from the bureaucratic, old, and cumbersome one and a magical term bearing liberating meanings because of raising expectations for the creative ones to be able to climb the social ladder in the ideological packet of the neoliberalism (Garrett, 2020).

Therefore, the bright working environment presented by the creative industries implies that the features of the capitalist production that are known and establish hostile bonds with workers gradually become ineffective. Does the dependence of the industry on the workers, not vice versa, and presenting the work as a pleasure announce the elimination of the validation of the evaluations which Marx made through *alienation*, Lukacs through *reification*, Durkheim through *anomie*, and Weber through the *bureaucracy* that tries to solve the problematic relationship with modern human and society? (Musto, 2010). As seen often in the social theories of knowledge, information, and post-industry, there is a general similar optimism towards the essential parameters of the creative industries (Canpolat, 2020).

On the other hand, parallel to the diversity of sectors that form the creative industries, although there are many different working practices, it should be expressed that precarity, low wages, and even working with no salaries are general tendencies and important problems. Although the literature on creative industries is relatively new, there is present research on the subject. It should not be forgotten that autonomous and individualistic features of creative industries that are spoken highly of are cited as the first and direct reason for temporary and precarious work in the creative economy in terms of labor (Miller, 2016). While temporary, precarious, and even unpaid work environments gain a place as the current formats of labor exploitation, the source of this is declared with the requirements of the sector, and even working unpaid for long periods of time is taken for granted as almost the main rule of entry into the industry (Siebert & Wilson, 2013). Therefore, it should be considered that the present condition of creative labor includes the dimensions that touch the precariat disputes. As known, the most dominant image of the precariat comes from numerical flexibility called 'atypical' or 'non-standard' for a long time (Standing, 2019).

According to a study by Gill (2002) that searched the working practices in the new media defied with adjectives as *cool*, *creative*, and *equitable*, it was revealed that the workers in this sector suffered from precarity, low wages, and long working times. Continuing discriminatory relations based on gender roles that were supposed to be identical to the traditional sectors in such “innovative” sectors is an important issue. Moreover, doing all these by hiding behind “egalitarian” discourses should be accepted as signs of exacerbating the problem. A different study in the UK by Percival and Hesmondhalgh (2014) showed again that unpaid work in entering into the film industry became a rule and furthermore, the experienced workers that took place in the sector admitted the unpaid practice to a lesser extent than the ones that were new to the industry.

On the other hand, creative labor notion and labor power in this field can be evaluated in the creative industry and beyond its borders, also in immaterial labor or unpaid labor disputes. When we expand the scale of the literature for the subject of the concept, the social equivalent of creative labor that makes an industry creative

reaches further beyond the current situation of wage labor, to social media, computer games, exploitation of the user labor, and an extending plane for the waste of free time, also to the phenomenon of society as a whole turning into a factory (Fuchs, 2016). Canpolat (2021) mentions that under these circumstances, a different window is opened to what extent has been rendered invisible of collective creativity in the capitalist production style. Moreover, this appearing invisibility of creativity just realizes itself when identifies itself with the name of the industry, however, with a significant difference, it enables this by putting creativity into circulation in favor of the capital.

Important thing whether in creative industries or in other sectors is giving the labor rights of the workers exactly without any exploitation. The difference between creative industries and other ones for the issue is that labor exploitation is made in a hidden way through gilded, cool, flattering discourses and statements in creative societies. This stems from the adoption of the capitalist implementations in neoliberalist approaches with new rhetorics. One of the most famous of these discourses and rhetorics is industries are for the workers, not vice versa. However, this becomes useless as the employers in creative industries as in the media sector exploit the rights of workers through long working times with less payment and even no payment, then vice versa of the notion above, in other words, workers are for the industry is valid. The gilded encouragements and discourses become fruitless. These statements hiddenly claim that workers in creative industries continue to work as the modern proletariat, i.e. precariat, and even modern slaves. Although there is a transformation in the informatics worker from muscle one, the mentality still predominant its essential ideas. Only the etiquette of the worker and labor force changed. This is more dangerous that these approaches demand to continue the hidden labor exploitation with brightful discourses. As a result, increasing awareness and cognition for the basis of the new capitalist understanding will lead to overcoming this modern slavery.

1.7.3.1.Creative Labor in Turkey

The creative labor concept takes place in the center of the information-based economic structure established over immaterial production and thoughts. Creative labor is the critical component of labor production because of its specific features. Some originalities harden the control over the labor from the point of management and commercialization. Creative labor consists of the complex features, power relations, and balances that are difficult for an explanation. Creative labor that intersects with the economic discourse that defines the behavior patterns and competencies expected from the workers takes an important place between the sources of change and transformation required to be discussed at the individual and social level (WEF, 2016).

According to Allen et al. (2013), lecturers, teachers, and employers produce the students as successful or hireable creative workers over the neoliberal discourses and practices. The findings of the research also present anticipations about the immanence of the global economic discourse in higher education (Demir, 2018). Class, gender, and racial discrimination that defines the ideal employee implicitly in this discourse, and inequalities brought by project-type work, which is the dominant production model in creative industries create the basis of the creative labor critics (Eikhof & Warhurst, 2013).

The creative labor concept is directly related to the creative cultural industries (CCIs). Creative labor creates the basis for CCIs. In his framework, the political and academic discourse about making the CCIs in the center has been raising in the last 30 years (Florida, 2012). The creative economy that is shaped around CCIs and in which the cultural products and their copyrights have come to the forefront is seen as an important transformation source (Esen & Atay, 2017). It is emphasized on the production of the cultural symbols in which thoughts and creativity have a pioneering role and on the meta value of the information instead of the material production in the past (Lazzeretti et al., 2014).

Information technologies, software, and computer services; publishing; design, radio, and cinema are among the primary creative works and although there are specific regional development supports, it cannot be stated that there is integrity in terms of creative industries policies. In this context, it can be claimed that although there are incentives for developing CCIs, however, it is not sufficient in terms of policymaking and academic approaches. CCIs are evaluated in Turkey on a singular basis. This situation makes it difficult for some related higher education programs to adapt to the holistic pace of change in terms of student competencies and relations with the sector (Demir, 2018).

According to Demir (2018) without establishing a basis for the concepts of creative industries and creative labor in Turkey, it does not seem useful to add the important change brought about by these concepts to the continuation of the labor debate or to evaluate it only from the perspective of career and employment. In this framework, when we evaluate different patterns in various sectors, we can observe the lack of awareness between the creative labor and precariat. Unal (2020) mentions that she aimed to evaluate the working conditions, social rights, and class positions of the theater actors, and their professional organization in the context of the culture industry and reveal the extent to which the situation of the theater actors is suitable for the precariat phenomenon. She made interviews with theatre actors from 24 special theatres in İstanbul.

In her study it is seen that these actors generally take place in their theatres on a play basis, they earn money on a play basis and they are not employed being tenured. This increases their precariat situation and shows their anxiety for the future. Increasing their salaries, especially through their recognition is one of the most significant effects of the culture industry and branding processes on the theatre actors. On the other hand, not getting any salary during their rehearsal process that endures for at least two months and the low level of the salaries after the theatre cause many theatre actors to work in additional jobs. These additional jobs may be ones that are related to the sector as a theatre educator, series sector, script writer, director as well as ones that can also be from out of the sector. Because of the precariat condition of the theatre actors, although their essential professions are

being theatre actors, it is seen that some of them work in other jobs essentially and they act in theatre additionally. This situation explains why some people see theater acting as a hobby. As a result, the act of avoiding insecurity, which is the most basic feature of the precariat, creates an obstacle to the strengthening of critical theaters albeit unintentionally.

According to Vatansever and Gezici Yalçın (2015), creative labor is becoming more worthless and fragmented with each economic insecurity and existential crisis. When the facts as tenuring difficulties in the academy, increase in temporary contracted or paid per lesson employment, and the growing commodification of education and research that underpins academia, it becomes clear that the academic labor is also subject to the process of devaluation. Academics who are exposed to the impositions of the neoliberalizing academy to publish continuously in their spare time from intensive work and lectures, find themselves constantly confronted with a sense of inadequacy and worthlessness even if they provide all the conditions. While the unemployment problem that becomes a systematic situation in the academy causes those who are excluded or those who cannot find a job to see themselves as not competent enough and to blame themselves, the lucky few who can find a job are faced with the implication that their employment was due to a coincidence or a fate they did not deserve and these people are made to feel that they should be grateful for having a job.

In an environment in which entering the academy is difficult and quitting the academy is easier, the feeling of one that he or she is lucky for entering this academic environment is also among the findings of the precariat (Durmaz, 2017). Standing (2014), who defines a part in the precariat as “alienated labor”, states that positive feelings that make the precariat feel the need to be happy and grateful for finding a job within itself are a sign of alienation. The concept of alienation, which was first handled by blue-collar workers, started to be discussed with neoliberalism in a way to include white-collar workers overtime also. The alienation concept that is defined as losing audit on the labor process is identified by Standing as the situation in which something is done directly for others and at the behest of others, not because of one's own will. For this reason, academia, which is the dream of

many people, has often turned into a profession with an uncertain future for those who start to practice this profession. This situation, on the other hand, causes the alienation of those employed in the academic tenure with future concerns to their profession over time (Sezgül, 2021).

According to the study of Güngör Özcan (2019), the health workers under 4/B have also been precariat in their jobs. In this context, the participants in the study mentioned the problems with their employees personal rights. Although they were making the same work, they had different rights because of their employment kinds and this difference caused them to lose and receive unjust treatment. In this context, there is a claim that trade unions, non-governmental organizations, and associations defend their rights, however, the participants expressed that they are far from defending their rights of them as they establish a relationship of representation with the employer and power. Not only taking business life but also the whole life under its impact, the precariat phenomenon was evaluated for planning the future as well. In line with this approach, besides the uncertainty of the future, the employees stated that it brought anxiety, fear, and worry for them. Participants expressed the phenomenon of precariat they experienced due to their employment patterns. And they also stated that the employees who are now permanently employed also experienced or would experience this situation as soon as possible. Such precariat fact has affected all forms of employment.

Depending on the different patterns from various sectors mentioned above, with neoliberalism, evaluating the surplus value not only in the form of production but also it's becoming visible in the level of the social relations necessitates the employment forms to be dealt with on the basis of the precariat fact. On the other hand, while the developments in the relationship between the creative labor and precariat have been observed in Turkey, a decade ago a very significant event, the Syrian War, began to affect the political, social, economic, and cultural life of Turkey that has direct precariat impacts also.

Standing also includes immigrants and refugees as one of the important instruments of the precariat. This situation that is disputed over the Syrian refugees is a notable point in the context of the impacts of these refugees whose number

reached millions on the workforce market. It seems that the Syrian refugees have become significant actors in the workforce market and started to affect this market deeply. The entrance of a such number of people in this market increases the rivalry for employment and has pressure on decreasing the wages of the employees. There should be over workforce for the wage pressure and reproduction of the workforce. With the spare workforce, wage competition will increase and precarious working conditions will expand (Kutlu, 2015). This also makes the material and immaterial gains of the labor precariat. From this point of view, the Syrian refugees in Turkey cause volatility in the labor market and endanger the job security of local workers in terms of the transnational feature of the precariat. In other words, the Syrian refugees lead to the Turkish working class to experience precarious conditions (Odabaş, 2020).

Similarly, Standing (2014) mentions that the precariat directs the reaction of the environment in which it lives to another precariat. The precariat that feels that its job security and job guarantee are under the threat finds the responsibility of this situation on the immigrants as well as on the employment policies. This also means that the precariat has a struggle within itself. Precariat can also blame another group because of facing fragility and degrading behavior. This case of accusation means that the precariat that is not pleased with the living conditions has a fear and anxiety that another group of precariats will take away their limited means. Therefore, the groups that are the same or belong to a similar economic and social structure are tended in appropriating the problems produced by this structure to each other because of mutual fragility and tensions.

This shows that the precariat does not have a homogenous structure. There are significant differences between the persons that work in temporary jobs and college graduate unemployed ones, an immigrant that should leave their country because of the living conditions, and a private sector employee who works as a precarious and contracted worker. However, the common point of every group is that there is no future guarantee for each of them. This can be defined as the precariat that the life conditions bring (Odabaş, 2020).

When considering these conditions, the governments should take the required precautions for decreasing inner tensions and conflicts. When there occur economic and financial crises, the significance of these precautions also increases. We may face different and severe conditions that we do not want, however, we can provide for being prepared for decreasing the negative effects of these developments through rational and realistic policies and implementations.



CHAPTER 2

FILM/TV INDUSTRY & SET WORKERS

After discussing the concepts of precarious work, precariat, and creative industry workers, it would be useful to draw some attention to the film and TV industry as well as the set workers, in order to understand the development of the industry and the working conditions of the workers, especially in Turkey.

2.1. FILM INDUSTRY

Polish photographer Boleslas Matuszewski in 1898, described the film as a historical Frankenstein's monster; a dead past reanimated and once again walking about among the living:

The cinematographic print, in which a thousand negatives make up a scene, and which, unrolled between a light source and a white sheet, makes the dead and gone get up and walk, this simple ribbon of imprinted celluloid constitutes not only a historic document, but a piece of history that has not vanished and needs no genie to resuscitate it. (Treacey, 2016, p. 13).

“The history of the cinema in its first thirty years is one of unprecedented expansion and growth. Beginning as a novelty in a handful of big cities -- New York, Paris, London, and Berlin -- the new medium quickly found its way across the world, attracting larger and larger audiences wherever it was shown and displacing other forms of entertainment as it did so.” (Nowell-Smith, 1996, p.20). As Manuel Castells pointed out, the 20th century has witnessed a new reality based on the infrastructure provided by information and communication technologies (2008). As the original industrialized medium of popular entertainment, film is widely used. Cinema first emerged in the majority of Western nations about the same period as

other significant discoveries like the vehicle, electricity, chemicals, and the airplane. (Bakker, 2003).

American dominance in the motion picture industry and Hollywood's international film market control, discussions about cinema always brought a relationship with Hollywood (Yüksel, 2018). Since its foundation, Hollywood has been defined by an environment characterized by concentration, vertical integration, and tight contractual adjustments. The struggle to dominate the market, which started in the silent cinema era, continued in the sound cinema era, and Hollywood completed its vertical integration completely at the end of the 1930s and came under the dominance of major companies (Özen & Çelenk, 2005). Vertical integration means that these companies control the three phases of filmmaking: production, distribution, and screening (Triebvasser, 1998).

2.1.1. Film Industry in Turkey

According to Barış Saydam (2020), it is appropriate to describe the development of cinema in Turkey under five main headings:

- a) *Early Cinema*: The palace serves as the point of entry for the moving picture into the Ottoman Empire. The first screenings begin at Abdülhamid 2nd's Yıldız Palace. The first public cinematograph screening was held in Beyoğlu on December 12, 1896. In 1908, Sigmund Weinberg opens the first established movie theater in Turkey in Tepebaşı. The official historiography approach in Turkey accepts the documentary film "*The Fall of the Russian Monument in San Stefano*", directed by Fuat Uzkınay, as the first film (Saydam, 2020, p.402, 403, 406).
- b) *Before Yeşilçam*: As a result of the Republic of Turkey's establishment, the effect of the ideological change in the country is felt in the cinema activities in Turkey. The first feature-length themed films were produced by Kemal Film, which was the first film company established with its own private capital after the filmmaking activities of the army. Before 1948, the municipality used to

charge a 70% tax on domestic and foreign films , but with the regulation in 1948, the rate for foreign films remains the same, but for domestic films, the rate is reduced to 25%. This encouraged investment in domestic films and contributed to the progress of cinema activities in Turkey (Saydam, 2020, p. 409-411).

- c) *Yeşilçam*: With the 1960s, "neighborhood culture" is blessed as a reaction to the changes in social life. The emphasis on "us" created by Yeşilçam becomes a dominant feature. Familiar stars, cliché plots, the good, the beautiful, and the heroization of the "honest" in the stories appear as the rising elements in this period. While 85 domestic films were produced in Turkey in 1960, film production increased to 215 in 1965 and reached 241 in 1966. 1710 films were made between 1960 and 1969, and 637 of these films were produced by 17 companies. (Saydam, 2020, p. 412- 413).
- d) *After Yeşilçam*: The 1960s saw a pinnacle in the commercial popularity of Turkish cinema. Turkish cinema entered the 1970s in a shaky manner. One of the reasons for the disintegration in the 1970s was that both the director's generation experienced burnout with Yeşilçam and the current audience changed, while the new audience found Yeşilçam films to be clichés. In the mid-1970s, big companies slow down their production, cinema cannot compete with television, and Yeşilçam's important directors are forced to withdraw from the sector due to the erotic film frenzy. In this period, TRT, the only channel in Turkey under the general directorate of İsmail Cem, gave important directors the opportunity to shoot films for television. (Saydam, 2020, p. 415, 416, 418).
- e) *New Turkish Cinema*: The environment for film production, distribution, and viewing significantly changed by the 1990s. With the division of big movie theaters into small pocket theaters, the entry of global powers into the Turkish market, and the Foreign Capital Law of 1989, major American companies opened branches in Turkey and became the leading figures of the sector. In this period, while American film companies closed their movie theaters with package programs for the whole season, domestic films could not find a place for themselves in the theaters. The crisis environment in which commercial

cinema entered in the 1990s, working with low budgets, “producer-director” who have the chance to shoot their own movies the way they want necessitates the upbringing of the next generation. In this period, Turkish cinema made a breakthrough abroad by successfully evaluating globalization and new production, distribution, and screening models. Turkish films that are shown all over the world, especially in Cannes, Berlin, and Venice, return with important awards from the places where they are shown. The most decisive elements in the cinema of the 2000s are to produce productions that will gain visibility abroad in terms of content, form, and aesthetics and integrate with the tradition of European art cinema. (Saydam, 2020, p. 418-420).

2.2. TELEVISION INDUSTRY

Applications of the idea of seeing from a distance started in 1840. It was 80 years before the development of electronic reinforcement during WWI. The following 20 years witnessed the conflicts between low quality mechanical TV systems with limited knowledge and high quality systems, the problems of wide channel bands, attractive tubes and general electronic arrangements. In the 1940s, these difficulties were overcome, and with the end of WWII, television reached its current level (Spottiswoode, 1969). Television first became accessible in primitive experimental forms in the late 1920s, but it would take a while before the new technology was made widely available. The popularity of extended black-and-white television broadcasts after World War II led to the widespread usage of televisions in homes, places of business, and organizations. In the 1950s, television dominated other forms of media in terms of swaying public opinion (Diggs-Brown, 2011).

2.2.1. Television Industry in Turkey

Television maintains its importance as people's greatest entertainment. The average daily television viewing time in Turkey is 3 hours 34 minutes, according to RTÜK's research. (RTÜK, 2018). Contrary to popular belief, The founding of the Turkish Radio and Television Corporation (TRT) in the 1960s was not the start of Turkey's television history. Regular television broadcasting started in the public Istanbul Technical University studios in 1952 (ITU TV). The state-run Turkish Radio and Television Corporation (TRT), the nation's sole public broadcaster, is considered the nation's first professional television (and radio) broadcaster despite its constrained reach (it was only broadcast in and around Istanbul) (Kaptan & Algan, 2020). Early TRT programming included news, forecasts for the weather, documentaries, and music programs (Kale, 2019).

TRT underwent a significant shift in the late 1980s. TRT 2 first began broadcasting in 1986 as a TRT entertainment channel. TRT 3 became a part of the TRT family in 1989 as an educational channel. Later, the predominantly Kurdish and Arab southeast of Turkey was served by TRT GAP, which started airing content exclusively in Turkish for those communities. Despite the fact that the TRT channels were many, there was no variation on the screen. This is due to the fact that in the 1980s, private television and radio broadcasting in Turkey was still seen as being unconstitutional (Algan 2003). As a result, the state-owned broadcasting monopoly remained to rule the Turkish television landscape after the coup d'état in 1980 (Kaptan & Algan, 2020).

When the businessmen Cem Uzan and Ahmet Özal founded Star 1, an unauthorized TV channel in Turkey, through their Swiss-based satellite media company Magic Box Inc. (Sümer & Taş, 2020), Turkey became the first Middle Eastern nation to accept domestic private broadcasting, allowing German satellite broadcasts in Turkish (Öncü, 1995). Other Turkish TV networks, such as HBB TV, Kanal 6 (Channel 6) and Show TV, which aired from France, were created by Turkish businesspeople and entrepreneurs in 1992. Private radio and television

stations were granted broadcasting authority by Parliament in July 1993, following a constitutional amendment. This was a defining moment in Turkey's television history (Kaptan & Algan, 2020). As a result of the decentralization of broadcasting and the wave of neoliberalism, large holding companies like Doğan Holding, Çalık Holding, Doğu Group, and Demirören Group dominated the Turkish media landscape and owned major mainstream television stations like Kanal D, Show TV, and ATV, among many others. (Kurban & Sözeri, 2012; Saran 2014).

Following the legalization of private broadcasting channels in Turkey, not only large mega-corporations but also holding companies controlled by businesspeople with Islamist ideologies and/or a history of incorporating Islamic practices into their businesses, began investing in the media and television industries, such as TGRT, STV, etc. STV remained the Gülen community's major station in 2010, despite the fact that the Gülen community possessed six TV networks that reached 114 nations (Campbell, 2010). The Radio and Television Supreme Council (RTÜK) shut down the channel after the 2016 coup attempt (Kaptan & Algan, 2020).

Since its formation, RTÜK has been a hot topic in Turkish media, largely because of its broadcasting prohibitions and disputed rulings (Kejanlıoğlu, Adaklı, & Çelenk, 2001). The Turkish government established a regulatory body to control radio and television broadcasts in 1994. Additionally, it regulates broadcasting operations, includes broadcasting prohibitions, monitors broadcasters, grants licenses and approvals for private radio and television stations, and governs broadcasting firms (Kaptan & Karanfil, 2013).

2.2.1.1. Television Series

Turkey met with television series in the first half of the 1970s. The first television series are foreign productions that TRT bought from abroad. One of the important reasons why foreign series attracted the attention of the audience was the successful Turkish dubbing. TRT has benefited from theater artists whose tone and

accents are quite appropriate for dubbing. Successful dubbing made the series easy to watch (Dođanay & Aktař, 2021). In the traditional sense, the first local television series was a local sitcom called *Kaynanalar* (The Mothers-In-Law), which premiered in 1974. *Kaynanalar* was the longest-running television show in Turkish history, lasting 30 years until 2004 (Kaptan & Algan, 2020). The domestic television series' audiences locked onto the screen and attracted significant attention with the *Perihan Abla* (Sister Perihan) series, which started to be broadcast on TRT2 in 1986. The TV series *Bizimkiler* (Our People), which was broadcasted on TRT1 at the beginning of 1989, also increased the interest in local TV series. Interest in serials increased with the establishment of private television channels in the first half of the 1990s (Tanriöver, 2015).

Early in the new millennium, dramas like *Gümüř* (Silver), *Binbir Gece* (1001 Nights), and *Muhteřem Yüzyıl* (Magnificent Century) began to have major regional and international popularity. The Turkish television business started exporting dramas and other TV formats in the late 1990s (Kaptan & Algan, 2020). In an effort to combat piracy and foster an environment where foreign markets may lawfully buy Turkish content, the first Turkish TV drama to be exported, *Deli Yürek* (Crazy Heart) was sold to Kazakhstan in 1997 for \$30 per episode (Algan, 2020). Because they were only focused on producing television for the domestic market, Turkish TV executives were initially shocked to discover audiences for their programs outside of Turkey (Algan, 2020). The vast majority of content is still, in fact, still produced for the fiercely competitive domestic market, where more than half of television programs are canceled owing to poor ratings before their initial seasons are even halfway over (Deloitte, 2014).

It took more than 50 years for the local industry to make an international influence given that radio was a governmental monopoly until the early 1990s (Sümer & Tař, 2020). In less than three decades, 196 new TV channels, 19 of which are national, 165 of which are local, and 12 of which are regional as well as about 85 new TV production firms (Deloitte 2014), have arisen with this achievement (Kaptan & Algan, 2020).

It is estimated that the Turkish TV series industry, which produces over a hundred titles each year, has an audience of approximately 400 million viewers. This makes Turkey the second largest exporter of TV series after the US. It is emphasized that export items such as food, real estate, furniture, textiles, and jewelry indirectly benefit from the TV series sector and that TV series have the potential to be actively used to increase the awareness of Turkish brands (Sözeri & Güney, 2011). The success of the Turkish TV series is largely due to the dynamics of the national and international television markets, entrepreneurial endeavors, the capitalist power structure of the international television industry, as well as a number of ancillary factors like the region's glocal flexibility and the market articulations underpinning Turkey's soft power goals (Yeşil, 2015; Alankuş & Yanardağoğlu, 2016).

According to television producers, Turkish soap operas' high production quality and global themes, as well as viewers' disinterest in American programming, are the primary reasons their content is appealing to audiences around the world (Algan 2020). Turkish serials appear to have outperformed local and regional television material in terms of production value and were more similar to US content, as Berg discovered according to Arab audiences of various nationalities in Qatar (Berg, 2020).

In December 2010, "The domestic series is unduly long! (*Yerli Dizi Yersiz Uzun*)" was an taken by the screenwriters to reduce the 90-minute episode durations to 45 minutes with the slogan, the length of the series could not be prevented from getting longer The fact that the duration of the series was 60 minutes, then 90 minutes and more than 120 minutes in the last period, upset all the balances. The concepts of "prime time 1" and "prime time 2" have disappeared. Now, channels broadcast only one series between 08.00 pm and 00.00 and fill the broadcast hours with a single project, which they used to pay for two projects in the past. The damage caused by this situation in the sector should not be ignored (Sevim, 2016).

2.2.1.2. Commercials

Advertising is an economic activity, a type of commercial communication whose primary goal is to increase sales in a capitalist system. It also serves as a vehicle for the production and dissemination of capitalist ideology. Its goal is to induce individuals to aspire to acquire new goods and increase consumption in order for advertiser corporations to benefit (Williamson, 1978; Tan Çelebi, 2020). Advertisers *Procter & Gamble* and *Unilever*, which held the top two positions in international markets at the end of the 19th century, have not lost their place to anyone since then (Mattelard, 2005). The boycott of goods in the United States after the Great Depression of 1929 accelerated firms' search for foreign markets to sell their goods. The 1950s and 1960s have been described as the "creative revolution" in advertising (Gençtürk Hızal, 2005).

With the 1980s, the pull-down of the economic barriers, the movement of capital, the population growth, the unlimited spread of capitalism provided opportunities for advertisers and advertising agencies not only in the United States but also in other countries. Since this period, England, Japan and France have been added to the United States of America, especially in the field of advertising, and advertising agencies have started to serve all over the world after their customers (Gençtürk Hızal, 2005).

İpek Tan Çelebi analyzes the history of advertising field in Turkey in 3 stages: a) Brokerage Stage (1920s-1960s - The move from brokerage advertising to early modern advertising methods is covered in this stage.), b) Artisanal Stage (1970s-mid 1980s - In advertising production, this stage saw the establishment of a conflict centered on the weight of creative vs financial values.) and c) Professional Corporate Stage (mid-1980s-2000s - The fall of the intellectual craftsman and the emergence of the professional characterize this stage) (Tan Çelebi, 2019).

It should be stated that advertising in the context of Turkey has gone through different historical processes as a projection of the economic, social, cultural, and political structures of the country. Advertisers in Turkey decide on which channel

and in which program their advertisements will be broadcast, largely based on the rating data of the channels and programs. Local TV series lasting between 150-180 minutes, including their repetitions, constitute the majority of prime-time of television channels and advertising in between also covers a large part of the market.

2.3. DIGITAL PLATFORMS

Developments in communication and internet technologies have played an effective role in shaping the identity of the audience in the historical process. The acceleration of globalization movements in the 1980s and the rapid expansion of the Internet in the early 1990s brought about significant changes in mass communication brought by the internet and satellite technologies. The development of the Internet and satellite technologies has begun to change the way of broadcasting and the international flow of news/broadcasts has accelerated. As one of the consequences of the globalization of the media, media products began to circulate across wider borders (Uluç, 2003; Sarı & Türker, 2021). With the new media, media consumption has also changed. In addition, television broadcasting systems have also changed with technological developments, and the convergence process has been very effective in this change. Convergence, which means the merging of the fields of broadcasting, telecommunications, and information as a result of new services, has completely changed broadcasting. In addition, technological developments and convergence have radically changed the methods of accessing and viewing media content (Yaman, 2017). Research and discussions on the change and transformation of mass media have reached new dimensions with internet-based technologies.

As the demand for original web series increased on the channels, the distribution of television dramas started to converge with the trend of streaming and video-on-demand. Low-budget series that was streamed on YouTube were the ones that started this trend. Later, higher-budget productions were available on video-

on-demand platforms. In Turkey, the transformation happened gradually. At first, viewers watched TV shows online, on the websites of certain TV channels, or on YouTube (Yanardağoğlu & Turhallı, 2020). For media scholars, the increasing visibility of binge-watching as a leisure activity is linked to the general mainstreaming of cultures of intense repetitive consumption of serialized quality content. This streaming and viewing strategy have become Netflix's main marketing strategy, characterized by a high degree of emotional and cognitive engagement. The specific experiential features provided by Netflix can be described as immersive and algorithmically dense media content delivered to the viewer (Sevindi & Katmer, 2020).

In 2016, Netflix made a game-changing entry into the Turkish television market. Later, Turkish viewers were introduced to their own programs by streaming video-on-demand (SVOD) providers like as Blu TV and Puhu TV (Yanardağoğlu & Turhallı, 2020). Puhu TV and Blu TV were the first to broadcast Turkish television series in 2017. A year later, Netflix produced *Hakan Muhafız* (The Protector), its first Turkish TV drama, which was also filmed in Turkey (Kaptan & Algan, 2020). In Turkey, there were 1.5 million subscribers to Netflix in 2019, which was just about 10% of the broadband homes in the nation (Küçükgöçmen & Li, 2019). The Turkish digital television market has a lot of potential, which makes it competitive for a piece of it. However, this competitiveness motivates the Turkish TV industry to provide a varied range of programming for both traditional television networks and streaming television platforms (Kaptan & Algan, 2020).

Many businesses began to develop their own digital broadcasting platforms once Netflix gained popularity and expanded to the global market. Following Netflix, businesses like Apple, Hulu, MUBI, Amazon, YouTube Red, Amazon Prime, and Amazon joined the Turkish market after first entering the international market (Sarı & Sancaklı, 2020). A very important characteristic of digital platforms that are based on paid membership, is to give the opportunity to the audiences to binge-watch seasons of TV series. Netflix's ability to immediately compete with the success of traditional television is due to a better grasp of its target audience. Binge-watching audiences are attracted by convenience, but they are also driven to alter

their usual communal experiences, which are perpetuated through social media. Netflix and other streaming media have clearly impacted both temporality and the community television experience in the long run (Grandinetti, 2017).

In today's world and in Turkey, where access to the internet has become easier, it is a natural consequence that television viewing habits have also changed. It is clear that watching has evolved into a new medium with cell phones, tablets, and smart TVs. The increase in internet advertising expenditures has also accelerated the tendency of producers towards internet series. People are now able to watch TV shows at home, on buses, and while traveling, with fewer obstacles through their phones, tablets and other smart devices. They have evolved into viewers who start and stop watching wherever they please.

In a statement made to Forbes by Netflix Turkey, it is argued that television will completely shift to the internet in the next 20 years. Accordingly, all traditional TV channels and platforms are expected to switch to on-demand service provision, just like HBO (Home Box Office) or Digiturk. There is a large audience in Turkey that is accustomed to watching foreign movies and TV series and follows developments abroad. However, the willingness of this audience to pay for content is expected to be low. In addition, there is a rapid growth in the internet advertising market that will break all traditional norms (Çağıl & Kara, 2019).

2.4. SET WORKERS

In this study, “set workers” is used to define the crew behind the camera in movies, TV series, commercials, TV shows, music clips, etc., mainly for every shoot with a camera. The Turkish film industry can be seen as an illustration of post-Fordist production, as one of its traits is the expansion of the informal labor market (Kıran, 2013). Without keeping a record of their employment, many people labor for the sector under the table. Behind the camera, this industry's productions all rely on a small army of workers. A crew works on a movie, a television program, a documentary, a music video, an advertisement, and other projects for at least 12

hours a day and 6 days per week, typically in hazardous environments and without insurance. There may not be enough time for the crew to sleep, take a shower, or even see their family. A workforce that is constantly wishing for an extra ten minutes of sleep has been described as what it is (Burgu, 2014). Several crew members have been killed in dangerous circumstances due to lack of sleep and self-care, including car accidents, heart attacks, or simply from failing to pay attention during a long shift. The profession was designated as a "hazardous occupation" in January 2015 (Kenarlı, 2015).

The interpretations of job classifications are vague and confusing amongst experts in the film business and those who work on TV programs. A discussion regarding which occupations should be grouped together has been sparked by the fact that production and post-production companies today work not only in television broadcasting but also in advertising and the film industry (Çelikcan, & Büker, 2013). It might be challenging to distinguish between a member's duties and those of another in the same department due to the nature of the professions. The roles and titles in any performance are not set in stone but rather change throughout time. Additionally, the titles are unique. Sometimes, one country's worker title does not match another country's worker title. In addition, some departments do not exist at all in some other countries, and their duties are handled by other departments.

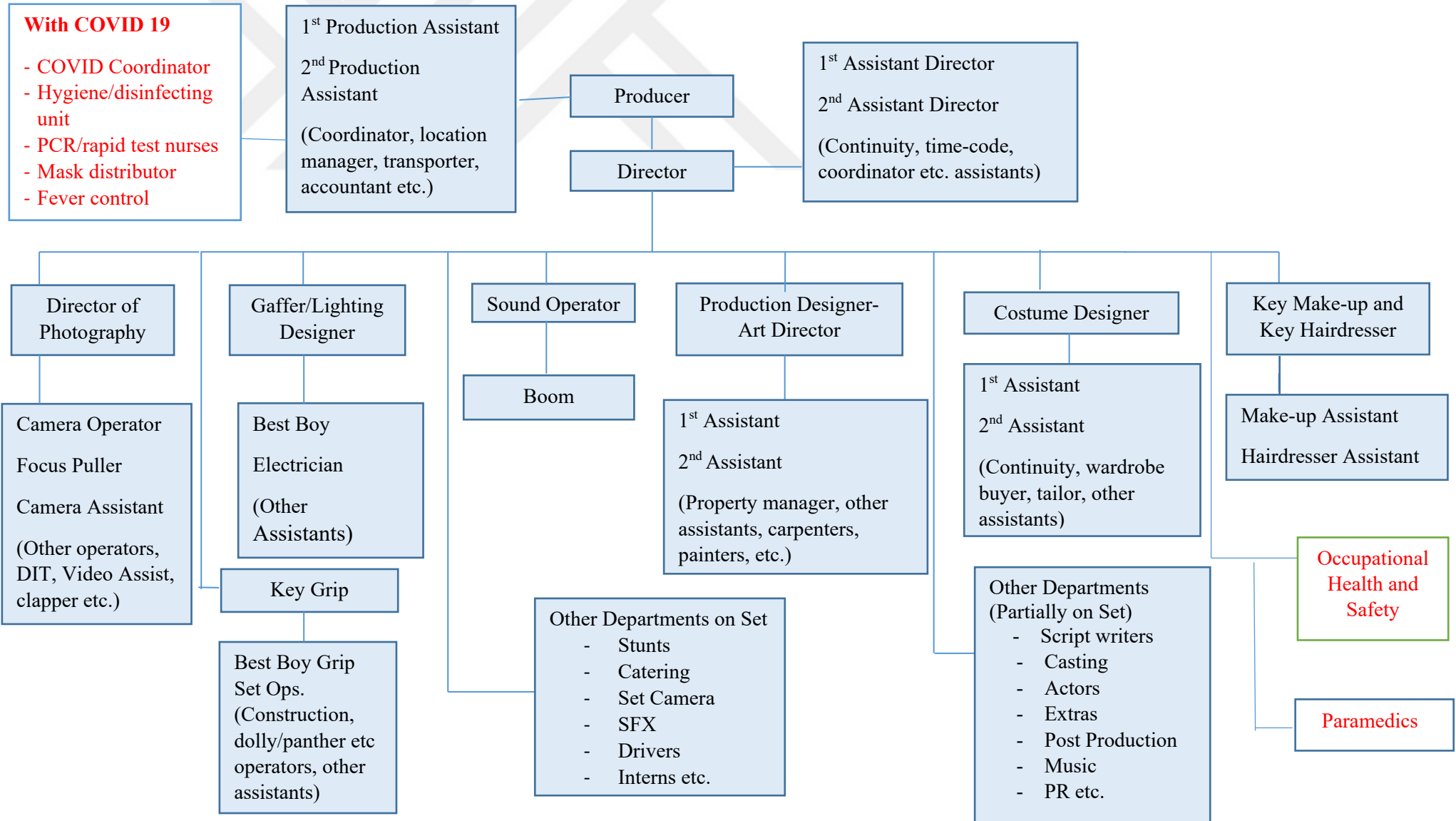
Table 2.1. offers a hierarchical organizational chart with the most present departments and titles in the film and television series industries in Turkey. Red represents the recently added departments and the departments added after COVID-19.

2.4.1. Departments

Within an established crew, the tasks of the workers are divided. Within their own department, each worker is specialized in their work. If one of the department's members is absent for some reason or if a second unit is available, the

Table 2.1.

Hierarchical organizational chart of a production with the most used titles in Turkey.



other workers may temporarily fill in. Below are descriptions of the members' on-set jobs for Turkey's most prominent departments:

- **Production department:** The *producer*, who is in charge of the finances and creating the conditions for the production to take place, is the department's leader. The producer oversees and counsels the entire crew, as well as bringing in key personnel, and is involved in every step of the production prior, through, and after the shoot. *Production assistants (PA)* support the producer by working with the director's team and the rest of the crew. They are in charge of managing, organizing, and organizing the set's location, coordination, and transportation (Winokur & Holsinger, 2001).
- **Directing department:** The *director* who interprets the script and has the capacity to manage teams, advises the other heads of departments, mentors key technical personnel, consults on the budget, and is responsible for what takes place on set is known as the head of the department. The director's *assistant directors (AD)* assist with call sheets, screenplay breakdown, shooting schedules, and scheduling meals and other amenities. They are in charge of overseeing the crew, managing the set, directing the background action, and preserving the show's continuity. (Griesinger, 2015).
- **Camera Department:** During the filming, *director of photography (DoP)* is in command of the camera and lighting crew and decides on the best angle, filtration, and lighting for the scene in accordance with the director's directions. In accordance with the DOP's directions, the Camera Operator is in responsible of rolling the camera and making sure that the resulting graphical images are appropriate. The *Focus Puller* changes the lens' focus to keep the main action in focus. *Camera assistants* are team members whose main duties include caring for the camera and recording the specifics of each shooting session on sheets. (Griesinger, 2015).
- **Lighting Department:** The department chief, *Gaffer*, is in charge of the production's lighting and design. The main assistant is the gaffer's *best boy*. The equipment is put up and run with the assistance of *lighting technicians and assistants*. (AGCAS, 2015).

- **Grip Department:** As the set's operations director and the department's chief, *Key Grip* works with the other departments to set up the set. The *best boy grip* serves as the key grip's primary assistance. The operation of dolly, panther, cranes, and other equipment as well as the building and preparation of sets fall within the purview of *grip assistants*.
- **Sound Department:** The production sound is to be recorded by the *sound operator*. The people in charge of holding the booms, inserting the microphones, and managing other recording equipment are known as *boom operators*.
- **Art Department:** The *art director* is in charge of the set design, as well as coordinating and enabling the décor and dressing of the sets. *Art assistants* are in charge of setting up the set and supplying the appropriate props for the sequences (Griesinger, 2015).
- **Costume Department:** For a performance that involves numerous cast rehearsals, a *costume designer* creates, maintains, and acquires outfits. Maintaining continuity as well as organizing and coordinating the costumes are the responsibilities of *costume and wardrobe assistants*. (Lilium Foundation, 2016).
- **Make-up and Hair Department:** The cast's makeup is applied and maintained by the *key makeup artist*. A *key hairstylist* styles and cares for the cast members' hair. The cast's make-up and hair are maintained in good shape by *makeup and hair assistants*.
- **Other Departments:** Additionally, there are *department and cast van drivers*; the *cast department*, which is in charge of casting actors/actresses and extras; *catering*, whose main duty is to feed the crew; *actors/actresses*, *extras*, *script writers*, *action stunt performers*, *special effect supervisors*, *post-production crew*, etc.

2.4.2. Working Conditions of the Set Workers

In Turkey, there is currently no legislation governing the working conditions of a set crew. In most shows, set workers work for 6 days a week, 16-18 hours per day, in hazardous and unsanitary conditions (Bekçi, 2015). In the industry, there are no limits or boundaries. Workers have no idea when they will be finished for the day because it depends on a variety of factors that are impossible to predict. As stated above, the profession was classified as a "hazardous occupation" in January 2015 (Kenarlı, 2015). The Cinema-TV Union has been trying to improve the working conditions and workload of the film and television industries since January 2015 (Sinema Televizyon Sendikası, 2015).

Set workers often receive weekly pay, but when production companies are in debt, they may be unable to pay their staff for a few weeks or they may not receive any compensation at all (Doğan, 2015). Virtually every aspect of the business is fraught with uncertainty. Workplace accidents and, in some cases, fatalities occurred as a result of the business's excessive workloads and unhealthy working conditions. Members who work long hours become fatigued and sleep less, which increases the risk of accidents. Only a few of the accidents are reported in the media. It's challenging to maintain physical and psychological strength and be able to handle the challenges given the difficulties and workload in the industry.

2.4.3. Unions

There have been a few unions founded for the Film and TV Series Industry workers around the world and in Turkey. The important ones are presented below:

- **The Broadcasting, Entertainment, Communications and Theatre Union (BECTU)**

In 1991 *The Broadcasting and Entertainment Trades Alliance and the Association of Cinematograph Television and Allied Technicians* merged to

become BECTU, which has a history dating back to 1890. The Film Artistes' Association (FAA), a union for film extras, was established in 1927, allied with BECTU in July 1995 to form a sub-division. The Trades Union Congress, the Scottish Trades Union Congress, Union Network International, the General Federation of Trade Unions, and the Federation of Entertainment Unions were all affiliated with BECTU (BECTU, 2021). In the media and entertainment industries, BECTU represents nearly 40,000 employees, contractors, and freelancers.

- **The International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees (IATSE)**

Over 150,000 technicians, artists, and craftspeople are represented by this North American labor organization in the live theatre, film and television production, and trade shows industries in both the United States and Canada (Cieply, 2011). The IATSE was founded when representatives of stagehands from eleven towns met in New York in 1893 and decided to support one another in their attempts to establish fair wages and working conditions for their members. The IATSE has now grown to incorporate new forms of entertainment media, the development of crafts, new technologies, and regional growth (IATSE, 2022).

- **Cinema Workers Union (Sinema Emekçileri Sendikası SİNE-SEN)**

The union, which was founded on January 5, 1978, with the intellectual foundation laid during the “No to Censorship” Ankara march organized by the artists on November 5, 1977, has a strong place in the professional field. Sine-Sen, which has been involved in various activities under DİSK, has accomplished important works in its field (SINE-SEN, 2010). SINE-SEN had 156 members by the end of January 2022 (TC Çalışma ve Sosyal Güvenlik Bakanlığı, 2022).

- **Cinema-TV Union (Sinema Televizyon Sendikası)**

In order to improve the working conditions in the sector and protect their rights, the behind-the-scenes teams working on the advertisement took the first step in the summer of 2013. As a result of the meetings held in November 2013, Camera Assistants, Assistant Directors, Cinematographers, Production Staff, and Costume Officers, acting together with the set and lighting teams, formed their own associations. All these teams and other behind-the-scenes employees, uniting under

the name of the Set Employees Union in the following process, held joint meetings with the producers in line with the demands of the advertising producers. As a result of these meetings, remarkable improvements were made in the working conditions and hours implemented within the scope of the advertisement: working hours were limited, overtime was implemented, and many regulations regarding workers' rights and health, such as the maximum 6-hour break between meals, began to be implemented in advertisement sets. The goal of making these gains achieved by walking together both sustainably and spreading them throughout the industry and putting them into practice for all employees laid the foundations of the union. With the support of all the teams that contributed to the process, the official establishment Cinema -Television Union took place on January 2015 (Sinema Televizyon Sendikası, 2015). The Union has 88 members by the end of January 2022 (TC Çalışma ve Sosyal Güvenlik Bakanlığı, 2022).

2.4.4. Research on Set Workers

There has not been a lot of research about set workers, worldwide or in Turkey. Helen Blair conducted an empirical study that depicts the uncertainty that project workers in the film business encounter, as well as how they deal with it (Blair, 2003). In an effort to understand the qualities that make film production crews so successful as a business, Lisa Peterson (2015) conducted a study. The respondents' perceptions of their culture, the effects of age, gender, years of professional experience, and educational attainment were examined. The results concentrated on the organizational profile of a film production team that resulted, the workplace values of the group, and the effect of educational background on replies. (Peterson, 2015). With Culkin and Randall, Blair also compared local labor markets of the UK and US film industries. They found out that while the institutional environments in which freelancers operate in the UK and the US differ significantly, there are a number of commonalities in career-building patterns and networking activity across set workers (Blair, Culkin, & Randall, 2003).

Using the concept and experience of precarity, Ergin Bulut investigated how the rating system affected working conditions in Turkey's TV series sector. Based on data from a field study involving 26 participants, he asserted that precarity in this sector is different from that articulated in contemporary research on precarious media labor. He found out that the goal of unionization in this industry is to persuade the government to recognize actors and performers, give professional definitions, and prevent working accidents. (Bulut, 2016).

With a sample of 432 set workers, Akten and Wise investigated the predictors of burnout and the concept of problem-focused coping to interpret the potential role of help-seeking in protecting against job demands. They discovered that in the context of Turkish cultural and social dynamics, employee well-being and burnout may be minimized or exacerbated (Akten & Wise, 2022).

Erkılıç, Duruel Erkılıç, and Değirmen conducted a study with 52 set workers and aimed to explain into the film industry's crisis as a result of the COVID-19 outbreak, as well as the support packages available to behind-the-scenes workers, movie theaters, and film companies. It has been determined that there is an urgent need for support packages specific to the cinema industry. They claimed that it is important to implement policies similar to the support packages in Turkey, which are suitable for the project-based nature of the sector, especially seen in Europe (Erkılıç, Duruel Erkılıç, & Değirmen, 2021).

CHAPTER 3

CULTURAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS (CuDA) AS A METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

After mentioning the industry and working conditions with definitions, the methodology of this research should be explored. This research aims to contribute to the literature by examining the narratives of the set workers in Turkey in relation to precarious conditions, using Cultural Discourse Analysis (CuDA). This chapter discusses the methodology of the current study in terms of how and CuDA was chosen to examine the codes derived from in-depth interviews, the participant selection, and also the procedure of the research.

3.1. CULTURAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS (CuDA)

The term *cultural discourse* has been used to organize the methods for comprehending culture, which is both an essential component and a byproduct of discourse systems. (Carbaugh, 2007). CuDA is a way of exploring communication and communication codes as a practice and culture with focusing on the interpretation of the meaningful comments that are understandable to participants in their lives (Carbaugh, 2007). “CuDA offers a rich, nuanced, and systematic way of describing and interpreting the cultural meaningfulness of communication.” (Scollo, 2011, p. 18). Carbaugh has spent his entire career developing CuDA, a conceptual model for examining terminology in cross-cultural and international communication (1990). CuDA's interdisciplinary use allows it to be used in a variety of cultural contexts and practices as well as in intercultural interactions. Carbaugh defines “investigative modes” in CuDA, as firstly with the detection of communication practice, secondly allowing the researchers to collect multiple examples of the practices in various settings and then analyzing the data in a

detailed way (Carbaugh, 2005). The transcriptions of the data are very important in CuDA, as a declaration that describes and interprets a practice that is culturally significant (Scollo, 2011). Following this, the researcher defines each narrative, structures them, and evaluates the significance to participants of important symbols and ideas that are developed into discourses and cultural codes (Carbaugh, 2010).

Additionally, Donal Carbaugh offers a series of hypotheses and queries that serve as the foundation for CuDA and direct the creation of cultural premises and discourses (Carbaugh 2007, 2010; Scollo, 2011). Through these, Carbaugh offers 5 hubs for questioning each dimension that can be used for analysis:

1. **Identity:** The presumption about the configuration of the person in the discourse. It is about the being and membership categorization of the participant (Carbaugh, 2005).
2. **Action:** The forms of action established in the discourse. It is about the practice of communication in terms of what the participants are doing and what they should be doing (Scollo, 2011).
3. **Feeling:** The preferable or appointed emotional states constituted in the discourse. It is about the emotional terms and distinctions the participants make and their emotional performances (Carbaugh, Nuciforo, Molina-Markham, & van Over, 2011).
4. **Relating:** The presumption and enactment of social relations. It is about the relatedness in the practice of communication and the conversational behaviors encoding social relations (Scollo, 2011).
5. **Dwelling:** The appropriate ways of feeling/acting/being and relating are grounded in the discourse of a certain place. It is about navigating a world where spoken acts are coded (Carbaugh et al., 2011; Scollo, 2011).

It is necessary to interpret both explicit and implicit meanings in order to comprehend the whole range of cultural meaning active in communication practice:

When practiced, communication makes explicit some meanings more than others...And one hub about identity, or action, or emotion, or relations, or dwelling may be made explicit in discourse; as any one is made an explicit discursive hub of concern, the others may tag along as part of its implicit meanings. Part of the importance of understanding cultural discourses through discursive hubs is interpreting the more taken-for-granted, implicit meanings brought along in participants' discourses... (Carbaugh & Cerulli, 2013, p. 6).

Evelyn Y. Ho, Sunny Lie, Pauline Luk, and Mohan J. Dutta (2019) applied CuDA to their research with Chinese medicine practitioners in Singapore, specifically focusing on *identity* (being) hub and the term *heaty* on the discourses of the interviewees. Whereas, Tabitha Hart and Trudy Milburn (2019) applied CuDA to an online community using LinkedIn and directed their attention to three particular discursive hubs: strategically displaying one's professional self (*identity*), connecting with other professionals (*action*) and engaging with other users in professional ways (*relating*). With CuDA framework, case studies of Israeli speech culture is discussed in terms of the hub of *action* by Katriel and Livio (2018). They also proposed an additional hub the CuDA framework: *temporality*, to cover the future-oriented action in the discourses. On the other hand, Flanigan and Alvarez (2018), applied the hub *action* by focusing on suicide, exploring the public versus private dichotomy, and treating suicide as a cultural rather than a diagnostic category.

Covarrubias, Kvam, and Saito centered on *feeling* hub for shaping culturally informed sociality by analyzing Mexican and Japanese discourses (2018). Public discourse about racial inequality and discrimination was also studied within the light of CuDA hub *feeling* by analyzing the speeches of the politicians and concluded that the communication about the topic becomes the focus rather than the topic itself and cultural premises of emotion underlying the discourse (Van Over, Dori-Hacohen, & Winchatz, 2018). Moreover, Graham and Hastings (2018), analyzed the emotional expression at African American funerals by linking the hubs of *action* and *feeling*. Scollo and Poutiainen (2018), painted the U.S. and Finnish discourses of romantic relationship development by using the discursive hub of

relating. According to Cerulli and Milstein (2018), CuDA offers a powerful set of tools to practice across and within cultures.

According to Carbaugh (2007), “cultural analysts benefit from knowing what communication practices are saying about where people are, how they are related to those places, and what should be done when inhabiting them” (p. 11). With this in mind, Leighter, Grimshaw, and Braithwaite (2018) used CuDA hub *dwelling* to understand the communication practices in Native American Contexts. Locmele and Sotirova also used the *dwelling* hub to compare economically driven emigration within Bulgaria and Latvia (2018).

All of the studies presented above, each in its own way, raise important questions about the nature of communication and discourse. CuDA has been very helpful as a methodological and theoretical framework to understand the discourses within and across cultures. With this in mind, the current study uses CuDA to analyze the discourses of the set workers in Turkey with the help of the 5 hubs of identity, action, feeling, relating, and dwelling as described by Carbaugh.

3.1.1. Participants

With the inclusion criteria of being a set worker for at least 10 years or being in a recently added department (such as COVID coordinator, paramedic, occupational health and safety, etc.), participants were recruited. The actors/actresses, extras, in-house workers, and post-production crew were excluded from the study as those professions are not required to come to the set every day of a project. In terms of technology, esp. for the camera department, a lot has changed in 10 years, and also Sinema-TV Union has been founded in 2015. That is why the participants were chosen with at least ten years of experience so that they were expected to work through these changes in the industry. The reason why some departments were excluded from the study is that the research specifically focuses on the workers who constantly have to be on the set during all the working hours.

Participants were selected using a non-random convenience sampling technique, regarding a balance in representation of all departments on set.

3.1.2. Procedure

All participants were contacted after the research obtained institutional ethics approval. The fact that the researcher was a former worker made it easy to reach the participants. First, a pilot interview was conducted in 2019 but with COVID 19, it took almost one more year for the researcher to step into a set. A total of 31 participants (11 female, 20 male) joined the study voluntarily after signing a consent form (See Appendix 1). The ages of the participants ranged from 22 to 71 years ($M_{age} = 39.03$, $SD = 8.73$). Each semi-structured interview took between 1-1,5 hours (See Appendix 2 for the questions). All of the participants worked for more than 10 years except two participants as their department has been recently added to the sets. The years of experience of the participants were minimum of 3 months to a maximum of 55 years ($M_{experience} = 17.04$ years). All participants had experiences on commercials, TV series, and movie sets. Because of COVID-19, some of the interviews were conducted via video communication apps such as Zoom or Skype. With face-to-face interviews, field notes were also taken during the set. (See Table 3.1. for the demographic information of the participants). During face-to-face interviews, the department assistants gave the interviews in hidden places, like inside of a van or at the base camp where no one else was present and also made complaints about the circumstances in a more quite voice while checking around, whereas the head of departments gave the interviews proudly right in set, without hiding. This alone even shows the fear of losing the present or the next project. An electronic voice recorder was used to record the interviews, which were conducted in Turkish. All of the interviews were transcribed verbatim by the researcher and the data was stored in an encrypted folder on the researcher's computer. The names of the participants, production companies, set crew, TV

Table 3.1.*Demographic Information of the Participants (N=31)*

Participant	Department	Years of employment	Sex	Age	Education	Marital status	Children
#1	Make up	15	F	35	high school	single	0
#2	Dolly grip	27	M	45	high school	divorced	2
#3	Occupational health and safety expert	0,25	M	28	graduate	single	0
#4	Production assistant (COVID-19 coordinator)	10	M	33	high school	married	1
#5	Stunt coordinator	20	M	40	high school	married	2
#6	Driver	15	M	51	elementary	married	2
#7	Production manager	19	M	47	undergraduate	married	1
#8	Paramedic	0,25	M	22	high school	single	0
#9	Production coordinator	20	F	41	undergraduate	single	0
#10	Hair	20	M	35	high school	married	2
#11	Assistant director	16	M	37	undergraduate	single	0
#12	Art director	15	M	30	high school	single	0
#13	Costume assistant	13	F	41	undergraduate	single	0
#14	Make up	13	F	30	high school	single	0
#15	Catering	13	M	42	high school	single	0
#16	Director of photography	19	M	38	undergraduate	single	0
#17	Camera operator	15	F	39	graduate	single	0
#18	Focus puller	10	M	32	undergraduate	single	0
#19	Director	17	F	40	undergraduate	married	1
#20	Behind the scenes	20	M	40	graduate	married	0
#21	Sound engineer	55	M	71	high school	divorced	1
#22	Gaffer	20	F	40	undergraduate	married	0
#23	Director	19	M	38	undergraduate	married	1
#24	Director	23	F	45	undergraduate	married	1
#25	Art director	30	F	55	undergraduate	married	0
#26	Digital image technician	16	M	33	undergraduate	single	0
#27	1 st Assistant director	13	M	36	undergraduate	single	0
#28	Best boy	12	M	34	high school	single	0
#29	Cast director	13	F	35	undergraduate	married	1
#30	2 nd Assistant director	15	M	39	undergraduate	married	0
#31	1 st Costume assistant	15	F	38	graduate	single	0

channels, and the names of the TV series, commercials, and movies were concealed as a part of confidentiality.

All data were analyzed by using MAXQDA 2022 software. Before the coding process, each transcription was read and reread by taking notes of the associations and reflections. At this point, field notes were also taken into consideration while analyzing the data. Later, transcripts were each coded separately and with the advisor, preliminary findings were discussed. Emergent themes were found for each instance based on interpretation and inter-coder agreement, and the examples were then compared to see where there was commonality and where there was divergence. In line with the findings, Carbaugh's 5 hubs were used to cluster the sub-codes on the software's creative coding (See Figure 3.1., Figure 3.2., Figure 3.3., Figure 3.4., and Figure 3.5.).

3.2. IDENTIFYING THE HUBS OF CuDA

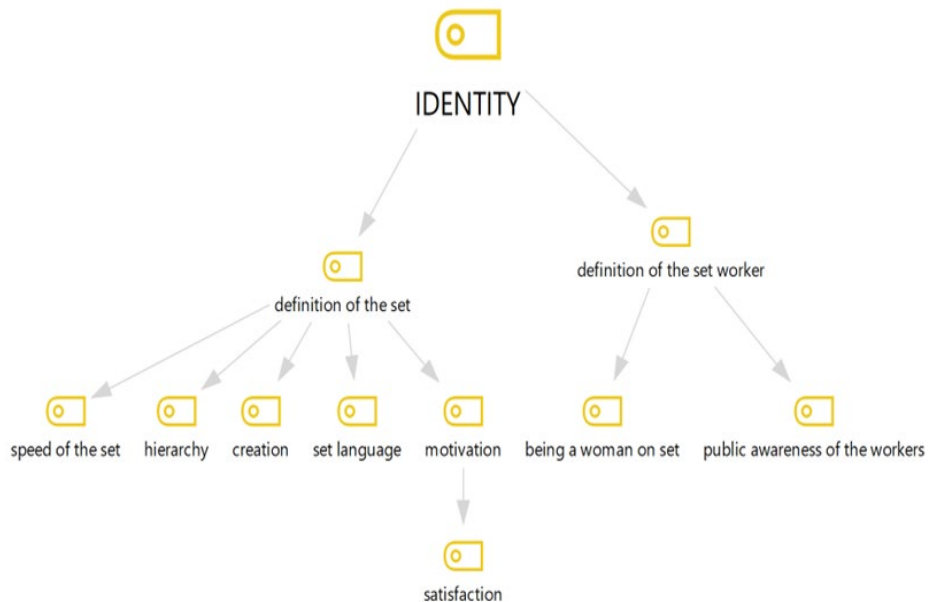
Five main hubs were used as themes in consistency with CuDA: (1) Identity, (2) Action, (3)Feeling, (4)Relating, and (5) Dwelling. Each theme and sub-themes are specified and discussed below. Quotes are labeled as P1, P2 (e.g. Participant 1, Participant 2) for readers who might be interested in following each set worker's experiences. For more information about the participants, see Table 3.1.

3.2.1. Identity

People's communication methods reveal something about their personalities. According to Carbaugh (2007), identity messages can be deciphered on a cultural level in terms of personhood; interpreted as social identities; and can also be understood on a personal basis. Identity is the assumption made about how a person is configured in a conversation. The participant's identity and membership

classification are at issue. The participants were asked to define the set and set worker on their own way. In the interviews, the *identity* team emerges in several ways, in definition of the set, speed of the set, hierarchy, creation, set language, motivation, satisfaction, definition of the set worker, being a woman on set and public awareness of the workers. (See Figure 3.1.).

Figure 3.1. Creative coding of the sub-codes of *identity*



3.2.1.1. Definition of the Set

Psychosocial work environment as defined by the International Labor Office (ILO) refers to elements of the job and work environment such organizational climate or culture, work roles, interpersonal connections at work, and the structure and substance of activities (eg, variety, meaning, scope, repetitiveness, etc.). The term *psychosocial factors* also refers to elements outside of an organization, such as domestic responsibilities and personal characteristics, which might have an

impact on how stress manifests itself at work. When referring to working situations that can cause stress, the terms work organization or organizational factors are sometimes used interchangeably with psychosocial variables (Rugulies, 2019). All participants were asked to define set to a person who has no idea about it.

Set seemed as if it is separated from the real world. "It is a place where a lot of crazy people come together, but it must be done with love, it cannot be done without love." (P1). Accordingly, another participant commented as "For someone who doesn't know, I would describe the set as a *come on! (hadi hadi!)* environment... Then the situation of suddenly creating something out of nothing is eccentric. It's actually a very magical environment" (P3).

The concept of organizational or workplace climate, which simply refers to shared psychological meanings, was created from the concept of psychological climate. It is the culmination of several employees' impressions of a workplace. (Alzghoul, Elrehail, Emeagwali, & AlShboul, 2018). Participants also claim that what makes a set is the harmony between the departments. "Let me describe it like food. Let me say that all the products are put in a pot and something beautiful comes out. Kitchen. The departments need to come together, we are actually forming Voltran. We consider the whole kitchen together. Such cooperation has to happen, it has to happen, it has to be. If not, there is no set." (P5). "the set is actually something like a construction. What you see behind a construction, you actually see it on the set, and there is a constant state of panic and work. A set is a place where people work without free time." (P18).

In terms of its lexical connotation, the concept of chaos evokes words like "complexity, disorder, uncertainty," and even "anarchy". The word "Khaos," which in Greek means "emptiness, cleft, and borderlessness," is where the idea originates. In contrast to how it is used in daily language, the scientific definition of chaos is "order inside disorder." (Özkul, 2021). Set is also described as a chaotic space where every member constantly tries to survive and finish the daily shooting task, "a battleground, a fireplace" (P29), "a chaos" (P5) with different motivations:

Set is an environment where people come together and try to survive, according to some their motivation is art, according to some their motivation is money, in certain periods certain people

come together and work wholeheartedly or have to work, where there is great confusion, we can say that they are compressed lives. (P26)

Thus, these definitions arise the question of what keeps the workers together in this battleground.

3.2.1.1.1 Speed of the Set

Temporary or precarious workers typically have little control over their work speed, are hired during times of high demand for labor, and frequently have little support at work, all of which increase their risk of injury and pose risks to their welfare (Boden, 2020). As it was stated above, on the first subtheme of *identity*, a set can be separated from the real world in so many ways. One of them can be defined as the speed (the rhythm) of the set. The participants were not asked directly about the speed of the set, but while defining the set, there were several commonalities regarding the speed.

In the normal world, what you call 3 days, sometimes happens in 1 day on the set. You say, "What day was it, when was it, what was it, did we do this in the morning now, is it evening, what happened?" because it's happening so fast. For example, I start working in the morning, you start in Beykoz, you can finish in Şile in the evening. Or, you can lose the concept of time while working in a studio or something. Because there is a very strange dynamic in the set. I say this for myself and all filmmakers, we cannot tolerate the slowness of people walking on the street. We cannot tolerate waiting in line at the market. I mean, that slowness... (P1)

This speed and running tire the workers more than other jobs. And yet as seen in the quotation above, it might be inferred that real-world most probably does not give the same pleasure to the workers in terms of speed. "There is no walking because the light will go out, everyone works by running. After 40, you can't run anymore, after a point the energy runs out. Our profession is actually a manpower profession if we generalize, manpower because you unload and reload the truck 3 times a day. We are chasing the sun, trying to catch it." (P5). "The whole thing in

the TV series is this; “Yes, how many minutes do we have? We will shoot 20 pages today, 50 more will come, there will be a broadcast tomorrow” (P14).

3.2.1.1.2. Hierarchy

The distribution of units and positions within an organization, as well as their logical links to one another, are considered to be the enduring characteristics of an organization. This is known as the organizational hierarchy structure (James & Jones, 1976). Set is a very hierarchical structure, where there are unwritten rules that need to be followed by all the workers. All participants talked about the hierarchy of the set while answering different questions, esp. the ones about the relations in their departments and with other departments. “The director is the god of the set.” (P1). Especially the male participants compare the set with the military. “Everyone is trying to suppress each other. Even in the military, there is no such hierarchy. There are very strict rules that are not visible.” (P3). “Everyone crushes the one under it. The set is such a place, everyone is shouting at the one below because he is also crushed by the one above him.” (P31).

The military is considered the most hierarchical place in Turkey, and all of the male participants have completed their mandatory military duties, so they all have experience with what the military is like.

Frankly, I'd say military. You know, the production department is a bit like that. Everyone should know everything that needs to be known. That's how it works in regular teams, and I think it's a healthy way forward. Everyone has information about everything that needs to be done. Everyone has an idea. (P4)

On the other hand, less-hierarchical organizing refers to initiatives to change the managerial hierarchy such that power is distributed rather than concentrated according to the traditional hierarchical tenets of unity of command, supervision of subordinates by superiors, and deference to superiors (Lee & Edmondson, 2017). It is also claimed that some sets or departments do not have that strict hierarchy, or at

least not very visible, and it is easier to work in those. “there is a hierarchy, but it's nice when you act like it doesn't exist, at least it's a beautiful place when the people at the top act like there is no such hierarchy, the set. But when the people above rely on that hierarchy, something else happens....” (P16).

3.2.1.1.3. Creation

Some participants, esp. the ones in creative departments (such as costume, art, hair and makeup, etc.) shared opinions about creativity on several occasions under different interview questions. An increase in creative and productive stress can improve employee creativity and satisfaction and assist avoid the monotony and boredom of work (Bousinakis & Halkos, 2021). Based on the interviews it seems like a great deal of creativity on personal and whole level is in motion in the set. “We build a world. We do our job in that world, then we collect it, we go and build a world in another place.” (P1).

I came up with such a definition for myself. What does making a movie mean, that is, you are trying to establish a new world within a living order. And, well, if it actually exists, you come to a point where you are competing with God. So, with the blessings of God, you are playing "Look, what you did in one place, I did it here," or something like that. You say, "I bring together Ahmet, whom you put in Mardin, and Ayşe in Istanbul without surrendering them to fate. (P9).

This God-like creation opportunity can be thought to give motivation and satisfaction to the workers. As Ekvall and Ryhammar (1999) state that an organization's decision-making and problem-solving processes, planning and coordination, communication, and motivation can all be impacted by the environment for creativity, the set workers need to find creative ways to solve unexpected problems during filming, to complete the daily tasks:

You're actually starting to be more creative. Because, for example, it can be something that you normally look at as "Oh, we'll do it on the set". Because there is nothing that restricts you

anyway, even if you used to be a cinematographer. Go take it to the set bro, put your camera... This plan has to have different variations, you need to have 2-3 plans, you have to turn every situation into something beneficial, with communication, without fighting with anyone... if you have time, you can play on the set, but now you have to at least plan, it requires a great foresight, really. Or you are doing something solution-oriented, you are solving something right there. (P16).

3.2.1.1.4. Set Language

In terms of communication among the workers, set has a different language with lots of metaphors. The jargon of the set workers which were occasionally coming up under different questions was also thematized for the research. “The set has language. The set has a completely different language, one thing is said for the day off, another for the working hour...” (P10). According to McCarthy, Hannah, Pitt and McCarthy (2020), jargon may make *workplace bullshit* sound credible and based on specialist knowledge, which gives it the appearance of being true and objective. [They define workplace bullshit as occurring when coworkers or employers make claims at work without regard for the truth (McCarthy et al., 2020)].

“Caravan gets laid on the road.” (Kervan yolda düzülür) I am really against this sentence, it is also widely used in our industry, it is also used a lot by the production units. This sentence also turns out to be a sentence that has little pre-preparation, does not have a strong pre-preparation, and obscures the importance of pre-preparation, or its value. Because the 'caravan gets laid on the road' point of view is a sentence that is contrary to the issue of occupational health and safety, a contradictory point of view. (P11)

Another type of discourse on set is to give more value to technical equipments, esp. camera than human beings:

For example, one of the most important things we say is "The camera is honor" (Kamera namustur). Exactly. Camera is honor. Why so bro? This is so much!, it's just financial as I said. Material. There is nothing emotional or spiritual. So I'll tell you. It is something like that. Take care of the camera, take care of the camera, take care of it, protect it, take care of it. For example, we have lunch breaks when we go to lunch, we shoot on the street, we always put our cameras in the camera car when we go to dinner. Do not let it be stolen, do not drop, do not break. Either this is a normal procedure, it is done, because the operation must continue. If something happens to the camera while you're there, it won't continue to work, no matter what this drama or whatever you're shooting. That's why we follow this procedure. But "Camera is honor" is a bit heavy... (P18)

And finishing the job, seeing the end of it is very important for the sake of one's career. Not finishing a production might damage the career and make it hard to find the next job.

And there has always been something for us, since I entered the industry, whether these are my first years that I mentioned, whether there are difficult times at work, as a motivation, "Finish the job no matter what". Many of our friends in this industry always had such a silly well-meaning look, and that's why we do a lot of things, "Yeah, I hate this environment, but I have to finish this." why anyway? (P26).

3.2.1.1.5. Motivation

The motivation theme was found in various narratives under different questions such as "how set workers see themselves, how they started to work, what they expected while starting, etc." When it comes to choosing the shape, intensity, and source of work-related behavior, motivation at work is a collection of energy forces that come from both within and without the individual (Latham & Pinder, 2005). Although the working conditions are very hard, the workers constantly motivate themselves to keep going in this industry. "I'm really bored between two jobs and I miss working. Some jobs are light but not too tiring, then especially if we are shooting somewhere in the south, it feels like a holiday but some jobs can

turn into Chinese torture.” (P13). “I love my job, I love it, the only reason I can endure is that because I love my job, the reason I never break myself is that because I love my job and of course we earn more reasonable money, at least we don't get minimum wage.” (P14)

This motivation is not just about money. I mean, I see my family maybe 2 times in 8 months, so I am a single person but there are people who have children. That motivation isn't just about money. This is that motivation, that is really leaving a mark, being a part of a story, throwing it away, enjoying this difference. I mean, you can't put me, for example, in an office, work for 10 hours every day or something. I'm not like that, I think most of the filmmakers have something like that, albeit in different doses, there is motivation. Acting in a different job, I don't know, there may be other things, there are people who like to be in another world, but mostly I think it's about being a filmmaker...(P1).

3.2.1.1.5.1. Satisfaction

Pancasila, Haryono, and Sulistyono have found that work motivation is significantly impacted by work satisfaction (2020). Satisfaction can be considered a very important part of motivation, and the narratives centered around satisfaction were also thematized. “Of course, while watching, after it's over when it's being shown at a festival... We feel that good feeling when we receive an award from somewhere, or when it is appreciated by the audience when positive articles are written about that product.” (P11). According to Dwivedula and Bredillet (2010), the project workers' motivations are represented by perceived equity based on the appropriateness of financial and non-financial benefits. Equitable rewards and recognition are emphasized by the equity theory of motivation in order to inspire employees. The project team needs autonomy during the project's execution phases, and their efforts should be rewarded depending on performance.

I mean, 'we' gives the feeling that 'we're doing something that a lot of people can't do', do you understand? You know, after a point, there really is that 'star' situation, acting, actress, etc. You fall for that thing sometimes too. How do you fall for that ego?

For example, filmmakers think that everything happens the way they want. It feels like it has to be. There is that ego. There was a situation where I felt like I did something like this... for a period of time. You know, "You mortals!" like. (P1).

The underlying meaning of most of the interviews can be considered as the workers feel satisfied with the work they do as only a few people have a chance to do that, and this gives them a lot of unconscious motivation.

3.2.1.2. Definition of the Set Worker

Participants were directly asked to define themselves as workers on set. “For me, the set worker is a *porter (amele)* in our country. A set worker who works hard, has to work hard, has limited personal rights, works under stress, has occupational diseases.” (P11). As the workers in sets do not have a job description yet, some claim that they cannot explain what they do to other people:

I haven't told anyone about this for 15 years. Because we do not have a job description. We are people who film what people watch. In fact, it's like a construction worker, I'm a blacksmith, the cinematographer is a carpenter, one is a painter, but we are actually people who watch and attract the envied lives of those people. I couldn't even tell my father that I've been making art for 15 years, what the art director has done. That's why I haven't seen anyone who knows how to explain this. (P12).

As Bulut (2016) states, it is seen that the precariousness and organizational conditions in the TV series sector in Turkey differ from those in North America or Europe. Because, instead of seeing themselves as the creative class in Turkey, first of all, they try to introduce themselves to the state as workers. Therefore, they try to resist the exploitation conditions caused by long working hours by trying to define their class positions in the legal field, instead of taking advantage of areas such as autonomy in the workplace and in the labor process and being caught by the symbolic value of the work they do.

3.2.1.2.1. Being a Woman on Set

Despite advancements made by women in the workplace, many still labor in less satisfying and secure environments (Young, 2010). Although it was not asked as a question, 11 female participants with no exception, talked about the difficulties they face for being a woman during shootings.

For women, the situation is always more difficult. Although no one dares to say it, we also have a harassment problem. Some of the men in the crew are harassing the girls in the crew as if it's such a normal thing that they are very annoying. Unfortunately, this includes actors, directors, and producers. Only women can understand how tiring it is to always be cautious, take care of yourself, and act in a controlled manner to avoid misunderstandings. (P13).

Not only has the male dominance of the film industry been blamed for the pervasive stereotyping and sexual objectification of women in movies, but also the collusion and passivity of female participants in the film industry. Many critics claim that women themselves appear to do very little or nothing to fight against the objectification and stereotypes of their gender in movies (Endong, 2021). A cast director complains about the objectification of the women by saying ““Suggest me actresses that will make me want to kiss, that I can kiss". It's a male director conversation I had. I'm not the one who provides women. Yes, I choose the actresses appropriately, but I am not someone who sells women!!!” (P29).

Being a woman on set is also difficult in terms of basic needs:

There was no caravan, so they (the producers) thought the caravan as a luxury. The toilet trailer is a necessity! The being you call a woman doesn't just pee, she changes pads. So I need hygienic conditions. I have heard such words from the production from time to time in different periods of my life, such as "Everywhere is a toilet, go find a bush, you are a princess, the girls think we are on vacation in Bodrum" (P17).

Bielby and Baron (1986) claimed that despite their human capital investments (investing through education, training, skills, etc.), women do not have equal access to rewarding job roles. Higher- positioned women, such as directors, producers, cinematographers, tend to stick together and choose each other while shooting.

I may be doing positive discrimination. You know, why the male team is afraid, they are afraid what they do not know. In other words, he does not know the woman, he is afraid of the woman, can he swear next to the woman, is he afraid, does he complain, he is afraid, he has always been the one respected. But now what? So I know very well that I was the only woman on many sets. But they needed to respect me because of my position. (P24).

3.2.1.2.2. Public Awareness of the Workers

These are the individuals who support the media industry. However, these workers' lives continue to be essentially unrelated to the excitement and spectacle created by the media industries. These individuals frequently show up as statistical information sets when business operations are thought of analytically. While there are a few documentaries and news articles about these industry professionals, there hasn't been much scholarly research on their lives, social contexts, and working conditions. (Mazumdar, 2015) . It was directly asked to the participants whether the public is aware of the workers in the set or not. They were also asked how the set workers were reflected in the media. The workers complained about the people not being aware of what is going on behind the camera. "They do not appear in the media, or they broadcast the funniest things, for example, for three or five minutes, as behind-the-scenes footage. Behind the scenes is just the thing, not the technical team, just the people behind the camera."(P2). "People don't see us." (P12). "If a person is not related to this profession, if he does not have a friend, etc., there is no chance of knowing." (P21).

People can see the workers in several stages. If you're shooting on the street, people can see what we're doing. They are definitely telling people and a perception is forming. The second stage is with photos and social media. Here are the set photographers or the photographers of the channel and they share on social media. For example, they share us, shoot us, we are in front of the camera, they see us and there are people in the background, I throw the make-up artist on the monitor, I don't know, the costume designer is looking, they can see them, so the public can follow them on social media, but still, nobody knows what kind of work it is in practice. For example, a man wrote to me on Instagram, he said, " I want to act there, do something for me,

help me, I don't want money " In other words, people think this job is very easy, or someone says, "Brother, I want to work in that department". But it's not like that. The message they wrote to me is entirely related to my way of thinking when I was in high school. (P18).

3.2.2. Action

People behave as if they are doing one thing rather than another when they engage in communication practices. The type(s) of work being done can be analyzed by a cultural analyst to help one better comprehend the relevance of that practice (Carbaugh, 2005). The action types are outlined in the discourse. In terms of what the participants are doing and what they should be doing, it is about the practice of communication. In the interviews, the *action* theme emerges as hard to change occupation, plan B, quitting a project, unemployment as a result, and how to change the conditions (See Figure 3.2.).

Figure 3.2. Creative coding of the sub-codes of *action*



3.2.2.1. Hard to Change Occupation

The interviewees were asked, “if they find themselves in a project in which their expectations weren’t met, what they would do”. Many people may find it difficult or impossible to leave a job since they rely on it for their financial security. In addition, it can be challenging to locate a replacement right away because jobs are closely linked to individual identities, which can be challenging to change (Kielhofner, 2002). Participants claim that it may be easier for some departments like hair and makeup to change the occupation, but it will not be that easy to change for departments like lightning or grip.

You've reached a certain age, you have plans B or something. So what will the cameraman do? I throw it, what will the light guy do, what will the electrician do? In other words, the moment the thing in the industry stops, when you do a job for 6 months, it is not clear whether you will work after 6 months. In that sense, I think it is a very risky industry. (P11).

Although there are some workers who change their lives marginally after a point, “you lived in the city for 20 years 30 years, you worked in cinema, I don't know what, all of a sudden, they quit everything, I think it's a marginal movement, they go to another city, they leave everything.”(P1); some tend to come back after a while “The last time, for example, was last year, we went to a southern town and rented a place. We said let's do something there, we struggled for a month. We looked at our balances. Then we had to come back” (P7).

3.2.2.1.1. Plan B

As set work is project-based, the workers have no earnings in between the projects. Sometimes it takes more than 6 months to find a new project, so some of them have plan B's or side jobs to make a living. The participants were asked whether they have a second job or not, and they also talked about their backup plans while replying to different questions. “Outside of the set, I'm actually trading and dealing. I have one shuttle van. Personnel transport.” (P6).

So everyone always has a 2nd job, like being a taxi driver. Also the directors, by the way. Everyone has to have a plan B. The directors also do it, they open a venue, there is someone who has a bar in Gökçeada, someone with a kokoreç shop, a lot of such nonsense... you have to do it because the job has no sustainability. (P23).

To survive, set workers constantly need to find new ways. “It's always Plan B-C-D. I have no idea how much I can handle, maybe I can't. It comes back to the same thing, we plan more, as filmmakers, because we have to. (P26).

3.2.2.2. Quitting a Project

In contrast to unhappy workers, who are more inclined to quit their existing jobs and begin new job searches, employees who report higher levels of job satisfaction diminish their intentions to quit and discourage new job searches. Overall, there is agreement that job satisfaction reduces turnover, even when financial rewards like salary are taken into account (Delfgaauw, 2007). According to the literature, a worker is less likely to think about leaving their current job if they are more satisfied with either the material or social aspects of it. The participants were asked about how they cope with a project which does not meet their expectations. Although quitting a project may be bad for one's career, sometimes the workers quit the projects. “Even if we have a problem, leaving the project is the right solution. Forcing always hurts us. Because nothing changes. It is best to get away without forcing.” (P16).

If the director or the producer is a person I don't know and if I'm going to work in the long term, I will start working without knowing it. But if I know someone, I saw that we don't match, I'll leave. So my job choice will be in that direction. I generally look at this in job selection, the production, and the character is really important for me. So whoever it is, from the highest level to the lowest level, character, behavior, tolerance and understanding are very important to me. I will definitely, definitely give a lot of importance to this if I have a department after I become a

cinematographer, and I can't stand it when he's a person without a character, he can't work with me. (P18).

In especially in those people who see their work as a labor of love or a passion, the ongoing mismatch between organizational pressure and personal ideals leads to burnout and ethical problems (Maslach, 2003; Coin, 2017). Sometimes, the workers also reject a project as it does not fit their values:

How will you get the job without seeing the script? "Then let's send the script," they said this time, the script is for the general population that aims them to cry loudly. I said, "God damn it", the boy was right, it was really a TV show. "I'm not going to take this" I said. her father beats her, her husband beats her, she runs away from her husband and her father beats her again. "God," I said, "damn it, how can I shoot this. Why would I shoot this!"(P16).

3.2.2.3. Unemployment as a Result

According to Sennett, the new era of capitalism requires employees to be constantly ready for changes, to constantly renew themselves, to take risks, and to be open to competition, in short, to be flexible. This desire causes employees to be thrown from one job to another or from today to tomorrow in uncertain and irregular business relationships (Sennett, 1998). This sub-code was driven by the answers where the interviewees talk about their working conditions. When the workers' title changes or they choose one production type over another, it becomes harder to find a project:

It didn't turn out as I thought, during that first transition period, like everything else. This kind of thing happens in departmental unit transitions as well. For example, when a person's title changes, he has unemployment problems. We shoot movies usually at summer time. If we do not make series, we are unemployed in winter. Of course, things were not as intense as I had expected in the winter, too, then I made a decision to do what I wanted, that is, what I love in humane conditions. This, of course, came at a cost: unemployment. (P1).

The main purpose of workplace complaints is to voice unhappiness about problems relating to the workplace. People express their unfavorable views on a certain aspect

of their employment experience to others by complaining. According to Shoss et al. (2013), complaints made by employees of an organization tend to center on the tasks they must complete or other facets of the work environment, such as job characteristics (such as workload), boss mistreatment, justice (such as effort-reward imbalance), and other organizational practices. The set workers also face unemployment if they complain about the conditions “It is necessary to survive, yes, by the way, I wish we could all be together and work in humanitarian conditions, but when two people rebel, it's just like, ‘Okay, brother, go home, I'll work with someone else’.” (P14).

When you complain in general, there is something, "I will delete you from the industry!" It's a problem that this sentence is being formed. Something like this is happening to you anyway, you can be blacklisted as you said, well, we are very open, so any shit can happen at any moment. (P26)

3.2.2.4. How to Change the Conditions

The participants were directly asked about how to change the working conditions in their line of work. Most of the participants have ideas about how to change the working conditions in sets.

First we have to respect ourselves. We need to realize our own strength and power. Just like any worker. We have to do something like every worker or it will only get worse this way. So okay, yes, we are very happy, we love a lot, we are very satisfied and so on, but it is getting worse. Because normally we have to be talking about better things, right? But we don't talk about better things. None of us talk about better things. (P1).

One of the most obvious and significant characteristics of a class of occupational exposures concerning the work process itself—the way in which work is structured and organized at the level of the labor market—concerns the duration and structure of working hours. A growing body of scientific literature demonstrates the negative effects of long and irregular work hours on a range of health outcomes, including both acute reactions like stress, fatigue, and sleep

disorders; harmful health behaviors like smoking and sedentary lifestyles; and more long-term effects like cardiovascular disease, gastrointestinal disorders, musculoskeletal disorders, and mental illness (Johnson & Lipscomb, 2006). Most of the participants complained about long working hours “I think working hours can be drawn to human hours. These hours can be very challenging at times.” (P4), whereas some needed more production budget :

I would like not to try to do that work with budgets that are not sufficient for the demand. I want money. When you get into that job without money, you suffer. This is in every sense. You have to get things done soon. It's messy enough when you're trying to get something done in a short time. Your effort is increasing, your effort is increasing without money! (P9).

According to Isabell Lorey, precarization can serve as a basis for political activity and intergroup cooperation. She supports this claim by citing social movements that deal with precarization and seek to mobilize the numerous isolated, insecure workers as political actors (Lorey, 2015). Some of the participants think that the only way is to come together and strike so that the government will regulate the conditions. “The camera assistants turn off the button of the camera ‘We are not shooting!’ They said after 12 hours, then the 12- hour rule came, especially for the commercials.” (P31).

There are two ways for the set conditions to change. Either we, all set workers, actors, directors, screenwriters, including all, will be united, we will strike and stop work within the whole country and our working hours and conditions will improve; or we will get a government that really loves this country and is focused on problem solving, and listens to us and enacts laws to improve our conditions. The probability of both happening is very low. I will try to live as well as possible. This is all I can do by myself. (P13).

Standardization of the time of the TV series emerges as another way to change the conditions :

First of all, I would like to change the episode durations. I mean, we did a 110-minute episode recently. Then the boss called and said, "We have to fill 135 to get more commercials". So we took a day's work and shoot garbage. Why should it be 135 minutes.

What I would like to do in the first place is to reduce the duration of the drama, because when we reduce the duration of the series, the conditions will be better. I mean how come foreign sets do this job so well? They shoot a TV series for 40 minutes and that's the scenario for that 40 minutes. This is our scenario, 200 pages per an episode!(P19).

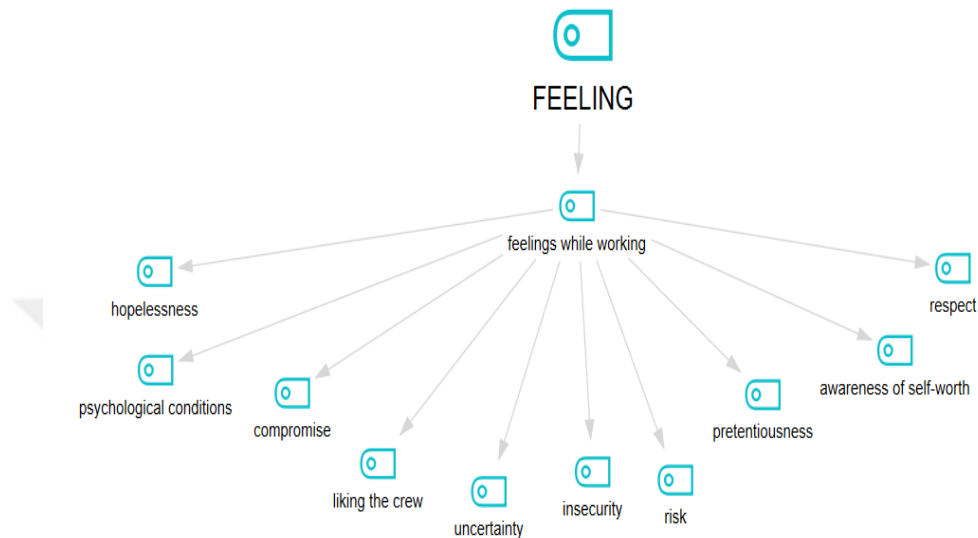
3.2.3. Feeling

The feeling is about knowing what affect is appropriate, to what degree, and at what times is part of being socialized into life. People are engaging in an affective performance when they engage in communication practices (Carbaugh, 2007; Scruton, 1979). In a conversation, feelings are the preferred or designated emotional states. It concerns the participants' emotional performances as well as the emotional terminology and distinctions they use. The participants were specifically asked about how they feel while working and also the answers to the other questions that were containing feelings were also thematized. In the interviews, the *feeling* theme comes out as feelings while working, hopelessness, psychological conditions, compromise, liking the crew, uncertainty, insecurity, risk, pretentiousness, awareness of self-worth, and respect (See Figure 3.3.).

3.2.3.1. Feelings While Working

It makes sense that having a conflict at work or being able to accomplish something would make a person have various feelings. The participants were directly asked about how they feel while working: “While on set, there is an event in the human brain, when you start and finish something, there is serotonin and the hormone of happiness. That's why I enjoy starting and finishing something.” (P3). “It depends on the job, so your energy goes the way it was on the first day of work, but if they lower your energy on the first day of work, it will go bad. So it goes bad

Figure 3.3. Creative coding of the sub-codes of *feeling*



until the end. It is the same in all jobs. But as I said, I still do my job with love as on the first day.” (P5).

Well, when you make a movie, you feel good because the conditions are not like TV series. The work you do there is more respected, and in fact, if we watch a movie in 2 hours, when we think about it, we watch an episode in 2 hours, and while a movie is shot in at least 6 weeks, a series has to be shot in 6 days at most. Therefore, you lose more of your dignity, well-being and everything else in the series. But when the movie is over, you are proud of what you reveal, the hours are more suitable, you are less worn out, there may be a pre-work, here you are reading a script, you are creating a character, you are more programmed, more organized because you have determined everything beforehand. You do it by enjoying what you do, and if it succeeds in the end, it gives you a lot of satisfaction. (P14)

Sometimes the workers feel alienated from the project they are making or from the real world. “Look, it's an illusion, human emotional things are already

compressed. We are chained, whether we are aware of it or not, we are already alienating ourselves from anything else!” (P26).

The lights are getting ready, because it's a night shot, the lighting team is working, they light a lamp on the mountains. After that run, at that moment, I really became alienated, I said, what am I doing here. Even though I love it so much, it was the 5th year I entered the industry, I am truly alienated. I mean, because I can't feel my fingertips. I am very cold, in the middle of the night, I am extremely sleepy. And there is no motivation, you know, I am very cold right now, maybe this is only the shooting today, I will go home after 15 hours, I won't rest well, there is no motivation such as I will come back and continue my work. Because maybe 3 hours later the same will happen again. They will call again. (P1)

3.2.3.1.1. Hopelessness

Two fundamental components of hopelessness are the anticipation that either a desired outcome won't happen or a terrible outcome will, and the conviction that there is nothing one can do to change such expectations (Henry, 2005). Although they did not use the word ‘hopeless’ per se, most of the participants sounded hopeless about their own future or the future of the industry. “the layout is generally the same, the director demands, the cinematographer makes the light, the shooting starts, the actor plays, the director makes the program, we shoot the same places accordingly. You can't do anything else, what can we change?” (P2). “Actually it doesn't seem like a long way to me anymore. Other than that, it seems to me like we're getting closer to the apocalypse every day. So the pandemic begins, it ends, and let's see what begins next.” (P16).

I don't think I will retire. So even if I retire... I don't think I will be, and frankly, I don't think that many people like me think they will retire. Oh, something like this happens, a freelancer pays his insurance at a high rate, maybe quits this industry after that, or has a heart attack or dies, or drives without sleep and gets into a traffic accident... (P15)

3.2.3.1.2. Psychological Conditions

An encouraging workplace environment encourages employees to be more enthusiastic about contributing original ideas, finding solutions to issues, and seizing chances for the good of the company. To be creative, people need to be psychologically at ease (West & Altink, 1996). Apart from the physical environment battles, set workers also face psychological conditions. “Ooo many many panic attacks, tantrums, etc. There are also people who have anxiety because human psychology is not the same because not everyone is the same.” (P8).

But think about it, you work for exactly 18 hours, you are a human being, your body gets tired, you have pain in one place, I don't know, you feel stuck there psychologically, so I don't think it would be healthy to express it. No matter how cheerful you are in normal life, whether you are a person or a person with high moral values, at the end of 20 hours at work, the only thing you will listen to is your body. It really does. Think of insomnia, stress, distraction, the caffeine you take all the time. All of these are for standing... I mean, there, I don't know, I don't think that after so many hours, one will have the strength to endure. (P11).

3.2.3.1.3. Compromise

Not only do the economy and work determine one's family life, social standing, and free time, but they also force the majority of family processes to be completely subordinate to demands, time availability that affects one's personal and family schedule, the transfer of employment relations to one's personal or family social life, the extension of task-based work that reduces daily family time, or working from home (Tułowicki, 2019). The participants were directly asked whether they make compromises or not because of the job. As the set workers are constantly working during a project, they cannot make any plans. They make compromises in their family and social lives. They cannot make any plans with the family as there is no guarantee that the project will end or they will have a job. “I

mean, I've been doing this job for 15 years. None of my plans worked. I can only meet my normal needs now. The thing has to cycle because the season has to cycle, the money flow has to cycle.” (P1). “My brother-in-law passed away last year, I couldn't go because I was at a film project and I was the only one with no backup.” (P2). “Yes, I can't put my son to bed most nights. I can't keep up with their birthdays. I mean, there are even stories like this on the set. ‘I'm late for my mom's funeral!’ There are things like that can happen.” (P10).

The precariat category also refers to people who struggle to balance unstable paid labor with family and marital responsibilities. The issue is exactly the opposite: how can family relationships be preserved from the temptation to resemble those seen in the modern workplace, namely short-lived and, more importantly, lacking in devotion and commitment? The family should play a role in shaping a feeling of responsibility, trust, commitment, and a life goal in an era where values are shifting as quickly as chameleons and the economy (Sennett, 1998).

There are days when we cannot attend a wedding. Let me be frank now that my wife has got used to it for 15 years... If I don't come home for 10 days, she won't say where are you. Well, I come home to go to bed. She wakes up for the day. She goes to bed, and I am working. There are days I cannot see her face although we are in the same house. (P6).

3.2.3.1.4. Liking the Crew

As the working hours are long, most of the time the set workers only see other crew members for months. Liking the other members makes the conditions easier for them. Elangovan and Xie (2000) assert that improved organizational productivity and growth depend on a harmonious workplace that ensures the satisfaction of employees' and employers' aspirations. Alzghoul, Elrehail, Emeagwali, and AlShboul (2018) claim that the creative performance of employees is significantly influenced by the workplace environment. Some of the interviewees talked about liking the crew, which created this theme. “It is very good and if the motivation of the people in the team is good, if they get on well with each other, if

everyone takes care of each other, much better successful works will emerge.” (P2). “I’m actually looking at people while accepting a project. I don’t care about the difficulty. I don’t care if I work on the mountain, on the slope, enter the tunnel or go down the mine. Whom you get in there with is more important.” (P17). “I believe that if a team is happy on set, I talk about it as a general crew. This is really reflected in the vision in my eyes. Because happy things come from people who work happily. This is reflected on the screen in the cinema.” (P4).

Workplace harmony raises labor productivity, which raises organizational performance, leads to economic growth, raises living standards, and improves the quality of life. It fosters a tranquil workplace that encourages tolerance and communication (Adim & David, 2020). It even effects how higher-positioned workers choose their department members:

In fact, I try to create such a balance when choosing, who is good at work, whose mind is open, and who can joke when appropriate, because the set is really overwhelming sometimes, especially in long-term works, it makes me smile from time to time, when I turn my head and say, "Oh, this is it. I actually want someone to whom I can say "What's up hahah". (P16).

3.2.3.1.5. Uncertainty

The new capitalism produces anxiety in the context of temporariness, discontinuity, uncertainty, undefined works, and mobility; uses the inequalities created by this insecurity in line with the interests of the capitalist mentality (Aytaç & İlhan, 2008). This sub-theme rises as an important theme related to other themes in the interviews, driven by answers to different questions in the interviews. “If we are looking for a guarantee, you know, things like physical guarantee, money, material things, retirement, future plan; I think these are always at risk in our sector.” (P11). “You can work until you die. You can be deleted after 10 years. So I don’t know either. I see a 60-year-old dinosaur, and I see a 30-year-old human. There is no such thing as retirement for us.” (P12).

Television channels cancel TV series when they do not receive ratings. What this means for the workers is being unemployed or not being paid for the time they work or getting late. The fact that television series get the ratings that the channels expect means still have a job for the workers. While both televisions and channels make a profit as the rating increases, the workers cannot receive additional wages (Saraç, 2019).

Our industry has a situation like this; Sometimes when you work, you can stay at work for months, a job that lasts for 12 months, sometimes when you are free, you can be unemployed for 2 years, it is not clear. Last year, I started working in September, when I started, I started the 10th episode of a series, 9 episodes were shot, I was involved in the 10th episode, from the 10th episode, here I finished the 44th episode, I started at the beginning of September, we are on 30 June, my work will be finished next week. . I'm working, I'm going to take a short vacation, I don't even take a vacation if another project comes, I will continue to work because none of us want to be unemployed in this sector because there is such a risk. So, let's see, we are waiting. Our biggest fear is to be unemployed. Since there is nothing to be assured. (P19).

3.2.3.1.6. Insecurity

As much as uncertainty in the industry, there is also insecurity, leading mostly to financial difficulties. Set workers receive a certain wage in return for their labor power. According to the labor law, they are required to receive overtime wages for eight hours of work, but this wage is not paid to the set workers by the producer. They are also employed during the preparation process without any fee or half a fee. The preparation process takes a minimum of 3-4 weeks. Although they work for up to 18-20 hours a day in the shooting of TV series; they charge only an episode fee. There may also be delays in paying the wages of the set workers. In addition to all these, as the television series get ratings, the production companies and television channels earn more; the wages of set workers do not make any changes. The fact that channels and production companies employ set workers for

long periods of time and with irregular wages, with the desire to gain more and more, reveal the essence of capitalist exploitation (Saraç, 2019). “A project can end suddenly, you can say that we are making a final after 3 episodes. Yes, you can earn good money when you earn, but you can also be unemployed for a very long time.” (P14). “That's right, I mean I work for 6 months but eat it for the remaining 6 months. I mean, normally it seems like I'm making good money, but when I divide it into an annual, it's less money because I work less.”(P31).

But there's always the matter of heart palpitations. If you start the series, you don't know how many days the director will shoot the first episode. You can get the money you normally get in a week, in a month and a half. Since it is the first episode, the director will shoot it in 45 days. You can't say anything. And then maybe the series will be canceled after 3 episodes. Maybe you won't get paid for the movie you're working on. There are such risks. You will shoot a commercial, you will get your money after 3 months, which is very real. When you do something, how can I say, let's do something, let's make some discount. This time there is a situation we call lowering the market. It's coming, you're actually betraying yourself a little. But you tolerate it because you need the money at that moment. (P1)

3.2.3.1.7. Risk

The ability of workers to identify risks that could lead to personal injury and to take action in removing or minimize these dangers is essential for workplace safety. Set work is a risky business. These industries are workplaces where occupational accidents are frequently experienced due to running steps and dangerous work due to the stress of finishing work. When defining the set, most of the participants mentioned the risk of the work. Although there are paramedics and occupational health and safety specialists are in the sets for the last 5 years, it is still risky.

Sometimes it's dangerous. While filming in Konya, they burned a child with torches on the wall. They put too much paraffin, he is 9-

10 years old. For example, he was disabled for life, it's a pity. I control such works, for example, I do not give it to anyone else. From my team or not, people are people after all. We're shooting movies, what's the point..... Your energy drops, your face drops, you start to sleep. After several hours, they expect full performance from you! That's our only problem. Maybe my scene lasts 3 seconds, but it's the riskiest. We do not expect any special treatment, but call 1 hour or 2 hours before the set. Let people come to the set with energy. (P5).

Because of COVID-19, a detrimental impact was also felt on film production. To protect the crews and actors, new procedures have been put in place. It was observed that the production process in the film, TV series, and advertisement industries continued with the measures taken, and the rate of appointment of occupational safety specialists and workplace physicians was positively affected (Aslaner, 2021). Unintentionally, the introduction of COVID-19 has led to higher costs for production precautions, the deficit financing model that has historically been used to finance film and television productions, as well as newly mandated insurance coverage for health and safety reasons (Johnson, 2021). Unexpected risks also come to appear with the new procedures:

we wear masks, we have to wear them, but since we are doing a rush job, it is not easy to push a 300 kilo device, a 300 kilo machine on a rail. Think like a football player, you need to push a 300 kilo device. We're like a car with a clogged carburetor here. It's tiring, you can't run with a mask, but when you push a 300-pound device, you need to breathe, we have a hard time there. Let's do it, of course, put on your mask, but there is a problem here, you are out of breath, the device you push is heavy, so there are 1 or 2 people on it. Hands exploded from disinfectant and cologne!. (P2).

3.2.3.1.8. Pretentiousness

Because arrogant people think their own behavior is appropriate and so do not watch what they do when engaging with others, arrogant behavior can be a particularly difficult problem to deal with (Silverman, Johnson, McConnell, & Carr,

2012). Set workers do not only struggle with their own psychological needs but also have to endure the arrogance, pretentiousness, or ego of others, esp. higher-positioned ones or the actors. “But if you are subject to a chief in a workplace, you are obliged to glorify that chief.” (P6).

Excuse me but they are doing their shit, so people in this industry are very spoiled. So I say this for everyone behind the camera as well. The more you give, the more he (producer) asks for. It's like this for time, it's like this for money, it's like this for this place. This is the same for the technical equipment in his hands. Well, he always wants more. That's why it's important to balance it. (P9).

But the superiors who are at war with themselves, who are ambitious, who cannot control their egos and who have various concerns, have always turned into mobbing on their assistants. Our colleagues who remained silent about this, that is, for economic reasons, for fear of losing their jobs, have been from the past to the present. (P11).

The emotional dynamic between a worker and their workplace at the intersection of affective labor and precarity is similar to what Lauren Berlant (2007) refers to as "cruel optimism," a modern emotional structure characterized by the conviction that the pursuits or desires one has are also barriers to one's flourishing. This translates into an ideologically enforced set of positive effects that boost the bottom line without necessarily enhancing the quality of life of the precarious worker in the setting of precarious work (Veldstra, 2020). The pretentious behavior of others leads especially the female workers in creative departments to find coping mechanisms to get along with them, engaging in affective labor. “Another issue is relations with the actors. In short, it can be very difficult to work with some of these people who have very high egos. Managing these difficult actors also requires skills. This is a profession where human relations are very important.” (P13).

We have to get along with everyone, we have to do everyone's work. That's the thing. We don't have the luxury of saying I won't take it. Once you are poorly known in this market, no one will want you. This market is such a market. They will delete you immediately. (P6).

I came across things like, we are out of town, the actress washed her own clothes, filled them in a bag, brought them in the morning, she says, "Iron these,". Or I remember one of them put his armpit on my nose after undressing, "Do I smell?" he asks. I mean, you're going through things like that too, like you're the cleaner of his private house. For example, the make-up department has such problems. Let's say that the actress will go somewhere after leaving the set in the evening, "Give me a night make-up." You know, what does it have to do with the set? According to the situation there at that moment, according to the fact that you have to play nice there. Or, for example, the producer comes and says, "Can you iron my shirt?" (P31).

3.2.3.1.9. Awareness of Self-worth

According to Sommer and Baumeister (1998), self-worth is a demand for meaning, the satisfaction of which has a direct impact on an individual's identity. The expectations and experiences of organizational actors with organizational change have an impact on how workers construct their identities, specifically how much self-worth and self-esteem they have (Sommer & Baumeister, 1998). When the participants were asked about how to change the conditions, a common theme came up as 'awareness of self-worth'. With experience, age, and slow changes in the industry, set workers gain awareness. "For one thing, this 12-hour thing gives me a lot of confidence. Giving it to a lot of people. As I said, you can make plans, you feel valuable at some point." (P1). "Look at India, look here, look at Kazakhstan, there are great problems there too, but we are a country with the best teams in the world, but we are the most worthless sector." (P12).

Because I think that if people start working as a little more human, maybe a spark will be lit from there. If people say that I am a human being and I have to do it like this, and this will be like this, if he makes his own consciousness, I think that something will change automatically. In other words, the workers here must think that they are collectively human. No one will come from the top and say you are human, go live your life. You will be aware of this and you will demand it. We have to achieve this ourselves, for ourselves. (P3).

3.2.3.1.10. Respect

Workers desire recognition and appreciation for their efforts. A worker's contribution to the work process, as well as their commitment and motivation, are evaluated through employee recognition. Employee engagement increases when a culture of recognition is fostered. Employees who are engaged are content, devoted, and effective (Baskar & Rajkumar, 2013). Participants talked about respect under various questions. Gaining respect, or being seen as a respectful worker emerged as a very important topic in the interviews. “what do I want to change in the set; respect for the work done, respect for people, respect for expertise.” (P9). “What I want to add is the thing, ethical issues. Issues we call professional etiquette. People should be respectful, stay away from this sexist discourse, just like mobbing, some people are not even aware that they are doing mobbing.” (P11).

I don't think my profession is progressing towards a good place. It makes me very sad to see that the directors have lost their respect for my profession and my work. The directors of the TV series and commercials, unfortunately, do not know how the costume serves the purpose of the film. They only see the costume as an element that will make the actor look beautiful. They use unnecessary and meaningless intervention in our work as a show of power and ego. (P13).

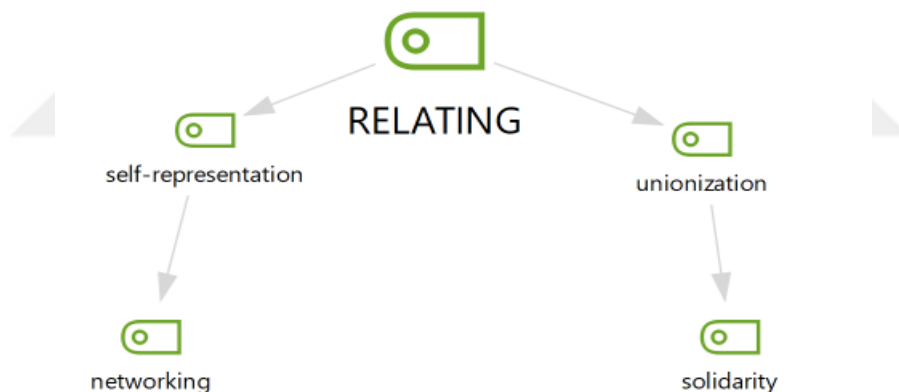
According to Smith and Tyler (1997), in social interactions, people aspire to be liked and respected and respect is perceived as a status that indicates how people view their position in the workplace.

First of all, they have to show us human respect. Because we are human, we need to be respected, costume supervisor, cinematographer, you should show respect not because he is a director, but because he is a human being. Just as the director eats instantly, I also have to eat. Just as the director goes home earlier, I also need to go home and take a shower. That's why these working hours need to be regulated a bit. (P31).

3.2.4. Relating

People are linked to one another as they engage in communication practices. While in some instances the practice is the activity that fosters relationships, in certain situations the relationship already existed before the practice (Carbaugh, 2007). The assumption and practice of social ties are referred to as relating. It has to do with how social relationships are encoded through conversational habits and the practice of communication. In the interviews, the *relating* theme comes out as self-representation, networking, unionization, and solidarity (See Figure 3.4.).

Figure 3.4. Creative coding of the sub-codes of *relating*



3.2.4.1. Self-representation

The way to work in the next project is to make yourself accepted in previous projects. In other words, the way to find a job in TV series sets is to have good relations with the market and the way to permanence is to be accepted. The ones who just graduated from the university or those who want to work in this sector are extremely difficult, or even impossible, to find a job by only expressing themselves, their knowledge, and their skills. This process is more effortless for those who work in the middle of the sets with very good acquaintances (Saraç, 2019).

The participants were asked about how they find a project to work, and they all stated that they represent themselves in the industry, and that the next project depends on networking. “I work freelance, I work freelance, either people from production call me and give me an option, or I can go to work with the reference of the cinematographer or at his request” (P26). “I didn't get in with anyone's help. I went door-to-door by myself, I left my CV, I entered a lot of production houses that way.” (P27).

In our industry, there is no such thing as a diploma. Everyone knows each other through each other, but I am not talking about the privilege, you work in a project, I mean, the assistant director calls someone and says, "Brother, we have a project, we need an assistant director, do you know a good assistant director?" He says, "Oh, we worked with X last year, she was a 2nd assistant there, but this girl would be a good 1st assistant director, let me introduce you", you meet and start like this, or she calls you again for the next job, more like this something progressing. (P19).

3.2.4.1.1. Networking

There is no application mechanism or evaluation process to start work on the sets. Set workers find a job through people who had a certain position in the sector. Set workers are waiting to be called to another project, as their work ends with the end of the project (Saraç, 2019). As the workers represent themselves, finding a new job is through networking. “You know people, through relationships, through networks. So everything depends on the person. Let's say the moment you have a fight with someone, so you can be unemployed.” (P11). “You do not apply to *kariyer.net*. This business, this industry is not such a sector. However, it is a sector that proceeds through acquaintances.” (P18).

Today there are Whatsapp groups, WhatsApp groups have grown so much in technology that the Z generation is coming after us slowly, people are passing business to each other in those groups, "There is this, there is a need to work here, we need an assistant, helper. We need a director" and so on, but I'm usually one of the

old ones. My name becomes my business card. In other words, the more jobs you work, the more you are known, the more environment you get and the more work you get. (P25)

In this sense, there are really options, as I said, I prefer to work with people I know more, I don't know, maybe as I get older, it will be very difficult to establish the same thing with a new person. So he knows what I want, I know what I want from him, it becomes much more comfortable. So mostly the team is the first factor for me to choose, the most important. That team already knows your criteria, their criteria are almost the same. (P30).

3.2.4.2. Unionization

The participants were directly asked whether they are a member of a union or not. Since 2015, Cinema-TV Union has some accomplishments, especially about making the working conditions better. There are also sub-branches of the union, specific for departments:

Although the average number of people working in our sector is not clear, if we think about Istanbul, it can be 11000, 12000, including actors, excluding extras. It could be 13-14. There are other NGOs and stakeholders that primarily represent the sector. For example; Camera Assistants Association, KAD. GYD; Cinematographers Association. Art Directors Association, Istanbul; SYD. Under that, our hairdresser and make-up artist friends were organized, the costume unit is about to be organized. Like this, various business associations, platforms, formations... Here is RAP; Director Assistants Platform. They do not work like a commission, but we, as a union, will set up some commissions in the near future on issues such as immunity, technology, harassment, psychological violence, sexual assault, and so on. (P11).

Unions and professional associations are common in the industry in countries where the cinema is industrialized such as European countries and America, while the organizational structure in the cinema sector in Turkey is predominantly associations and foundations. Financial problems and

institutionalization problems in organizational structures are among the most important obstacles to active and strong unionism (Kanburoğlu, 2017). In addition, in the fact that the unions in Turkey are the pressure group; reasons such as not paying the membership fees regularly, not participating enough in the activities of the organization, and the lack of effective supervision by the unions constitute obstacles (Şentürk Gülçur, & Eken, 2017). Compared to other types of solo self-employed employees, precarious freelancers have a higher likelihood of unionizing, which appears to be driven by personal service requirements, group demands of stronger social security, and left-wing political ideologies (Jansen, 2020). Although the majority of the workers in the industry is not a member of the union, they still follow its actions. There are also some who find it insufficient, and want the union to hold a stronger position:

I wanted the union to get stronger. I think the current union is insufficient. That's why I don't become a member. I don't like it when they pretend to have a union. The order continues. Conditions do not improve. I also prefer to work in projects with better conditions. They have to accept everything. When they accept everything and know that there are millions of unemployed people out there who will always work for you, you don't have a chance to ask for much. The money we've been getting for 3-4 years is the same. It never increases. However, the price of everything has increased at least twice in this process. The only thing that has changed is the working hours are limited to 12 hours. A lunch break has to be given every 6 hours. This rule is followed in my works, even if it is flexible. I don't know if this applies to TV series. Is it enough? Not. When the road is added to 12 hours, we cannot talk about humanitarian conditions. We are far behind Europe and America. We do not charge overtime. Remember, directors and producers wholeheartedly try to extend these 12 hours. Most of the time, they succeed. If we do not stop the work by acting together, this order will continue. And we know that if an arrangement is not made from above, this order will continue. The order will always be like this. (P13)

And the comparison of the Cinema-TV Union with European or American unions are also mentioned in the interviews:

There was no ambulance on the sets, it started to be an ambulance in the TV series, commercials, and cinema. I wish there was a psychologist so people can go. So Netflix has something like that, as far as I know, every team member has the right to go to 6 psychotherapy sessions, for example, but of course in foreign Netflix productions. None here. Because of their unions, if you look at this in foreign Netflix productions, they also give your meal money on your off days. But in Turkey, they don't give it to you. (P15).

According to Bulut, whether adverse working conditions in the industry will be alleviated on the other hand, it will depend on the course of the struggle that both the set workers and the actors will wage through the unions, and how the state will respond to the calls for the employees to be recognized as workers (2016).

As stated in 1.7.2. creative labor section, according to Standing (2014), the class of workers he refers to as the "precariat" did not demand the traditional union privileges and would not be satisfied by them. But the interviews can be read as these workers would have more than enough satisfaction with an active union that can fight for their basic human needs.

3.2.4.2.1. Solidarity

Another important problem in the television industry is union and organized working conditions. From the 1940s, when cinema began to produce its own productions, unions have been established under many different names. However, these unions have not been able to achieve significant and permanent gains in terms of employees' rights, since they could not unite and demonstrate a sufficient level of unionism. Whether they are a member of the union or not, all of the participants indicated that they need to be in solidarity to change the conditions although they also claim that it is hard, or even impossible (Çora, 2019). Solidarity theme emerged especially when the participants were talking about how to change the working conditions. "We cannot be united, we agree on that. We grew up as an industry without realizing it. We grew very fast as a sector and a team gap was created.

Everyone suddenly became a chef, became a filmmaker. I don't believe it. I do not believe it is possible that we can be together.” (P12).

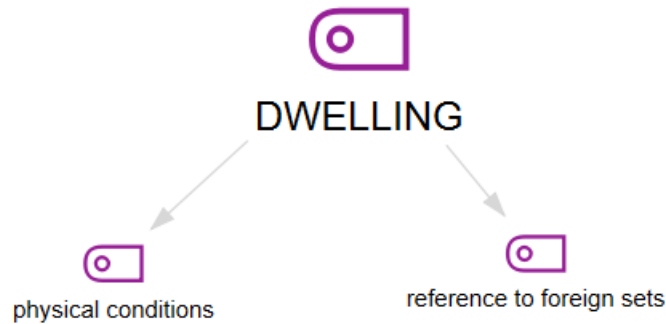
The biggest problem experienced by the set workers in the industry in recent years is that there are dozens of people who can take their place at any time. Since the beginning of the 2000s, when being an employee of the media industry has become a highly popular job, many people have worked in this industry in various positions. Another important issue is that, as a result of the absence of a fixed wage and remuneration policy, it is easy to find those who do the work for less (Çora, 2019).

For example, I do not accept a weekly fee of 1000 liras, but there are those who accept a fee of 900 liras. So producers call her after they hang up with me. Since there is no base fee, the producers also collect people who work cheaper. Rightly so, for their own budget. But we are all together in a room, nothing. That's not possible, so if we all come together at one point, things can change..... This is the industry, but maybe everyone can come together and unite, how did the camera assistants turn off the camera's button "We're not shooting!" They said after 12 hours, then the 12 hour rule came, especially for the commercials, then for the movie, we all need to come together and say something, but is it possible for us to unite? No. Because there is always someone who will work cheaper. (P31)

3.2.5. Dwelling

When people speak, they spin a cultural discourse that is positioned somewhere and, as a result, places them in a particular set of ways. The manner in which this is done sends messages about place and dwelling (Carbaugh, 1996). The appropriate behaviors in feeling, behaving, being, and relating are rooted in the local discourse. In a world where spoken acts are coded, it is about navigating. In the participants' narratives, the *dwelling* theme emerges as physical conditions and reference to foreign sets (See Figure 3.5.).

Figure 3.5. Creative coding of the sub-codes of *dwelling*



3.2.5.1. Physical Conditions

Precarious employment is becoming more widely recognized as a social factor contributing to poor health in individuals, families, and entire civilizations. It has been hypothesized that there are a number of paths through which the link between precarious employment and poor health may exist, one of which is particularly social and material deprivation as well as exposure to unfavorable physical and psychosocial working conditions (Jonsson et al., 2021). The working conditions are also hard physically in the industry. The workers need to face different weather conditions and unhygienic environments, as well as sleep deprivation, malnutrition, and sickness constantly. The participants revealed some of these conditions while defining the set and their specific job. “In my opinion, this is not a place suitable for a person's physical health. not this way. As the working conditions are very hard, the working hours are very heavy in my opinion. People talk about the old days. There were shooting for 42 hours and 50 hours without a break.” (P8). “Well, because I have a problem with the heart, I don't have to tire myself too much. In other words, it is impossible not to get tired in the sets. I'm not a standing person anyway. It's my thing because I'm too active, I can't hold back, so I don't want to have problems. I need to leave as soon as possible.” (P21).

You can work in a place like a desert... or under the sun, for hours. Or you can work for hours in a place where it's very cold, snowy in winter, I don't know, in the middle of nowhere. Eeee, you can be very cold, you can sweat a lot. I stood on an ice floe for 16 hours....Since we constantly change cities, our body has a process of adaptation now for 1 week, we all traveled sick for 1 week because the body has to adapt. Diarrhea, fevers, I don't know, it takes some time to get used to the food, get used to the water, and get used to the air when you go to another city. (P1).

I feel like I can do it for another 10 years at the most. My health is going away, that's a fact. For example, I have lymphedema, and if my legs are like this in the morning at work, and I have a lot of pain. This sector kills you either from the heart, from cancer, or from the meniscus, or from neck hernia... For example, I have a flattened neck at my age and because I don't sleep, my cells do not regenerate at certain hours, I will age faster, my body aches. (P13)

3.2.5.2. Reference to Foreign Sets

Before the terrorist attacks in Turkey, there used to be a lot of foreign productions, here making movies. Most of the participants had a chance to work with them. The participants were not asked specifically about foreign sets, but occasionally they compared their own working conditions with theirs. “They film an episode in 6 months in America. So if you're shooting in 6 months, you're doing a great job. Here, in Turkey you do the same thing in 6 days. That's unbelievable.” (P1). “In European standards, after 8 hours, the team changes. There are such situations, but there is no such thing in our Turkish standards.” (P6). They can do costume, art, etc up to 70 years old abroad. Because their working conditions are not as heavy as ours. They don't wear out as much as we do.” (P13).

I am very envious of what I see in them. They have a very important place for hair and make-up department. When I was in a X production, me and hair dyer were separate. One day, the person who was supposed to dye the hair of the actress did not come, I said I could do it. The production came and thanked me for doing something that was not my job. There was such respect.(P10).

All of the directors from abroad are shocked when they see us "Brother, how is it possible for them to do everything?" We are all Turkish, but on the bright side, we are also something. "We do everything" or something, it's a bit of a nationalist side, you know, it's the same on the set, you know, "We're a production, we do everything" or something, sometimes we were diving, you know, it's not possible to shoot such a thing, so many people, we were doing it.(P24).

It may be necessary to have a training abroad, but not here. I didn't go through any training because costume department doesn't do much sewing in our country, they do it abroad, but they have their own tailors, they have designers, we usually take the measurements, have it drawn and find a tailor. (P31)

CHAPTER 4

SET AS A CONDITION DEFINED BY THE STRUGGLE

According to the data gathered from the interviews, it can be stated that the media industry, specifically movie, TV, and commercial sets, is a struggle area defined by the local and global dynamics. Although the concepts of identity, action, feeling, relating and dwelling are reciprocal and interrelated, it is important to analyze some of them further to understand this struggle area.

4.1. SET AS A SPACE OF STRUGGLE

The film and TV industry is underappreciated, often risky, and lacks structural clarity. Set workers are more likely to experience severe job demands, precarity, and instability as a result of insufficient regulation and an unstable working environment, which, when combined with a lack of resources, can lead to serious burnout, anxiety, stress, depression, and low self-esteem (Akten & Wise, 2021). The interviews have shown that the set workers are experiencing a great deal of physical and psychological struggle while working, and yet are hesitant to act to change the conditions for the sake of not being unemployed.

4.1.1. Physical Struggle

The working conditions are hard and risky in the industry. The workers need to endure different weather conditions, unhygienic environments, malnutrition, sleep deprivation, and sickness perpetually. The participants define the set as a chaotic, speedy environment that is like a battleground where the workers constantly try to survive the day and the schedule. According to Hodson, Roscigno, and Lopez, chaotic work environments are caused by unstable employment and inconsistent production processes (2006). The literature of sociology has described

workplace chaos. In a study on nonmedical toxic work settings, "organizational chaos" was found to be negatively associated with employment outcomes due to inadequate and stressful production organizations (Chamberlain & Hodson, 2010). Many employees tend to be severely agitated by instability, and the frustrations and uncertainties of chaos, appear to be a significant factor in reduced job satisfaction, dedication, and meaning (Perez, Beyrouy, Bennett, Manwell, Brown, Linzer , & Schwartz, 2017). Although by the participants, the set is defined as chaos, a battleground, it can also be thought that there is somewhat order in the set that keeps the project going, with constant arguments and shoutings all day long.

The participants complained about how a set is faster than real life, and everything must be done in a hurry in a set. This speed makes a risky environment riskier in terms of worker safety. Herbert Spencer, a British sociologist, was discouraged to observe a culture of speed and overwork, which he felt to be detrimental to one's health (Stump, 2019). According to Boden (2020), workers who are temporary or insecure generally lack support at work, have little choice over how quickly they work and are employed when there is a great demand for labor, all of which raise their risk of harm and jeopardize their wellbeing. As the pandemic made most of the World stay home and entertain themselves via media, there became a greater demand for the production of new shows which led the workers to work faster and under a virus risk with heavy exhaustion. With getting used to that speed in the set, workers sometimes feel hard to adapt the real life's slowness (although in İstanbul, life is already fast!)

Standing focuses mostly on the educated, university-educated precariat, as a second-class status while defining the precariat. This class sought regular employment with security through higher education, however, the members of this class were unable to achieve this security (İlhan & Yavuz, 2017). As seen in the interviews, the majority of the participants have a university degree but they revealed that they have limited personal rights with no job description. A job description's main objective is to provide the jobholder and supervisor with a detailed list of all the duties and responsibilities of the position, as well as the qualifications or abilities needed to perform the job. Because of this, the job

description acts as the foundation for an understanding between the employer and employee regarding the kind and quantity of work that the employee will be required to complete (Jerabek, 2003). Although the job descriptions of the departments have been somewhat known, without a clear job description, set workers find themselves in a more chaotic environment inside the departments, sometimes all of a sudden covering for others' to keep the filming continue. The production process may be seen as workers on an assembly line most of the time, but in case of emergency, everyone can step into each other's shoes.

The interviews display that set has a hierarchical structure where there is oppression with invisible strict rules. "Like the military, on a film crew all members know their jobs, where the boundaries are and who the boss is, always under absurd time constraints and while solving logistical problems under adverse physical conditions. Unlike the military, they are working on an artistic project that demands constant creative as well as financial problem solving" (Peterson, 2014, p. 90). All of the male participants have finished their mandatory military service, making them all familiar with what it's like to be in the military, which is regarded as the most hierarchical place in Turkey. Some of them compared the hierarchy with the military. This strict hierarchy keeps the set going, but also makes the assistants more expandable.

Mostly men work in the industry. This is also shown in terms of the distribution of the participants: 11 female, 20 male. In male-dominated organizations, sexual harassment is a common event that exemplifies how sexuality is utilized to control women (Bagilhole, 2002; Watts, 2007). Drawing attention to the male dominance of the sets, Şeker stated that female workers in the sector are exposed to psychological violence the most and that women working on the set had to dress and act masculine in order to prevent any harassment (Şeker 2009). The findings of the research are in line with the existing literature as the participants reveal that, being a woman on set is harder than being a man as expected. Women encounter harassment and often stays silent for the sake of their career. On the other hand, women also support other women when they become the head of departments and automatically gain respect. This finding is also in line with the literature's

assertion that women in contexts where men predominate have a chance to get support from other women, whether it's at work or through professional or industrial networks (Wright, 2015).

The industry is defined as a risky area. There have been several accidents, some resulting in death. Although it is mandatory for the production to have occupational health and safety specialists and paramedics on site for the last 7 years, sometimes it is not being implemented. There are stacks of safety violations for the sake of being fast and rushing the schedule. The film and television industry poses a variety of health and safety concerns to personnel (Campbell & Mann, 1987; McCann, 1991). Due to a number of factors, such as the physical working conditions and excessive stress and anxiety that can result in accidents and occupational diseases/syndromes, including physical working conditions, all members of the film crew are at risk for their health and safety (including mental health) (Caldwell, 2008).

To work on the sets, there is no application process or review procedure. People who had particular positions in the industry might help set workers obtain employment. As their employment finishes with the project's conclusion, set workers are waiting to be invited to another project (Saraç, 2019). Networking is the best way to obtain a new job since employees represent themselves. An employee's ability to create and maintain networks of relationships determines the course of their career (Bechky, 2006). In temporary organizations, social dynamics like as reciprocity, socialization, and reputation play a larger role in the coordination between different companies (Jones, Hesterly, & Borgatti, 1997). The interviews also revealed that set workers represent themselves in the industry. As most of them are freelance, finding a new project depends on networking. For those who work in the cinema and TV series industry in Turkey, especially those who are new to the sector, the impact of sectoral business networks, circle of friends, and recognition / sector awareness on finding a job is undeniable. For this reason, employees may have to accept the job conditions imposed by the employer in order to establish social networks in the sector, to take part in these networks and to stand out (Başaran, 2013). Because the industry proceeds through acquaintances, it might be

bad for one's career to complain, have an argument with someone or quit a project. So networking can find a new project or ban someone from getting new projects for a while or ever again. Making oneself accepted in earlier projects is the key to working on the following one. In other words, having strong contacts with the market can help one get a position on a TV show set, and being accepted will help one stay there. Finding a job by just expressing oneself, one's knowledge, and one's talents is exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, for people who have just graduated from college or who wish to work in this industry. And yet, the new graduated ones (*okullu*) are often run over by the ones who have experience but no degree (*alaylı*).¹

4.1.1.1. Changes with the Investment of Digital Platforms

An episode of a regular TV show in Turkey, typically is filmed in 6 days. Each week the crew has to finish an episode which is longer than 135 minutes. Every week a new episode airs on a TV channel, and one season is usually composed of 39 episodes. The first 13 episodes is critical because of TV audience measurement (rating). If the show is not watched as expected, it can immediately be cancelled and the crew behind the show will be unemployed. They also get paid per episode, no matter how much time it takes. The first episodes take longer than a week (sometimes a month) to complete. The paychecks are given to the worker after the channel runs the show and pays the production company. So it is possible not to be paid on time.

With digital platforms, the habit of filming and watching a show has entirely changed. Digital platform series can be binge-watched as one season is uploaded entirely. As there is no obligation to shoot one episode per week for the channel, it can be argued that the crew has more flexibility, in terms of time. One episode for digital platforms lasts 20-60 minutes. Also, they can shoot the same

¹ Throughout the years that I have worked, I have seen unofficial betting in the set about how long a newly graduated intern will endure the conditions.

location scenes of different episodes together to save time. The crew gets paid per week, no matter whether the audience would like the show or not. There is more budget which makes the creative departments more comfortable.

Especially digital platforms that are originally based on the USA, such as Netflix, Disney +, etc, treat each episode as a movie, which gives more time, budget, and creativity to the crew. They also apply the rules of their own union (BECTU or IATSE etc). The interviewees report that they work in more humane conditions when it comes to digital platforms, such as no longer than 12 hours, paid on time, paramedic and occupational safety measurements on site, better food, training before set etc. Digital platforms originally based in Turkey, such as Exxen, Blutv, Gain, etc., also provide the same conditions for the workers.

According to the existing literature, the precariat class has been more negatively impacted by the labor exploitation mechanisms resulting from globalization, and this condition poses a threat due to the world's expanding population. According to Standing, the precariat, which is characterized as a product of globalization, was created as a fresh contribution to the analysis of class in flexible production. In order to illustrate how flexible production relations affect the workforce, the precariat presents a reality in which people cannot even enjoy the bare minimum of job security and whose numbers are rising whether or not they are qualified (Altıntaş, 2015). The entrance of digital platforms into Turkey did somewhat regulate the conditions but the exploitation still continues more invisibly. Digital platforms pay less than what they pay in their origin countries. That payment is better than what channels pay for regular TV series but still less than expected. They provide financial security, but they also put pressure on creators to make commercially oriented material, which leads to a loss of originality (D'Arma, Fuchs, Horowitz, & Unterberger, 2021). The director, who needs to be the most creative in the production –usually the authorial signature of the movie is attributed to them-, is sometimes suppressed and simplified as a factory worker due to this commercially oriented material. Even the director becomes invisible, and the digital platforms change directors between episodes in the same show.

Despite the fact that the importance of the creative industries has grown among academic and informal authorities alike, according to Akın (2020), many governments still fail to adequately acknowledge them and deny them funds. If a screenwriter cannot find funds to shoot the project, they might sell their script prepaid to the digital platforms but have no say about the actors, as the platform wants an A-list actor/actress to sell the merchandise more expensive to the World. Selling a script to a digital platform can be thought of as a set that blocks creativity in so many ways, and the script and shooting styles might be changed for the sake of commercially oriented material. According to Hesmondhalgh and Baker (2010), the pleasure and passion that people derive from their work affects both how they act in the job market and how free and autonomous they are to produce. The interviews reveal that the set workers are not autonomous in terms of creativity while working on digital platforms either.

Only one production team comes from the original digital platform production company, but the rest of the production and the crew are the same as before, working under the same circumstances esp. in terms of risks, hierarchy, rentals, treatment towards the crew, and extras, etc. That one production team from the original production has the right to change everything in the set, from the script to the director, from the costumes to the actors if they find them unfit. In some sets, the local producers have already found the bug of polishing the situation: not reporting everything to the original production company but filling out the reports as a 12-hour-day although the crew has worked 16 hours. Localized content is used in cross-border production to expand into a new market (Albornoz & Garcia Leva, 2021). The new plotlines, cinematography, and editing procedures developed for digital platforms are incompatible with the linear storytelling style of traditional television (Yanardağoğlu & Turhallı, 2020).

4.1.1.2. Changes with COVID-19

Right after the pilot interview of the research, a global pandemic namely COVID-19, affected the dynamics of set workers as well as everyone in the World. With the appearance of the COVID-19 virus in Turkey in March 2020, the Actors' Union made a call to television channels through social media with the slogan "Stop the sets!" (Ozbek, 2020). In April 2020, while many series sets took a break from their work, some production companies continued to shoot TV series. With the regulations of the World Health Organization and the Ministry of Health of Turkey, work needed to be restructured in terms of social distancing, wearing masks, having PCR tests, and limited working hours. The movie and TV series industry became a lifesaver for the rest of the World who was quarantined at home. But for the set workers, it meant working more to meet the demand, and isolating themselves from their families as they have great contact with a lot of people during the shooting days.

The digital productions and big production companies took health measures, like constantly testing the crew, handing out masks, limiting people on set, disinfecting the locations, extra toilet vans, separate meals, separate make-up and hair brushes for every actor, quarantining the positive tested , etc. But the rest continued to work as before, only by wearing masks. The participants also reported that it was hard to breathe and run in the set with the masks. They were already isolated from their families before, but with COVID-19, they were isolated more as each of them had a risk of getting and spreading the infection.

When the vaccine was found, the set workers were making Twitter campaigns to be vaccinated before the general population as they never stopped working. But the public and the Ministry of Health did not see them as essential, lynch them via social media, and did not give them the vaccination before the audience.

4.1.2. Psychological Struggle

Though the conditions are extremely hard in set work, interviews show that the workers find motivation other than money, especially being part of a story that would be watched by other people. Based on the interviews, there is a great deal of creativity in terms of creating a world and destroying that world. This God-like creation gives motivation and pleasure to the set workers, keeping them going and enduring the hard work. Satisfaction, in this sense, is a very important part of the motivation. Basic psychological needs are defined as essential for healthy human development and satisfaction of these needs is necessary for healthy functioning and personal growth (Gagné, 2014). The environment for creativity can have an impact on an organization's decision-making and problem-solving procedures, planning and coordination, communication, and motivation (Ekvall & Ryhammar, 1999). Set workers must use their imagination to overcome unforeseen difficulties during filming in order to perform their daily jobs, and most of the day, they find creative ways to solve problems.

Internalization processes that are involved in the formation of autonomous motivation are thought to be aided by satisfying these needs in social environments (Ryan & Deci, 2000). The basic psychological needs of the workers are not fulfilled according to the interviews. First of all, the public is not aware of the workers behind the camera other than shiny happy behind the scenes footage. So the workers are invisible and voiceless to the general public. As the general public only sees the behind the scenes footage, the job seems very appealing, even enviable. When business activities are thought of analytically, these individuals usually appear as statistical information sets. Although there are a few movies and news stories about these industry workers, there hasn't been a lot of scholarly investigation into their lives, social surroundings, and employment circumstances (Mazumdar, 2015). The technical equipment, such as the camera, is seen as more valuable than the workers in the set. Finishing and watching a project makes the workers happy but not a single one of the interviewees reported that they work happily during a project, but they have happy moments if the crew members, esp. the head of departments, are

warm, nice, and respectful and this reflects the screen. Mostly, they describe their feelings as alienated from the real world and being chained there for the time being. Precarious work has an impact on a variety of non-work domains, including personal health and well-being (mental stress, poor physical health, etc.), family formation (delayed marriage and having children), and social isolation (Kalleberg & Vallas, 2018). In line with the literature, the interviews showed that the workers need to make compromises for their families or social life. They cannot make any plans as they do not exactly know when they will be done for the day. Research on the work-family interface shows that long working hours have a detrimental effect on friction between the workplace and the family (Parasuraman & Greenhaus, 2002). According to studies, long workdays are typically associated with high levels of stress, which might manifest as family conflict or fatigue (Byron, 2005). When the hours allocated to professional duties make it impossible to match the expectations for family roles, time-based conflict arises, whereas when pressures in job duties (e.g., strain, weariness, irritation, and energy depletion) render it impossible for people to fulfill their obligations to their families, strain-based conflict emerges (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985; Pak, Kramer, Lee, & Kim, 2022). The participants report that they do not find any time to spend with the family, or they are so tired when they get home, they instantly fall asleep, or they cannot attend a wedding or a funeral.

Set workers do not only struggle with their own psychological needs but also have to abide the others such as higher-ranking workers or actors. Individual conflict exacerbates job discontent, especially if the conflict is between an employee and their boss (Grier, 2008). Other negative consequences of this leadership include creating an imbalance in work and social life by encroaching on their colleagues' personal and social time (Kernberg, 2008). These kinds of behavior especially lead female workers into engaging in affective labor. Affect has been conceptualized as an immaterial dimension of commodity and affective labor's product is "a feeling of ease, well-being, satisfaction, excitement, passion"(Hardt, 1999, p.96). Female workers, especially in art, hair, and make-up, and costume

departments – that have a direct connection with the actors- need to develop skills to handle the actors or the higher-ranking workers for the sake of the project.

The participants appeared hopeless in the interviews, especially about their own future and the future of the industry. People are negatively affected by hopelessness in a variety of ways, including increased physical health issues, depression, and psychological disorders (Grossarth-Maticek, Kanazir, Vetter, & Schmidt, 1983). It's possible to describe hopelessness as a mental and behavioral state. A person's ability to hope may be compromised by being around people who have low levels of optimism, exhausted energy, isolation, bodily deterioration, concurrent losses, a lack of knowledge, or feelings of devaluation (Farran, Herth, & Popovich, 1995). As the workers spend so much time with each other during the projects, and they usually socialize with each other for the sake of networking, they constantly produce and reproduce hopelessness together.

Gaining respect or being respected in the sets has emerged as a very important topic in the interviews. Participants stated that they need respect for their expertise, or even for just being a human. People's opinions of their positions at work are reflected in their perceptions of status, which is known as perceived respect. To put it another way, it relates to the degree to which one is regarded by others. This respect is frequently earned as a result of exceptional abilities, accomplishments, or other desirable attributes that one brings to a profession (Ng, 2016). Employees who experience greater respect perceive themselves to have a higher social status within their organizations, to be socially included rather than excluded by the majority of their coworkers (both supervisors and coworkers), and to be more valued contributors to their organizations (Bartel, Wrzesniewski, & Wiesenfeld, 2012). Additionally, they are being viewed more and more favorably by their coworkers as reliable workers who contribute significantly to the business (Smith & Tyler, 1997). With more experience on sets and as the years pass by, the workers gain awareness of their self-worth. Workplace dignity is the self-recognized and other recognized worth acquired by (or damaged by) participation in job activities and the workers can contribute by doing meaningful work, whether it matters to the person (such as someone pursuing a calling) or the company in a

particular way (such as someone doing an essential task or engaging in a value-creating activity). People can also contribute by improving their skills and displaying them, which can improve their sense of self-worth and self-esteem and lay the groundwork for them to gain appreciation from others (Lucas, 2017). Set workers constantly struggle for their rights, their basic needs, their feelings, or their identities in the set, during a project. When a project is finished, uncertainty becomes dominant as they have no idea whether they will have a sustainable project ahead or not.

The presence of unions and organized working conditions in the television industry is a significant issue. These unions were unable to combine and exhibit a sufficient level of unionism, hence they were unable to make major and lasting improvements in terms of employee rights (Çora, 2019). Whether or not they are union members, all of the participants said that they must stand in solidarity to alter the conditions, despite the fact that they also believe it to be difficult or even impossible.

4.1.3. Ambivalence in Action

Since many people rely on their jobs for their financial stability, leaving one may be difficult or even impossible for them. Additionally, because professions are intimately related to individual identities, which can be difficult to shift, it can be difficult to find a replacement almost once (Kielhofner, 2002). Participants asserted that while changing careers may be simpler for some departments, such as hair and makeup (they might work in a beauty saloon or else), it won't be as simple for departments like lightning or grip.

Employees who report higher levels of job satisfaction reduce their intentions to resign and discourage new job searches, in contrast to dissatisfied workers who are more likely to leave their current employment and start looking for new ones. There is a general consensus that job satisfaction lowers turnover, especially when monetary benefits like compensation are considered (Delfgaauw,

2007). A worker is less likely to consider leaving their current job if they are more content with either the material or social components of it, according to the research. Sometimes the set workers find the courage to quit, but most of the time, they cannot quit because they do not want to smear their reputation as the next project also depends on networking. As Kalleberg (2009) stated, precarious work does not provide any protection against exploitation or dangerous working circumstances, and it restricts the ability of employees to advocate for change. Additionally, self-employment has become a significant non-standard, precarious, and contingent work relation on a global scale (Khan, MacEachen, Hopwood, & Goyal, 2020). This self-employment and self-representation also keeps the workers from acting for a change as by its nature, the industry protects itself by eliminating the rebellious ones.

According to Sosyal Güvenlik Kurumu, there has been 496.260 creative industry workers only in İstanbul (Kanburoğlu, 2018). These are the workers who have insurance. But there are also workers in the creative industries who have no insurance, just based on temporary contract. In Media Industry, it is guessed that there are around 200.000 workers as of 2022, most of them illegal (This guessed number is based on a nonofficial conversation with a union member that doesn't want to share the name or position). Although, there are thousands of set workers in Turkey, there are only 88 members of Cinema-Television Union and 156 members of SINE-SEN (TC Çalışma ve Sosyal Güvenlik Bakanlığı, 2022). As the interviews also revealed that, there is no strong organization between the set workers.

While the organizational structure of the film industry in Turkey mostly consists of associations and foundations, it is usual in nations where the cinema is industrialized, such as Europe and America, for there to be unions and professional associations. Among the most significant barriers to an active and robust unionism are financial issues and institutionalization issues in organizational structures (Kanburoğlu, 2017). Additionally, given that Turkish unions serve as a pressure group, challenges include regular membership fee payments, insufficient

participation in organization activities, and a lack of effective union monitoring (Şentürk, Gülçur & Eken, 2017).

In a study in 2016, the participants were asked whether the Union met their expectations or not. While nearly 50% of the participants stated that it does, 24% said they were undecided (Küçükural & Shkreli, 2016). 6 years after that study, this research's findings are less hopeful in terms of the Union. The participants respect the changes union has made during the years and following the actions of it , but still not being a member. They want it to hold a stronger position like the European or American Unions, but still hesitant to be a member of it. So there is a will for a change but no action among the set workers. Precarious workers may depend on their employers for the continuation of their work since they lack workplace protection, making them vulnerable to abuse and exploitation (Perry, Berlingieri, & Mirchandani, 2020). As Çora points out, in the media industry, unions were founded in the 1940s under a variety of names. These unions were unable to combine and exhibit a sufficient level of unionism, hence they were unable to make major and lasting improvements in terms of employee rights (2019). Whether or not they are union members, all of the participants said that they must stand together to alter the conditions, despite the fact that they also believe it to be difficult or even impossible. The participants believe in solidarity, but the biggest problem is that because there isn't a fixed wage and compensation policy, it's simple to find people who will work for less money.

4.2.A NEW DEFINITION OF THE PRECARIAT

Previously secure surroundings are changed by precarious work into unsafe, unstable, and difficult locations for workers (Kalleberg, 2009). Additionally, there are other ways that precarious work might appear, including informality, a lack of worker protection, low-income distribution, and the coercive incorporation of the populace into capitalist labor relations (Chang, 2009). Insecurity is defined as a lack of employment security and social rights, resulting in persistent fear about the future (Tsianos, & Papadopoulos, 2006). In this sense, the situation might be described as

one of uncertainty, not just in terms of working conditions but also in terms of living arrangements. Precarious workers must be willing to relocate wherever they can find work and adjust their lifestyles accordingly. Similarly, precarious workers must accept any employment, regardless of whether it is linked to their field of competence. This could lead to a devaluation of their labor force as well as a loss of their integrity. In this way, insecurity is a unifying characteristic of all forms of flexible work. The set workers perpetually face insecurity and uncertainty in their job. They relocate according to the project, sometimes for months, and this relocation causes more compromise in their family and social life. There is no guarantee that they will remain employed, the project they are currently working on will continue, or that they will find a new project after this one ends. There is also no guarantee whether they will get paid or not, whether their insurance will be covered by the production company, whether they can make future plans. All of a sudden the project might end, and they won't be able to pay the rent. It seems they make good money when they work, but when it is divided into 12 months, they sometimes –not always and not for every member- make less than minimum wage per month. According to Allan, Tay, and Sterling (2017), precarious employment may not offer a livable wage or a steady income to cover necessities and does not provide benefits associated with full-time employment, such as access to healthcare or retirement savings, adding extra costs to the workers' budgets (Frank, Liebman, Ryder, Weir, & Arcury, 2013). So there is always anxiety about the future. With more uncertainty, companies migrate away from formal organizational structures like roles, towards interpersonal coordination techniques including liaisons and informal communication, timetables, and division of labor. Since temporary organizations deal with substantial levels of task contextual unpredictability, it would be predicted that they would rely more on interpersonal processes than formal structures (Bechky, 2006).

The set workers' departmental ranking or even the department may change from time to time in different projects. Despite the fact that many contractors embrace worker mobility, they also view this type of work as unpredictable and

unstable, thus they strategically shape their social networks by broadening their network of connections in order to acquire future contracts (Barley & Kunda, 2011).

Solidarity is a common factor that defines being in precarious work. Within an organization, employees who are mutually dependent on one another, both formally and informally, express more solidarity with one another (Koster, Stokman, Hodson, & Sanders, 2007). The participants indicated that whether they are a member of the union or not, they need to be in solidarity to change the conditions. Some claimed that they need to realize the strength and power they have just like any other worker.

In a study by Gill (2002) of the working conditions in the new media industry, which has been characterized as cool, creative, and equitable, it was found that the employees in this field experienced precarity, poor pay, and extended working hours. 20 years later in this research, the results are still similar. The participants all have various ideas about changing the conditions of the work. The solutions they offer gather around reducing the working hours, raising the production budget, standardization of the time of TV series episodes, etc. All of these are seen as possible if the workers come together and unite according to the participants. Most of them give a reference to foreign sets, specifically to Hollywood and European sets, while talking about the solutions. But as precarious employment does not provide a living wage or a stable income to cover essential expenses, these circumstances also provide the employees little power and control, which prevents collective bargaining or encourages organizational transformation (Allan et al., 2021). That might be considered as a reason why they are hesitant to act to change the conditions.

The interviews show a possibility to define a new kind of precariat for creative workers, especially for the set workers. Work that is precarious lacks the permanence and stability of full-time employment. Given that it is based on projects, set work is unpredictable, insecure, and uncertain. There are economic insecurity and somewhat limited benefits. Sometimes it does not supply a living wage if the unemployment period is longer than expected. It does not provide the benefits of a full-time job, such as insurance, health care access, or retirement funds.

As the workers have limited power and control, there is a lack of collective bargaining. The domains outside the work, such as individual health and well-being, family formation, and isolation from social life are also affected by this kind of work.

As Munck states out, the precariat is a very dubious idea both as a valid sociology of labor in the North and as a sufficient sociology of work in the South due to the concept's obviously Eurocentric contempt for the experience of the South (Munck, 2013). Although its proponents are unaware of these implications, the precariat concept functions as a colonizing in the South in the traditional Eurocentric manner. The most daring claims about precariat regarding the development of a new class or "class in the making" have likely been made by Guy Standing. Beyond the claim that the precariat does not feel like a member of a solidaristic labor community or that they feel like they are a part of a diffuse, unstable community of people who are typically trying in vain to give their working lives an occupational identity, we do not really get a very clear definition of what it means. Maybe that's why Standing softens the situation later by using "a class in the making" rather than a "class". And in Standing's writings, almost no regions of the world outside of the North Atlantic are mentioned. Simply said, it is assumed to be the focal point and the standard that will apply everywhere.

The concept of class is thought to have emerged as a result of the social and economic connections that people began to establish by settling down. Human communities that begin to share the same physical territory begin to meet the positive or negative consequences of both nature and their own production together. As the level of prosperity begins to increase, the surplus value (surplus production) creates a stratification in social but mostly economic terms. According to Marx, the first three steps that constitute the beginning of the process that reveals the reality of class consist of the development of settled agriculture, the emergence of surplus products, and the division of labor (Giddens, 1971). With the exception of economic criteria, other criteria constitute the result, not the cause, of class formation. The economic criterion itself (such as land, raw materials, tools, etc.) leads to the classization of society through the property relations of the means of production.

Social stratification is formed by individuals' access to the means of production. The Marxist view explains the concept of class as modes of production and the strata formed by these modes. The concept of class is not only an economic inequality of income caused by access to resources but rather a political and social differentiation determined by the mode of production, which is characterized as infrastructure. Because the superstructure and institutions caused by this political and social differentiation are seen as a set of institutions formed by substructure relations.

As a class category, the precariat is problematic because it tries to unite too many disparate, varied elements of society and excludes those who still enjoy reasonably secure and protected employment opportunities from what Standing identifies (too narrowly) as the working class (Frase, 2013). Standing specifies various aspects of "labor security," which he claims the precariat does not have. These include the ability to gain and use new skills, the security of income over the course of one's life, and "representation security," which is the right to a collective voice in the labor market, particularly through labor unions. They also include one's security in their employment as well as the security of their job descriptions and career paths. For these reasons, the precariat concept has come under heavy fire. Critics contend that Standing's definition of the term is wholly negative and is centered on what those who work in precarious jobs lack. However, the idea of the class must be positive and play an economic role in order to be logical and relevant (Seymour, 2012; Frase, 2013).

Therefore, this research shows that set workers in Turkey's precarious situation might be considered as a condition, not a class, and can be conceptualized as a different kind of experience than the Hollywood or European set workers' situation. Although the participants believe that the way to change the conditions is through solidarity, they are not active participants of the unions not to take the risk of being unemployed. They cannot go on strike in this economic condition of Turkey, with a fear of being black-listed by the producers. The literature on set workers also has a eurocentric point of view with the help of powerful unions, which already have a strict code of practice (*meslek yasası*) for every department.

In Turkey, it is usually easy to find another worker for most of the departments to work for less money, with no requirement of quality. On contrary to Standing, set workers are not passive, they have solidarity in terms of smearing bad production companies, and warning each other about the conditions. Not fast but slowly, they act to change the conditions in Turkish sets. Who knows, one day these creative set workers may act altogether and change a million-dollar industry, at least here in Turkey.



CONCLUSION

As there is limited study concentrated on set workers in Film and TV Series industry, this study's primary goals were to summarize the accounts of the set workers' reported narratives, to understand their experiences, and make use of these experiences to contribute to understudied literature in Communication Studies. It was aimed to redefine the precarious work in Turkey through the narratives of the set workers. In a multilayered process, Cultural Discourse Analysis was used to investigate the precarious employment of set workers in Turkey. The research is developed as an exploratory study in order to gain a deeper understanding and insight into set workers' experiences.

Although the research was able to interpret the findings, it is also acknowledged that these results might not be a true reflection of how all set workers in Turkey feel about their identity. The research's knowledge of organizational identity as a multifaceted construct firmly anchored in subtle yet potent cultural logics surrounding identity, action, feeling, relating, and dwelling was expanded through the use of the CuDA framework. As a result of the examination of these numerous meanings, the effectiveness of implementing CuDA revealed a layered and multifaceted organizational identity that extends beyond its declared values, mission, and vision.

The most notable benefit of the current study may be that it gave people a chance to consider the voices of set workers, even if only briefly. The interviews that were conducted inside the set showed a great deal of hierarchy in terms of the rank of the interviewee in the department. It was striking that all participants in the study reported that the conditions of the industry should change in a more humane way, like in foreign sets, esp. Hollywood². Although they claimed that they hate the conditions, most of the interviewees do not want to quit as they also love to produce something that can be watched by millions of people.

² It is important to mention that the set workers in Hollywood also want to change their conditions from time to time. Although there is no significant data other than public social media accounts of IATSE, this is something to discuss further.

The current research was a minor but may be viewed as making an important contribution to the field of communication, which had little literature on set workers. Because there has been a few research on set workers in the film and television industry, the primary goals of this study were to provide an account of the set workers' reported narratives, understand their experiences, and use these experiences to contribute to the understudied literature in Communication Studies. Cultural Discourse Analysis was utilized in a multilayered method to analyze the precarious employment of set workers in Turkey. The study is designed as an exploratory study to acquire a better understanding and insight into the experiences of set workers. Perhaps the most significant benefit of the current study was that it gave a space to focus on the set workers' voices, even if only for a short time. CuDA can be used as a tool to assist them in monitoring the identity conflicts and worries of set workers in the industry going through a planned transformation. Decision-makers should therefore address the unfavorable feelings and thoughts. These conflicts should, whenever possible, be detected before to the change's implementation and then kept track of as it progresses. Communication and media scholars can address more general cultural or social challenges of the media industry by participating in the critical and applied modes of CuDA. Researchers and practitioners who desire to comprehend the cultural meanings behind our daily communication patterns can benefit greatly from using CuDA. This study outlines a method for converting CuDA findings into goals for applied interventions, which may then be used to address pressing issues in our communities and society.

Every production in this industry depends on a tiny army of crew members behind the camera. A crew works on a film, television program, documentary, music video, commercial, etc. for at least 12 hours per day and 6 hours per week, typically without insurance and in dangerous conditions. There are times when a crew is too busy to sleep or take a shower, much less spend time with their loved ones. Set workers are more likely to experience severe job demands, precarity, and instability as a result of insufficient regulation and an unstable working environment, which, when combined with a lack of resources, can lead to serious stress, accidents, low self-respect etc. As with any work environment that poses a

significant risk to workers, researchers should concentrate their efforts on those areas that may go unnoticed and receive less attention. The set workers, according to the interviewees, are going through a lot of psychological and physical strain while working on a project. Set can be easily defined as a space of struggle in many ways as explained in discussion.

The interviews reveal the potential for defining a new type of precariat for creative workers, particularly set workers. Set workers in Turkey's precarious circumstances could be thought of as a condition, and their experience could be compared to that of Hollywood or European set workers.

This research might have a considerable value in terms of mentioning the emotions of the set workers. In precariat literature, the psychological dimensions or the emotions of the workers are not taken into consideration. There has been an interest on working on emotions in social sciences, such as sociology of emotions. The emotions and psychological dimensions would also broaden the literature of Media and Communication Studies.

The first step in bringing about change based on the themes of justice and reason is raising awareness of these difficulties. People can start to fundamentally alter the manner in which they relate to one another, speak, think, and act, which they have come to accept as normal. Each group exhibits specific behavioral characteristics. Employees may be aware of shortcuts and believe that "this is how things are done around here." Here, the goal is to make an effort to recognize, analyze, and modify them. Only by engaging the workers directly in open dialogue will this investigation be successful. This research might be a step to hear the voice of invisible behind-the-camera workers.

Due to the increasing number of viewers, the media sector, which has distinctive internal structures, is playing an increasingly important role in the Turkish economy. However, the majority of workers in the industry experience substantial rights loss as a result of the absence of regulations regarding employer and employee interactions, employee rights, and working hours. The goal to hold labor in its own possession by commodifying and alienating it is the reason that globalization bases the commodification of work on political economy approaches.

Since the proletariat does not own the means of production, it can survive by selling its labor force to capital, which is the fundamental component of production. However, given that the precariat created by today's workforce includes educated white collars in addition to blue collar employees, they sell their brainpower to the capital. But in order to keep the precariat in check, capital threatens to oust them from their positions by hiring new workers who can take their place right away.

Although the "freelance" working style is preferred in the media industry due to the freedom it gives employees regarding things like work schedules, workplaces, and teams to work with, the fact that there is no contract between the employer and the employee occasionally causes problems when receiving payment for the work done after the job is delivered. In the lack of a written document, disagreements cannot be resolved through the legal system. Since this method of working is favoured, employees who depend on another industry or location are devoid of several rights such as notice and severance pay.

This research firmly indicates that workers today struggle to accept the order they are in as legitimate. In reality, a large majority of people—regardless of which group they belong to—say that the sector has ceased to be rational, fair, and sustainable. The subjective assessments of people are where this perception first appears. With the difficulties described, an application that was initially viewed as reasonable gradually becomes to be perceived as irrational by more workers. Change is brought about over time through awareness at the perceptual level. The media sector undoubtedly owes its important position in both national and international platforms to the efforts of the sector's employees. Considering all these conditions, the media sector in Turkey will be able to achieve its purpose only by listening to the call of the precariat serving in the sector.

Limitations of the Study

Sample characteristics can be considered as the main limitation of the study. Participants were recruited by a non-random convenience sampling technique, and

the sex of the participants were not equal, as there were 20 males, but only 11 females. All of the participants were working in the industry for more than 10 years and they all had experience with TV series, movies and commercials. The pilot interview was conducted before COVID-19 pandemic, but with the pandemic, some conditions changed for the workers. For future studies, it could be suggested to attend on separate issues and struggles of different sets, and the results may differ with the interviews of workers that have just started to work. It would also be interesting to compare pre COVID-19 and after COVID-19 conditions.



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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Informed Consent Form

Sayın Katılımcı,

Bu çalışma İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi İletişim Bilimleri Doktora programında, Doç. Dr. Nazan Haydari Pakkan danışmanlığında, Ece Akten tarafından yürütülen doktora tez çalışmasıdır. Çalışmanın amacı, Türkiye’de çalışan set işçilerinin deneyimlerini ve motivasyonlarını anlamlandırabilmektir.

Çalışmaya katılım tamamıyla gönüllülük esasına bağlıdır. Size mesleğinize dair bazı sorular sorulacak ve ses kaydı alınacaktır. Mülakatlarda, sizden kimlik belirleyici hiçbir bilgi istenmemektedir. Cevaplarınız gizli tutularak sadece araştırmacılar tarafından değerlendirilecektir; elde edilecek bilgiler bilimsel yayınlarda kullanılacaktır. Mülakatlar yaklaşık 1-1,5 saat sürecektir. Katılım sırasında sorulardan ya da herhangi başka bir nedenden ötürü kendinizi rahatsız hissederseniz gerekçe göstermeksizin araştırmadan ayrılabilirsiniz.

Değerli katılımınız için şimdiden teşekkür ederiz.

Appendix 2: Semi-structured in-depth interview questions

Demografik

- Yaş
- Eğitim durumu
- Medeni durum/çocuk
- Sektörde çalışma süresi
- Departman
- Ağırlıklı çalışılan set (film, dizi, reklam, klip, katalog, belgesel vs.)
- Yılda/haftada/günde ortalama çalışma süresi
- Haftalık/bölüm başı ortalama gelir

Mülakat soruları

- Seti tanımlar mısınız?
- Yaptığınız işi tanımlar mısınız?
- Set dışında başka bir işte çalışıyor musunuz?
- Setlerde çalışmaya nasıl başladınız/Karar verdiniz? Ne zaman? Bu kararı verirken beklentileriniz nelerdi? Şu anda baktığınızda beklentilerinizin karşılandığını düşünüyor musunuz?
- Biraz mesleki geçmişinizden bahseder misiniz? Setlerde/mesleğinizde herhangi bir değişim oldu mu bu süreçte?
- Kendinizi sette nerede görüyorsunuz?
- Hangi sette çalışacağınıza nasıl karar veriyorsunuz? Beklentilerinize uymayan bir sette çalışmanız gerekirse bununla nasıl baş ediyorsunuz?
- Departman içi ilişkileri anlatır mısınız? (Hiyerarşik olarak)
- Set içi ilişkileri anlatır mısınız?
- Çalıştığınız filmi/diziyi seyrederken nasıl hissediyorsunuz?
- Mesleğinizin/kendinizin nereye ilerlediğini düşünüyorsunuz?
- Medyaya mesleğiniz nasıl yansıyor/yansıtılıyor?

- Camiaya dair algınızı anlatır mısınız?
- Çalışırken kendinizi nasıl hissediyorsunuz?
- İşten dolayı taviz veriyor musunuz? Aile/sosyal yaşam
- COVID 19 sebebiyle departmanınızda/sette ne değişti?
- Bulduğunuz pozisyon için gerek duyulan eğitimi ve varsa aşamalarını anlatır mısınız?
- Setteki deneyimlerinizi göz önüne aldığınızda alaylı ya da okullu olmanın farkları var mı? Varsa nelerdir?
- Sizce ortalama kaç yıl bu sektörde çalışılır? Neden?
- Üye olduğunuz bir meslek örgütü/ sendika var mı?
- Sosyal güvenlik sürecinizi anlatabilir misiniz?
- Set koşulları sizce nasıl değişebilir?

ETHICS BOARD APPROVAL

Ethics Board Approval is available in the printed version of this dissertation.

