

PRODUCTION AND LABOR PROCESS OF THE
CONTEMPORARY TURKISH PRIVATE TELEVISION SERIES

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ABSTRACT

PRODUCTION AND LABOR PROCESS OF THE CONTEMPORARY TURKISH PRIVATE TELEVISION SERIES

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This thesis focuses on one of the most appreciated products of the Turkish Television, the TV Series' production and labor process. Starting from the fact that the production side of this highly attention gathering media product hasn't received too much academic concern, by analyzing the workers of the sector, this point is tried to be illuminated. This thesis that analyzes TV series' working conditions in the perspective of “precarious employment” departing from this framework, argues the workers of the industry are fragmented into two groups, “creative” and “technical” workers. In this context it indicates the creative workers not only as not being affected from the precarious employment conditions too much but also as the executor of the technical workers' experience of precariousness in the production level.

Keywords: TV Series, precarious employment, fragmentation of the working class

ÖZ

TÜRKİYE ÖZEL TELEVİZYON DİZİLERİNİN ÜRETİM VE EMEK SÜRECİ

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Bu tez Türkiye özel televizyonlarının en ilgi gören ürünlerinden olan televizyon dizilerinin üretim ve emek sürecine odaklanmaktadır. Oldukça dikkat çeken bu medya ürününün üretiminin çok fazla akademik ilgi görmemiş olması noktasından hareketle, bu sektörün çalışanları analiz edilerek bu nokta aydınlatılmaya çalışılmıştır. Dizilerdeki çalışma koşullarını güvencesiz çalışma perspektifinden analiz eden bu tez bu temel çerçeveden hareketle dizi üretiminde çalışan ücretli emekçilerin “yaratıcı” ve “teknik” işçi olmak üzere iki farklı teknik gruba bölündüğünü ileri sürmektedir. Bu bağlamda, yaratıcı işçilerin güvencesiz çalışma şartlarından pek etkilenmemenin ötesinde teknik işçilerin deneyimliyor olduğu güvencesizliğin üretim noktasındaki yürütücüsü olduğunu öne sürmektedir.

Keywords: Televizyon dizileri, güvencesiz çalışma, işçi sınıfının bölünmesi

LIST AND ABBREVIATIONS OF THE INTERVIWEES

- ACT: Actor, aged 47, male (12.04.2012 in Ulus, Ankara)
- BO: Boom Operator, aged 24, male, (01.02.2012 in Taksim, İstanbul)
- CA: Camera Assistant, aged 25, male (30.01.2012 in Beşiktaş, İstanbul)
- CPR: Co-Producer, aged 30, male, (09.06.2012, Kadıköy, İstanbul)
- DA: Director Assistant, aged 27, male (06.11.2011, Kızılay, Ankara)
- DOP/LC: Director of Photograph/Lighting Chef, aged 45, male (16.03.2011, Kızılay, Ankara)
- DR/CPR: Director/Co-Producer, aged 30, male (first interview 10.02.2012 in Üsküdar, İstanbul, second interview 09.06.2012)
- EDA: Editing Assistant, aged 27, male (11.05.2012, in Balgat, Ankara)
- FGR-1: Figurant-1, aged 26, male (04.02.2011 in Taksim, İstanbul)
- FGR-2: Figurant-2, aged 58, male (06.02.2011 in Taksim, İstanbul)
- FGR-3: Figurant-3 aged 32, male (12.01.2011 in Mamak, Ankara)
- FGR-4: Figurant-4, aged 25, male (15.02.2011 in Ulus, Ankara)
- MA: Make-Up Assistant, aged 35, female (23.06.2012, Balgat, Ankara)
- PR: Producer; aged 52, female (03.02.2012, Tarabya, İstanbul)
- PRA: Production Assistant, aged 28, female (12.01.2011 in Mamak, Ankara)
- SCW-1: Scriptwriter-1, aged 44, female (30.01.2012, Beyoğlu, İstanbul)
- SCW-2: Scriptwriter-2, aged 43 female (30.01.2012, Beyoğlu, İstanbul)
- ST: Sound Technician, aged 24, male (01.02.2012 in Taksim, İstanbul)
- STU: Student, aged 23, male (01.10.2011 in Kadıköy, İstanbul)
- YL-1: Yeşilçam Laborer-1, aged 52, male (01.02.2012 in Taksim, İstanbul)
- YL-2: Yeşilçam Laborer -2, aged 45, male (01.02.2012 in Taksim, İstanbul)
- YL-3: Yeşilçam Laborer-3 aged 42, male (01.02.2012 in Taksim, İstanbul)
- TM: Tea-Maker, aged 27, male (15.02.2011 in Ulus, Ankara)

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CHAPTER

1. INTRODUCTION

TV Series has become one of the most appreciated cultural products in Turkey's television content in recent years. TV series, especially in the private televisions, and with an increasing amount also in the public channels take important parts in their broadcasting schedules. Furthermore, prime-time periods of TV channels, which is considered as the most watched time period and related to it the most profitable one, are occupied mostly by TV Series.

Besides being a leisure time activity for the audience, it is an business entity, from which the TV channels gain important amounts of advertisement revenue. According to the last sectoral analysis the TV series' advertisement revenue has said to be reached 1 billion TL, that equals 25 % of the all advertisement revenues made in media. On the other hand, TV series has also become an important exportation product. TV producers, besides the Turkish televisions gain profits from a TV series' sell to foreign countries, ranging from Arabic and African countries to Balkans.

This picture is the generally mentioned one when the issue comes to the case of the TV series. There are some researches done by scholars, chambers or associations; however all of them focus generally on the brightest side of the picture, or more truly to the appearing image of the TV series. This means that they do not focus what happens really "behind the scenes", that is more clearly to the production relations of the TV series. The main actors are considered as being the advertisers, the TV channels, the producers and the creative workers within the TV series making process. However what a TV series includes is more than what it is seen at the first glance. There are many workers involving this process and contributing for the production of a TV series. Although their names appear only a few seconds in the screen of the audience when a TV series finishes, they are actually those ones who suffer from the dark side of the production process that is dealt in this thesis in a broader context. More clearly, it is an obvious case that the TV series besides having an charming image in the eyes of its audience are actually a result of a production

and labor process where many people suffer from important problems and difficulties including even deadly accidents.

Starting in 2010, the problems and difficulties in the production side has started to become apparent and has received certain attention. Actually, TV series production has always been a place where accidents, deaths and harsh working conditions are important focus points however in 2010 the TV series workers started to rise their voices with certain political movements. Writing such a thesis was a decision made before these movements however they affected the path of the thesis, it inevitably forced this thesis to be more politically. More clearly, the idea to look at this almost “undiscovered” place in the Turkish media studies, the production side of a TV series, had grew up with the political movements of the TV series workers that aim to change their working conditions.

To understand and take the picture of the main question of this thesis, “how a TV series is produced” the most suitable method is considered to enter the place where actually the production is really done, that is the shooting sets and also by the collected ideas from this participant observation, to conduct interviews with the actors taking part in this production process. To do this, three TV series were chosen among the most watched TV series that are done by different production companies to different channels. Since two of the TV series accepted my participation only when their names are not mentioned, in this thesis their names are not used. However, since the observation also showed that these TV series haven't major differences in their routine functioning asserting their names isn't something inevitable.

Having done the participant observation with the data and ideas collected there, and from the insight developed with the help of some other researches and cases in the industry some interviewees had been chosen. This selection was made according to occupational criteria. 23 people including producers, scriptwriters, directors, actors, director of photographers and some technical workers, such as camera assistants, sound technicians, boom operators, production and director assistants were chosen with the idea that they could provide the information from different occupational parts taking part in the TV series production process.

This period of data formation had been gone with the attempt to discover generally the media work particularly the television series work in other countries'

contexts. The aim was to find certain commonalities and uniqueness in Turkey's context if there is any. As a result this process had shown that some common problems such as long working hours, job insecurity etc. were also mentioned in these foreign literature as a problem of working conditions. These literatures generally consider this type of working in the general framework of precarization. This general framework talks about not only in low-skilled jobs but also in high-skilled ones that is in which the media work is also considered, a tendency towards precarious employment conditions. Precariousness as a concept on which there is no general agreement has been used by some scholars especially to mark the tendency on flexible working relations, harsh working conditions, lack of job insecurity and also lack of social security. These general indications had also suited the findings of the collected data and provided an appropriate conceptualization for the work in Turkey's TV series. More clearly, in this context, flexible production systems that are indicated as dominating the television work widely and as a result of it the tendency to form precarious employment relations in the production and labor process was a suitable general theoretical framework to consider the work in the Turkish television series. In this context, one of the main aims addressed in this thesis is to understand the particular case of Turkey's TV series production in the context of precarious employment.

Having this theoretical standpoint at the background of this study another important finding of this thesis is the inequality in the case of precariousness that the workers experience. During the observation and the interview period one of the mostly asserted case was the relatively advantageous and privileged conditions of the so called creative workers, that are scriptwriters, directors, actors-actresses, directors of photography and directors of art. This was also one of the important results of the participant observation done. Whether the technical workers see this privileged case as just or not, the general picture of the collected data shows a structural separation among the workers, and a work where a sort of functional hierarchy still continues. Combining this together with the precariousness literature especially grounding on Marxist theoretical background explaining the class relations, a high fragmentation of class is stated as a result. More clearly, the creative workers being numerically less, doing the conceptual tasks of the job, having certain advantages such as less working hours, high wages and workplace security, show a less precarious case that

is stated as a general problem applicable for all of the workers. On the other hand, technical workers, doing the executive tasks of the job, working in long hours, with relatively less wages and in high workplace insecurity are considered the most precarious ones of the production and labor process.

As it was said previously, in 2010 a movement organized around the TV series workers started to be apparent having the primary aim to shorten the long durations of the TV series. 90 minutes, that is twice more than the global TV series standard had to be asserted as the main reason for the bad working conditions in the industry. However this movement didn't get success; it firstly weakened and nowadays it seems to be died down. The main reason for such an outcome is indicated in this thesis as the above mentioned fragmented class. TV series production is not only departmentalized in terms of division of labor, it is said to include two main class positions. The creative workers are argued as strategically following the interests of the capital side, that are the producers and TV channels, although the creative workers are structurally on the side of labor. In this context, as the creative workers by being close to the producers are the representers of the capital interest in the production and labor process, they at the final instance had chosen again the path of the capital by choosing to defend their privileges generally.

Nevertheless, the technical workers who are asserted as the primary sufferers of precarious employment and the potential core point of the political movement is stated also not reflecting a community feeling that is said to be the core of a general political consciousness. Technical workers are a collectivity firstly on which a high turnover is apparent. The precarious employment conditions don't simply allow the new enterers to survive in the industry easily. Secondly, those who are able to survive are generally formed with a market oriented individuality who have the aim to promote and to compete with other individuals in the industry. To do this they reflect an identity to suit these harsh conditions and accept the flexible characteristic of the work which puts a general political resistance into a problematic state.

Although the state of the political resistance is seemingly put into a pessimistic position it is also important to underline the resistant behavior among the workers that sometimes form a collectivity however generally appears in individual forms. This is argued to indicate that these set of technical workers are not simply passive and determined identities rather than they have also "resistant" activities. In

this sense these resistant activities are said to be the clue to form a general political identity. In this context, politics of precariousness that doesn't indicate separate industrial collectivities as the traditional forms of organizations do, rather than articulates different workers of different industries together on the ground of precarization as affecting many industries, is put as a possible answer for political organization.

To conclude, a general outline of this thesis how all these problematic and arguments are put into an organization might be helpful. In the first chapter, a general discussion of the used theoretical framework is done. In this context, it is indicated that TV series have to be questioned under the framework of cultural industries that has to be analyzed in a broader context that is the political economy. In this context of political economy, it asserted that as many industries do the cultural industries are also said to be affected from the general flexibilization process of capitalism that at the end puts the labor into precarious employment conditions. In this case after a contextual development of precarious employment it is looked at the problem of the workers consciousness and focused on the problematic of conceptualizing how precariousness is lived and expressed by the workers.

Having developed a general theoretical framework, in chapter 2 the capital-level relations, more particularly the relations in the triangle of rating, TV channels and producers are analyzed. It is argued shortly that due to the rating's uncertain nature the flexible production systems and its organizations such as sub-contracting is asserted as the remedy for passing the uncertainty and risk of the production process to the labor side. To make this clearer, the primary strategies of the TV channels and producers are focused on.

In chapter 3, after a short introduction explaining what the methodology for the formation of the arguments is used is, labor is put into focus. Labor as the main bearer of the passed uncertainty and risk of the production process is firstly analyzed in terms of its organization. Networking as the primary strategy for organization is asserted as the main reason of the precarious conditions of the technical workers, by organizing the labor in a risky condition. Moreover, having also explained how flexible and lose the labor is organized it is focused on the indicated precariousness in terms of "what it is", "how it is lived" and "how it is expressed." In this sense, it is finally argued that the case of the precariousness could not easily be a common

indicator for all of the workers, rather than because of the organization of the labor process the workers are divided into two groups, one is the privileged core group of creative workers and the other one is the periphery group suffering relatively more from the precarious conditions of the employment relations.

Chapter 4 is where finally the problem of politics of these workers is discussed. To do this firstly the problem of fragmentation among the workers that is asserted in chapter 4 is analyzed in detail, and the technical workers are put as the potential political subject against the precarious conditions. However, secondly the technical workers' self-interest driven subjectivities are put also as an obstacle for a collective political movement. Nevertheless, this pessimistic point of view is turned into an optimistic one by asserting some of rare collective but generally the individual level resistances as possibly forming a general precariousness movement.

CHAPTER 1

2. THE THEORETICAL BACKGROUND OF THE ANALYSIS OF PRIVATE TURKISH TELEVISION SERIES' PRODUCTION AND LABOR PROCESS

2.1) An Attempt To Place Cultural Industries'

Production and Labor Process into the theory of Political Economy

Private Turkish Television Series that have an enormous effect on Turkey's cultural production and consumption domain has received an additional focus recently after the protests conducted towards the long durations and harsh working conditions it provides. Moreover, it has not considered as surprising anymore if a "death" or "deathly accident" takes place in a shooting set of a TV series, after workers had died in the sets. On the other side of this dark and provoking picture TV series are tend to be more and more effective in the televisions programming schedule by dominating both the time and related to it the advertising revenues of a channel. This contrasting picture is the primary reason that forces a close look at it. In this sense, this evolves a question for an analytical study: in which context do the TV series has to be considered? In the first instance, with the light of the studies considering similar industry mainly, television and cinema production, the TV series might be conceptualized under the domain of "cultural industries." Therefore, the first focus point is on this in this part of this chapter.

Cultural Industries is a conceptualization related to Adorno's famous critique of the Culture Industry (Adorno, 1991), however it implies a critique towards the simplifications it causes (Hesmondalgh, 2007:552). The cultural turn offered a broader perspective for the word "culture" and took it away from its reductionist and manipulative superstructural understanding with the help of the theories placing culture into a context of relative autonomy in the working-class politics to understand the point of production. (Garnham, 2005:18) By doing this culture hasn't been considered anymore as a totalistic tool in which it was determined by the

economic relations and as an entity preventing one to see the economic conflicts; rather than it was considered “relationally” with economics in which cultural elements could have relatively autonomous positions within the economic relations. Shortly, in the Culture Industry view, the cultural products were all considered as ones resulting from similar processes of production and aiming to reproduce a desired individual who is passive against the capitalist domination. However, the cultural turn firstly indicates that culture isn’t a totality, rather than by having different forms in the social life may show differences that even go out of the objectively determined economic relations. Related to this, secondly this offers one to not use a “total term” as industry rather than a use of “industries” of different cultural practices. In this context, more specifically, the use of cultural industries, address the existence of different sub-sectors within the industry which supposed to have different production, distribution and consumption characters, and because of their autonomous tendencies that also need different perspectives and separated empirical analysis *“to understand the complex structure and variable dynamics at work in the production of culture.”* (O’Connor, 2007: 21-2)

However, taking culture away from a totalistic view might results to an atomistic and pluralistic understanding of the use of “industries” that doesn’t establish any connections between different cultural production and consumption practices. Therefore to prevent this, at the same time, a view that places culture *in a wider theoretical framework* (Mosco, 2009:94) is needed. In this case a perspective that underlines the importance of historical specificities, nation states according to their economic development and structure, the form of the state, the characteristics of the class relations (Garnham, 2008:77) might be appropriate to overcome the simple usage of “capitalist culture” or specifically “capitalist media” and underlines the subjective tendencies within this “wider theoretical framework”. Political Economy is the perspective providing this need. According to Mosco, political economy by providing a view towards “social totality”, integrates economic, political, social and cultural process in the society and prevents communication from reduction to “discourse analysis.” In other words, *“the political economy approach to communication places its subject within a wider social totality and therefore tends to be especially concerned with avoiding essentialism in communication research.”*

(Mosco, 2009:66) As it might be derived from Mosco's these words, this opens also another primary discussion before going more in detail. That is the methodological tension between the "subject" and the wider social totality, more generally "the objective reality". To understand the framework in which the production and labor process is considered, firstly the question if these entities are seen as subjective constructions or objective structures needs to be cleared.

The studies that consider production and labor processes of certain industries under a wider social totality, starting from Marx and developed by Braverman (1975) and have found a critical path with the so called core theory¹, have received critiques from another important point of view, that is the post-structuralist theory.² The main critique might be summarized as being the economic reductionism of those mentioned theories by putting the worker as an objective category that is the "labor." More clearly, these ideas are said to be considering the capital / labor conflict as the primary conflict and through this view overlooking or underestimating other conflicting relations deriving from subjective power relations. According to O'Doherty and Wilmott (2009), Michael Burawoy's work has offered a break point in this tradition by putting subjectivity into the labor process analysis. Michael Burawoy in his work focuses mainly on the workers' subjective interests developing during the labor process which is turned into an enjoying game differently from the monotonous process as argued by Braverman. More clearly according to Burawoy, differently from Braverman's arguments based on the objective controls of work (Taylorism), every factory develops its own modes of controls these are not direct or despotic as Bravermanian thinking argues rather than hegemonic by effecting the workers' subjectivity. In this case, Burawoy is seen as the starting point of the post-structural labor process analysis that address the existence of other power relations exceeding the boundaries of the labor / capital conflict. Following this general path they explain who a worker is as a subject instead of being a labor. According to them the subjectivity is formed through a negotiation process in the organization. In this case firstly the individual tries to secure its identity in the workplace whatever it is and for it he/she needs to establish a certain degree of "environmental control."

¹ See Paul Thompson

² See Knights and Wilmott

Through these negotiations from the individuals involved in the organization, organizational strategies of control are created and re-created. These open-ended negotiations between the agencies form some mechanisms; however, what is important in their sense here is the absence of an ontological structure determining the mechanisms independently from these negotiations. Therefore they reject an ontological reality and specify their philosophy as “negative ontology” that makes them ask the question “what isn’t a worker” rather than “what it is?” In this sense, since an identity is formed according to what someone “is not” instead of “is”, a worker may have at the same time more than one identities in which no one is dominant. According to another article written again by Wilmott and O’Doherty (2001), that forming such reflexively determined many antagonisms solves the problem of “missing subject” that is said to be existing in the Marxist labor process. In Marxist labor process, they say, individuals are the personification of economic categories and the bearers of particular class relations and interest that veil their subjective identities. They argue that objectivity of capitalist relations, formed around property interest and class domination isn’t a general answer for the question of production and labor process, since it misses also the existence of other relations and interests taking place in the everyday experience. In this sense, they reject the existence of a “real world out there” and specify the power relations of subjects taking place in particular workplaces. They call this type of studies as the “anthropology of the workplace”, to derive the subjective knowledge how the subjects are constituted and formed specifically by social relations “there.”

Nevertheless, as Ursell (2000) says, these studies analyzing power-knowledge and subjectification processes specific to a workplace, although they reject directly the objective antagonism of capitalism, that is, the capital and labor conflict, might contribute to the Marxist labor process analysis. To make it clear, an inspiring article of Thompson and Vincent (2010) who deal with the ontological questions concerning this labor process debate might be helpful. In this article their main concern is to find a methodological standpoint for the analysis of production and labor processes of industries; and they find it in Roy Bhaskhar’s (1993) critical realism. According to this point of view critical realism (or transcendental realism), the phenomena which seems contingently happening is actually generated in structures and mechanisms. To

understand the object of inquiry of an analysis, its constituent parts have to be understood, which are structures independently working from our experience and also separately from our access to them. (Bhaskar, pg: 25) More clearly, what we observe in the phenomenal form, that is the point that post-structuralists derive subjectivity, are actually the structures which are lived by subjects. (pg: 34) In this sense what a researcher does is to discover the existence of the structure within the phenomena and by doing so, establish casual relations between them. The discovery of the casual law isn't simply the same with the causality of empiricism, which explains only the surface, that is, the casual sequence of events. The casual law in the transcendental realism means a "real law" that is independent from the event, in other words, it exists even if the event showing it doesn't exist or isn't observed. (pg: 33)

This short ontological review of Roy Bhaskar, which is also provided by Thompson and Vincent, helps to give some answers to the post-structuralist labor process theoreticians. These post-structuralists argue to form theories of workplaces through reflexively observed and expressed events and expressions, and as a result of this provide some "micro-centered" analysis, explaining the power and subject relations in a workplace. In this sense, transcendental realism would criticize their findings as being in phenomenal level. Therefore their findings are considered to be lacking of a structural analysis which shows that the phenomena are actually structures, but lived as phenomenal form by the subject. More specifically, an expression of a worker, somewhere else or in this study might be lying out of the capital/labor conflict. However in Bhaskar's sense this doesn't mean that it lies out of it, since the structure exists even the expression doesn't. What a scientific research according to Bhaskar has to do is to discover the mechanisms generating the flux of the phenomena and happenings that potentially lie outside the structure, and connect the mechanisms with the structure. This also helps to rescue the structuralist understanding from its pre-determined and unchangeable nature and puts it into a place where the structures are continuously re-structured by the subject living it. Differently expressing, this makes to understand the subject and structure relationally, and to read it in a reflexively determined way, opens the way of a

political economy from below, and prevents to make the mistake of reducing the labor into a mere abstract category. (Wittel, 2004: 21)

In this context, Thompson and Vincent, to reach from the phenomena to the structure relationally, say that the labor process has to be reconnected to the political economy, linked to the global value chain and global production networks. This connection according to them would answer the problem of missing subject in terms of connecting the agent in the labor process to the politics of production. If they say, too much attention is given to the subjectivity in the level of labor process without considering the structure, in Bhaskhar's sense they say, it prevents to realize the intransitive independent casual power.

The roots of connecting the structural relations with subjective ones might be argued as apparent in Marx's (1967) sense.³ Marx sees the piece-work as the basis of subjectivity deriving within the structural conflict between capital and labor. In this case the work in cultural industries might be argued as providing an example for piece-work in Marx's labor theory of value. Piece-work refers to a production and labor process that the work is given to the labor force by capital to be done in a previously specified time period, however differently from time-work the capital hasn't too much control over how the labor process is designed, rather than the labor having somehow an artisan character is designed by the labor itself. What is expected

³ While Thompson and Vincent, in their article push the theory of core labor process into the boundaries of Marxist political economy, since they reject the class as a political agent towards a revolutionary anti-capitalist movement, received some Marxist critiques. Rowlinson and Hassard provide a great example for such a critique towards the core theory. According to them, this reformist tendency of the core theory lies on their overlooking of the main Marxist point, the labor theory of value. Although Rowlinson and Hassard by totally rejecting the existence of autonomous subjective powers in the labor process and reduce the labor process theory to a mere economic determinism, their critique offer an inevitable need for the labor theory of value to understand the capital / labor conflict and the objective exploitation deriving from it. They directly see all of the workplace / factory regimes, including Taylor's scientific management as subjectivities determined by the profit tendency of capitalism. Of course, a Marxist theory has to underline the existence of the class conflict as the basis of the relations; however this doesn't have to provide a commonly critiqued notion of analysis, the economic determinism. In other words, as it is stated in the non-Orthodox readings of Marx, the class relations are lived in the superstructural domains and in this sense provide different phenomenological forms. More clearly, as it is stated above it provides an answer to the structure-agency relations both in terms of objectivity and subjectivity. After all, Rowlinson and Hassard's critique of the non-existence of labor theory of value in the analysis of the labor process theory is important, and leads one to turn back and look at Marx. Interestingly, through this analysis it is reached that even Marx isn't falling into an economic determinist understanding in labor process relations and underlines the importance of subjectivities.

from the labor is to finish the “piece” in the time period given by capital and receive a specified payment for it. In this context, piece-work is as Marx says a different form of time-work giving a sort of autonomy to the worker in terms of time design, yet indicates it similarly irrational:

“The form of piece wages is just as irrational as that of time-wages. Whilst in our example two pieces of a commodity, after subtraction of the value of the means of production consumed in them, are worth 6d as being the product of one hour, the laborer receives for them a price of 3d piece wages do not, in fact, distinctly express any relation of value. It is not, therefore, a question of measuring the value of the piece by the working-time incorporated in it, but on the contrary, of measuring the working-time the laborer has expended by the number of pieces he has produced. In time-wages, the labor is measured by its immediate duration; in piece wages, by the quantity of products in which the labor has embodied itself during a given time.” (Marx, 1967: 384-5)

The piece-work in this sense requires a sort of individual perfection from the worker to finish an amount of piece work in a specifically given time. Marx explains this:

The quality of the labor is here controlled by the work itself, which must be of average perfection if the piece-price is to be paid in full. Piece wages become, from this point of view, the most fruitful source of reductions of wages and capitalistic cheating.

With new fashions, repairs, &c., a contest arises between master and laborer as to whether a particular piece of work is one hour, and so on, until here also experience decides. Similarly in the London furniture workshops, &c. If the laborer does not possess the average capacity, if he cannot in consequence supply a certain minimum of work per day, he is dismissed. (Marx, 1967: 385)

Piece-work which requires a certain degree of perfection from the worker as it is explained, it involves another intermediary actor for the selection of such workers. Marx’s following words opens the way for the analysis of the sub-contracting and also the relations deriving from it:

On the one hand, piece wages facilitate the interposition of parasites between the capitalist and the wage laborer, the —sub-letting of labor. The gain of these middlemen comes entirely from the difference between the labor-price which the capitalist pays, and the part of that price which they actually allow to reach the laborer. In England this system is characteristically called the —sweating system. On the other

hand, piece-wage allows the capitalist to make a contract for so much per piece with the head laborer – in manufactures with the chief of some group, in mines with the extractor of the coal, in the factory with the actual machine-worker – at a price for which the head laborer himself undertakes the enlisting and payment of his assistant work people. The exploitation of the laborer by capital is here effected through the exploitation of the laborer by the laborer. (Marx, 1967: 385)

The organizational form that Marx specifies something equal to sub-contracting that results to the exploitation of the “laborer by the laborer”, might be argued as opening the way of workplace power relations. Moreover the roots of the so called “worker subjectivities” based on “individuality” traced also in Marx’s following words:

Given piece-wage, it is naturally the personal interest of the laborer to strain his labor-power as intensely as possible; this enables the capitalist to raise more easily the normal degree of intensity of labor. It is moreover now the personal interest of the laborer to lengthen the working day, since with it his daily or weekly wages rise. This gradually brings on a reaction like that already described in time-wages, without reckoning that the prolongation of the working day, even if the piece wage remains constant, includes of necessity a fall in the price of the labor. In time-wages, with few exceptions, the same wage holds for the same kind of work, whilst in piece wages, though the price of the working time is measured by a certain quantity of product, the day’s or week’s wage will vary with the individual differences of the laborers, of whom one supplies in a given time the minimum of product only, another the average, a third more than the average. With regard to actual receipts there is, therefore, great variety according to the different skill, strength, energy, staying-power, &c., of the individual laborers.

Of course this does not alter the general relations between capital and wage-labour. First, the individual differences balance one another in the workshop as a whole, which thus supplies in a given working-time the average product, and the total wages paid will be the average wages of that particular branch of industry. Second, the proportion between wages and surplus value remains unaltered, since the mass of surplus labour supplied by each particular labourer corresponds with the wage received by him. But the wider scope that piece-wage gives to individuality tends to develop on the one hand that individuality, and with it the sense of liberty, independence, and self-control of the laborers, and on the other, their competition one with another. (Marx, 1967: 385-6)

To sum up, Marx here makes the connection between the sub-contracting relations; -that is the organizational structure of piece-work; and worker subjectivity by saying that “*the wider scope that piece-wage gives individuality, and with it the sense of liberty, independence, and self-control of the laborers, and on the other, their competition one with another.*” Turning back to the methodological discussion Marx might be argued to open the way for the Bhaskarian method that provides a research method to consider the phenomenal level as a subjective way of living structural relations. In this sense, this figure provided by Thompson and Vincent draws the so called layered ontology:

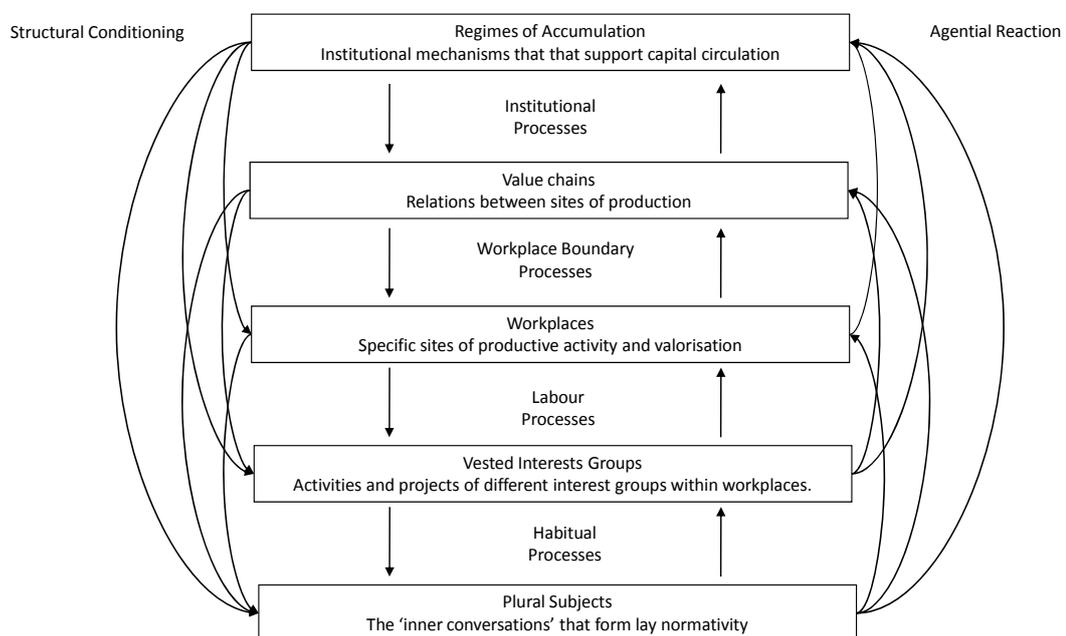


Figure -1: The political economy of capitalism as a series of stratified entities
 Source: Thompson and Vincent (2010)

In the next chapters the particular industry and the subjects are considered in detail. However the layer at top, named as regime of accumulation explains the objective structure in which all these other layers are in relation. Therefore firstly a close look at the regime of accumulation is inevitable in this chapter.

2.2) Flexible Accumulation and Production Systems

There is a general acceptance among scholars from different theoretical perspectives that the capitalist production, whether as a continuity or after a break-point, experience a different production system from the past mass-production systems. There is a common conceptualization asserting this change in the industry called as “flexible specialization.”⁴ However this concept is one derived from the so called Neo-Smithian school (Amin, 1996; Elam, 1996) that conflicts with the theoretical approach used so far, that is, the Neo-Marxian political economy. The Neo-Marxian, rather than tend to conceptualize this related to the “regime of accumulation” approach as “flexible accumulation.” According to this point of view, crisis is seen as a structural outcome of capitalist relations that forces a relatively autonomous power, the state “to regulate” the crisis of capitalism. In this cases by change in capitalism’s regime of accumulation, labor process and the way of societalization capitalism is protected by capitalism itself and its continuity is ensured. In this context, this mentioned rupture is asserted by the Neo-Marxian understanding towards a flexible accumulation strategy that demands flexible production systems.⁵

⁴ To see a detailed analysis of this theory, look at Piore and Sabel (1984); Sabel and Zeitlin (1985)

⁵ This rupture is importantly indicated so far because its effects are also seen in the analysis of cultural industries’ production and labor processes. More clearly, it might be argued that cultural industries are organized around flexible production and labor process systems having different actors involved in. Nevertheless, before continuing with a detailed analysis of the “flexible accumulation” concept one point needs a marking. Cultural industries in their nature demanding more artistic or craftsman labor are actually more flexible than other industries. However, this flexibility indicated as an accumulation strategy has nothing to do with the industry itself rather than it marks a change towards flexibility in the general organizational design of the work having effects on the production structure and labor process mainly. That is to say that industries traditionally seen connected with “rigid” mass-production systems such as “automobile industries” are also flexibly organized under flexible accumulation and production systems. Related to the cultural industries a great contrasting analysis explaining this is provided by Christopherson and Storper in the case of Motion Picture industry of US. They point that in the mass-production era of cinema production that is specified as the Hollywood studio system changed towards flexible production systems that lead to the collapse of “centrally produced” films by major studios and resulted to the emergence of movies produced with the interrelations of different small-scale firms.

Flexible production systems in the flexible accumulation strategies of capitalism, unlike mass production activities' rigidity are marked as *new forms of production are generally characterized by an ability to change process and product configurations with great rapidity.*" The way to reach such an outcome, the production is organized through "*networks of extremely malleable external linkages*", that is, the production processes are as far as possible externalized "*by buying in services and products that might otherwise be supplied internally.*" (A.J.Scott, 1988: 9) Actually, as Sabel and Zeitlin argues, flexibility is not something new in the history of capitalism, that is, large scale companies of mass production have always been together with small scale craft oriented firms (Sabel and Zeitlin, 1985: 138); however there is a historical rupture that puts these small scale firms into important positions in production that give the possibility to change between them rapidly. (A.J.Scott, 1988: 10) More specifically, in the mass production systems the jobs are done within the internal departments of a large scale firms are given to independent small scale firms that are specialized in a specific domain; as a result, a production environment where many firms specialized in certain sub-sectors are hired by other firms to make a job done. (A.J. Scott, 1988: 11)

This is the case what is seen also in the domain of cultural industries generally, television and movie production particularly. Susan Christopherson and Michael Storper are two scholars dealing with the US Motion Picture industry, who indicate a shift from the mass production methods towards flexible specialization that means a small-scale production formed by vertically disintegrated firms specialized in certain types of outputs. The production process is called as flexible as a whole, since the firms are capable of responding quickly to changing market conditions.

Having made this general analysis they continue by focusing on the motion picture industry of US. They address the role of the production firms specialized in performing generic tasks organized by sub-contracts to provide services and equipment to a producer who organizes the film-project. In other words, a production of a film is done by independent production companies each specialized in a domain of production. They argue that with this system of organization the major studios continue to dominate the industry; yet, to reduce the uncertainty they face, they pass the production process to certain sub-firms.

Similarly, Helen Blair et al. (1999) focus on the project based working in the UK film industry. Firstly they start by showing the main difference between UK and US. While they say, in US there are big major production companies, in UK the film industry companies are small ones. However, they also say that this doesn't change the general working relations which are based on again, project working. Freelance workers who are those having short-term contracts with small companies are the main workers in the industry.⁶

This is also the case in Turkey's television series production. Big private television channels rather than producing TV series within their internal departments, that is, by their own labor force and equipment, make a contract with an independent production firm, that finds these requirements from other specialized firms such as camera, sound, casting, make-up firms.

Beside the emergence of different sub-sectors another outcome frequently mentioned is the importance of regional specializations. This means that some cities or regions are divided in terms of certain special industries that mark a region's specification in the production scale of nation states or globally. That makes a region analogically a sub-sector of the mentioned large scale. Examples for these "new industrial spaces" are provided by A.J.Scott ranging from metropolitan ranges as Los Angeles and Boston revitalized in craft industries; to continental range as North America and Western Europe. (A.J.Scott, 1988: 18-23) As it is stated, in the Television Series Production in Turkey or generally the cultural production is commonly regionalized in Istanbul. In the case of TV Series production only a few TV series are produced outside Istanbul, and even those that are produced outside Istanbul have their production centers in Istanbul.⁷

Another effect of the flexibility is seen over the labor market. That is, "*rising flexibility in the organization of production is seen as rising flexibility in labor markets.*" (A.J.Scott, 1988: 14) However, as Çerkezoğlu and Göztepe argue (2011:) "what capital specifies as flexibility is lived as tension by the labor"; Scott mentions

⁶ Similarly with those studies made in US and UK, there are also studies made in Germany stating the flexible production systems built up on small-scale firms in television production industry. (Windeler&Sydow, 2001; Mossig, 2004)

⁷ For a study dealing with this monopolistic position of Istanbul look at Sönmez (2011)

the drastic outcomes of flexibility on labor. Firstly it results to a dualization in the labor markets. Flexible production systems are designed especially where there is a need for core of skilled high wage earning workers as well as workers who are low-skilled and low wage earning. That is, in this system, where the employers built up the production process on secondary firms it results to a segmentation in the labor market ranging from high-wage to low wage employment segments. (A.J.Scott, 1988: 15) especially because of the high competition among the sub-contracted firms they try to offer the employers production at minimum possible cost at highest possible quality. That is also something Marx has given its clues, by marking the existence of an intermediary “parasites” they sub-let the labor, and as a result leads to the exploitation of “laborer by the laborer.” (Marx, 1996: 365)

Secondly, flexible production arrangements result also a high fluidity in the labor market that is because of the demand of the capital for easily changing the production and labor market organizations. A.J.Scott, marks this concretely as “elevated rates of turnover, extensive part-time and temporary work” (A.J.Scott, 1988: 15) that are also highly apparent in the case of cultural industries. There are also differently conceptualized many working types marked as “atypical work”, “flexible work”, “casualization”, contingent work” especially in the Western Europe.(Vosko, 2006:9) These types of works are generally marked by having overtime work, low payments, high rates of unemployment and lacking of social security. (Harvey, 1989)

Similar outcomes on labor markets have been marked on studies concerning the television and movie industry. In an article they wrote in 1989, Christopherson and Storper deal with the question how flexibility has affected the labor market. They argue, flexible specialization caused the major studios in US to shift from production to finance and distribution; and this led them to pare down their production staffs. As it is said above, since in flexible production systems, continuous cycles of organizing and re-organizing is the main type of working organization, employment stability diminishes compared to the stable working conditions in a major studio. As this dominant working type demands workers only when there is a project available, an increase in part-time and casual work has become apparent. They indicate in this sense while there is an increase in the amount of the workers in the expanding sector

because of the contract based employment, periodic unemployment between job contracts are also experienced highly. They underline here a point which has a key importance to understand the working relations. They specify two groups of workers in the industry the talent and craft workers, on which the latter experience the difficulties that the workforce is faced with more than the former. More specifically they indicate that core workforce including directors and other talent workers benefit from the increases in available work while the peripheral workers experience longer spells of unemployment between jobs. That is to say that these two separate and distinct groups of workers live the high job uncertainty which is seen as a structural result of the flexible specialization in different senses. This difference, they say, has also effects on the wages of these groups. Although the peripheral craft workers are paid relatively more than the workers in other industries, since they face with the high possibility of job lose and long unemployment periods, the wage they get becomes lower than it seems. Moreover, again if a comparison is done again with the core workers, they indicate that the core workers both are employed continuously and also get high wages during their employment periods. In this sense they conclude by saying that the wage increase for a craft worker isn't possible within the boundaries of the job they perform, on the contrary, acquiring of new skills (in other sense to promote to the level of core workers) is inevitable, which shows a structural inequality in the working relations.

Susan Christopherson, in another article focuses more deeply in the labor relations and producer strategies in the US motion industry. The structure and methods both forming the labor relations and also the financing strategies of producers are expressed as the tendencies seen in the US motion picture industry. In the context of US motion industry, she argues the flexible specialization as a budget lowering strategy that shows three basic tendencies: (1) widening the split between core and peripheral workers (2) change professional and craft identities as a result of technological specialization (3) hard-wired social and economic networks by restricting access to job opportunities. She then continues by expressing the financial strategies of producers again as three basic tendencies: (1) tapping unconventional sources of financing particularly by following place-based incentives (2) low-cost

production and an expanded pool of multi-skilled workers (3) increasing the reputation of product by going tried and true.

In such an environment Christopherson mention reliability as an informal strategy among producers and directors. She says that in such a case a producer is expected to work with people who are reliable and produce at the lowest price. This makes the relationship between the producers and directors a mutually dependent one, in which the producer needs a director producing according to his/her interest while the director needs to form such a trust to maintain further jobs from this producer where the existence of future jobs are unpredictable and uncertain.

To explain the strategy of expanding the pool of multi-skilled workers, she underlines the expansion in higher education media training programming. This opens a way for an increase, what Marx calls, in the “reserve army of labor.” She argues in this sense that the large numbers of people give the financiers the possibility to sub-contract and to reduce the costs of the workforce.

Moreover, as a result of this explained strategy, Christopherson specifies the deepening in the core-periphery divide. The existence of the reserve army of labor increases the amount of the below the line workers, while a small number benefits from being an above the line worker because of the necessity and difficulty to establish reliable relations with producers. The talent established by the older an experienced workers, she says, is more likely than the new entrants to be able to establish and maintain their connections. In this sense, furthermore what the division in talent and craft workers also indicates is a separation of old and young. In other words, while the talent workers are expected to be old and experienced the large numbers of the new entrants are young and inexperienced.

Additionally Christopherson mentions “overtime work” as another producer strategy. As the producers’ profit comes from saving the labor costs, forcing the workers to work overtime, results to a decrease in the shooting days and as a result a reduction in production costs. In relation to this, Christopherson also criticizes some of the ideas who seeing the increase in the working hours as a benefit for the workers, based on the argument that it causes also increases in wages. As she argued

in an article written by Michael Storper, the increase in wages in practice doesn't have a real response because of the increase in the unemployment possibilities.

Helen Blair et al. focus on the project based working in the UK film industry. Firstly they start by showing the main difference between UK and US. While they say, in US there are big major production companies, in UK the film industry companies are small ones. However, they also say that this doesn't change the general working relations which are based on again, project working. Freelance workers who are those having short-term contracts with these small companies are the main workers in the industry. They don't directly mention a core periphery divide within the workforce as the US scholars do, however they specify similarly that the film crews, the craft workers as being employed as freelance workers while the managerial levels are more stable in terms of employment.

Moreover, they also underline similarly with those mentioned US scholars there is a structured job insecurity and uncertainty in the industry. They mention the frequently re-entrance of the film workers in the space of a year, and also the long working hours which equals approximately to 12 hours a day and 6 days a week. As it is in the case of the US, they say the reason for the long working hours are as a result of the pressures coming from the loaners who aim to reduce the production costs.

The way of finding jobs and maintaining career is also similarly conceptualized by them as "informal networking." They argue, to get entrance in the industry one doesn't enter to an interview or examination as it is traditionally, on the contrary someone invites or recommends somebody. Also they continue, since the importance of the informal networking in the industry based on "trust and rely on people" is a key element in work relations; and if someone isn't successful on the establishment of such relations, they argue that the future employment is in a constant danger. As a result of this they claim that for job security someone needs to secure the contacts for survival in the industry.

Helen Blair and Al Rainnie question the notion of flexibility in the film industries by showing the dark side of it. They start by showing a report made in 1998 in UK, which records the working days and weeks as one of the intensive ones

among all industries. Especially the unpaid break –the unpaid unemployment periods, and the non-existence of a typical contract is indicated as the major factors expanding this intensiveness. They give a reference to Christopherson and Storper’s article in terms of showing these working relations as a result of a shift from mass production to flexible specialization. Although they accept the existence of the small firms specialized and competing with each other they underline also the existence of big majors, however mainly specified on the field of the distribution. Therefore they conclude by challenging the positive standpoint on flexible specialization theories which draw a perfectly competitive market which overlooks the existence of big majors dominating the industry.

Gillian Ursell who also contributes the literature with her inspiring studies on the Media industry in UK focuses in one of her articles (Ursell, 2003) on the relation between the dumbing-down of the content and working relations. She marks loosening of a tight regulatory framework, introduction of new technologies and intensification on the competition in both product and labor markets as the base of the changing working relations. (pg: 35) In this context, the competing regional companies who try to produce more cheaply materials caused to job losses as well as to labor casualization in the form of freelancing. The increase in freelancing resulted to the so called dual labor force which divided the workers into two main groups existing of a few higher earners and large numbers of low earners. (pg: 37) She continues by marking the pressuring role of new technologies and requirements of multi-skill besides the exploitative character of the surplus value. The expectation of the development in new skills and friendly relationship with technology causes the “displacement and diminution of the labor force”. Having marked these working relations she asks the possibility of maintaining quality with such an apparatus (pg: 38) and summarizes her findings: “fewer workers, working harder within shortened production cycles, fewer checks and balances built into the system, less time given to the production, diminished mentoring and monitoring of juniors by seniors, decrease in individual and independent sourcing of raw data and reliance on more cheaply procured and produced material. (pg: 42)”

All these particular indications that show the effect of flexible accumulation systems on the US and UK’s television and movie industry practice show high

similarities with the Television Series production and labor process in Turkey dealt here with. Firstly, the segmentation of labor market marked as core periphery divide is also the case in Turkey. The core laborers in TV Series are the directors, directors of photography, directors of art, leading and supporting actors/actress and scriptwriters that are in the “high-skilled” side of the production and labor process enjoying certain privileges especially on their wages. The peripheral laborers, are the assistants of the mentioned directors, technical workers, such as cameraman, lighting man, sound technician, make-up, décor assistants and bit-part taking actors/actresses who are lowly paid.

Besides this core and periphery divide as it is stated, overtime work that is between 12-20 hours a day and 6 days a week is also a structural case in Turkish TV Series. Also the large reserve army of labor, related to it the long durations of unemployment periods, and the high rates of turnover are the other structural cases that are apparent in Turkish case. This structural similarity reveals a fact that the flexible accumulation process and the flexibly designed production systems, although it changes within the nation states functioning results to similar mechanisms organizing the main conflict between the capital and labor. Therefore it is relevant to consider a study that is within the boundaries of the so called cultural industries within an objective reality. Those arguments that insist on rejecting such an objective exploitative relation that functions through flexible accumulation models and stand on the idea to analyze each industry and workplace according to its “subjective” power relations of course is not enough to draw a general picture. However, as it is frequently argued, stating an objective reality which lies on the capital/labor conflict does not prevent a researcher to lie on subjective tendencies. On the contrary it gives the subjectivities a casual tie to establish their relations between mechanisms and structures the subjectivities function in it.

To sum up, flexible accumulation means an alternative way to mass production systems of reaching capital accumulation through flexible production systems that organize disintegrated relations between employers and small scale specialized firms. In this case, a firm decides to make a job done that is named as generally “projects”; and rather than organizing its relations within its own departments as it is in mass production organizations, give different tasks to some

other firms they are specialized in making this task. This gives the major investor the chance to easily break its ties with the sub-firms when a project is finished and arrange new relations according to the new needs of a new project. In mass production systems a firm is said to be rigid because it is not too easy and efficient to change every time its departments according to the need of the upcoming project. As a result of this new way of organization, the firms are minimized in scale by abolishing their departments and find externalized firms taking the functions of their departments. In the specific case of Turkish Television Series production TV Channels doesn't produce their own series rather than find other firms specialized in series production. Similarly, the production companies, doesn't have different internal departments to produce a TV series, rather than similar with the TV channels, they find specialized firms where they hire workers and equipment from in fields of casting, photography and art.

This flexible production system has important effects on the labor market either. Since the workers have to be continuously hired and re-hired in the circle of projects, temporary work arrangements and long unemployment periods are frequently seen conditions that the laborers face with. On the other hand, since the cultural industries demand artistic and technical work together in the organization of them segmentation among the workers is also apparent. More specifically, the laborers taking part in the labor process are structurally divided into two groups. One of them is the group of core workers, consisting of workers earning relatively high-wages and are high-skilled ones; the other one is the group of peripheral workers, including workers receiving relatively low-wages and working in jobs requiring relatively low skills.

To go one step further, the structural production and labor process explained needs to be analyzed in general terms since these conditions so far indicated are not specific for the cultural industries. As it is said at the beginning of this part, the shift from mass-production relations towards flexible ones is a general structural shift affecting different industries within capitalism. Similar production mechanism such as sub-contracting and labor market effects such as insecure working conditions and labor segmentation is a commonly seen outcome of flexible accumulation regime. Therefore a general objective framework that could cover the production and labor

process relations is inevitable to form. This requirement might be fulfilled by the conceptualization “precarious employment.” As Gill and Pratt put forward, it is important to connect the studies of precarious employment and case studies made on cultural industries; however it is also interesting that low numbers of studies are provided in this direction. Therefore in the next part precarious employment is analyzed.

2.3) Conceptualizing Precarious Employment

It is firstly important to state that there is no specific definition of precariousness. (Tucker, 2002: 24) However, there is a general agreement among some scholars that precarious employment is a good concept to specify some observed employment structures and relations that is indicated in detail in the previous part. In this sense from the discussions around the conceptualizations it is possible to derive some indicators and general specifications. This is the main target of this part.

Tracing back the uses of this conceptualization shows Rodgers and Rodgers as the primary users of it. They specify four main determinants:

“(1) the degree of certainty of continuing work - precarious jobs are those with a short time horizon, or for which the risk of job loss is high. Irregular work should be included here too, insofar as there is uncertainty as to continuing availability. (2) Aspect of control over work – work is more insecure the less the worker (the individual or collectively) controls working conditions, wages and pace of the work. (3) Protection – that is to what extend workers are protected either by law, or through collective organization, or through customary practice – protected against, say, discrimination, unfair dismissal or unacceptable working practices, but in the sense of social protection, notably to access social security benefits. (4) An ambiguous respect is income – low income jobs may be regarded as precarious if they are associated with poverty and insecure social insertion.” (Rodgers and Rodgers, 1989:3)

Cranford et al. (2003:13) mark “continuity at work” as the most important determinant in order to determine precariousness. In this sense they make a ranking where full-time and permanently jobs are put as the less precarious ones. Then, they

place full-time but temporary paid jobs as more precarious, while the part-time temporary jobs are the most precarious ones.

Vosko, in his work broadens the perspective of the concept. First of all he puts that “precarious employment is not a new phenomenon” (Vosko, 2006:4) However, he underlines a “standard work” relatively more secure, especially after World War II, firstly for the white male blue-collar and then also for white-collar workers, “*with a full-time continuous employment relationship where the worker has one employer, works on the employer’s premises under his or her direct supervision, normally in a unionized sector and has access to social benefits and entitlements that complete the social wage.*” (2006:6) In this context, he underlines “*initial cracks in the standard employment relationships, its flipside was narrowly interpreted precarious employment*” having the form of “atypical work”, “flexible work”, “casualization”, contingent work” especially in the Western Europe.(Vosko, 2006:9; see also Candeias, 2009: 3)

Vosko’s line show a tendency towards non-standardization relatively. However, while non-standard types of work are generally seen in relation to “precarious employment” they are not identical. (Bujold and Fournier: 2008:340, Tucker, 2002:2, Haniff and Lamm, 2005:326) In other words, a job having standard conditions might be also precarious or there are also non-standard works desirable by the worker. (Tucker, 2002:2) Candeias says:

“If we consider precariousness simply a deviation from old forms of (fordist) regulation, we do not get a picture of the concrete situation in the workplace. It is not a problem of some small groups outside normal unionised labour relations, not even of the mass of global (laboring) poor. Rather, precarisation is a general process to dismantle and polarize the levels of social rights and standards of living, with very contradictory consequences, for most of the labour force, including the highly-qualified cybertariat and the old proletariat under pressure – unable to make compatible work and individual reproduction.” (Candeias, 2009:8)

In this sense, before elaborating the concept furthermore, another important point needs to be clarified. As the use of the concept precarious is generally identified with low-skilled and low-paid jobs, the recent studies has shown that well-paid, skilled, and high-status works has become precarious. (Gill and Pratt: 2008:1,

Magdoff and Magdoff: 2004) In this context, a broader definition of precarious employment has to be specified for getting rid of those difficulties offered by the use of the concept. Papadopoulos et al. (2008: 250-1) describe a broad range:

“[...]approaching through the lens of embodied experience, we can grasp the myriad of singular experiences entailed in living and working in precarious conditions: the embodied experiences of a chainworker in a high-street fashion shop, of a student paying tuition fees by working as a security guard, of an illegalized migrant who works as a dishwasher, a domestic worker or a sex worker, of a qualified researcher who works on contract-based research projects, of an unemployed academic who works in a call centre, of an au pair who wants to stay in the country after the expiration of a contract, of a migrant computer expert who works as babysitter, of a nonunionized cleaner working on the tube, of a volunteer doing an internship in a cultural institution (and who not only works for free, but her working conditions are not covered by any collective framework whatsoever), of an architect who earns a living working on discontinuous projects, of a seasonal worker in the strawberry fields, of a cinematographer who works on three projects simultaneously and is paid (badly) for only one, of a single mother working part time, of a graphic designer whose work extends far beyond the ten hours she stays in the office. These experiences vary immensely, but they are all permeated by a pervasive social conflict: it is a conflict between high productivity and low protection, or else intensive creativity and deep vulnerability. (Papadopoulos et al. 2008: 250-1)

As Papadopoulos et al. show by the above given examples, precarious employment isn't a specific problem of certain industries or employment types, rather than it brings certain characteristics to all types of employments in terms of low protection and deep vulnerability. It implies not necessarily “absolute poverty, deprivation and isolation in the workplace, but a relative disadvantage in these three dimensions.” (Candeias, 2009: 8) More generally, Tucker determines some indicators which is mentioned as Tucker method and highly used in the literature. (Haniff and Lamm, 2005:325) These indicators are as following⁸ (Tucker, 2002: 26):

- The job can be terminated with little or no prior notice by the employer.
- Hours of work are uncertain or can be changed at will by the employer.

⁸ For alternative but close indicators see also (Candeias, 2009: 9)

- Earnings are uncertain or irregular.
- Functions of the job can be changed at will by the employer.
- There is, in practice, no protection against discrimination, sexual harassment, unacceptable working practices.
- The job is low income – at or below the minimum wage.
- There is little or no access to ‘standard’ non-wage employment benefits such as sick leave, domestic leave, bereavement leave or parental leave.
- There is limited or no opportunity to gain and retain skills through access to education and training.
- The task performed or the health and safety practices at the workplace make the job dangerous or unhealthy.

These indicators specified by Tucker are also suitable with the outcomes of the collected data in this thesis. However this general use of the concept results for some other problems that needs to be carefully focused on. Firstly, as it is stated, the precariousness experienced by the workers varies related to their parts in the labor process. For example, while the second indicator, telling that the “hours of work are uncertain or can be changed at will by the employer”, are applicable for all the sections of the labor process in the Turkish TV Series’, the sixth indicator, “the job is low income – at or below the minimum wage” is only acceptable for some of the workers. Moreover another problematic which is related with the first one, is the problem of how to identify precariousness as a base of political action. As Gill and Pratt questions very well:

“Do they have common cause or identity of interests? What are the distinct modes of exploitation in operation? Can their different interests be articulated? Then there are questions about what kinds of power dynamics these very different locations/subjectivities might produce within the movement, and the very real challenges of building connections between actors who are positioned in radically different ways. (Gill and Pratt, 2008:12)”

From all these discussions provided so far, four main indicators might be determined for using as general indicators to apply the particular relations for the

TV Series production in Turkey, which are Job Continuity, Wages, Working Conditions, Social Security.

Having explained what the objective case of precarious employment means, the objective framework applied to the structure of production and labor process of TV series in Turkey is finished in terms of its conceptualization. To summarize it shortly, such a study needs an industrial specification that is cultural industries in this case. However, cultural industries have to be considered within a social totality that is provided by the political economy analysis. In this sense, political economy tells us that in this historical specification of capitalism a flexible accumulation regime is experienced that forces flexible production systems. This flexible production systems have not only effects on the general design of the production relations but also related to it impacts on labor market relations, that are connected with again a general framework that is precarious employment that is seen as a result of the flexibility that is covered.

2.4) A Framework To Understand Worker Consciousness

The objective framework provided so far is not enough for further elaboration; therefore additional perspectives have to be asserted. Objective analysis grounding on labor capital conflict are criticized by the post-structuralists in terms of reducing a worker into an economical category within the structural antagonism of labor and capital. In this sense such an understanding would argue that the workers of the Turkish Television Series might not be fit to the objective realms that are provided above, that is to say that the workers might not identify themselves as laborers of flexible production systems who face with precarious employment relations. However this is not something new in the class analysis, rather than it is a widely dealt topic in the framework of class consciousness. To make it clearer in this case firstly it is important to remember the Bhaskarian expression that the existence of a real law does not depend on the existence of its realization or observation by the subject, that is, it is existent independently from it. Moreover,

secondly, the self-identifications of a worker have to be considered not as the only source of knowledge rather than they have to be seen as phenomena that actually show how the real structures are lived in the everyday life. In other words, objective structures are formed and re-formed in the subjective levels. What has to be done in this context when it is focused on the subjectivity is to see its connections with the existing objective structure. This provides a mutual advantage in terms of understanding both the objective and subjective level. More clearly, a subjective analysis strengthens the objectivity and rescues it from its transcendental understanding. Similarly it also provides subjectivity some casual ties and rescues it from its independent fluidity.⁹

There are important studies that focus on the workers' self-identification and subjectification processes working in flexible production relations. Of course, a study aiming to understand how the workers of the Turkish Television Series identify themselves or which subjectification processes are seen within the production and workplace power relations requires an independent workplace study. However, as it is stated, since what is tried here is not only to reach the knowledge of a specific domain and isolate it from other macro-level political economic relations, these other studies help to do contrary by arguing such similar subjects existence might show a structural totality.

The subjects stated by Leadbeater and Oakley working in the cultural industries are "The Independents" or specifically the "cultural entrepreneur". According to them the cultural entrepreneurs, are a prototype of the workers who are going to dominate the work in the future. Their abilities they applaud with high pleasure are given to the big industries as positive examples to learn and follow. Their analysis of these cultural entrepreneurs specifically derive from their case study on Britain, however by reflecting a general tendency on the workers of the cultural industries they are frequently referenced.¹⁰ They say that there are three main waves these cultural entrepreneurs have come from: architectural and design

⁹ To see how subjectivity and the market values are connected to each other see Lait et al(2010)

¹⁰ See Hesmondalgh (2008), Gill (2002), Gill and Pratt (2008), O'Connor (2007), DeFillippi (2009)

partnership to rock bands, independent television companies, and multimedia and Internet services. What characterizes these generally high educated, twenty to 34 years old youth is their sense of independence. (Leadbeater and Oakley, 1999: 20) This describes their feeling of not wanting to be a member of a corporate culture in the form of large organizations, since they don't want to be told what to do and not. On the contrary to "the new notion of career", or "the collapse of career" views¹¹ that are be dealt with later on detail, according to Leadbeater and Oakley, these independents are able to develop their own way of life and way of work. (pg: 22)

They say that these cultural entrepreneurs who are aimed to develop their own ways don't want any public grants and subsidies either, which they see as constraints because of the strings brought to their jobs. In this sense a best way to express for an independent himself/herself is to be a member of commercial market. The free market, which is thought to be the individualistic field of self-expression, is a critical test where one needs to negotiate a place in the market economy. (pg: 22) The challenge of competitiveness brought by the market is seen as a positive way for the self-development. In the market what they want isn't simply high wages; however an environment in which the self-interest and self-expression is pursued fully without constraints, is what makes the market the most desirable place for work. (pg: 23)

To conclude the description of the cultural entrepreneurs they claim four basic characteristics. According Leadbeater and Oakley, The Independents are in whose life the boundaries of (1) consumption and production, (2) work and non-work is blurred; (3) the individualistic values and collective working is combined; and finally, (4) being a member of a wider community (networking) is seen as a rule. Leadbeater and Oakley, enjoy by showing these properties of the new worker, contrasted to the old dominated one. (pg: 24-5)

Flecker and Hofbauer, similarly offer a mainstream approach to the cultural workers and indicate a shift from the model worker that had dominated the industrial era once, to a new one. In their analysis of the new model worker they celebrate the involvement of the subjectivity in the workplace. According to them

¹¹ See Sennett (2010), Flores and Gray(2000), Tempest et al. (2004), Jones,C. (2001)

work places aren't pre-structured anymore, rather than reflexively restructured, that is to say that the workplaces are opened for self-reliant activities, in which the workers are take part for their own formation of subjectivity, including skills, training and so on. In other words, what the new model worker does in the daily work is to appear as a subject with some subjective demands like training and growing skills. As a result of this subjective involvement what they argue is that the workplaces provide new types of conflicts and congruencies that form a workplace and work relations reflexively.

Teamwork according to them which is a new organizational solution and way in this conflict and congruence that opens the way for labor intensiveness. According to this point, the organization structure demands to remove the traditional boundaries between the manager and specialists since the industry rely on labor as well as capital.

The worker with this new mentality has to abandon its traditional characteristics, and replace it with the entrepreneur worker who self-develops, self-actualizes through attachment to the work he/she does. Also to manage such a potential worker what the new manager needs to do is to give to possibilities to the worker to reflect himself/herself by operationalising their subjectivities. In this context, the labor process by overlooking the main conflict capital / labor turns into a managerialist analysis.

As these flexible organizations to function properly what they need is a glue, which is specified by Flecker and Hoffbauer as "loyalty". According to them, what it is expected from the "loyal" worker is to devote themselves to the demands of the company, since the organization continues henceforth with the self-reliant decision made by the worker. In this sense what they argue is that the worker has to enjoy a pleasure in the work to feel a certain commitment with the company he/she is working for. The traditional work had considered the organization as a determined structure and the worker as an outsider entering in certain periods is changed by the new workers' self-identification with the organization he/she is working in.

In this sense, what they say as a conclusion is a growing relation with the subjectivity and capital, which opens a way to understand how capital works. Since

the worker feeling the tension to survive in the flexible organization needs to improve his/her skills. In this context he/she to achieve a shift in his/her place, he/she requires motivation, engagement and identification which is also enjoyable for the capital's interest.

These were two important examples for the ideas that favor the “new workers’ subjectivity. On the other hand, there are also other perspectives looking at the same picture but drawing more negative outcomes by describing the “new subject.” Sennett, who is famous with his problematizing of the new culture of capitalism, explains the time dimension of the shift from work to projects with the quotation “there is no long term anymore.” There are ones who think that working long terms in a corporation as in traditional types of working, causes to a feeling of imprisonment. To prevent this, this feeling is abolished with a working life of constantly change which is based on working on different projects. Sennett underlines in this sense the happy feeling of the individual because of the competitive and rapidly changing non-routine environment, however what he focuses and reveals is the point of the social disaster, the corrosion in the character. What the character faces according to Sennett (2010) is the loss of meaning which had come ones with the lifelong commitment to a work, that brought someone the feeling of certainty, the openness of the way of life, the freedom of choice, to be the writer of his/her life. The new capitalism which is in a constantly flux and expects from the individual to be flexible enough to endure the constantly re-shaping process. As a result of this, the individual by losing the possibility of establishing a constant shape, faces with the disastrous question “who am I?” This causes a tension between the strong self who should endure and take the responsibilities of his/her life and the one on the flux who actually can't do this easily.

According to Sennett, the rationalized time, which was explained by Weber's view of “the militarization of the civil society”, actually, let people to think about their lives as narratives by giving the possibility of defining the stages of the career. This steadiness of purpose has collapsed in the new culture of capitalism, and has turned in to a more short-term thinking. Weberian model of society which had offered people a psychological home with the certainty it offered; and actually, in the society of chain of command which seems generally as a prison had offered

the people the chance of interpretation and translation of the work, since the worker had felt the workplace organization into a life path. The rapidly changing workplace organization has broken up this feeling of commitment, the life-path decisions has shifted to short-term ones. The idealized new self has become one who is not dependent to others forced to be successful in the new world of capitalism. The desire to be dependent on someone in the Weberian model of society turned on the contrary to the feeling of fear of dependence. This thought to be giving the worker a sense of sense control; however, according to Sennett the constant flux of capitalism prevents this chance; as a result, the individual seeking self-control, loses the self completely. That is to say, since the possible failure in the uncertain form of capitalism brings unpredictable results, the individual is caused to live under high-anxiety, an individual don't know what will happen but fearing from what might happen.

Furthermore, differently from the ideas indicating the importance of trust and loyalty in project based work, according to Sennett (2010), the idea of mobility, change and non-routine damages the trust and loyalty that actually develops together with a career path, which doesn't change, goes together with a lifelong commitment to an industry and your fellows. Sennett introduces here a pronoun, the new "we" which contrasts with the old one, and is formed by weak-ties among people and lacks of the deeper bounds in which everyone accepts the other with the whole personality. (pg: 151) Teamwork which is one of the forms of the new "we", don't form as the traditional commitments do; that is, in time and by experience; rather than it is rapid and constantly changeable. On the contrary, the establishment of the strong commitment bounds depends according to Sennett on the need of the people to each other. However this kind of traditional need is a deeper one, differently from the need in the teamwork which is only functional. Instead of the whole being of a person, in teamwork one is reduced into his/her functionality in terms of being a member of the team. (pg: 152) In this sense the argued commitment, trust, reliability in the networking systems are as Sennett argues lacking from a deeper understanding of a community. More clearly, the workers' interdependence, trust and reliability in the network systems are "self-interest" driven ones. Therefore, the "loyalty" and "trust" indicated by the positive views

towards the new cultural worker, in Sennett's sense are actually "pseudo" ones lacking a deep feeling and being only on surface of the relationships.

Flores and Gray, on the path of Sennett, introduce a need for a new approach in the world of work what they call entrepreneurial. This new approach is, contrary to the traditional notion of career which means a path that is a life-long way, a single vocation.¹² (Flores and Gray, 2000: 10) According to them career is 20th century institution which is in a collapse. Following Sennett's path, they say that in the 20th century career had been the most important way to achieve personal autonomy through a steady job and professional culture in a work domain. The case of decline that career is experiencing results to certain problems in employment relations as well as in subjective feeling. In the context of employment, as a result of the decline in the traditional notion of career, the potential worker is experiencing damage in choosing stable employment. (pg: 13) Besides the problem of job insecurity they argue that due to the discernible shape of the career the worker is feeling a loss of meaning. This is because of the need for the constantly re-organization of the production process as a result of the customer behavior which is highly sensitive. (pg: 29) The traditional worker who was used to re-do the similar tasks in the same career pattern, is said to be faced with a constantly changing task and place.

Having shown the general picture, Flores and Gray continue to focus on what they call problems on identity. The traditional notion of career, as they argue, is considered as a lifetime narrative which doesn't only provide economic security but also shaping the individual's identity. Nevertheless the floating and unshaped career, prevents the individual to form and recognize his/her identity as it is used to. Career, has given the individual an identity, a possibility of choosing who someone is, or in Sennett's sense being the writer of someone's own life; and this is lost with the new entrepreneurial form of life. (pg: 27)

The new form of working life is called by them as the "wired form"; which is fast, globally and project-centered. This type of working according to Flores and Gray has developed its new values either; the entrepreneurial form. They make this "new" form's connection with Nietzsche's ethics in terms of addressing a risk-

¹² See also Richard Sennett

taking, recreating and enhancing individual. (pg: 24) This new individual doesn't have one narrative of gradual development rather than seeking a number of new achievements. Therefore what is expected from an individual becomes to abandon the understanding of "spontaneity", and make himself / herself ready for commercial advantages by being able to change easily as the industry does and demands. Since this has become the general rule in the industry, it is expected from the worker to reject job security and favor job change as a source of growth and advancement. The highly expressed motto, "flexibility" in this sense is seen as the way for mobility and freedom. The idea lying behind this is to see the community, which was a result of the stable notion of career, as a constraint preventing the individual from freedom of change. What an entrepreneur does is to explore new ways of living, explores new knowledge. According to them the past is past; always the new opportunities have to be sought. (pg: 32)

Tempest, et al. (2004) provide a critical response to these ideas favoring the new patterns of career and underline a similar ethical issue as Flores and Gray does by arguing that the new career means, *careering* alone. They use for the development of their point of view the famous conceptualization of social capital which they argue it is high when someone is involved in a close relation with a local community. What they indicate is that using Putnam's conceptualization; "social-decapitalization" (Tempest et al. 2004: 1525) is what the people are facing with the new notions of the career which forces a trend towards increasing individualization.

Social capital, they say, needs a sense of a community with common interest, which also depends on the existence of a stable notion of career, a lifelong channel for one's economic pursuits. Again mentioning Richard Sennett, they say that what it is underlined by the corrosion of character is actually the decline in the social capital. (pg: 1526) The high individualization depends on individual strategies sought in the market and as a result forms working structures as self-employment, sub-contracting, consulting social capital turns to, individual career capital. (pg: 1529)

Papadapoulous et al. write on a subject not only being exploited by the capital but also assert a case of self-exploitation that takes on the dimension of time. According to them a subject working is dependent on an employer in the case of a

signed contract in a limited time determined. Additionally, besides this contractual exploitation a subject is expected to develop himself/herself continuously at the present to remain competitive in the labor market to sign future contracts. This results to a continuous pressure on the subject, the exploitation of the self by the self.

What Papadapoulous et al. state finds a form in the case of the subject working in the cultural industries as the constant pressure to develop network relations to continue the career path by finding future jobs. There are many studies indicating this need for careerist success. Candance Jones (2001) is one who writes on the boundaryless careers of the television industry workers who have to be moving between different projects to make a desirable and selectable career path. Firstly she looks at how the career begins in these project networks. In order to get access, she says, what a new entrant requires is interpersonal skills. Entrance to this industry which draws attention of the people because of the “start cult”, “glamorous lives” and “tabloid tales” it involves, is very difficult for two reasons she specifies: the intensive competition and the lack of clear-cut entry routes. Besides the intensive competition which is also underlined by Christopherson and Michael Storper; Jones here argues the sub-contractor firms’ major dominance as a way for the entrance in the industry. Jones mentions “getting your foot in the door” as a general motto in the industry, which shows a belief indicating the fact that the way of someone is going to be open in the industry if he/she is once successful in entrance. In this sense, to gain entrance and survive in the industry Jones specifies “good interpersonal and communication skills” as the key. Besides this however, it is argued that, the worker has to endure the heavy working conditions in the industry, being persistent, having high level of motivation and proving himself/herself.

Secondly, the need for crafting the career shows another important point that needs special attention. On the job training is seen as the key of continuity in the industry. The new entrant is given to the low-skilled jobs at the beginning and he/she is expected to train himself/herself and also learn the way of “how things are done”. Jones claims that this teaching and training doesn’t include only things specific to the occupation itself rather than a long lesson of industry culture, which is said to work according to some shared rules, values and norms which are unwritten.

Thirdly she deals with the question “how to navigate the career?” In this context, the worker is expected to build reputations and also create contacts. More specifically the expectations are, producing quality work, developing skills and establishing networks of personal contacts. If someone is not able to produce certain successful projects, the way to find new jobs starts to close, because in the industry being remembered and having good recommendations is the key factor for continuity. Moreover, since no one is responsible for someone’s own training, self-development gets also important. Consequently, establishing chain of people that is possible by being recommended by successful ones in the industry, is one of the key points in order to navigate the career.

Similar with Jones, Ursell also puts the constant pressure of remaining with interpersonal skills in the labor market. Ursell starts to focus on the labor market’s main structure in the UK television. The answer of the question how the labor market is organized is networking. In this sense she says that the producers, who decide to shoot a project, firstly determine the directors and performers, and then the others are recruited. The way they are chosen is asserted as reputation and familiarity-kinship. Ursell considers this networking as a gift given by the workers to the broadcasters and producers, since with the help of it they relive from additional costs for the search of the workforce. Furthermore she says that the workers are selected in this way, because of the easiness to get on with people who are reliable, with those who are “the wife’s brother.” However, she adds also that this isn’t an absolute way which closes the doors for competition and explains how the workers try to find a place or as Jones says “get the foot in the door.”

Angela Lait et al, focuses also as Sennett does, on the problematic of being the writer and reader of one’s own life. She says that because of the contextual language influencing the identity making of an employed person that demands flexibility, mobility, responsiveness, risk assessing entrepreneurial behavior from the subject prevents the individual from self-developing and forces him/her to develop according to the market values. (Lait et al, 2010: 12-3) A failure in this self-identification is blamed on personal deficiency; if the worker is not able to develop such corporate values as being able to cope with chaos, acquiescent, self-motivating,

self-training, self-reliant, childlike and uncritical, committed and willing to bend her/his whole self the worker; becomes a “can’t do worker.” (Lait, 2010: 15)

2.5) A Summary: The Precarious Employment and the Subject in the Flexible Production Systems of Cultural Industries

The primary aim of this chapter is to develop a theoretical background for the analysis done in the context of private turkish television series’ production and labor process. To do this the cultural industries, that is the context the television production is generally considered in, is considered as the first point of departure. Cultural Industries are said to be a critical revision of Adorno’s critique on “Culture Industry.” Cultural Industries are argued to be different from the Culture Industry view by providing a point of view that may break the totalistic understanding of the Culture Industry theory. Cultural Industries in this sense is said to be putting culture to a relatively autonomous point front of economic relations, questions its existence as a manipulative tool by which the proper individual for capitalism is produced. The studies in the context of cultural industries are said to be offering possibilities to analyze each industry producing cultural products in its own production relations with different tendencies rather than totalistic ones.

However it is also marked that the attempt to rescue the analysis of cultural production from a totalistic view that doesn’t respect specific characters each industry may have in terms of production and labor process relations, might also have the possibility to fall into simple atomism in which each industry is considered without connections with other industries. To prevent this, political economy is called to provide a general framework for cultural industries to be considered in.

Then it is focused on the post-structuralist theories that treat political economy grounded production and labor process theories as economic reductionist. However, in this sense political economy is marked as a theoretical standpoint that doesn’t only rely on economism, on the contrary, it provides also place for the subjects that is argued to be lacking in political economy analysis by post-

structuralist analysis. To put this more clearly, a methodological discussion is started and Roy Bhaskar's ontology "critical realism" is provided as the basis that helps to think objective structures together with subjective tendencies. By having this at ground Marx's analysis on piece-work that is argued to be the kind of "work" in the cultural industries is provided as an example for political economy, which also marks the existence of subjective tendencies within objective class relations. More specifically, Marx by arguing piece-work giving chances to the exploitation of the laborer by laborer, and the skill oriented jobs that provide individuality in the workplace, opens a path to see the existence of subjectivities that are in relation with objective structures. As a result, Bhaskar's layered ontology that gives places for structures and subjects at the same analysis is taken as the methodological basis of the study.

The analysis of political economy that puts importance of historical specificities of capitalism is argued as having at the top the question "how capital accumulation is provided within a specific historical period?" It is said to be there is a common agreement among scholars that capitalism had lived a rupture in its development and nowadays that we are in period when "flexibility" dominates. This period is asserted to be conceptualized by the political economist understanding as flexible accumulation in which flexible production and labor relations dominate the functioning of capitalism. Having specified an analysis of flexible production systems their primary effects on labor market is taken into consideration. This analysis that is supported by specific examples from US and UK film and television industries is said to be offering another objective structural condition on the production and labor relations, that is, precarious employment. In other words, it is argued that the flexible production systems have certain effects on production and labor market relations that cuts not only cultural industries rather than almost all other industries that are organized through flexible production cycles.

In this sense in a specific part a conceptualization of precarious employment is done. Precarious employment that said to be not having a common definition is analyzed and a general picture is tried to be drawn out of the works of some scholars. In this context three important standpoints are indicated. Firstly, it is said that precarious employment isn't something equal to the contrary of fordist standard

work, on the contrary standard works are argued to might have “precarious” conditions. Secondly, an understanding that sees precarious employment only in relation to low-skilled and low-status jobs is challenged and it is argued that other jobs having high-skill and high-status might also be asserted as precarious. Thirdly, with the help of this two important markings, a need for a general conceptualization on precarious employment is stated and for this the so called Tucker Method’s indicators are used for generating common headlines the precarious employment might be considered without only looking to the type of working or the status of the job. These indicators are said to be job continuity, wages, working conditions and social security.

All of these explained so far are marked as being the objective framework of the study, however, in another part a need for a subjective framework is asserted as it is also important as it was said in the methodological discussion. To do this, certain studies dealing specifically with the subjectivities of the workers working in flexible cultural industries are focused on. This focusing has two sides, one is those studies who enjoy and applaud the so called new subject within the cultural industries. Their characters which are said to be “independent”, “self-expressive”, “market-oriented”, “self-developing”, “spontaneous”, “fitting to teamwork” are those enjoyed. However, the other side, sees the negative side of the same picture and underlines the subject’s “shapelessness”, “being frightened front of future uncertainty”, “loss of commitment feeling”, “high individualization.” Marking all of these as answering the state of the plural subjects, the importance is put on the subjects’ relation with the objective structure. In other words all of these subjectivities are said to be argued as answering to the market-led values or on the contrary subjectivities struggling and suffering against and from these values.

To go one step further and open the way for the next chapter a turn back to the layered ontology might be meaningful. As its connection between objectivity and subjectivity is done the missing parts might be filled. At the top level, the flexible accumulation is put. Value chains, that give answer to the relations between sites of production includes “the rating and advertising system” “the TV Channels” and “out-house producers”. This is the main place that dominates the production relations of the TV Series. Then comes the workplaces. The specific workplace considered here,

has the main actors of “sub-contracted firms” that provide equipment and workers to the workplace. After, there are the so called vested interest groups. Firstly these interest groups might be categorized as two; the creative (core) and technical (peripheral) workers. However each group is also segmented in terms of division of labor and might provide separate interests functionally. And at the end, the plural subjects are reached. These are the individual workers who have expressions about the work they do. What is done is to derive their subjectivities and connect them with the upper structural levels. In the next chapters all of these parts are analyzed not separately, on the contrary relationally as it is shown in the figure.

CHAPTER 2

3. THE INDUSTRIAL STRUCTURE OF THE CONTEMPORARY TURKISH PRIVATE TELEVISION SERIES

3.1) Rating Dominance and Strategies of TV Series Programming

Like other cultural products a TV series starts with an idea. This idea may be a whole story or only a part of it; for example, it may be a book adaptation or a fictionalization of a historical event or period. There may be millions of other sources to find and build a storyline to shoot it. However, firstly, what seems to be important enough to be questioned is the motivation and purpose of the actors deciding what to shoot. In a commercial television system, there are two main actors making this decision. The television channel is actually the primary decision-maker in terms of which TV series to show. This department chooses the most “suitable” ones out of many ideas offered them by the producers. This makes the second actor of the decision-making process visible. The producer is the one who decides the idea to be offered as a fetus of a TV series to the Television Channel out of the ideas developed by a scriptwriting team or an individual scriptwriter. There are also other contributing and intermediary actors and relations involved in this decision-making process. However, what needs to be questioned firstly, as it is mentioned above, the motivation and reason of a decision, in order to understand the beginning of the idea development stage correctly and wholly.

Almost all of the revenue of a broadcast television comes from its audience sales¹³. The advertiser buys a previously specified time from the television channel to

¹³ Audience sales mean the sale of the demographic information of the audience watching a TV program collected through the rating measurement technique explained before. Dallas Smythe gives the following answer to the question “what do advertisers buy with their advertising expenditures?”: As hardnosed businessmen they are not paying for advertising for nothing, nor from altruism. What they buy are the services of audiences with predictable specifications which will

show its advertisement by expecting the audience watching and turning into the product's customer. However, this isn't a contingently determined time-period. A statistical data of watching a specific television program is collected by an audience measurement organization and it is sold to the advertiser. With the help of this data the advertiser knows on which program its potential customer is mostly watching and buys specific time periods from the television channel to show its advertisement during some regulated breaks of that program. Moreover, this data helps similarly the television channel to find which are of its programs. Finally, according to the data a TV channel forms and regulates a broadcasting strategy in which primarily the decisions what to show, when to show, how to show, is given. That is to say, as a key strategy, the private broadcast television channel to gain revenues needs to broadcast the programs which are able to gain the audience which can easily be sold to its customers, that is, the advertisers. (Napoli, 2003: 15-22) However, although there is a general agreement on the private broadcast television's rational behavior, there is also a huge mystery behind the question "which program brings the most and correct audience?"

The above asked question lies on the heart of the private broadcast televisions so called "process of programming". Eastman and Ferguson writes clearly:

"Programming is both a skill and an art. The primary goal in programming advertiser-supported media is to maximize the size of an audience targeted by advertisers." (Eastman and Ferguson, 2009:3)

payattention in predictable numbers and at particular times to particular means of communication (television, radio, newspapers, magazines, billboards, and third-class mail) in particular market areas.⁴ As collectivities these audiences are commodities. As commodities they are dealt with in markets by producers and buyers (the latter being advertisers). Such markets establish prices in the familiar mode of monopoly capitalism. Both these markets and the audience commodities traded in are specialized. The audience commodities bear specifications known in the business as "the demographics." The specifications for the audience commodities include age, sex, income level, family composition, urban or rural location, ethnic character, ownership of home, automobile, credit card status, social class, and, in the case of hobby and fan magazines, a dedication to photography, model electric trains, sports cars, philately, do-it-yourself crafts, foreign travel, kinky sex, etc. (Smythe, 2006: 234)

Similarly, the director / co-producer talked for this thesis argues:

“The major boss is the advertiser, if there is no money coming from the advertiser the channel doesn’t simply work.” (DR/CPR)¹⁴

Moreover, since the specific topic dealt here with , TV Series, is the Prime-Time’s one of the main contents, –the time period 20.00 - 23.00, which is the most valuable period since it is when television is mostly watched. Todd Gitlin, who wrote specifically about Prime-Time programming, underlines interestingly the point that, although there are some schematic explanations of how decisions got made, actually among the decision-makers nobody knows the answer. He writes:

Often I began an interview by saying that I was trying to understand how decisions got made about what to put on the air. There was one initial response that I heard so frequently it amused me at first, and later I came to expect it. It was usually said with a smile. ‘If you figure it out, please let me know’ or ‘I’ve been in this business X years, and I don’t understand it’ (Gitlin, 2000:21)

The similarity between the answers given by the producer conducted an in-depth interview for this study and Gitlin’s above given quotation is interesting:

“I don’t know what Turkish people like. Actually nobody knows it. They actually have always liked things in which there are something to cry. However, this also changes nowadays.” (PR)¹⁵

Also, in a study made in Turkey, a quotation of a famous producer, Birol Güven, marks also the “unpredictable environment” of the process of programming (Töre Özkan, 2010:69):

“There is no formula for this. Also there is no one knowing it. Script, actors-actresses, director... They will all come together; there will be a good combination, and actually a causeless combination. You get something, it catches the audience or not. It’s a bit contingent. Yes, people watch something, but we don’t know what it is.” (Birol Güven)

The paradoxical condition of the need to choose the correct idea and actually not to know what it is; is the skill of, as Gitlin says, “predicting the unpredictable.” (Gitlin, 2000:)The producer spoken in this study was proud of her TV series’

¹⁴ Bu işte asıl patron reklam verendir. Reklamcıdan para gelmezse kanal çalışmaz.

¹⁵ Vallaha ben bizim bu Türk halkının ne sevdiğini bilmiyorum. Aslına bakarsan kimse bilmiyor. Önceden içinde ağlama olan şeyleri seviyorlardı, şimdi o da değişti.

success and by saying “when I brought this project to some channels, they said that they know this TV series format from its foreign examples, and they denied the project with the reason that it is not suitable for the Turkish audience. However they are now very sorry for their denial. It became one of the most popular TV series and I sold it to STAR TV” marks the wrong decisions made by the TV channels, which actually had looked rational to them then. This reveals an environment where decisions made according to some criteria; however nobody knows what exactly they are. Moreover, it also shows that decision that made according to some rules or predictions includes always the possibility of being wrong. However, having the possibility of failure in their mind, it also reveals a set of boundaries and formulas which forces to say at the end “no or yes” to a project. Although it is frequently mentioned that the decision-making process is a contingent one, it seems that there are some paths to follow.

The results of the investigation made in this study indicate basic and schematic criteria which are also relevant with studies made in other countries. The first and frequently mentioned one is the criteria of “making similar formatted TV series which had been successful in previous years. (Gitlin, 2000:22; Eastman and Ferguson; 2009:146, Christopherson, 2008)” If an experimental attempt reaches to success it is commonly expected to see similar formatted TV series on the next years. The director / co-producer gave information which was a rumor he heard, which come true in the 2012 television broadcasting season. He said:

“You know, Ezel has reached a huge success. It was a different work, an unconventional one, but it worked. Now, I heard that two projects are ordered for the next season like ‘bring me a TV series like Ezel!’ ‘A TV series like Ezel’ is a quotation you can hear frequently in the industry nowadays.” (DR/CPR)¹⁶

A short glance at the last 10 years of the TV series in Turkey it can be understood that making similar formatted TV series is a rule within the industry. After the success of “Asmalı Konak”, the so called “Agha” series, after “Çocuklar Duymasın”, family sit-coms, after “Deli Yürek” the so called “mafia” series, after

¹⁶ Ezel’i biliyorsun, tuttu bu dizi. Farklı bir işti, alışılmadık bir iş, ama işledi. Şimdi mesela ben çok duyuyorum, şey diye, “bana Ezel gibi bir dizi yap getir.” “Ezel gibi dizi” bunu çok duyarsın bu aralar.

“Yaprak Dökümü”, some literature adaptations got popular. However, such choices doesn't still guarantee a success; the graveyard of the Turkish television series is full of TV series that used this above explained criteria in decision-making.

Another method shaping the decision-making is the “genres” of a TV series. The director / co-producer said *“Comedy dude! Comedy is the easiest way to get the audience in Turkey. Therefore I decided to make comedy. However not every comedy gets successful. The sense of humor it includes should be basic, understandable by everyone.”*¹⁷

Another frequently seen genre in the Turkish TV series, which didn't lose its popularity, is the family-centered dramas. Clashing relations and interests between family members and their secrets is the center point of the story. Also, since the location of the story is commonly a stable place, generally a big house, it also reduces production costs. TV series like Baba Evi, Asmalı Konak, Sıla, Beyaz Gelincik, Yaprak Dökümü, Aşk-ı Memnu, Fatmagül'ün Suçu Ne?, Hanım'ın Çiftliği, Öyle Bir Geçer Zaman Ki are the well-known examples that are also the most successful TV series on their broadcasting period in this genre.

Additionally, not only finding the popular genres is the way to success, but also discovering the dead genre is mentioned as one of the golden rules of TV programming to prevent a possible failure. (Gitlin 2000:23, Eastman and Ferguson, 2009:8) For example the producer in this study said *“before people had liked the Agha series. You know. Every channel had one. However there isn't too much anymore.”*¹⁸ As she said, if this year's broadcasting period is analyzed there is only one TV Series that belongs to this genre, the Hayat Devam Ediyor. However, remembering one of the indicated methods, it can be expected for the next season similar series to come, because of the success of Hayat Devam Ediyor this season.

Another important method used for success is the use of sensational figures in the TV series. Commonly the names of the actors / actresses like Kenan

¹⁷ Komedi abi! Komedi. Türkiye'de izleyiciyi komediyle yakalarsın. Ben bu yüzden komediye karar verdim. Tabi bütün komediler de başarılı olacak diye bir şey yok. Espri anlayışı basit olacak, herkes tarafından anlaşılacak.

¹⁸ Önceden ağal dizileri seviyorlardı. Biliyorsun. Bütün kanalda vardı bir tane. Ama şu anda yok mesela.

İmirzalıođlu, Kıvanç Tatlıtuđ, Beren Saat, Nugül Yeřilçay, Haluk Bilginer those names used for promoting the TV series. However it may also be sometimes directors or scriptwriters. For example, although there are lots of directors, only Osman Sınay, Çađan Irmak and Mahsun Kırmızıgöl's names are spoken for promotion of the TV series with the expectation of their previous successes got in TV or cinema. Moreover, scriptwriters like Gülse Bırsel and Ece Göneneç-Melek Gençođlu are those who are used for promotion.

As it is said before, although there are generally spoken ways for reaching success in TV series, there is no certainty that these ways always work. When this uncertainty combines with the rapidly changing taste and desire of audience results to a flux of possibilities in the mind of TV channels and producers, as a result, in the television series industry, managing the risky outcomes becomes the main motivation of the decision-makers.

3.2) Flexible Organization of The Production Process

Having explained the uncertain and risky environment of the TV series' production process, a need for risk-reducing strategies are said to be inevitable. The flexible production systems explained in the previous chapter receives primary importance in this sense. Piore and Sabel (1984) indicate the inevitability of flexibly designed production systems in industries where the demand is uncertain. This is comes from the necessity to change the production organization rapidly and with minimum loss if the product that is put in the market doesn't receive the required demand. As a result as it is talked here about an industry where a producer says simply "we don't know what Turkish people like" or another producer says "people watch something but we don't know what it is" the capital side doesn't want to lose by making huge investments. Therefore a production system that needs to be easily changed and protect the investor from long run loses becomes inevitable. The answer is found in flexibility as it was said.

In the practical sense, the channel, to minimize the risk of a possible failure of a TV series, passes the uncertainty and risk to the producer. More clearly, the channel if it isn't an in-house production as it generally is, doesn't invest any money for the development stage of an upcoming TV series. The investment on script-developing and the production of so called "pilot episodes" is generally done by the producer. In the interview made with the producer, it is asked about the "pre-financing" of a TV series and the following answer is given:

*"What pre-financing? There is nothing like pre-financing. The TV channel doesn't give you any pennies. What you have to do as a producer is to finance the scriptwriting and the first episodes from your own budget. After the TV series runs on TV well, you get the payments of the first episodes."*¹⁹ (PR)

A similar answer is given by another producer in another study made in Turkey. Mehmet Altıoklar says:

There is a customer (TV channel) profile which doesn't want to risk its 250.000-300.000 TL in the preparation stage of a TV series as R&D (research and development); and there is only 4-5 of them. In such an environment nobody wants such big investments for the production substructure. (Özkan, 2010:69)

The producer addresses the most common way for an out-house TV series production. She says:

*Generally you are the one as a producer who offer a project to the channel. It is very rare that a TV channel calls you and asks for a project to make and gives you money. But as I said, it is very rare. (PR)*²⁰

In this type of so called "flexible accumulation" strategy, big corporations try to reduce production costs and acquire flexibility to thrive in economic uncertainty by organizing themselves for rapidly rearrangements concerning skill and technology. (Starkey and Barnatt, 1997: 271) To change and rearrange themselves they commonly situate their structure "in networks of malleable external linkages" and

¹⁹ Ne ön finansmanı? Ön finansman diye bir şey yok. TV kanalı sana kuruş vermez. Yapımcı olarak yapman gereken senaryoyu ve ilk bölümleri kendi cebinden finans etmektir. Dizi tutarsa, ilk bölümlerin parasını alırsın.

²⁰ Genelde şöyle olur, yapımcı olarak kanala bir projem var diye teklif götürürsün. Çok nadir; kanal seni arar projen yok mu diye sorar, sana para verir. Ama dediğim gibi çok nadir.

they “externalize product processes by buying in services and products that might be otherwise supplied internally.” (A.J. Scott, 1988: 9) In other words, the industry is structured around vertically disintegrated many firms specialized in a specific domain, which at the end makes the industry wholly flexible in terms of its capacity to change according to conditions. (Christopher and Storper, 1989:331, Piore and Sabel, 1984)

In this context, in Turkey the TV series’ production process there is a dominance of out-house productions. 32 out of 34 TV series broadcasted in 5 big private TV channels (KANAL D, ATV, SHOW TV, STAR TV and FOX) are out-house productions. The two TV series, *Öyle Bir Geçer Zaman Ki* and *Yalan Dünya*, which are in-house productions of Kanal D (D Production), are exception for the general rule. When these exceptions are asked to the producer she said “*they are in-house but they work just like an out-house production company.*” The same answer is also given by the director talked for this thesis. A further elaboration of this exception shows actually the story behind it. D Productions is founded in 1992 as an independent production company named as ANS International. In 1998 it merged with Doğan Media Group (the broadcast networking system owning Kanal D) and finally took the name “D production, advertisement and distribution company.” This in-house production isn’t identical with those of STV and KANAL 7’s – that are channels known with their in-house productions; in terms of having merged with an independent production company rather than forming an in-house production department. In STV and KANAL 7 the television series are produced by an in-house production group. Those who work in these television series are the workers of the TV channels’ drama department even the producer. In other words, producer doesn’t work as an independent investor as it is seen commonly in the sector rather than a coordinator of the channels’ investment. Also, differently from D Productions, which may hire other specialized firms as sub-contractors, in STV and KANAL 7 the workers aren’t hired as contracted workers, rather than they are members of the channels’ drama departments. As a result, this contrasted position of these two channels need an exceptional analysis, while D productions can still be handled as a form of flexibly specialized production entity.

Having mentioned the exceptional forms in the TV series production it can be returned to the general type of production that is commonly experienced. As the producer says, generally who appeal with a project to a TV channel's drama department is the production firm. At this stage, the drama department makes a decision. The project may be rejected, sent to revision or accepted. If it is accepted at the first time or after its revisions, the budget per episode and the length of a TV series is taken into consideration. The director, who is also the co-producer of its project, explains this stage as following:

"I agreed with Kanal D. Actually they didn't give too much money as TRT, since it is a big TV channel. However, it is more acceptable, as you will be more popular there. The real bomb comes here! They agreed on 45 minutes. They asked about a budget for this length. We said OK! We prepared a budget for 45 minutes. Then, they gave us the contract for signing. 65 minutes, was written on it. We said that we agreed on 45 minutes, we had done all of our preparation for 45 minutes. 'If you like it' they said, 'this is our offer.' Compulsory, we said OK, and accepted it!" (DR/CPR)²¹

The words of the director that explains the negotiation process between the producer and drama department shows actually the main motivation of both sides. While the TV channel, since its main source comes from its reduction of costs and advertising revenues, tries to extend the time of the TV series for a lower cost, on the other side, the producer tries to make a shorter TV series since the additional time will cause him/her more production costs. In this negotiation, however it can be understood also that the parts aren't equally strong. The TV series that wanted to be produced was the director/co-producer's first job for a private television. Before he had one TV series shot for TRT. As he said, to become more famous he had to accept the offer given by a more popular TV channel, although the offered price per episode was lower than offered by TRT. However, there might also challenging producers with challenging projects for the TV channel, although they still battle on the field established by the TV channels. However in such cases where the TV series becomes successful a renewal in the contract has to be made or in cases when popular TV

²¹ Kanal D'yle anlaştık. TRT kadar büyük para ödemiyorlar büyük kanal oldukları için ama bilinirlik artıyor haliyle. Bir de asıl bomba 45 dakkeye okey dediler. Ona göre bütçe istediler. Tamam dedik. 45 dakkeye uygun bütçe verdik. Sonra sözleşme bir geldi 65 dakika. Ulan 45 dedik. Ona göre yaptık anlaşmaları. İşinize gelirse dediler. biz de gelir abi her türlü deyip kabul ettik

series are transferred in the new or mid-season, both sides could be seen as closely strong. Nevertheless, as there is an excess-supply of TV series a TV channel has still the opportunity to regulate at the end the final negotiation.

To explain “the contract” more clearly, an in-depth analysis is required. The producer talked for this thesis says for the profit rates of a producer, that “*it is at most 20% of production costs. Commonly it falls below it.*”²² She continues:

“While you offer a price for your project to the TV channel you approximately add 20% of the production cost as producer’s share. However you might use this share also as production expenditure. As I said, the producer gets maximum 20%, not more.” (PR)²³

An interview made with Osman Yağmurdereli, who was a famous TV series producer in Turkey speaks about a standard ethics among producers:

“As, we are developed with TRT’s values, we generally add a margin of profit between %15-%20. However, there are some producers who can produce for much lower prices they get from the channel.” (Sabah, 2007 cited by medyafaresi)²⁴

A comparison between these two arguments reveals that the standards among the producers haven’t changed too much in 5 years. However, Yağmurdereli’s arguments stating the existence of some other producers also underline the main motivation behind the producer. As the producer’s main source for maximizing its revenue lies on the surplus got from the production costs²⁵, efforts towards “minimizing the production costs” (or reaching it exactly as it is stated in the contract, that is the 15%-20% profit rate)” reveals itself as the primary producer strategy. As a result, this strategy of reducing production costs and the need for

²² En fazla yapım maliyetinin %20’sidir yapımcınının karı. Genelde daha aşağılardadır.

²³ Bir kanala teklif götürürken %20 kendi payını eklersin yapımcı olarak. Ama ne oluyor. O parayı da yapım maliyeti olarak haralayabiliyorsun. Dediğim gibi en fazla yüzde 20’dir fazlası değil.

²⁴ “TRT terbiyesinden geçtiğimiz için biz yüzde 15-20 kar marjı koyarız. Ama teklif ettiklerinin çok altında fiyatlara iş yapan yapımçılar da var.”
<http://www.medyafaresi.com/haber/7758/televizyon-iyi-reyting-getiren-bir-dizinin-maliyeti-ne-kadar-iste-sasirtici-rakamlar.html>

²⁵ Remember Marx; *The gain of these middlemen comes entirely from the difference between the labor-price which the capitalist pays, and the part of that price which they actually allow to reach the laborer.* (Marx, 1967: 385)

creating a striking, high rated TV series –which actually needs somehow more production expenditure, creates the major dilemma that the producers has to face with. Therefore to solve this dilemma an additional strategy is required by them. The director/co-producer explains it:

“The producer sells its project as a package to the channel by adding its margin of profit. However, to make it a highly rated TV series the producer sometimes have to spend more money, even more than the package cost got from the channel including your profits. However, after the series gets success and it is decided for its continuation than the producer can lower his/her costs and starts to earn money.” (DR/CPR)²⁶

To make it more concrete, the scriptwriter-1 told a story that she witnessed in her previous project:

“When we were writing the script with my teammates we received a phone-call from our producer once. He told us not to write restaurant scenes on the following weeks because the production costs started to expand.” (SCW-1)²⁷

As the director/co-producer says, the first episodes of a TV series are seen as one of the most important periods in series production, since they are the ones determining the future of it. A famous producer, Faruk Turgut says that the first 4-6 episodes are those ones that show whether a series will get successful or not. (Finans Cafe, 2011) If the so called, “audience-catching episodes” (ISM MMO, 2010:4) catch the audience and the ratings reach to a desired rate, the producers tend to change their strategy. However, again Faruk Turgut, argues that a producer can’t earn money even after the “audience-catching episodes”. He says:

“As I make series whose costs are relatively more than others, my TV series justify their costs in its first 13 episode. After 13th episode you start to earn money. Actually with the second season the margin of

²⁶ Yapımcı işi kar payını ekleyip paket olarak satar. İlk bölümlerde iş tutsun diye paketin üzerinde bile para harcayabilir, kendi karını da harcar. İş tutar, devam kararı gelir işi rayına sokup para kazanır.

²⁷ Senarist: Bir keresinde bir senaryo yazarken yapımcıdan bir telefon aldık. Önümüzdeki haftalar için restaurant sahnesi yazmayın maliyet fazla şişti dedi. (30.01.2012, İstanbul)

profit of a producer starts to increase really. In the first season, they can't get too much.” (Faruk Turgut, Finans Café, 08.09.2011)²⁸

As Faruk Turgut says, there is a generally spoken limit in the industry, 13 episodes, but this limit seems to be a theoretical one. In practice this limit looks to be narrowed down by the TV channels. As it is told by Faruk Turgut, the producer similarly argues it:

“A TV channel doesn't give you a guarantee of 13 episodes. In first 3-4 episodes your TV series shows whether it will survive or not, than the channel decides what to do.”²⁹ (PR)

Similarly, the director/co-producer puts it:

“The contract was made according to 39 episodes. However, if you make a TV series for a big channel they have always the chance to end the TV series whenever they want. The channel has the right to cancel the project unilaterally, so this is an ineffective article in a contract.” (Director / Co-Producer)³⁰

The right to cancel a project one-sidedly comes actually from another standard article in which the producer gives the TV channel the guarantee of 7 ratings³¹. (ISMMMO, 2010) If the TV series isn't able to reach this limit, as mentioned above, the channel has the right to cancel. Moreover, according to this article the channel gives money to the producer in every plus one rating. (DR/CPR& Sabah, 2007 cited by medyafaresi)³² However this extra payment has also an upper-limit of 15 ratings. In other words, after the ratings of a TV series excess 15 ratings the producer doesn't get additional payments.

²⁸ Finans Cafe is a TV Programm in CNBC-E. The mentioned interviewed can be reached from the following link: <http://tvarsivi.com/faruk-turgut-ile-dizi-sektoru-hakinda-konusuluyor-08-09-2011-izle-i-2011090148305.html>

²⁹ Televizyon kanalı sana 13 bölüm garantisi vermez. İlk 3-4 bölüm dizinin tutup tutmayacağını gösterir, sonra kanal karar verir her şeye.

³⁰ The director/co-producer mentions here some exceptional cases in which the producer sells its TV series as 26-episode packages.

³¹ The number front of rating shows how much percent people watch a specific TV program among all the people that have rating devices connected to their Televisions.

³² <http://www.medyafaresi.com/haber/7758/televizyon-iyi-reyting-getiren-bir-dizinin-maliyeti-ne-kadar-iste-sasirtici-rakamlar.html>

To make a short summary so far, the basis of the contract between the TV channel and producer has three main characteristics: 1) the producer is paid per episode by the TV channel which is decided according to production costs plus approximately 20% of the costs as the margin of profit of the producer. However the producer gets the money after finishing the first episodes, which makes the producer to pre-finance them from its own budget. 2) All TV series which are running on prime-time have to be minimum 90 minutes. Moreover, the duration of those are running off prime-time are determined by the TV channel at the final extend, and there is a tendency to lengthen its duration to be able to place more advertisement during its broadcasting. 3) Although the contracts have articles that specify the planned amount of the episodes, if the TV series doesn't get the desired rating, the TV channel has the right to cancel the show.

To conclude, it can be argued that in the mutual relationship of TV channels and producers the primary "winner" is obviously the former one not only in terms of its regulatory and determining power over the process, but also in terms of its economic gains. As it is mentioned, since the industry is forming an uncertain and risky environment, there can be short-run loses for the actors involved in it. However, while there is always a possibility to lose before investing a TV series, the flexibly specialized structure of the TV channels give them the possibility to pass the major risk to other actors involved in the production process. In this sense it seems that the risk is passed by the TV channel to the producer, in first instance. The producer says:

"You start a project. It broadcasts. If it is successful there is no problem. If it is discontinued after the third episode, then the producer gets the major harm. There is no system protecting the rights of the producers in this sense. The risk is taken by the producer shortly."(PR) ³³

As it is stated in the taken quotation above, there is a general agreement among producers that they are in the most risky state in the industry. (Özkan, 2010; ISMMMO, 2008; ISMMMO, 2010; Sönmez, 2010) However, while this is partly true, a similar strategy is also used by the producers. While the TV channels pass

³³ Bir projeye başlarsın. Yayınlanır. Tutarsa problem yok. Ama üçüncü bölümden sonra kaldırılırsa, yapımcı en büyük zararı görür. Bu anlamda yapımcıların hakkını koruyan bir sistemimiz yok. Kısacası, risk yapımcıda.

the uncertainty and risk to the producer by sub-contracting, the producer also uses a similar strategy, by hiring the scriptwriters, actors, actresses, other artistic and technical workers, and also the equipments. This means that, the producer just like the TV channel as a sort of investor, finds small firms or freelance workers specialized in a specific domain in order to make the project done. To reduce the risks taken from the hands of the channel, the producers establish very flexible and weak ties with the workers to change or totally break them off in specific conditions easily. A producer whose investments doesn't get the desired economic success, obviously loses money, however this flexibly established production structure prevents him/her from more major loses, since the contracts he/she made with the specialized firms or freelance workers doesn't bring long-run legal obligations. More specifically, if a project whose producer who signed a contract for 39 episodes with the TV channel, discontinues after its third episode, would have invested not for 39, rather than only for 3 episodes plus the project's preparation costs. In other words, as the small firms and workers are paid per episode the producer has legal obligations to them as long as the project continues. As a result, this subcontracted working, while providing the producer the chance to terminate the project and workers' jobs without extra costs, puts actually the labor process into an uncertain and insecure condition.

The labor process is the main bearer of the uncertain and risky conditions the industry provides, however it isn't also formed by uniformed positions and working relations, that is, it doesn't imply a totality. One of the most important outcomes in this flexibly specialized environment is the fragmentation of the labor process. In this case, the uncertainty and risk passed by the capital to the labor process isn't equally divided into the laborers. On the contrary, the fragmented and specialized organization of the labor process results into different positions in the labor process.³⁴ This fact seen in the Turkish TV series' production might be seen as a result of general structural conditions forming the working patterns in the specific historical period of capitalism. David Harvey, underlining the conditions in which "the laborers are pushed into flexible work regimes and labor contracts, structures labor process relations around two main groups: the core and the periphery. This

³⁴ To see the similarities in this case with the sectors in other countries look at; Christopherson and Storper (1989), Blair et al. (1999)

general condition forming the flexible patterns of work, gives the core workers the chance of “*enjoying greater job security, good promotion and re-skilling prospects, and relatively generous pension, insurance, and other fringe benefit rights, this group is nevertheless expected to be adaptable, flexible, and if necessary geographically mobile.*” The peripheral workers, has two groups, while “*first of it consists of 'full-time employees with skills that are readily available in the labor market, such as clerical, secretarial, routine and lesser skilled manual work.'* With less access to career opportunities, this group tends to be characterized by high labor turnover '*which makes work force reductions relatively easy by natural wastage.*' The second peripheral group , provides even greater numerical flexibility and includes part-timers, casuals, fixed term contract staff, temporaries, sub-contractors and public subsidy trainees, with even less job security than the first peripheral group.' (Harvey, 1989:150) While this is a generalization, it shows two important points that might be applied to different industries. First is the highly fragmented state of the labor process and second one is the fact that the workers' situation of getting faced with more uncertain and insecure conditions by moving from core to the peripheral areas. (see also, Candeias, 2009: 2) However the schematic fragmentation may differ in every industry and may have its own dynamics. In this context, to specify it more clearly the further investigation in this thesis is going to look at the specific structuring of the Turkish TV series' labor process and try to show its similarities with the literature of different countries on the same industry around the conceptualizations “project-based networking and career”.

CHAPTER 3

4. PRECARIOUS EMPLOYMENT IN THE TURKISH TELEVISION SERIES PRODUCTION

In the previous chapter, the general structure, working conditions and relations are explained in detail. The outcome of the analysis marked two important points. Firstly what characterizes and grounds the functioning of the Turkish Private Television Series is stated as the dominance of rating and the programming strategies formed in order to provide rating getting TV Series. Secondly, since rating is specified as having an uncertain and rapidly changing structure it is stated that it requires an appropriate formation of relations between the main actors; that are the TV Channel and Producer, based on flexibility. This story actually explains the main motivation behind the reasoning of the producer and television channel. In this sense, the capital side of the production process, the risks and uncertainties that are considered as the result of the rating's uncertain environment to prevent long-run losses designs the labor side of the production as having flexible and loose connections so that it might easily be terminated or changed according to the rapid changes in demand. In this context, this chapter firstly deals with how these relations between the laborers are formed and argues that as a result of this formation the employment becomes "precarious" in this industry. Secondly, it also argues that as a result of the hierarchical relations in the networking and functioning processes of the labor process the precarious employment isn't equally lived and expressed by the workers. To specify this more clearly the precarious employment is categorized in four main headlines that are analyzed separately to show the precarious conditions are generally lived by the technical labor force of the labor process.

4.1) The Methodology for the Collection of the Data

As it was said previously the objective capital and labor antagonism that is the structural base of the capitalist mode of production lies at the core of the method applied. In this context, the capital side of the TV series production is stated as the TV Channels and the producers who invest on the production of a TV series and buys a potential labor force which is through specified processes turned into a labor from them the surplus value is extracted. This is what the reality of the exploitative relationship in this production process is. However, in the social context, the sides of the antagonism enter into different relations that causes to some certain mechanisms these relations are lived in, and also some expressions of different subjects living this relations. However, this expressed structure is not something pre-given and ahistorical that is and will be always there. On the contrary the structure has to be re-structured through the mechanisms and everyday relations. This means that, these mechanisms and the expressions within this structural antagonism show how the mode of production functions and more importantly how it is reproduced actually. In this sense, the main aim is to derive from the observations, interviews and the collected data map and understand how this reproduction is done.

In practice this theoretically explained methodology is realized by the data collected through participant observations in TV Series shooting sets and interviews conducted with 23 people that take part in different segments in the production process of a TV series. The following sub-parts explain separately how the observations are done and how the interviews are conducted in detail.

The data forming the participant observation are collected from three different private TV Series' shooting sets that are done by different production companies to different TV Channels. One of the TV Series was shot in Ankara while the two other were located in Istanbul. However the one located in Ankara were done by a production company that is stated in Istanbul as the others are. The

permission to enter for observation of a shooting set was given by the producers of the TV Series, who are reached by some personal connections of the creative workers in the industry. This underlines the difficulty to enter a TV series without having the permission of a producer who is only reachable by an intermediary person. In this permission period, one of TV series refused the offer of entering as a participant observation with the reason that the script of the TV series has been considered as secret, that prevents outsiders from being a guest to this particular shooting set.

One day before the shooting set that was planned to be observed, the production coordinator, or the executive producer of the project was contacted, and the detailed information of shooting time and location was learned. The observations were done in a place “behind the scenes” that is showed by a production assistant around the workers of the project and where the scene that is shot could be observed easily. During the scenes that were shot in an outside location all of the set workers, that are both the technical and creative ones, were observed in detail. The notes of the spontaneous happenings and expressions were written down, which were categorized after the observation systematically according to when, where and in which case it happened, and the expressions were categorized according to the cases and expressers.

Since the figurants were the ones who were waiting their line to come, during the observations they were the most suitable ones to talk. One of the in-depth interviews with a figurant was conducted in a shooting set. As well as there had been the possibility to conduct interviews with the tea-maker and a production assistant. Besides these in-depth interviews³⁵ that were done in a quiet place of a set without any other listeners, short-talks, short questions and answers were the basic communications done with the workers in the set.

Furthermore, another important source for collecting data was the expressions and opinions of the people who were residents of the location or just those ones passing by. These people were also other outsiders who are able to make

³⁵ These in-depth interviews done in the shooting place were shorter than the other ones conducted outside the shooting place, because the conditions of work weren't suitable for long talks.

observations about the TV series shooting. It is also asked them how they feel about the shooting and how they interpret some cases they observe.

Having finished the participant observation part, with the help of some ideas and derived questions the process of interviewing was started. The interviewees were found again from networks according to the occupations. The first place its help had received was Sine-Sen³⁶. The categorization of the wanted interviewees was made according to their occupation. In this sense, Sine-Sen had given a name of a director of photography/lighting chef (DOP/LC) who was living in Ankara. A second source for finding interviewees was the Internet discussion forums and facebook groups. A message that explains the main points of the thesis was written to those places where the set workers come together and communicate; and an important amount of feedback had been received. The camera assistant, the scriptwriter-1, the sound technician, the director/co-producer, co-producer, the student, the editing assistant were those interviewees contacted through this medium. The third way was the personal networks of the other interviewees. It was asked after every interview whether they could help me to find other interviewees and some returned positively. The make-up artist, the director assistant, the actor, the producer were found through this path. And finally, the other way was to found interviewees from the TV series that are entered for participant observation.

Except the interviews conducted with the tea-maker, production assistant and figurant 1-2-3 were done outside the shooting set in a previously determined place and time. During the interviews there were main questions prepared previously, however the interviewees were allowed to explain what they want to say about the topic, and also according to some expressions some other questions were also asked. The previously determined questions were asked orally, where nobody was a listener. The information that the interview is recorded was given to the interviewee. The interviewee is also informed that his/her name is not going to be mentioned in the thesis. Some examples for the previously determined questions were as following:

³⁶ Sinema Emekçileri Sendikası (Union of Cinema Laborers)

- How did you enter this industry? Was this entrance your primary ideal?
- Can you explain about the job-looking period before you entered the industry?
- Can you explain about your primary job in the shooting set?
- Did you engaged with a serious accident while working or did you see someone engaged with it?
- With who are you in touch mostly during work, how is his/her behavior towards you?
- How much do you earn? Is it enough for providing a living?
- Did you receive your payments in time?
- How do you feel about the working hours? Is it long?
- What do you feel about the TV series you working it? Do you like it?
- What is your future plan in this industry? What want you to be? Do you want to continue in this industry?
- Are you a member of a union?

The questions whose examples are provided above are not asked to the interviewee at the beginning or in a row. On the contrary, during the path of the conversation if the topic had come about which a question is prepared they were asked then. By doing so, it had been tried to not let the interviewee feel himself/herself in a formal question-answer process, rather than as in an informal conversation where the interviewee could feel themselves relieved and willing to answer the questions. However, the interviewer didn't allow the discussion to go too much off-topic and tried in these cases to put the interviewee back to the topic by asking some question relevant to the discussion going on.

Having done the interviews the main arguments of the thesis become apparent. In this sense the interviews made were designed according to three main criteria: 1) Those expressions explaining the flexible organization of the industry,

more particularly those explaining how the networking relations are established and secured. 2) Those expressions indicate and explain how the precariousness is lived and formed. 3) How the workers explain themselves, how they identify the work they do and what they feel about the work they are doing. These main categorizations were developed together with a theoretical framework that was developed in Chapter 1.

4.2) Finding and organizing the labor force: Project Based Networking

Flexibility gives the capital the possibility of “*interminable restructuring and rescaling and in so doing condition capital’s own techniques and regimes of control*” (Neilson and Rossitter, 2005:1) Networking, which means “*an organizational form of co-coordinating activities and relations among legally autonomous but functionally interdependent firms and individuals*” (Sydow and Starber, 2002: 216) is the so called strategy how the labor process is formed and organized in the media industries according to the studies made in different countries. In the film industry of United States structured around subcontracting of work is “*organized around projects and informal personal networks, rather than traditional hierarchies and in-house resource departments.*” In this industry, the careers of workers “*aren’t moving within a firm rather than across firms.*” The individual free-agent “*by being alone or being a member of a production team*” enters into projects with different sub-contractors with the help of its established personal networks. For gaining future work and being successful in this inter-firm environment, “*the worker requires informal communication networks*” (Jones, 1996)

According to, Blair et. al, Informal networking is also the dominant form in UK’s project based film industry, which is done around small companies and freelance workers’ relations. (Blair et. al, 2001) They specifically explain the informal networking as an “institution” in which you don’t enter by standard ways such as interview or examination, rather than only by invitation of someone

belonging it already. In this sense, the personal bounds of someone become the basis of working in which “trust and rely on people” is the key feature.

Windeler and Sydöw by marking the project networking as the dominant form in the German television industry describe it *“as a form of coordinating activities among relatively independent firms (including artists and artisans) for executing a temporary task, whereby the network firms coordinate their project activities by referring to established sets of relations and practices beyond the ongoing project”* (2001:19) As projects and temporary tasks are “created and re-created” (Jones, 2001) new networks are continuously materialized in long-term. (Manning and Sydöw, 2007:21) The scheme taken from Windeler and Sydöw (2001), shows the process very clearly:

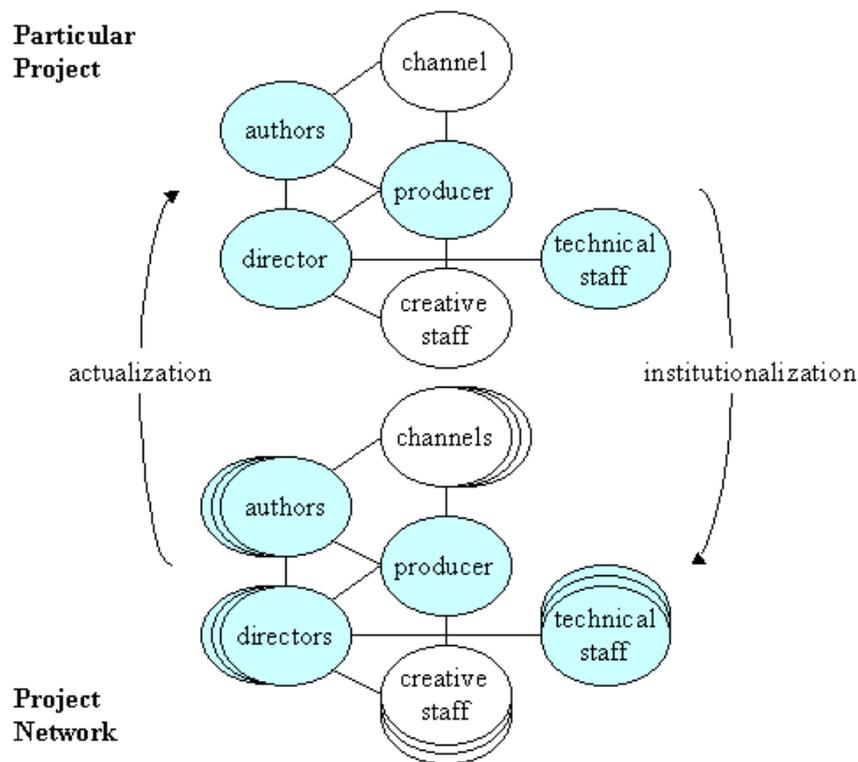


Figure-2: Project-Based Networking
 Source: Windeler and Sydöw (2001)

To remember, in the previous part, the channel/producer relationship is explained in detail. Therefore, in the next step the authors, or in more technical terms, the scriptwriters, are taken into consideration to make a further elaboration.

First of all, a general occupational analysis among the scriptwriters shows that there is no need for a specific education to be a scriptwriter. Although especially scriptwriting groups have members having license degrees from Radio-Television-Cinema and Dramatic Writing, there are also scriptwriters from different departments such as Anthropology, Linguistics, Public Administration, Advertisement, and Economy etc. However, a license degree seems to be a common indicator. As the entrance to the scriptwriting doesn't have any formal way such as examination or standard job interviews; establishing informal connections to make a producer to read a script or script idea becomes the primary problem to enter this occupation.

The scriptwriters' involvement into the project starts obviously before the project shooting. Actually the role of the scriptwriter generally starts even before the producer and channel. The producer talked for this thesis explains the general way:

“In most cases, ideas of some scriptwriters are sent to us. They are mostly in the form of treatment³⁷. Then we start to evaluate it. What is the basis of the evaluation? Actually we look if it affects all of us equally. Sometimes we like the idea but the form of it isn't as good as we want, and then it is sent for revision. Or we like it completely, we decide there is no need for revision, then we prepare the project for presentation to the channel.” (PR)³⁸

This is the form of a treatment's or script's evaluation in the producer's side basically. To find more information about it, the scriptwriters' ideas, expressions and stories become obviously important. As it can be understood from the words of the producer someone who has a script, treatment or an idea which he/she want it to be shot, needs to find a producer to present it to the channel, since the channels only take projects from production companies. In this sense as it is frequently mentioned, “finding a producer” is the primary aim of the scriptwriter. To show the main ideas behind this problem some writings taken from Internet discussion forums are interesting:

“Do you want to write and be paid per episode? Then you should find a producer, however they don't give you a meeting date, they say simply 'sent it us by cargo, let us look, and then we call you later' (I guarantee this), because, believe me there is at least 50 scripts waiting front of a producer for evaluation, which are written by much better and professional scriptwriters than you. They don't read it in detail.

³⁷ A written summary of the storyline which is approximately 30-60 pages.

³⁸ Here the word “we” means the producer and his/her advisors working in the production company.

They send it to a drama editor or to someone who is in charge of this in the company, and he/she takes a slant at it. It is a very hard business; I want you to know it.” (filmfabrikasi)³⁹

“The one who wrote that the marketing is the most important issue is right. Yes; it has to be a very good script, but marketing of it isn't so easy. It isn't impossible but not easy too. Most particularly, if you are a no-name scriptwriter or if you don't have a friend at court, it is almost impossible. However, don't give up hope. (emrevardar, senaryo.com, 2012)⁴⁰

This common problem of “how to find a producer to read your script?” is also asked to a scriptwriter who belongs already to the network of TV series production. Similar points are marked by her:

“At the beginning, to enter the sector, there are a lot of people trying this, isn't easy. You go door to door with your projects. You go to producers. They don't read them, generally. If they don't know you, they don't give a hoot. You start as a trainee, they don't pay you. They don't pay it simply. I also walked all these steps. I remember very well that I slept on BKM's⁴¹ doorsteps. Reaching its producer was more difficult than passing the Sirat Bridge⁴². You have to struggle 5-6 years to obtain a footing.” (SCW-1)⁴³

³⁹ “bölümleri yazıp bölüm başına mı para alacaksın....o zaman bir yapımcıya gideceksin, ama randevu vermezler, kargoyla gönder, bakalım, biz size döneriz derler (bunu garanti ederim)..çünkü tv'ye iş yapan sağlam bir yapımcının ofisinde inan bana senin kulvarından çok daha üstte, profesyonel senaristlerin yazmış olduğu en az 50 tane senaryo beklemektedir...hiç birini doğru düzgün okumazlar....Bir drama editörüne gönderirler ya da şirkette o işe bakan biri bakar senaryona , o da şöyle bir göz ucuyla bakar.....Yani işin çok zor...Bunu bilmeni istedim... “

⁴⁰ Pazarlamak sorun diyen arkadaş haklı ne yazık ki. Evet çok iyi bir senaryo olacak ortada bu şart ama onu pazarlamak hiç kolay değil... İmkansızda değil ama inan bana kolay da değil. Hele hele isimsiz bir senaristsen, tanıdık falan da yoka, işte o zaman hiç mi hiç kolay değil. Yinede ümit kesmeden devam..

⁴¹ Beşiktaş Kültür Merkezi (Besiktas Cultural Center)

⁴² A very thin bridge in Islamic belief stated over the Hell on which everybody after died should pass to get to Heaven.

⁴³ Başlangıçta, sektöre girmek için, çok fazla insan uğraştığından kolay değildir. Elinde projelerle kapı kapı dolaşırsın. Yapımcılara gidersin. Okumazlar, genelde. Seni tanımıyorlarsa umursamazlar bile. Stajyer olarak başlarsın, para vermezler. Bir şekilde vermezler. Ben de bütün bu aşamalardan geçtim. Ben mesela şeyi çok iyi hatırlarım, BKM'nin kapısında sabahladığımı. Çünkü yapımcısına erişmek Sirat Köprüsü'nü geçmekten daha zordu. Yani bir yerlere gelebilmek için 5-6 yıl falan uğraşman gerekiyor. (30.01.2012, İstanbul)

As the entrance to the network seems very difficult as shown above the new candidates developed a commonly deserved strategy. The scriptwriter-2 explains it as follows:

“It would be great if they would reach a producer and let him/her to read the project. It would be very good. However, it is difficult. Therefore they have to get entrance to the scriptwriting teams.” (SCW-2)⁴⁴

The same strategy is also mentioned by the scriptwriter-1:

“Most of them (candidates) want to enter the teams. There are some important scriptwriters having scriptwriting teams, they want to enter them. However they work also in these groups in 4-5 projects without earning money.” (SCW-1)⁴⁵

Similarly on the discussion forums in the internet the same strategy is given as advice to those who want to enter the sector:

“If you want to get in, I write also for those who are in similar conditions with you: The most reliable and guarantee thing to do is to get in a scriptwriter team. If you are able to do it, after 2-3 years working in this market, you start to earn money. (Even this has no guarantee.) I don't want to say this for bothering you. Unfortunately, these are the truths.” (filmfabrikasi, 2009)⁴⁶

As it is obvious, informal networking is seen as a key to gain entrance into the sector. The network is whether a “personal connection” who can let someone to meet with producers more easily or most generally to get entrance as a team member to the already established networking systems.

It is also a fact that the TV series aren't only written by scriptwriting teams. There are also TV Series written individually or by two people, however who

⁴⁴ Keşke yapımcılara erişebilseler ve projelerini okutabilseler. Çok iyi olurdu. Ama ne yazık ki çok zor. Bu yüzden işte senaryo ekiplerine girmeleri gerekiyor.

⁴⁵ Çoğu (aday) senaryo ekiplerine dahil olmak ister. Çok iyi senaristlerin senaryo ekipleri vardır onlara girmek isterler. Ama bu ekiplerde de 4-5 proje para almadan çalışırlar.

⁴⁶ Bu işte kapı aralamak istiyorsan...ve senin gibi bu işte olmak isteyen arkadaşlar için : Yapacağınız en sağlam ve garantili şey, bir senaryo gurubuna kapak atabilmektir....bunu yapabilirsiniz 2-3 yıl çalışıp sonra bu piyasada yer alıp para kazanmaya başlarsınız(bunun bile garantisi yok)....gerisi hikayedir...bunları canını sıkmak için söylemiyorum...maalesef gerçekler bunlar.... (21.10.2009) <http://www.filmfabrikasi.com/forum/viewtopic.php?f=3&t=5866&start=15>

succeed to work without being a team member, are whether a former scriptwriting team member⁴⁷ or those having personal connections with the sector.⁴⁸ One scriptwriter if he/she hasn't any connection with the industry should start from the first steps, which is involving to a scriptwriters' network, generally to a scriptwriting team. As the networks are created, abolished and re-created⁴⁹ before and after projects, every new project means one a chance to broaden his/her network. After the project of someone gets success he/she gains the chance to work as an "individual" outside these teams. The scriptwriter 1 and 2 explains this:

"After one of your projects gets successful you become a hit and the producers start to chase you. However generally this happens not before 5-6 years." (Scripwriter-2)⁵⁰

"I can give an example. The scriptwriter of Adını Feriha Koydum, this kid, I know her and she is younger than me therefore I'm saying "kid", she struggled too much in the sector to obtain a footing. As a result, this was her project and has got high ratings; she is now one of the most wanted names in the sector." (SCW-1)⁵¹

In the case, when a scriptwriter becomes a known name and has direct connections with the producer has obviously the chance to make his/her script read by the producer. Another advantage that known scriptwriters have, although it happens rarely is to get offers from the producers. The producer and scriptwriter-1 explain this as following:

⁴⁷ Ece Yörenç and Melek Gençoğlu, are working together in 2 TV series, were members of scriptwriting teams consisting of 4-5 scriptwriters previously.

⁴⁸ Coşkun Irmak, the scriptwriter of "Öyle Bir Geçer Zaman Ki" was a theater actor, and says that his notes about this TV series are delivered to the producers by the help of his friend in the sector. (HT Magazin, 2011)

⁴⁹ The scriptwriter-1 explains this: I have friends, however they change frequently. Sometimes I work with the same team. If the project is a comedy, I come together with those who have practiced on comedy. Sometimes I get involved to another team.

⁵⁰ Scriptwriter-2, aged-43, female: Projelerinden biri başarılı olursa ünlü olursun ve yapımcılar peşinden koşmaya başlar. Ama bu genelde 5-6 yıldan önce olmaz. (30.01.2012)

⁵¹ Scriptwriter-1, aged 44, female: Sana bir örnek vereyim. Adını Feriha Koydum'u yazan çocuk, kızı tanıyorum yaş olarak da benden küçük o yüzden çocuk diyorum, bir yerlere gelebilmek için çok çabaladı. Sonuç olarak bu onun projesiydi ve yüksek reyting aldı, şimdi sektörün en fazla aranan isimlerinden. (30.01.2012, Beyoğlu, İstanbul)

“10% it happens like this: There are scriptwriters that I really trust. I call them, and ask whether he/she has a project ready.” (PR)⁵²

“After a long struggle in the industry, I become famous with a film script. I work actually with a team however sometimes the producers call me and ask whether I have a project ready or ask me to write their already established stories’ script. This is because of the success of the film.” (SCW-1)⁵³

To conclude the story of scriptwriters’ organization firstly, it might be argued that the most general rule of the industry, the rating dominance, is also valid for the scriptwriters. The stories told by the scriptwriters and the producers tell that the success in the industry is formed around a long struggle to write a rating getting script. Secondly, networking, which is the model of organization, has two main ways for the scriptwriters. One, the most frequently mentioned and preferred, is to involve scriptwriting teams to benefit their already established networks. The second, which is a rare way, is to find a personal contact which let someone more easily to reach a producer. However, it is important to say that all of the networking strategies that are mentioned take place in a highly competitive environment and give no guarantee to the participants.

After the connection between the scriptwriter and producer is established, the project is prepared for presentation. The channel’s drama department dealing firstly with the presentation has the chance to say “no”, however not the chance to say “yes”. Those projects which are agreed by the drama department need the approval of the channel’s executive board. If the project isn’t approved there because of financial or contextual reasons, has no chance to be shot. In this sense, the drama department which actually looks at the beginning an autonomous entity, has a position of consultancy. The director / co-producer explains it:

The drama department is the first step. They look to the essence of the project and decide whether it is great or not. If they say “OK!” the last approval is given by the executive board of the channel. If the

⁵² Producer, aged 52, female: Yüzde 10 da şöyle olur: Çok güvendiğim senaristler vardır. Onları ararım, hazırda projeleri var mı diye sorarım. (03.02.2012, Tarabya, İstanbul)

⁵³ Scriptwriter-1, aged 44, female: Sektörde uzunca bir mücadeleden sonra bir filmle meşhur oldum. Benim aslında bir ekibim var ama bazen beni yapımcılar arar ve bir projen var mı ya da onların hazırda bir hikayesini senaryolaştırmam için bana sorar. Bu hep film başarısı yüzünden. (30.01.2012, Beyoğlu, İstanbul)

project is good for example, however the channel may have financial difficulties the financial board gives rejection and says that the TV channel can't buy this project. (DR/CPR)⁵⁴

Even if the last decision is given by the executive board, the producer presents the project to the drama department. This presentation doesn't include the story rather than the financial and main creation concerns. As it is explained in the previous part generally the producer offers a price for the project's per episode including his/her margin of profit. Moreover, in the negotiation period the main creative workers, such as leading-supporting actors/actresses are also taken into consideration. As well as revised financial offers, the channel may give proposals about them. As a result, if the project is approved by the executive board of the channel, the contract is signed.

As it is explained in detail in the previous part of this chapter, the producer should do all of the pre-financing of the pilot episodes, which are generally the first 3-7 episodes. The co-producer explains this as following:

“The time when the producer gets his/her money depends actually who the producer is. If the producer is a new one, the channel may let him/her to wait 6 episodes. However even the strongest ones receive their first payments after 2-3 episodes. You should ask why those horrible TV series are shot while our wonderful projects are waiting on the queue. That is because there is a monopoly. The TV channel asks to a new producer whether he/she can afford the first 6-7 episodes. If the answer is no why should a TV channel work with this producer why there is one capable of doing this. Therefore they say simply, come with the money if you can afford the first 6-7 episodes.” (CPR)⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Director / Co-Producer, aged 31, male: Drama departmanı zurnanın ilk deliği işin niteliği aranan kan olup olmadığı ile ilgileniyor, son karar kanal patronu ve birebir kanalın icra kurulundan çıkar. Proje iyidir ama para durumu kanalda sakattır icra kurulu der ki bu sene Haziran'a kadar is satın alamazsın. O zaman icra kurulu adına kanal patronu işi onaylamaz. (second interview, 23.05.2012, Uskudar, İstanbul)

⁵⁵ Bu sorduğun şey tamamen yapımcıdan yapımcıya değişiyor eğer yeni yapımcıysan 6 bölüm bile bekletirler. sağlam yapımcıyı 2 - 3 bölüm gene bekletiyorlar. Burada şunu sorabilirsin mesela bizim canavar gibi işlerimiz neden rafta bekliyor diye. Çünkü tekelleşme var. yüzden gelecek adama yani yapımcılara diyorlar ki ben diğer elemanlarla sistemi oturttum 6-7 bölüm dayanabilecek ekibini çalıştıracak gücün varsa yapımcı ol. Eğer cevap hayırsa, adam neden seninle çalışsın ki bunu yapabilecek kişi dururken. O yüzden kısaca, 6-7 bölümü çıkartacak paran varsa gel diyorlar.

In this sense, what is expected from a producer is to pre-finance the first episodes, including all the scriptwriting, creative and technical workers' fees and equipment and location costs. As a result, the producer after its project gets the approval starts to organize the team with the most efficient strategy. The co-producer explains this strategy as following:

“If a producer sells his/her project to the TV channel, with the help of the contract, the all doors for credits are opened for you. If you say you have an account receivable from Star TV the money starts to be taken. The the job turns into commerce. You receive checks and direct it to someone, and the other directs it to someone else; etc. In such a condition you can't focus on art. This is commerce. This has nothing different from legumes business.”(CPR)⁵⁶

In this sense pre-financing a project requires a capital accumulation obviously. However to understand the producer side more clearly, it is asked to the producer whether capital accumulation is enough for becoming a producer and the following answer is given by her:

“According to most of the people being a producer seems very easy. I have 50.000 TL's and want to start the business. It is described like this: You get money from somewhere, let someone to write something and so on. It isn't simply this. It is to form something out of the written story. Having done it, you have to send it to Television in time. If it is once in the Television, to make it continue is what you have to do as a producer. All of these are only possible with experience and connections. Having money isn't enough.” (PR)⁵⁷

A general analysis of the personal backgrounds of the most popular producers shows also the importance of experience and networking in being a producer, as it is revealed in the final words of the producer. Timur Savcı, the owner of the Tims

⁵⁶ Co-Producer, aged 31, male: Proje kanala satılırsa, elindeki kanal sözleşmesi ile sana zaten tüm kredi kapıları açılıyor. Eğer elinde Star'dan bir alacak sözleşmesi varsa para gelmeye başlıyor. Ama iş ondan sora ticarete dönüyor sana gelecekleri sen başkasına yönlendiriyorsun falan filan. Böyle bir durumda sanatını çıkaramazsın. Öbürü tamamen ticaret. Yani bakliyat işinden farkı yok. (09.06.2012, Kadıköy, İstanbul)

⁵⁷ Producer, aged 52, female: Bazı insanlara göre yapımcı olmak çok kolay. İşte, 50.000 liram var yapımcı olacağım. Şöyle tarif ediliyor: Bir yerden para alıyorsun, birine bir şey yazdırıyorsun falan filan. Ama bu kadar basit değil. Bu yazılı bir hikâyeden bir şey çıkartmak demek. Çıkarttıktan sonra televizyona zamanında yetiştirmek demek. Televizyonda yayınlanıyor diyelim, onun devam etmesini sağlamak bir yapımcı olarak yapılması gereken şeyler. Ve bütün bunlar tecrübe ve bağlantılarının olmasıyla mümkün. Para sahibi olmak yetmiyor. (02.03.2012, Tarabya, İstanbul)

Production, has a university degree from Law, however his entrance to the sector is as a production-assistant in the advertisement industry. He explains his story:

“I hadn’t something to do with this business. However I wasn’t happy studying law either. One day I went to the shootings of an advertisement where my cousin was an art director. They were shooting a detergent advertisement in a studio. Middle of the night a crisis had taken place; there was a need for clothing dye. I said that I could find it if they would gave me a car. There was a fabric named as Edip there. I went there and begged the watchman, found the industry engineer; as a result the shooting got success. Then they asked me to work with them. [...]After a time in the crisis of the advertisement sector, I got an offer from the TV Series İkinci Bahar, I was in a difficulty, and therefore I accepted it. [...] After, I became the production coordinator of the TV series Asmalı Konak. The television market started to know me with Asmalı Konak.” (Timur Savcı, Habertürk, 09.10.2011)⁵⁸

The personal story of Timur Savcı shows both the importance of experience and establishing connections in the industry as a producer. However also it also reveals that family-bonds with the industry make also difference. Kerem Çatay, one of the biggest producers today, is a better example for this. Kerem Çatay, the owner of Ay Yapım, is the son of Ekrem Çatay who has a 25 years past in the Television industry since the foundation of the first private TV channel of Turkey. Moreover, Nedret Çatay, his mother is one of the TRT’s İstanbul Studio’s directors and producers. Faruk Turgut, the owner of the Gold Film, is another example of marking the importance of experience and networking to become a producer. He explains his story:

“My brother was working as a business man in the cinema industry. My father had some money and property, he sold them, and we got money. My brother asked me to enter this business. Then we had founded a family business and decided to shoot movies. Actually I

⁵⁸ O zaman daha bu işlerle pek alakam yoktu. Hukuk fakültesinde okumaktan da mutlu değildim. Bir gün sanat yönetmeni olan kuzenimin çekimine gittim. Platoda bir deterjan reklamı çekiyorlardı. Gecenin bir yarısı kriz çıktı. Kumaş boyası bulunması gerekiyor. “Bana araba verirsiniz hallederim” dedim. Edip İplik diye bir fabrika varmış o taraflarda. Kapısına dayanıp gece bekçisine yalvarıp tekstil mühendisini buldum ve prodüksiyon çok başarılı geçti. Sonra, “Bizimle çalışır mısın?” dediler. [...]Bir kriz dönemi sonrası reklam sektörü durunca İkinci Bahar dizisinde iş teklif ettiler. Zor bir dönemdeydim, mecburen kabul ettim. [...]Nihayetinde Asmalı Konak gibi bir işin yapım koordinatörü oldum. Televizyon piyasası beni Asmalı Konak’la tanıdı.
<http://www.haberturk.com/medya/haber/677609-askerligi-ertelemek-icin-8-universite-kazandim>

started this business in 1979 as director assistant.” (Faruk Turgut, Haberturk, 30.01.2010)⁵⁹

Other popular producers’ (such as Turker Inanoglu, Şükrü Avşar, Birol Güven) personal stories reveal a commonality of starting as assistants or different occupations in advertisement or cinema sector, establishing personal networks and finally becoming an entrepreneur. This is important for two reasons: Firstly, it shows a general path of “becoming a producer”. It requires not only money but also experience and personal connections, which turns this occupation with a very limited entrance possibility. Secondly, it helps to understand how the organization of the production process is formed. More clearly the networking strategy of a producer forms also the strategy of the organization of the production process, which at the end gives the producer the chance to pass the uncertainty and risk this job includes to the labor process by relying on informal personal connections.

To be more clear an explanation for the functioning of a producers’ networking strategy is required. Personal connections of a producer, developed through the experiences in the industry, give him/her the possibility to organize a network around. A producer before starting the shooting forms a “possible” working-team and presents it to the channel with the project. This team however isn’t a detailed one, rather than consisting of major creative workers such as director, scriptwriter and leading/supporting actors. Although the channel has obviously the chance to offer changes in the team⁶⁰, there is a tendency among producers to work with those people they are personally connected.⁶¹ To explain this more clearly the expressions of the producers might be helpful:

⁵⁹ Ağabeyim sinema sektöründe işletmeci olarak çalışıyordu, babamın da malı mülkü vardı o dönem. Onlar satıldı, para geldi. Ağabeyim de “Haydi gel bu işe girelim” dedi. Aile şirketi kurup film çekmeye karar verdik. Benim işe başlama tarihim 1979, o zaman çekilen filmlerde reji asistanı, yönetmen yardımcısı olarak görev alıyordum.
<http://ekonomi.haberturk.com/yazarlar/sukru-dudu/217073-yapimci-faruk-turgut-turkiyeden-dunya-stari-cikmaz>

⁶⁰ The DR/CPR explains this process: “You prepare the project. You get the synopsis, treatment or the script from the scriptwriters, prepare your casting and go to the producer. They read it and start to get involve to your project. Here your personal power as a producer becomes the key point, because they can offer you everything such as changing the cast, changing the locations, changing the script. After a time, you strike a happy medium.”

⁶¹ See Ursell for a similar finding

“I know the people very well with whom I work. I know even their family problems. I can discuss with them everything and most importantly they know what I want very well.” (DR/CPR)⁶²

“A very little problem in the set can cause to huge devastations. Therefore I like to work with those whom I trust, actually which may sound to you a bit egocentric, with whom I educated according to my point of view.” (PR)⁶³

The answers given on the question “with whom to work” reveals another important point mentioned also in the literature, that is the “knowledge” and “trust”⁶⁴. According to Starkey et al. (2000: 300) organizations which they call “latent” underlie a strategy of gathering people together who know and trust to each other. They call this as latent because of those personal connections “*are existing however not manifested.*” The producer and the TV channel organize individuals or individual groups who they know and trust, also those who knowing and trusting each other, which may be named as “latent” organizations. As it is said, this is a preferable way to organize since it firstly brings a sort of certainty relatively from working with someone unknown. This also reduces the transaction costs of the research for worker. Moreover, it is said to be reducing the costs since it is more possible to pay less or flexible to someone you developed personal connections. The director/co-producer explains this with an example:

“Think this as similar with the relationship with your fellow grocery. You can simply ask him/her to pay later. It’s just the same” (DR/CPR)⁶⁵

Similarly, Manning and Sydow (2007) with the help of some case studies made in the German TV Series Industry, show how trust and knowing each other forms an organization between the main actors in the production process. They give an

⁶² Ben yanında çalıştığım insanları çok iyi tanırım. Aile problemlerine kadar bilirim. Her şey hakkında konuşurum ve her şeyden önemlisi onlar benim ne istediğimi bilirler. (first interview, 10.02.2012, Uskudar, İstanbul)

⁶³ Producer, aged 52, female: Setteki en ufak bir problem çok büyük yıkımlara yol açabilir. O yüzden ben güvendiğim insanlarla çalışırım, aslında, belki biraz sana egosentrik gelecek ama, kendi bakış açımına göre yetiştirdiğim insanlarla çalışırım. (03.02.2010, Tarabya, İstanbul)

⁶⁴ See also Christopherson, Helen Blair et al.

⁶⁵ Bunu yakınındaki bakalla olan ilişkin gibi düşünebilirsin. Ona sonra ödeyeyim diyebiliyorsun. Aynı şey.

example of a famous actor who developed personal relationships both with a specific production company and Television channel, and underline this actor’s contribution to the “long-term collaboration” and “interdependence” of those two parties. (2007:29) Moreover, they also indicate that “*trust seems to be a coordinating mechanism in the ongoing creative process*” and also focus on its affect on reducing the transaction costs and specify that everybody’s preference towards “*working with their own staff.*” (2007:34) As a result, since it indicates the organization structure visually the following scheme taken from the work of Starkey et. al, may be more helpful to understand:

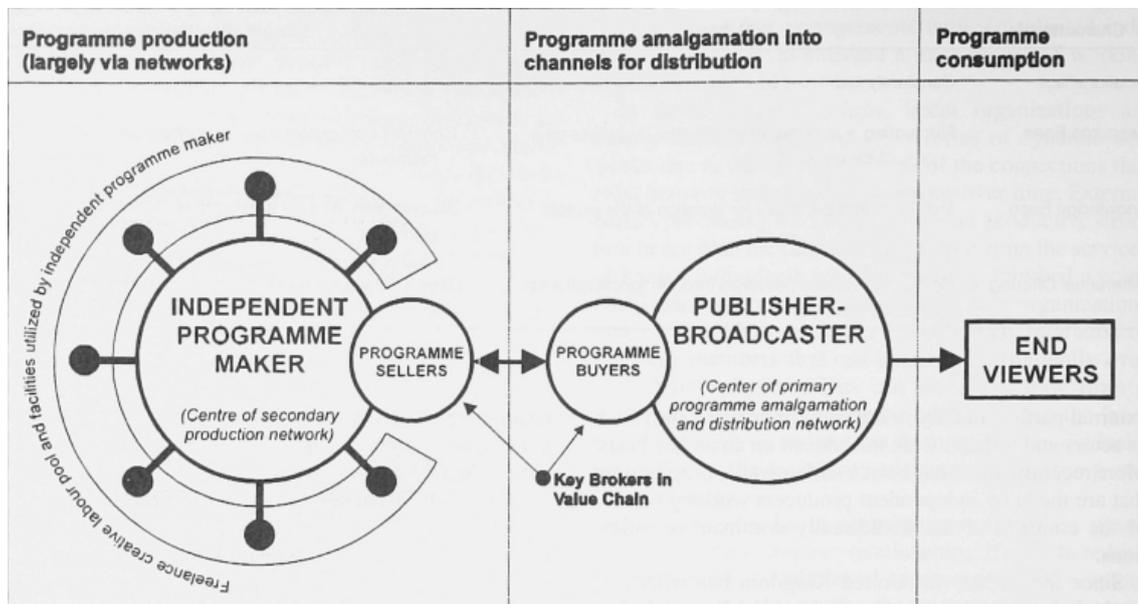


Figure-3: Latent Organization in Television Program-making
Source: Manning and Sydow (2007)

This figure above is specifically important in terms of showing the personal connections around the independent program-maker, in our sense the TV series’ producer.⁶⁶ However, not all the workers in the production process are found and organized from the producers’ network. On the contrary, it is only the “above the

⁶⁶ Such a figure can also be drawn considering the personal connections of the producers in Turkey. A general analysis of the cinema databases such as sinematurk show that the producers are working with same individual creative workers in their last projects.

line” workers who are on the center of the producers’ network. The line which divides the labor process and forms two main “hierarchical” segments is the line dividing the creative/technical or conceptual/executive workers resulting to a “core and periphery” division. (Christopherson, 2008) The periphery group of the “dual labor force” which has large numbers of workers (Ursell, 2000) is selected from the networks of the core workers. In other words, the creative workers are the ones who decide with which technical worker to work.⁶⁷ The director/co-producer explains this process as following:

“As a producer let’s say I need three regie assistants in a project. Firstly you ask this to your director: ‘Do you have your own director assistants?’ Actually they generally have. If the director hasn’t any other assistants, you ask it to the first director assistant: “Do you have someone you want to work?” If he/she also doesn’t have someone to suggest you start to look for them. How? Rarely, you give announcements to Television and Cinema Departments of the universities. You can also remember your former projects and connect with those you worked. What is here different from other industries you can never see a job ad in a newspaper or website such as Kariyer.net. This is a closed business. You should hear and know that someone is trying to find a director assistant. You should always be in touch. If you enter one time everything is over. You start to get experienced. Your name starts to be written in databases. Then you should wait for a calling. Also, actually teams get not separated easily. You can go out and involve to another group but generally groups are together, this is because the teams’ need to be harmonious. [...] Asking, chasing is the primary way how to find people. You ask to everyone. There is a meeting before the project begins. You come together with the producer, ask to every department if they have their assistants. If someone is missing, you keep asking to people you know. (DR/CPR)⁶⁸

⁶⁷ This is also what is experienced in the German, US and UK industry. (Manning and Sydow, 2007, Starkley et. Al, 2000, Christopherson,2008)

⁶⁸ Diyelim ki yapımcı olarak üç tane reji asistanına ihtiyacın var. Önce yönetmenine sorarsın: Asistanların var mı? Genelde olur zaten. Yoksa birinci asistana sorarsın, çalışmak isteyen birileri var mı? Eğer onun da önereceği birileri yoksa aramaya başlarsın. Nasıl ararsın? Bazen, üniversitelerin radyo, televizyon, sinema bölümlerine ilan bırakırsın. Daha eski projelerini düşünüp birilerini hatırlamaya çalışırsın. Burada diğer işlerle farklı olan, bu işte öyle gazete ilanı ya da kariyer.net’te falan bir ilan göremezsin. Bu kapalı bir iştir. Bir şekilde bir yerlerden duyup bilmen lazım birilerinin reji asistanı aradığını. Her zaman ilişki içinde olmalısın. Bir kere de girdim mi zaten her şey biter. Deneyim kazanmaya başlarsın. İsmi veritabanlarında yazılmaya başlar. Sonra telefon beklersin. Aslında zaten ekipler de pek ayrılmazlar. Bir ekipten ayrılıp başka bir ekibe geçebilirsin tabi ama ekipler genelde bir aradadır. Bu ekiplerin bir arada çalışmak zorunda olduğu için böyledir. [...] Sormak, kovalamak bu sektörde iş bulmanın ana yoludur. Herkese sorarsın. Proje başlamadan önce

As a result, this organization system divided by a line according to the occupations might be drawn as following

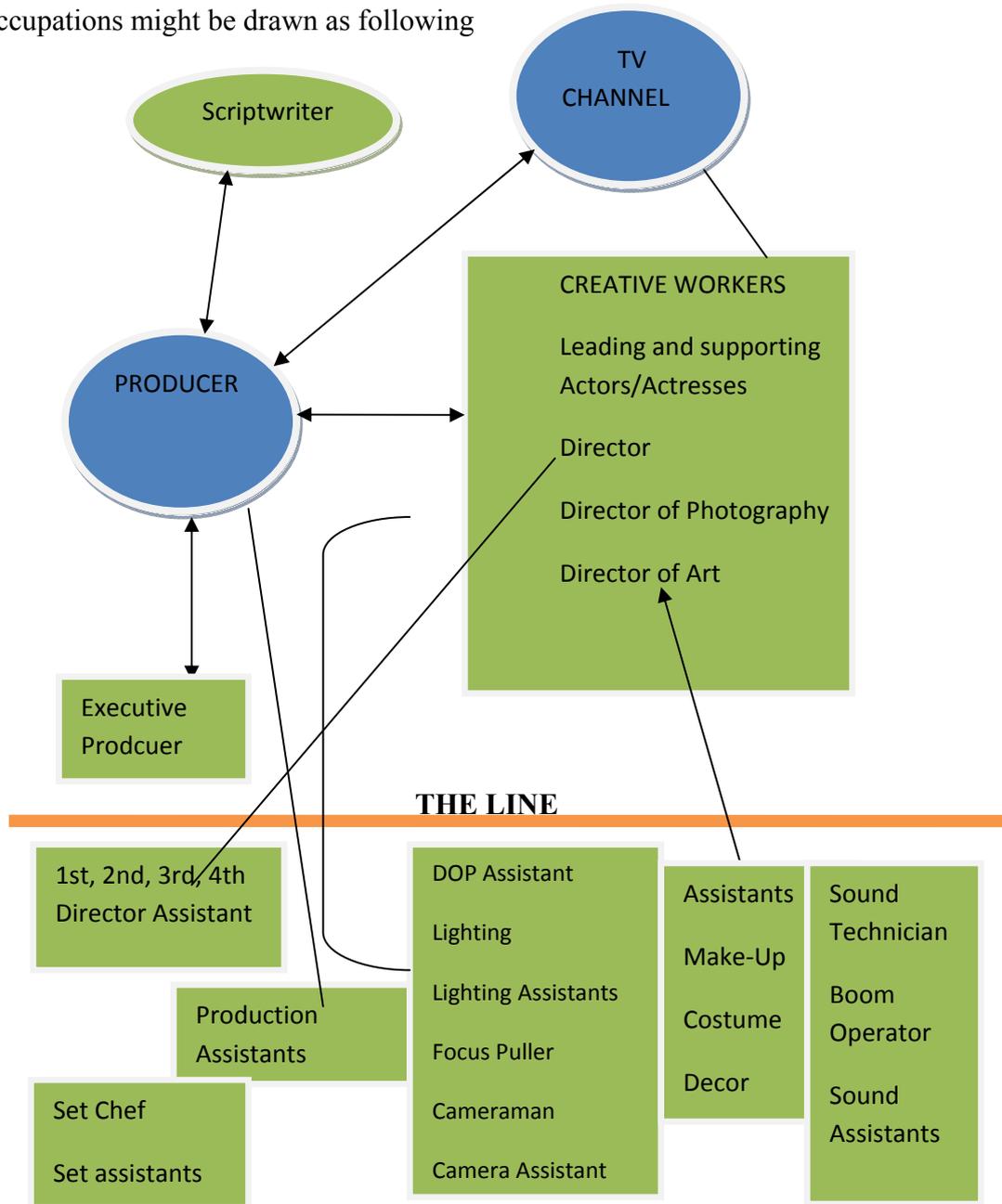


Figure-4: Networking Relations of the actors involved in the production of Turkish TV Series

These below the line workers marked in the previous figure might be connected to an above the line worker or might also be a member of some special

bir toplantı olur. Yapımcıyla falan bir araya gelirsın, her bölüme sorarsın işte asistanları var mı diye. Eksik varsa tanınan insanlara sorarak bulmaya devam edersin.

firms. These mentioned firms work as commissioners, what they do is to find and direct the freelancers to suitable jobs. If the parties, the freelancer and the firm are happy on their relationship this means that an informal relationship between them is formed. In other words, firms are “islands of hierarchical co-ordination” which moves from “inter-firm level to inter-personal level”. (Grabher: 205) To make the structure and functioning of the firms more clear these arguments might be helpful:

“These firms are founded by tradesman. They have cameras, lights, sound equipments and workers personally connected. There is only one worker whose insurances are paid. Generally, they insure themselves. You know to open a firm you have to insure someone, generally they are themselves. Then they found some freelancers and send to work.” (DR/CPR)⁶⁹

“I had always in my mind when I was working as freelancer to go to a camera firm; however I was questioning how these process work: ‘If I go, could I easily find a job, there are a lot of people waiting on the queue.’ Anyway, in one of my unemployed periods I went to a camera firm. They said OK! I start to work by cleaning the equipments without getting paid. I knew that after some working they will send me to work with wages. Anyway, these are some firms, they have their cameras, objectives and some workers like me.” (CA)⁷⁰

“As a sound technician I’m the head of the sound section in the set. However I have a boss, who is the owner of my firm I working with. In the firm we have sound technicians, assistants, boom operators and equipments. If a producer wants to shoot a TV series calls our firm, the firm offers a price. If the price is accepted the equipments got ready. The team gets established, and then the team goes and starts the project.” (ST)⁷¹

⁶⁹ O firmaları kuranlar tüccarlar. Kameraları, ışıkları, ses ekipmanları ve yanında çalışan işçileri vardır. Bir işçiyi sigortalıdır. Genelde o kendileridir. Biliyorsun şirket açmak için birini sigortalıman lazım, o işte kendileridir. Sonra freelance çalışanlar bulurlar ve işe yollarlar.

⁷⁰ Ben freelance olarak çalışırken aklımda her zaman bir kamera şirketine gideyim falan vardı ama o işler nasıl yürür falan kendi kendime sorguluyordum. Gidersem iş bulmak kolay olur mu, bir sürü insan var senin gibi sıra bekleyen. Her neyse, işsiz olduğum bir dönemde gittim bu kamera firmalarından birine. Tamam dediler. Başladım çalışmaya, ekipman falan temizliyorum, para alamıyorum. Ama bir süre çalıştıktan sonra beni para kazanabileceğim işlere göndereceklerini biliyorum. Neyse işte, böyle firmalar vardır, kameraları vardır, kendi objektifleri vardır, benim gibi çalışanları işe gönderirler.

⁷¹ Ses teknisyeni olarak kendi çalıştığım ses departmanının en üstünde ben varım. Ama benim üstünde bir de patronum var çalıştığım firmanın sahibi. Firmada ses teknisyenleri, asistanları, boom operatörleri ve ekipmanlar var. Bir yapımcı dizi çekmek istiyorsa bizim firmayı arar, firma olarak ona bir fiyat veririz. Fiyat kabul edilirse ekipmanları hazırlarız. Sonra bir ekip kurulur, gidilir ve projeye başlanır.

These statements make the process more clear. The producer who is a sub-contractor in the process establishes a core team around him/her as it was explained above. After, the core workers determine the below the line workers after some discussions with the producer. If there are some empty places, those are filled by the workers from sub-contracted firms. This shows that the industry has a major sub-contractor; and also the producer has some other minor sub-contractors together with the personal networks of the people involved in the project.

As a result, to conclude this section a turn-back to the theoretical discussions considering the labor process under the flexible specialization is inevitable. As it was said, flexible specialization is a strategy to reduce the risks especially where demand is highly flexible and unpredictable. It is generally a strategy organized around projects, and that is done by small firms or individuals specialized in a field. This gives the chance to the major investor to easily change or completely abolish the production process easily in order to prevent itself from long run loses. Its concrete effects on labor process are explained by David Harvey, who underlines the conditions in which “the laborers are pushed into flexible work regimes and labor contracts structures labor process relations around two main groups: the core and the periphery. (Harvey, 1989:150) As a result, firstly as the specific analysis of the organization of the TV series’ production has showed, the core and periphery division is also valid in the case of this thesis. Secondly, it revealed that the formation of this labor process is mainly done by personal networking strategies starting from the channel to the below the line workers. Having done this, what become here important besides the structuring of the labor process is the reflexive stories told by the workers in terms of how these relations are lived, experienced and expressed. The next part deals with this.

4.3) The Labor Market: Finding the Job, Surviving and Promoting in the Industry

In the previous part, the structure, organization and networking strategies used in the industry are explained. As the structure, organization and strategies are

actually determined by the major actors, broadly speaking by the capital and their networks, the chapter was inevitably expressing the arguments of those who are above the line. In this part the workers who work in the established structure and organization of the production process are the main concern. Beginning from the question how a worker in below the line finds a job, the working conditions of those workers are revealed with the help of the observations, news and the interviews conducted.

At the end of the previous part, it was explained that the creative workers, are those who are expected to bring their technical “fellow” workers together. In this sense, it was shown that the informal personal networks’ importance in the level of organization of the workforce. Another example for this might be driven from the words of the Director of Photography talked for this thesis:

“It rules by passing jobs to each other. In our sector there is nothing like a ‘human resources department.’ It is an environment where people know each other. For example a director chooses a director of photography with whom he/she wants to work with. He/she chooses someone with whom he/she get along and worked before. Someone who can easily understand what he/she has in mind. And then when the turn comes to the director of photography he/she wants also a team he/she can work with. A lighting man and so on... Of course producers and executive producers are also involved in this selection process. They come together and come to an agreement.” (DOP/LC)⁷²

As the process so far explained reveals, for a “newcomer” everything starts with getting in touch with somebody. The process in this sense is similar with those of the scriptwriters explained before. To understand this more clearly an example taken from internet and the words of a student talked might be helpful:

“I hate from the fact that there is no entrance to the sector if you don’t know somebody in the production stage. Are we studying for nothing in the university? Everyone wants to give jobs to his/her fellow. I’M BORED from this situation. I want to enter in without knowing

⁷² Bu iş birbirine iş paslayarak işler. Bu sektörde öyle insan kaynakları departmanı gibi bir şey yoktur. Herkesin birbirini tanıdığı bir çevredir bu. Bir yönetmen mesela bildiği tanıdığı bir görüntü yönetmeniyle çalışmak ister. Anlaşabileceği ya da daha önce çalıştığı biriyle çalışmak ister. Aklındaki hemen anlayan biriyle. Sonra sıra görüntü yönetmenine gelirse o da istediği bir ekiple çalışmak ister. Işıkçı falan...Tabi bu ekip belirleme işine yapımcılar falan da dahil olabilir. Herkes bir araya gelir ve bir karara varılır.

somebody” (a girl from facebook group named “Set Workers Group”⁷³)

“Generally, to enter this sector you should have someone working in it. Without knowing somebody entrance is almost impossible, and actually we, I mean my family, don’t know somebody in the sector. Therefore I try my friends, or different people to establish some connections, but I couldn’t get success so far.” (Student)⁷⁴

Those words revealing the importance of networking and also the difficulty of getting entrance to the sector fit with the foundation of the previous part that indicates the desire of the above the line workers to work with somebody they already know. To expand this a bit more to look at the words those who get success once in terms of getting in the sector might be helpful:

“I was interested in cinema since my childhood. When I was in intermediate school I was writing some scripts. After I entered to a movie production with the help of someone I knew from the sector. I started there as a camera assistant. Then I met there with a sound technician, who said come and work with us. Then I started to work on the sound field.” (ST)⁷⁵

“One of my friends started to get some promotion shooting from somewhere he is the one who called me as a cameraman when I was studying. I didn’t start as a camera assistant as it is generally is, however these jobs were some small promotions in which my little experience with camera was enough. I was connected with my friend, when he called me; I went after him. Then I started to establish connections.” (CA)⁷⁶

⁷³ <http://www.facebook.com/profile.php?id=100000922946319> “set ortamında tanıdığın olmadan bir yerlere girilmemesinden nefret ediyorum insanlar boşuna mı okuyor herkez sadece tanıdığını işe yerleştiriyor . SIKILDIM artık bu durumdan tanıdık olmadan bir yerlere girebilelim artık.”

⁷⁴ Bu sektörde işe girebilmen için içinde tanıdığın birinin olmasına ihtiyaç var. Birini tanımadan girmek imkansız neredeyse, ve biz, yani biz dediğim ailem, kimseyi tanımıyoruz sektörde. O yüzden ben arkadaşlarımı ya da işte ne bileyim başka kişileri deniyorum bağlantı kurmak için ama şu ana kadar başarılı olamadım.

⁷⁵ Ben kamera asistanı olarak çalışmaya başladım orada. Orada bir ses teknisyeniyle tanıştım gel bizle çalış dedi. Sonra ses alanında çalışmaya başladım.

⁷⁶ Benim bir arkadaşım reklam işleri almaya başladı bir yerlerden, kameraman olarak çağırdığı da bendim okuyorken. Ben genelde olduğu gibi kamera asistanı olarak başlamadım, ama işte bunlar küçük promosyon işleriydi benim azıcık tecrübem de yetiyordu. Ben işte o arkadaşına bağlıydım. O beni çağırırdı, ben onun peşinden giderdim. Böyle böyle bağlantılar kurmaya başladım işte.

“I entered the sector with the help of a friend. In this sector you can't find jobs by passing your CV. It is only possible if you know someone.” (DA)⁷⁷

“Entering this sector is a bit contingent. With the help of some friends or someone you know in the sector.” (Lighting Chef/DOP)⁷⁸

“I have a cousin. He wasn't working. I asked a job for him in my firm. They said OK! He started. If he survives, he survives.” (CA)⁷⁹

As it is clear, the words of the actively working people also show the fact that the entrance to the sector lies on informal personal connections. It can be anyone, a friend, a relative or someone in the industry. The chain of informal networking starting from the producers; grows and varies to different sections in the production process. Another important point about the functioning of these relations is the condition of “learning in the job.” Being graduated from a related department isn't something inevitably respected, rather than there is a general agreement on, that the job is learned during work in the industry. To make this clear, when the reason why he wants to work in the industry before he is graduated is asked, the student gave the following answer:

“What you can get from the school is limited. What the professional working teaches you is very different. I want to start this in my early ages to not suffer from the possible difficulties.” (Student)⁸⁰

Yeşilçam Laborer-1 also asserts the importance of in-job-learning as following:

“Let's say you are graduated from a university, you have to work near someone who really knows the work. It doesn't matter how successful

⁷⁷ Ben sektöre bir arkadaşımın yardımıyla girdim. Bu sektörde öyle CV göndererek falan iş bulamazsın. Tek yolu vardır, birini tanıyacaksın.

⁷⁸ Bu sektörde işe girmek biraz tesadüf işidir. Bir arkadaşımın yardımıyla ya da işte içeriden tanıdığın biriyle falan.

⁷⁹ Benim bir kuzenim var. Çalışmıyor. Bizim firmada iş sordum onun için. Tamam dediler. Başladı. Bakalım, devam edebilirse, eder.

⁸⁰ Okuldan alabileceklerin sınırlı. Profesyonel çalışmanın sana getirebilecekleri çok farklı. Bu yüzden olabildiğince erken başlamaya çalışıyorum ki ileride zorluklarla karşılaşmayayım.

you are, you learn this job by working. It doesn't have anything to do with studying. (Yeşilçam Laborer-1)⁸¹

Moreover there are expressions that question the need for an academy even by those who study in or are graduated from a related department:

"I can't understand why this industry has an academy. There is nothing that studying can bring you in this work. You learn everything while working." (CA)⁸²

"Actually at the beginning I enjoyed the department Radio, Television and Cinema, it sounded good to me. However, I realized that it brings nothing to you, because people in the sector are generally ones who are not graduated from a related department. If I say you what the specialty one of our directors is you will be shocked. For example one is a sociologist. The other one is a high-school graduate. However, he has a work experience of 20 years, he had really struggled. Your graduation from Radio Television and Cinema doesn't bring you anything. Twenty years experience is more important." (DA)⁸³

Additionally there are also workers who aren't graduated from a related department however actively working in the industry:

"I am not graduated from a Communication faculty. Actually I am not graduated from a university. I was studying at Hacettepe University's statistics department, I left it" (DOP / LC)⁸⁴

In my university decision period, I thought and talked somebody knowing the sector and decided to study in a different department which is easy, so that I could study easily and work in the sector at the same time. I didn't choose a Radio, Television and Cinema department because I was learning the same knowledge that the school could offer

⁸¹ Diyelim ki bir üniversiteden mezun oldun, yine de bu işi bilen birinin yanında çalışmak zorundasın. Ne kadar başarılı olduğunun önemi yok, bu iş çalışarak öğrenilir. Okumakla falan alakası yok.

⁸² Ben zaten bu işin okulu niye var anlamıyorum. Okumanın sana getireceği hiçbir şey yok bu işte. Her şeyi çalışırken öğrenirsin.

⁸³ Aslında en başta Radyo, Televizyon ve Sinema bölümü hoşuma gitmişti, ismi falan havalı geliyordu. Ama sonra anladım ki sana kazandırdığı hiçbir şey yok çünkü zaten kimse de bu bölümlerden falan mezun da değil. Sana bizim yönetmenlerin asıl mesleklerini söylersem çok olursun. Mesela biri sosyolog. Diğeri lise mezunu. Ama ne var, 20 yıllık deneyimleri var, cidden zorluklardan da gelmişler. Radyo, televizyon, sinema bölümünden mezun olmak falan sana bir şey kazandırmaz. 20 yıllık deneyim daha önemlidir.

⁸⁴ Ben iletişim fakültesi mezunu değilim. Aslında üniversite mezunu da değilim. Hacettepe istatistik bölümünde okuyordum bıraktım.

me during work in the sector practically. [...] I got so much experience; I think I could not get by 10 years long studying. (ST)⁸⁵

If there would be a school which would help people to find work in great places,-I had made researches in Turkey in this sense, I would study there. I had talked with people who were studying or working, I had read some things about it. Generally, I had understood that there is no difference between studying or not in the case of cinema. These contributed to my ideas, I hadn't studied. (EDA)⁸⁶

What here counts isn't the education as it is obvious rather than "the personal pool one establishes and the reputation he/she gains." (Grabher, 2002: 209) Experience, which was mentioned as inevitable in order to establishing personal networks becomes in this context important in terms of "in-job training." Newcomers, entering the industry from low levels, by working in the industry several years, besides establishing connections, learn the job and get promoted to the upper levels. Some of the interviewees explain this as following:

"If you want to be a director of photography there is a system in Turkey. You work in some camera firms, at the beginning they don't sent you to sets at the beginning. You don't earn money. You stay in the firm and clean or look after the equipments 2-3 months long or even longer. In this process you start to know the equipment you are working with. Then you enter the set as a last camera assistant. Your job is to look after the equipment in the set. Also, you assist your seniors. Then you promote to focus pulling.⁸⁷ Actually to find continuously work in the industry you must be a director of photographer's focus puller. Then you become a cameraman, if for example there is two cameras in one scene you start to use the second camera. If you have started in an ideal age let's say 20, near 30 you become a cameraman, and then, if you lucky enough you become a director of photography." (CA)⁸⁸

⁸⁵ Üniversite tercih döneminde bir yandan sektörde çalışırken bir yandan da okuyabileceğim bir bölüm olsun istiyordum. Radyo, televizyon sinema bölümünü tercih etmedim çünkü orada öğreneceğimi zaten pratik olarak çalışarak öğreniyordum. Şimdi 10 yıl okusam edinmeyeceğim bir tecrübem var.

⁸⁶ Aslında öğrencisini ileride iyi bir yere getirecek bir bölüm olsaydı Türkiye'de orada okurdum. Çalışan ya da okuyan insanlarla konuştum, bir şeyler okudum bununla ilgili. Ve genel olarak şöyle bir sonuç çıktı iş okusan da okumasan da olur gibi bir kapiya çıkıyor sinemada. Bu benim fikirlerime de oturdu, okumadım.

⁸⁷ The job to adjust the areas that the objective sees on focus or out-of focus.

⁸⁸ Türkiye'de görüntü yönetmeni olmak istiyorsan bir sistem vardır. Bazı kamera firmalarında çalışırsın, ilk başta seni sete falan göndermezler. Para kazanamazsın. Şirkette kalır aletleri falan

“My target was to be a director of photography. I worked in Ferhunde Hanımlar two years long as a camera assistant. After the project finished I went to Istanbul to find job there. I think, there is no chance to be a director of photography without knowing lighting. After Ferhunde Hanımlar I had worked several years as lighting assistant. Then I had worked in Deli Yürek and after in another project of the same company, Kurtlar Vadisi as lighting assistant. Then I became a lighting chef after 4-5 years experience. I can't well remember, however in a sit-com called “Bendeniz Aysel” and a TV Series “Korkusuzlar”, I worked as a lighting chef. Recently, I have worked in some promotion films as Director of Photography” (DOP/LC)⁸⁹

“You start as a fourth director assistant. What you do is simply bringing tea to the director and also making observations. Then you promote to three, as a continuity-checker. No; before, you start to take notes of the time-code. The director says “I will use this shot and the other shot” and you mark those. Then you become a continuity-checker. You say: ‘in the previous shot he/she raised his/her arm’. After this the turn comes to the first director assistance, and then you become a director.” (DR/CPR)⁹⁰

“Someone who is graduated from a university starts to work as an intern without earning money. I was lucky; I started directly to earn money. However, generally you start as a sound assistant and then you become a boom operator. Actually in US this system is a bit different. Boom operation is seen as a specific occupation. They

temizlersin 2-3 ay boyunca, hatta daha uzun. İşte n’olur, çalışacağın ekipmanı tanırırsın böyle. Sonra sette girersin en son kamera asistanı olarak. İşin sette ekipmana göz kulak olmaktır. Üstlerine asistanlık yaparsın. Sonra focus-puller olursun. Bir görüntü yönetmenin focus puller’ı olursan sürekli iş bulmaya başlarsın aslında piyasada. Sonra kameraman olursun, mesela iki kamera vardır sette birini sen kullanırsın. Diyelim ki ideal yaşta başladın 20 yaşında falan 30 yaşına geldiğinde kameraman olursun ve yeterince şanslıysan görüntü yönetmeni olursun.

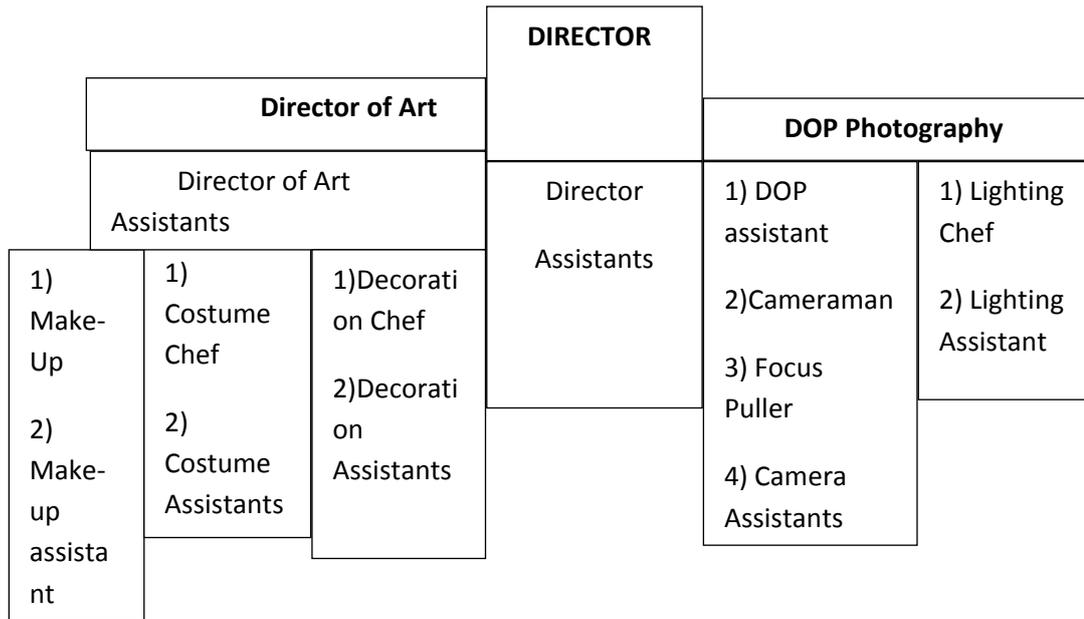
⁸⁹ Benim amacım görüntü yönetmeni olmaktı. Ferhunde Hanımlar’da iki sene kamera asistanlığı yaptım. O iş bitince iş bulmak için İstanbul’a gittim. Bence ışığı bilmeden iyi bir görüntü yönetmeni olamazsın. O yüzden Ferhunde Hanımlar’dan sonra birkaç sene ışık asistanı olarak çalıştım. Deli Yürek’te ve daha sonra aynı şirketin diğer işinde Kurtlar Vadisi’nde ışık asistanı olarak çalıştım. 4-5 yıllık deneyimin ardından ışık şefi oldum. Tam olarak hatırlamıyorum ama Bendeniz Aysel diye bir sit-com’da bir de Korkusuzlar diye bir dizide ışık şefi olarak çalıştım. Son olarak da bazı promosyon filmlerinde görüntü yönetmenliği yapmaya başladım.

⁹⁰ Dördüncü asistan olarak işe başlarsın. İşin yönetmene çay falan getirmektir tabii gözlem falan da yaparsın. Sonra üçe geçersin, devamlılıkçı olursun. Yok, önce time-code tutmaya başlarsın. Yönetmen bu sahneyi kullanacağım bunu kullanmayacağım falan der onları işaretlersin. Sonra devamlılıkçı olursun. Bir önceki sahnede kolunu kaldırmıştı falan dersin. Sonra yardımcı yönetmen olursun. Sonra da yönetmen.

sometimes call it as cableman. However in our sense after boom operation you become a sound technician” (ST)⁹¹

“Before starting the TV series, I had had always the question in mind: ‘What will this project offer us in terms of career?’ I asked this because I hadn’t got a standard career and this had caused me difficulties. I mean starting from assistantship, getting experienced and so on. The standard process is like this.” (CA)⁹²

As the interviewees similarly state the general way in the occupations followed is to start from the lowest level of a specific section, get experienced, learn the job and promote to upper levels. To make it visually clear it looks like the following hierarchical order for each section (Those who are bold are “above the line workers”):⁹³



⁹¹ Üniversiteden yeni mezun olmuş biri para almadan çalışmaya başlar. Ben şanslıydım, ben doğrudan para kazanarak başladım. İşte önce ses asistanı olarak başlarsın, sonra boom operatörlüğüne yükselersin. Amerika’da bu sistem biraz farklı. Boom operatörlüğü ayrı bir meslektir orada. Cableman derler. Ama bizde boom operatörlüğünden sonra ses teknisyeni olursun.

⁹² Bu diziye başlamadan önce aklımda hep şu soru vardı. Acaba bu iş bize ne getirecek kariyer açısından? Bunu sorguluyordum çünkü benim standart bir kariyerim olmamıştı ve bu bana zorluklara sebep oluyordu. Yani asistanlıktan başlamak, deneyim kazanmak falan filan. Standart işleyiş böyle.

⁹³ This figure is drawn by the author of this study. Only the worker who are able to promote to the level of creative workers are shown in it.

Figure-4: Hierarchy and the promotion relations between technical and creative workers.

To continue, an analysis of the worker databases of the industry shows the relevancy of this explained general rule of upward mobility. However this general rule obviously requires first and foremost survival in the industry. In this sense there are some unwritten rules among the below the line workers in order to continue in the industry. To analyze what these are firstly, a look at some examples of job announcements taken from internet groups might be helpful. These also show that Internet groups are also used as a source for job research:

“We are looking for a second costume assistant who is active and talks rarely”⁹⁴

“We are looking for an experienced, very hard-working, careful, talking rarely (let me write it again) director of art assistant, who can also show references and is coherent with the wages given.”⁹⁵

“Hi! I’m successful at being a production assistant. I know Istanbul very well. Besides my motorcycle and car license I have my own motorcycle. I am looking for work in a production company. I’m experienced and can show references. I call myself simply as practical. If you can help me I’ll appreciate it.”⁹⁶

While every job has its technical requirements these announcements also reveal that there is a general tendency towards establishing an ideal subject, defined as practical, hard-working, rarely questioning and talking. To make this clearer the words of the interviewees can be read:

“Our directors were really workaholic. One of them is from Batman the other from Erzurum. They lived in very difficult conditions and I think that makes them very resolute. They start to work early in the

⁹⁴ Aktif, az konuşan ikinci kostüm asistanı aranıyor.

⁹⁵ Deneyimli, çok çalışkan, dikkatli, az konuşan (bir kez daha yazayım) sanat yönetmeni asistanı arıyoruz. Referans gösterebilecek ve ücrette uyumlu olmasını bekliyoruz.

⁹⁶ Merhaba. Yapım asistanı olarak başarılıyım. İstanbul’u avcumun içi gibi bilirim. Motosiklet ve araba ehliyetimin yanında kendi motosikletim de vardır. Bir yapım firması arıyorum. Oldukça deneyimliyim ve referans gösterebilirim. Kendimi basitçe iş bitirici olarak tanımlayabilirim. Yardımcı olursanız sevinirim.

morning and continue until 1-2 am. They only sleep and have no private life. As a result they wait from their assistants, I mean from us, the same performance, however I had never shown them it. It is actually impossible to show it. Therefore they hadn't liked me too much, I mean, because I was a bit relax-minded. I wanted to go early out-of work, met with my friends, and drank some beer. That's what I like. You can't get such a living while working in a TV series.” (DA)⁹⁷

“There is a saying among us: ‘If you are my assistant you are at the same time my wife. The first rule is: Your chef is always right. The second rule is: Even in those cases when the assistant is right the first rule prevails.’ You might be someone knowing the job very well; however even in those cases when you question your seniors, you can't make your duty of assistance. They want a man who is equal to zero. I mean, who is empty-minded ready to obey you. They are actually right. If they want something from you; and you question it like ‘why I have to do this’; it simply doesn't work. ” (CA)⁹⁸

Everyone in this sector wants to satisfy his/her ego by oppressing each other. Therefore you don't have to be affected from those egocentric movements. For example today, I've seen something. A guy is reprehended by one of his seniors then he went and screamed at someone else. Everyone oppresses those who work under him/her. Therefore you have to endure these things. (ST)⁹⁹

“My firm sent me to a shooting, where two of our other camera assistants were fired. I went there, and understood what the problem is. There was a grouchy director of photography, he was proud of working very fast. If you slow him down, he gets mad. He had also a focus puller who was younger than me, newly growing up, and was trained by the director of photography himself. He was an order giving type, to handle him you had to be cool.[...] Moreover, because I had the necessity to stay somehow in the sector, I realized that I should not give a hoot those things. Yes, its humanism side might be

⁹⁷ Bizim yönetmenlerimiz işkoliktiler. Biri Batmanlı bir Erzurumlu. Çok zorluklardan gelmişler bu onları çok dayanıklı yapmış. Sabahın köründe çalışmaya başlardı gece bire ikiye kadar. Sadece uyuyorlardı özel hayatları falan yok. Bu yüzden asistanlarından da aynı performansı bekliyorlardı, ama benden onu hiç alamadılar. Aslında almaları da mümkün değildi zaten. O yüzden beni çok sevmeslerdi, çünkü kafam rahattı. İşten erken çıkmak isterdim, arkadaşlarımla buluşayım bir bira içeyim falan. Ben bunu seviyorum. Böyle bir yaşam biçimini dizide çalışarak sürdüremezsin.

⁹⁸ Bizim aramızda bir laf vardır. Sen benim asistanımsın, sen benim karımsın. Birinci kural şefin her zaman haklıdır, ikinci kural, haksız olduğu durumlarda bile ilk kural geçerlidir. İş çok iyi bilen biri olabilirsin. Ama üstünün yaptığı işi sorgularsan o işi yapamazsın. Senden bir şey isterlerse ve bunu neden yapmam lazım diye sorgularsan o iş yürümez.

⁹⁹ Bu sektörde herkes birbirini ezerek egosunu tatmin etmeye çalışır. O yüzden bu tarz egosentrik hareketlerden etkilenmeyeceksin. Mesela bugün ben bir şeye tanık oldum. Bir çocuk üstü tarafından azar işitti sonra gitti başkasına bağırıldı. Herkes altında çalışanı ezer. O yüzden böyle şeylere dayanabilmen lazım.

questioned however they were right actually, because he wants to teach something. Therefore you have to listen to him.” (CA)¹⁰⁰

The identity of an ideal worker requires denying, being cool, not questioning even not talking. However, as Papadopoulos et al. argue this form of denial that is faced in this case, is actually a denial of the self. This tactic of dis-identification causes the worker not allowing himself/herself to act in the way of desire. Even in the case of the camera assistant this denial causes him to see the case of domination as the right of the senior. These experiences of exploitation exceed the boundaries of the labor, and turns into the exploitation of the whole life resulting to the exploitation by the self. (Papadopoulos, et al, 2008: 229)

Combining the harder working conditions which will be dealt later on detail, with these expressed difficulties in personal relations makes the frequently used saying “surviving in the industry” more understandable. Clearly the survivor in the industry requires some specific characteristics. Firstly, a worker has to consider his/her senior as a teacher knowing everything and someone whose instructions and directions have to be followed without questioning. Secondly, a worker has to endure his/her senior’s actions and words that are actually disturbing. Thirdly, a worker has to continue to learn the job for future qualifications.

In such a hard working environment of course there are also those who aren’t able to survive and quit working in the industry. The director assistant underlines that he is not suitable to such working conditions:

“I was really sick and tired of the job. Actually I had made a mistake since I quitted the job without finding another one as a grown up man 26-27 years old. I was unemployed 6 months long. However, I still had said that it was the right choice to quit the job, because I was frazzled. My health had started to be affected adversely. You have no private life. You have no chance to see the women you met. You have no chance to make love. You can’t take a bath days long. There are even cases you have to hold in pee 2-3 hours long. You can’t simply leave and go to pee because there is no one who can do your job. You have

¹⁰⁰ Firma beni bir çekime gönderdi. Daha önce iki asistanımız ayrılmıştı oradan. Oraya gittim ve problemin ne olduğunu anladım. Huysuz bir görüntü yönetmeni var, çok hızlı çalışmakla övünüyor. Birisi kendisini yavaşlatırsa deliriyor adam. Kendi focus puller’ı var yanında kendi yetiştiriyor. Böyle emir veren bir tip. Onu idare etmek için sakın olmak gerekiyor. [...] Ayrıca, bu sektörde devam edebilmek için böyle şeyleri hiç umursamamak gerekiyor. Evet humanizm tarafı biraz sorgulanabilir ama aslında haklılar da, çünkü sana bir şey öğretmeye çalışıyorlar. Onları dinlemen lazım.

to stay there. Everything is properly organized and actually you are the one who is responsible for the organization as the director assistant. If something goes wrong the director comes and shits on you. If someone is late, he/she screams at you 'why didn't you call him/her earlier?', if the set isn't ready he/she asks you the reason for it. Long story short, last year, I quarreled with my senior director assistants, because they were thinking I was inefficient, actually it was impossible to be efficient. Therefore there is a circulation I think in the industry. Anyway, I said 'I quit'” (DA)¹⁰¹

Observations of the lighting chef considering about the state of “quitting the job” are explained as following:

“I have a thesis. Anyone who doesn't love this job passionately has no chance to work in this sector. [...]I've seen people really hating the job, but they do it because of personal economic difficulties. They do it without willingness and love for the job. [...] Some of them continue it because of necessities or they get used to it. Or, you know, this job is a bit sparking, it has also some charming sides. There are some who can endure and continue also some can not. There are those who want to quit the job when they would find another one. For example I had assistants one of them is working now in a bar in Kadıköy, one of them was a student, and he was working to afford his education. Lastly, he got success in the KPSS exam and got a teacher.” (Lighting Chef/DOP)¹⁰²

Another story is told by the Yeşilçam Laborer, who quitted the job because he doesn't want to obey the duties given by a younger senior of him:

¹⁰¹ Gına gelmişti artık bu işten. Aslında bir hata yaptım. 26-27 yaşında bir insanın işini bulmadan işten ayrılmaması gerekiyormuş. 6 ay işsiz kaldım. Ama yine de işten ayrılmanın doğru karar olduğunu düşünüyordum çünkü artık bıkmıştım. Sağlığım olumsuz yönde etkilenmeye başlamıştı. Özel hayatın yok. Tanıştığın kızla buluşma şansın yok. Sevişmeye vaktin yok. Bazen oluyor günlerce duş alamıyorsun. Ya iki-üç saat çişini tutmak zorunda kalıyorsun çünkü işi öylece bırakıp gidemiyorsun çünkü onu senin yerine yapabilecek kimse yok. Orada olman lazım. Her şey düzgünce düzenlenmiş organize edilmiş ve aslında o organizasyondan sorumlu olan sensin reji asistanı olarak. Bir şey yanlış olursa yönetmen gelir senin ağzına sıçar. Biri geç kalırsa sana bağırır niye zamanında aranmadı diye. Set hazır değilse sebebini sana sorar. Lafın kısası, geçtiğimiz sene üstümdeki asistanla atıştım, benim yetersiz olduğumu düşünüyorlardı çünkü, ama aslına bakarsan yeterli olmak da mümkün değil zaten. O yüzden sektörde çok fazla sirkülasyona olduğunu düşünüyorum zaten. Her neyse, ben ayrılıyorum dedim.

¹⁰² Benim bir tezim var. Bu işi tutkuyla sevmeyen bu işte başarılı olamaz. Ben bu işten nefret ederek yapan insanlar gördüm, ama ekonomik sıkıntılarından ötürü yapmak zorundaydılar. İsteksizce ve herhangi bir sevgi beslemeden yapıyorlardı bu işi. Bazıları zorunluluktan bazıları alıştıkları için devam ediyorlardı. Ya da bilirsin bu iş biraz gösterişli bir iştir, çekici bir tarafı vardır. O yüzden buna dayanabilenler var bazılarıysa dayanamıyor. Başka bir iş bulunca ayrılmak isteyenler var. Benim eskiden bir asistanım vardı şimdi Kadıköy'de bir barda çalışıyor, biri de öğrenciydi eğitim masrafını çıkartmak için çalışıyordu. Sonunda KPSS sınavından başarılı oldu, öğretmenlik yapıyor şimdi.

“I was working in a project under a director of art; she had 7-8 years of experience, but was younger than me. The series was shot in a villa you know. One day I was drinking tea in the first floor. She came down, screamed at me and said to not sit and work. I said OK, went upstairs and asked her my duty. He told me to bang a nail to the wall. I screamed ‘screw you!’ and quitted the job. I worked years in the job, am I the one who has to be called for such a job?” (YL) ¹⁰³

Besides these expressions a newspaper article also shows these conditions, written by Berfu Şeker -a graduate of Radio, Television and Cinema department and a former worker in the sector, where she explains her observations and reasons for quitting the job. (Bianet, September 26, 2009)¹⁰⁴ In this sense it might be argued that this industry consists of group of people who developed some strategies in the everyday functioning of the job to get promotion. However, there is also an obvious circulation because of the continuous quitting and entering especially among the below the line workers:

“It takes 2-3 years to promote from fourth to first assistant, if you can stay. However what I see is a circulation. All of my fourth assistants have been newcomers, generally first year university students. There are always people coming and leaving.” (DR/CPR) ¹⁰⁵

“There are people, incidentally starting the work in the industry. They try it, if they like and handle the work, they stay or on the contrary they simply quit. (CA)

The director assistant tells his story of quitting the job as following:

“When I decided to leave the job they tried to change my mind, but I didn’t. There were others under me, actually they were interns. Then they replaced my place.” (DA)¹⁰⁶

¹⁰³ Bir projede bir sanat yönetmenin altında çalışıyorum. 7-8 yıl deneyimi var ama benden genç. Dizi bir villada çekiliyor biliyorsun. Birinci katta çay içiyorum. Aşağı geldi bu,bağırdı çağırdı kalk çalış falan dedi. Tamam dedim, çıktım yukarı ne yapayım dedim. Duvara çivi çakılacakmış. Siktir git lan dedim çıktım işten. Ben yıllarca çalıştım bu işte ben miyim bu iş içi taa en aşağıdan çağırılacak.

¹⁰⁴ <http://bianet.org/biamag/diger/117221-set-kazalari-ve-zihniyet-problemleri>

¹⁰⁵ Dördüncü asistanlıktan birinci asistanlığa çıkmak 2-3 sene sürer tabi tutunabilirsen. Ama benim gördüğüm devamlı bir sirkülasyon. Benim dördüncü asistanlarım hep yeni gelenler olurdu, genelde birinci sınıf öğrencileri. Sürekli birileri gelir ayrılır, gider.

¹⁰⁶ Ben bu işi bırakmaya karar verdiğimde fikrimi değiştirmeye çalıştılar ama ben vazgeçmedim. Altımda çalışan stajyerler vardı. Benim yerime onları koymuşlar.

As these expressions show, it might be said that there is a “reserve army of labor” which give the chance to replace a labor force with another easily.¹⁰⁷ Derya Çetin underlines also the fact of the existence of people ready waiting on the queue to enter the sector. (Çetin, 2011: 175, 217) Moreover, the student who wants to enter the sector expresses his feelings:

“What is important is to enter the sector only once. Then everything starts to work properly, I think. All of my friends are also thinking like that. What I want is only a chance. I’m ready for entrance. I think then everything will be OK!” (Student)¹⁰⁸

To make a short summary, it might be argued so far that, the “ideal worker” of below the line, is the one who is successful to enter the industry and also the one who can endure the hard working conditions and disturbing relations in the industry. What this ideal worker could get after such a process is promotion to the relatively high sections of work, and even to the above the line workers. Moreover almost all of the above the line workers in the industry are coming from below the line jobs, which makes the argument underlining the importance of the functioning of “promotion” and “in-job learning” also relevant. Nevertheless, this doesn’t lead to a typical case in which everyone gets promoted in the industry although the hope of upward mobility is still the source of the patience. The elimination system in the industry can be seen clearly by a research from the online databases, such as sinematurk. As well as the existence of those promoting to the above the line positions from below the line positions after 10 years working; there are also those who haven’t been able to do it.

Of course there are some above the line workers, especially actors/actresses who directly get high-conditioned roles in the production process; however those are especially ones who are already “famous” in another sector. For example, the entrance of famous fashion-models as supporting/leading actors/actresses is a

¹⁰⁷ Karl Marx argues: Capitalist production can by no means content itself with the quantity of disposable labor power which the natural increase of population yields. It requires for its free play an industrial reserve army independent of these natural limits.

¹⁰⁸ Önemli olan bir kere sektöre girmek. Ondan sonra her şey yoluna girer bence. Bütün arkadaşlarım da böyle düşünüyorlar zaten. Ben sadece bir şans istiyorum. Girmeye hazırım. Ondan sonra her şey yoluna girecek ben inanıyorum.

frequently observed case.¹⁰⁹ Moreover, there are also transfers from music industry to the TV series industry.¹¹⁰ The number of such examples can be increased, however even in the case of actors/actresses which is the field where inter-sectional transfers are seen frequently, the general rule is followed. The scriptwriter says:

“The case in acting is also similar to our process. You start to a TV series from lower levels, with acting in some parts. After a time, your face starts to be known and you promote to lead acting.” (SCW-1)¹¹¹

Besides this above mentioned general characteristics what is expected from an “ideal below the line” worker is to be young, while the above the line workers are relatively older. What it is tried to be underlined here is the lack of old workers among the below the line workers. The answers given for the reason of it are as following:

“My team is also young. If you ask why, it may seem a bit egocentric but I like to teach the young with my point of view and let them see everything through my eyes. I think a lot of producers like this. However this isn’t the case for my executive producers. I work with older and experienced executive producers they know the market. The age is approximately 35-40 in this occupation. I like for example growing up my director assistants starting from early ages, because at the age of 30 they become wonderful directors. Or a director of art, he/she can make incredible things when he/she comes at the age of 30-35. Why there are younger in the market? I think it is because of this: We have to shoot everything in real locations. This requires a high effort. Is this possible for an older man to handle it? No, it is impossible.” (PR)¹¹²

¹⁰⁹ One of the most famous leading actors Kivanç Tatlıtuğ was a fashion model previously.

¹¹⁰ Mahsun Kırmızıgül who was a singer is the director of a highly watched TV series “Hayat Devam Ediyor”

¹¹¹ Oyunculuk da bizim işe benzer. Bir televizyon dizisinde en alt kademelerden başlarsın, bazı bölümlerde yer alırsın. Sonra yüzün tanınmaya başlar, sonra başrol olursun.

¹¹² Benim ekibim de gençtir. Neden diye sorarsan sana biraz egosentrik gelebilir ama ben gençleri kendi bakış açımıyla yetiştirmeyi olaya benim gözlerimden bakabilmelerini seviyorum. Herhalde bütün yapımcılar bunu sever. Yürütücü yapımcıda durum farklıdır. Onun tecrübeli olması piyasayı bilmesi lazım. Bu iş grubunda yaş 35-40’tır. Mesela ben kendi yardımcı yönetmenlerimi yetiştirmeyi severim çünkü 30 yaşına geldiğinde o çok iyi bir yönetmen olabilir. Ya da bir sanat yönetmeni asistanı, 30-35 yaşına geldiğinde harika işler yapabilir. Neden piyasada gençler var sanırım şu yüzden: Her şeyi gerçek mekanlarda çekmeliyiz. Bu da ciddi bir efor istiyor tabii ki. Yaşlı bir insan bunu kaldırabilir mi? Hayır imkansız.

“This is why actually the older workers had worked previously in Yeşilçam movies are unemployed in these days. They couldn’t bear the necessities of the job requires. When I see a man relatively older than us, which is rare, we had worked for example with an older lighting chef. He was a man had worked previously in Kemal Sunal movies. I had observed him and saw that he had been disappearing and going a place to rest a bit. Since we are working more passionately we can handle these conditions.” (ST)¹¹³

The conditions of the older workers of Yeşilçam, which are mentioned shortly by the sound technician in the quotation above, tells the most clear and striking story about the structuring of the industry around youth, commonly on technical workers’ sense:

“If you are coming from Ankara, write this down and tell our story there. We are real laborers of Yeşilçam. Say that the Yeşilçam workers are living there with honor and by being proud of themselves, waiting in Yeşilçam. These people have housing-rents, electricity bills, which they are not able to pay. However, none of them go to their older bosses or juvenile actors; or to those earning a lot of money, for asking one penny. What we want is job, but they don’t give it. Why they don’t give us job? The job is these days, if you are an actor/actress in the hand of agencies. If you look behind the scenes, to the technician side, everything is under the control of firms. A producer, lets say, works always with the same lighting chef, set coordinator, cameraman. Completely, I mean. [...] To enter such a firm and ask for job in a technical crew, you have to be first of all young, so that you can easily work under their conditions just like an unskilled worker.” (YL-2)¹¹⁴

Another Yeşilçam Laborer who was a lighting chef previously, makes his living by working in a tea shop, expresses another point of view both marking his

¹¹³ Bu yüzden yaşlılar bir zamanlar Yeşilçam’da çalışmış olanlar işsizler. Çünkü işin gerekliliklerini yerine getiremiyorlar. Ben bizden yaşlı bir adam görürsem, çok nadir olur, mesela bir ışık şefiyle çalışmıştık. Kemal Sunal filmlerinde falan çalışmış. Ben onu gözlemledim gördüm ki bu kayboluyor bir ara bir yere gidiyor dinleniyor. Biz daha çok tutkuyla çalıştığımız için dayanabiliyoruz bu şartlara.

¹¹⁴ Eğer Ankara’dan geliyorsan bunları yaz ve bizim hikayemizi orada anlat. De ki gerçek Yeşilçam emekçileri orada onurlu ve gururlu bir şekilde Yeşilçam’da bekliyorlar. Bu insanların kiralari var, elektrik faturalari var, ödeyemiyorlar. Yine de patronlara ya da jönlere gidip bir kuruş para istemezler. İş isterler, ama onu da vermezler. Neden vermiyorlar? Çünkü bugün oyunculuk işi ajansların elinde. Geç set arkasına, teknik kısma, orada da firmalar var. Yapımcı hep aynı ışık şefiyle set kordinatörüyle kameramanla çalışır. Tamamen. Böyle bir firmada da çalışabilmek için önce genç olman lazım, onların sana verdiği şartlar altında vasıfsız işçi gibi çalışabilmen için.

case of unemployment and also the reason why the youth are preferred in the industry:

“I am a lighting chef, with my experience in this sector; I think I can do the best of directing. Why; because I know the job better than they do. They know this, as a lighting chef if they would give me a job I will demand more money than they give to another lighting chef. Therefore what they do is to use younger and less experienced ones from universities.” (YL-3) ¹¹⁵

The same point is marked by the trade-unionist:

“Let me give you an example of a director of art. He is one of the bests in Turkey. If someone wants to work with him should pay his price. However they don't prefer it, rather than take young people, improve them, and pay them less money.” ¹¹⁶ (Trade Unionist)

In this sense these expressions show that there are two major reasons for the selection of below the line workers from young people. Firstly, the working conditions are so hard especially for those working as technicians which require an effort that can only be handled by young people. Secondly, since the older workers especially having long years of experiences in the industry aren't preferred because of their relatively high costs. As previously said, the dominance of “learning-in-the-job” gives the chance to select relatively low-cost labor force, teach them, and after they get experienced make them working also for relatively lower wages compared with those who are coming from outside the established personal networks.

To end this chapter in which it is dealt with some complicated network relations, a general review might be helpful before starting a new discussion. In this chapter, firstly it is argued that the private television's main functioning relies on the existence of the rating system and related to it, it depends on the money coming from the advertiser who pays the money according to the rating. TV series, which cover generally the prime-time, is seen as one of the main sources of TV

¹¹⁵ Ben ışık şefiyim, bu sektördeki deneyimimle ben en iyi yönetmenliği yaparım. Neden çünkü ben bu işi onların bildiğinden daha çok biliyorum. Onlar da biliyorlar, ışık şefi olarak bir işe gitsem benim isteyeceğim paradan çok daha azına çalıştırabilecekleri ışık şefine veriyorlar. O yüzden bu işi daha gençlerle daha deneyimsiz üniversitelilerle falan yapıyorlar.

¹¹⁶ Sana bir sanat yönetmeninden örnek vereyim. Türkiye'nin en iyilerinden. Birisi onunla çalışmak istiyorsa parasını verecek. Ama tercih etmiyorlar, onun yerine gençleri alıyorlar, yetiştiriyorlar, daha az para veriyorlar.

programming. As there is a general agreement that the flexible nature of demand on TV series causes an uncertainty and risky environment for the main investor, the TV channel, to minimize these problems needs a strategy. In this context, secondly, flexible specialization is mentioned as the primary strategy of reducing the uncertainty and risks. To do this, it is shown that, TV series use strategies of sub-contracting that leads to the TV series' out-house productions. Besides this, the exceptions, STV and KANAL 7's strategies are expressed, and a way to the analysis of their exceptional case is opened. Moreover another exception Kanal D's D Production is mentioned as a different form of outhouse production rather than an in-house production. As a result, as it was said before the strategy of TV channels is underlined as sub-contracting and out-housing. In the third part, the condition of the producers is analyzed in-depth. Since one of the outcomes of the second part marked the producers as the primary risk takers of the process in this part it is tried to show that the producers have also similar strategies of passing the uncertainty and risk, actually to the labor process. The strategy, which is generally called in the literature as project based networking is analyzed and starting from the case of the scriptwriters all of the core workers in the labor process is examined. In this part it is concluded that the producer find the core workers through their personal informal networks and structure latent organizations, so that they can get rid of formal boundaries and make the process a bit more certain with those workers they get used to. The producers' strategy in this sense is revealed as passing the uncertainty and risk to the labor process. However, at the end of this part another outcome of this is underlined. The informal relations and the interdependence of the producer and the creative core workers bound their interests together. As a result of this, the so called risk and uncertainty is passed to the contingently determined periphery workers. In this sense it is focused on the conditions of the below the line workers in detail, in the fourth and last part. In this part, the following questions, "how to become a technical worker?" "How to survive in the industry?" "How to be an ideal worker?"; and as a result "How to promote to the stage of creative workers to live and work under more certain conditions?" tried to be answered.

More generally, what this chapter revealed is the industrial structure, working relations and conditions of the sector outcomes words can be summarized as

flexibility, informality, uncertainty, discontinuity, contingency and insecurity. Moreover, it is stated that there is a sort of networking hierarchy which makes these structure, relations and conditions experienced in different degrees in the labor process as a result of the core-periphery divide of the worker force. What is done in the next chapter is to structure these characteristics in a general conceptual framework in the literature, called as precarious employment. To do this, a general definition and the general indicators of precarious employment is tried to be stated, the interviews and other sources such as literature and news are used for clarifying.

4.4) TV Series Work in the Context of Precarious Employment

4.4.1) Job Continuity

As it was explained in the second chapter, deciding whether a TV series will continue in existing or in the next the broadcasting season is under the initiative of the TV channel. To remember it, the first episodes of a TV series are seen as one of the most important periods in series production, since they are the ones determining the future of it. A famous producer, Faruk Turgut says that the first 4-6 episodes are those ones that show whether a series will get successful or not. (Finans Cafe, 2011)¹¹⁷ If the so called, “audience-catching episodes” (ISMMMO, 2010:4) catch the audience and the ratings reach to a desired rate, it is expected from the TV channel to decide for the TV series’ continuation. Moreover, if the ratings tend to decrease the TV channel might decide for its discontinuation in the next season. There might be other possibilities. What has to be underlined here is the TV

¹¹⁷ Finans Cafe is a TV Programm in CNBC-E. The mentioned interviewed can be reached from the following link: <http://tvarsivi.com/faruk-turgut-ile-dizi-sektoru-hakkinda-konusuluyor-08-09-2011-izle-i-2011090148305.html>

channels' primary role to make such a decision. Remembering the co-producers' words might be helpful:

“The contract was made according to 39 episodes. However, if you make a TV series for a big channel they have always the chance to end the TV series whenever they want. The channel has the right to cancel the project unilaterally, so this is an ineffective article in the contract.” (DR/CPR)¹¹⁸

In this sense, it is obvious that the workers in the production process especially in the first episodes work under the pressure of the TV series' discontinuation possibility. Moreover, since most of the TV series have found their workers at the beginning of the project, the workers couldn't find a new job in these projects until a place is opened or a new project starts in the middle of the season. However, since the amount of TV series starting at the middle of the season are very low relatively to those starting at the beginning of the season, many of the workers become unemployed until the beginning of the summer season.¹¹⁹ The scriptwriter says:

“People think that we earn very high. Actually we do. However you start a TV series and it might discontinue after three episodes, and to start a new project takes perhaps 6 months.” (SCW-1)¹²⁰

Although everyone gets unemployed after a TV series discontinues broadcasting, the conditions aren't equal for everyone in the industry. The following news explains this clearly:

TV Series which couldn't reach the desired rating levels are rapidly discontinued broadcasting. The sector which has entered the new season rapidly with 66 new TV series started to collapse after these discontinuations. While 19 TV series discontinued broadcasting in 3

¹¹⁸ “Yok sözleşme 39 bölüm olarak yapıldı. Ama kanalın tek tarafı olarak diziyi istediği zaman bitirme hakkı daima saklıdır. Diziyi x kanalında yapıyor olmanın bazı gereklilikleri var bunun en önemli kısmı da tabiki reyting, iş reyting almıyorsa ve reytingi kafaya takmayıp istediğim gibi olsun diye diretiyorsan bu zaten beklenen son oluyor. Sadece süresinin kısa olmasının sebep olduğu reklam ve reyting kaybı bile kanal için ciddi bir yükü zaten. AB de 3. olup totalde 25. oluyorsan kanal kaldırır arkadaşım, ya total seyircisini de kazanmaya bakacaksın AB'den ödün vereceksin ya dareyting kaygısında olmayan kanallarda yapacaksın bu işi. Ha yine olsun yine aynı yapıyorum yine x kanalında yapıyorum yalan yok. yine kaldırırlar o ayrı konu.”

¹¹⁹ This is approximately 8 months long, from October to June.

¹²⁰ İnsanlar bizim çok para kazandığımızı düşünüyorlar. Aslında kazanıyoruz. Ama bir dizi başlayıp üç hafta sonra yayından kaldırılınca yeni bir projeye başlaman 6 ay sürebiliyor.

weeks, it is also talked that 7 TV series' conditions are critic. Since many of the actors/actresses have got their payments beforehand they didn't have much trouble financially. However if it is supposed that 100 people work in a TV series, approximately 2000 people get unemployed. (Bugün, 23.11.2011)¹²¹

The following news shows the privileged conditions of the actors/actresses in this sense:

Aslantuğ whose wage is 40.000 Turkish Liras per episode in Canım Babam that is the TV series he acted after Hanımın Çiftliği, had got his wage for 13 episodes beforehand. Lastly, Aslantuğ signed a principal contract for acting in the TV Series Göç Zamanı which will be shot by Limon Yapım for ATV that is planned to be broadcasted in the New Year. However, because the wages of the 13 episodes weren't paid in the determined date, it is learned that he quitted the TV series, one of whose leading roles was İpek Tuzcuoğlu. (Milliyet, 12.12.2012)¹²²

Besides this, another fact which brings the actors/actresses in relatively advantageous conditions are their relatively high wages. Compared to a relatively low-waged worker, the money of an actor/actress had been earned by working in a TV series, is more possible to afford a living without working several months, or even a year. There are many examples of actors/actresses who don't work one year long having finished a TV series.¹²³

As it is mentioned earlier one of the ways to not suffer from unemployment might be seen as the informal personal networks. In other words, a worker whose

¹²¹ Beklenen reytinge ulaşamayan, dolayısıyla beklenen reklam gelirini sağlayamayan diziler ise hemen yayından kaldırılıyor. 66 diziyle sezona hızlı bir giriş yapan sektör, çok sayıda dizinin yayından kaldırılmasıyla büyük bir çöküş yaşadı. 3 haftada 19 dizi yayından kaldırılırken 7 dizinin daha durumunun kritik olduğu konuşuluyor. Pek çok başrol oyuncusu paralarını peşin aldığı için maddi sıkıntı yaşamadı. Ancak bir dizide yaklaşık 100 kişinin çalıştığı düşünülürse, yaklaşık 2 bin kişi bir anda işsiz kaldı. <http://magazin.bugun.com.tr/bunlar-dedikodu-dedi-ama-176134-haberi.aspx>

¹²² Bölüm ücreti ortalama 40 bin lira olan Aslantuğ, "Hanımın Çiftliği"nin ardından rol aldığı "Canım Babam" isimli sit-com'da da ücretini peşin olarak almıştı. Aslantuğ son olarak yeni yılda ekrana gelmesi planlanan Limon Yapım'ın atv için çekeceği "Göç Zamanı" dizisi için prensip anlaşması yaptı. Ancak Aslantuğ'un, 13 bölümlük ücreti kendisine belirttiği tarihte ödenmeyince İpek Tuzcuoğlu'nun da başrolleri arasında adının geçtiği "Göç Zamanı" dizisinden koptuğu öğrenildi. <http://magazin.milliyet.com.tr/pesin-para-yoksa-aslantug-da-yok/magazin/magazindetay/12.12.2011/1474265/default.htm>

¹²³ Kenan İmirzalıoğlu, Haluk Bilginer, Halil Ergün, Cansu Dere, Erdal Özyağcılar and so on, are ones who didn't take a role this season (2011-2012) after their last succesful TV series. Some of them started some projects at the beginning of the summer season.

personal informal networks are relatively stronger is more advantageous to connect with those in the industry to ask for available jobs. The co-producer/director wrote in an Internet forum the following words when his TV series had been continuing, however facing the possibility of early discontinuation.

*The 39th episode stands in my computer. I don't know whether we see the 39th episode. At the end of summer, a lot of new series will start. If they say to finish it at 26th episode I might rapidly improve the storyline and make the final, I'm not sure about this part. For now, I'm making it after my own heart, by discovering its pleasure (very slowly); let's see what the destiny brings. If it finishes, I will have more time for my film to spend, which might be better.*¹²⁴ (DR/CPR, 29.06.2011)

The TV series that Director/Co-producer mentions didn't able to survive even 26 episodes; it was finished after its 13th episode. However, what needs to be underlined in the words of the Director/Co-Producer is the relatively relaxed feeling of him. Since his next project is already determined, in other words, he has a job certainty for the future, has made him to feel relatively comfortable. To contrast his condition, the expressions of the CA, who explains his long unemployment period, might be clear:

“At the end of 2009 all of the jobs were completed. Potential jobs were also completed. I said to myself that 2010 will be the year of short film and I will earn nothing. That's what actually happened; I shot 2-3 short films. The time had past like that until summer. I was still unemployed. I found some small jobs, but they weren't enough. Compulsory, I had received some money from my parents. But until that time you had earned some money somehow, your standards had increased. So, the money sent by your parents weren't enough anymore. It was summer, my parents said: 'What are you doing there? If you do nothing, come back here.' By here, I mean Izmit. I found it logical. I got off from Istanbul. Then, I had experienced a 5-6 months long dark period. Why do I say dark? I hadn't do anything, professionally or amateur. There was nothing to do. No job, no projects. No no no! I got bored. I didn't know what to do.” (CA)¹²⁵

¹²⁴ 39.bölüm duruyor computerde. Ha 39 u görür müyüz bilmem. Yaz bitimi bir ton dizi girecek 26 da bitirin derlerse olaylar hızla gelişip finale bağlayabilirim bilmem o kısmı. Şimdilik kafamdaki gibi zevkine vara vara (yaya yaya) gidiyorum kısmet artık. Biterse filme daha fazla vakit kalır o da hayırlısı olur belki. <http://filmfabrikasi.com/forum/viewtopic.php?f=64&t=9001&start=120>

¹²⁵ 2009'un sonunda bütün işler bitmişti. Potansiyel işler de bitmişti. Kendi kendime 2010 kısa film yılı olacak ve hiçbir şey kazanamayacağım demiştim. Öyle de oldu 2-3 kısa film çektim. Yaza

The uncertainty expressed by the camera assistant and the unemployment period he tells as being “dark” differs from those of the director/co-producers’. While the director who sees the period he spends jobless as a possible chance for his upcoming project, the same period is considered as being uncertain, dark and boring by the camera assistant. Here again networking counts. What marks the importance of it especially in the unemployment period might be derived from the words of the same camera assistant after 2 years experience in the sector:

I thought that the TV series could offer me nothing, though I decided to take part in it by saying ‘never mind, perhaps we will meet someone, actually we met. I met with a lighting chef. He was a great one. I had had great relations with him. When the TV series was about to finish, he told me to help to start a new job somewhere. He told me: ‘work and promote.’ The TV series finished, time had past, and I called him. I explained my state. He sent me to someone, to a director of photographer. I also explained everything to him. Anyway, I started to work, but without earning money, but I knew that they will pay me after a few jobs. (CA)¹²⁶

As this case shows the camera assistant had more chance to find a new job when he had developed personal networks in the industry. During the interview conducted, he was working still in the same firm of the director of photography. What he tells about working in a firm mark another important point in terms of job continuity:

Two days before the project I went to the project company and two people came in: The cameraman and focus puller. They were the worst people they could be. I said ‘screw you’. They started to grouse about me since they think that I was not experienced enough. At that night, I came back to Besiktas my phone rang. The production

kadar böyle geçti. İşsizdim. Arada ufak tefek işler oldu ama yeterli değildi. Mecburen ailemden biraz para almam gerekti. Ama o zamana kadar biraz da olsa para kazanmışsın, standartların yükselmiş, ailenin yolladığı para yeterli gelmiyor. Yazdı, ailem dedi eğer bir şey yapmıyorsan niye orada duruyorsun buraya gel. Burayadan kastım İzmit. Bana da mantıklı geldi. Ayrıldım İstanbul’dan. Orada 5-6 aylık karanlık bir dönem geçirdim. Neden karanlık diyorum? Amatör ya da profesyonel olarak hiçbir şey yapmıyordum. Yapacak hiçbir şey yoktu. Ne iş ne bir proje. Yok yok yok! Sıkıldım, ne yapacağımı bilemedim.

¹²⁶ Bu dizinin bana bir şey katabileceğini düşünmüyordum ama yine de yer almayı tercih ettim “boşver, belki biriyle tanışırız diye, tanıştık da”. Bir ışık şefiyle tanıştım. İyi biriydi. İyi ilişkilerim oldu onunla. Dizi bitmek üzereyken bana bir yerlerde iş bulmak için yardım edeceğini söyledi. Bana dedi: çalış ve yüksel. Dizi bitti, zaman geçti aradan aradım bunu. Durumumu anlattım. Beni birine yolladı, bir görüntü yönetmeni. Ona da anlattım her şeyi. Neyse, başladım çalışmaya, para kazanmıyorum tabi ama bir süre sonra bana para vermeye başlayacaklarını biliyorum.

coordinator was calling: 'Excuse me! We can't work with you' Why, I asked, 'does everyone know about this.' 'Yes, he said, it is a group decision'. Long story short, they decided to put their own man instead of me. However I was more relief than before, since I had connections with a firm anymore, as a matter of fact, after a short time another project was offered to me. (CA)¹²⁷

As this three year long story of a camera assistant, starting from weak networking ties to connect himself to a camera firm, the most certain conditions for a below the line worker to find continuously jobs might be argued as being derived from strong networking ties and related to it connection with a camera firm. This is what the sound technician and the Yeşilçam Laborer-2 argues either:

"When one of my projects finishes I enjoy the convenience of being a member of a firm, because people are calling the firm asking for their needs, and the firm passes the job to me. I don't hesitate too much from getting unemployed." (ST)¹²⁸

"What we want is job, but they don't give it. Why don't they offer us a job? Because the job is these days, if you are an actor/actress, in the hand of agencies. If you look behind the scenes, to the technician side, everything is under the control of firms." (YL-2)

This makes the picture clearer. As a summary, it might be argued that the less precarious workers in terms of job continuity in the production process are generally the above the line workers (especially actors and actresses) in two senses: firstly, because their relatively high wages give them the chance to wait relatively longer as unemployed. Secondly, their relatively strong informal personal network ties make their next job more certain. Thirdly, they don't compete with a reserve army of labor as the below the line workers do, that is, they are difficult to get replaced by an alternative. The case for job continuity in the below the line workers are relatively more precarious. However by having strong informal personal networks or being connected to a firm specialized in a section of production process are the strategies to

¹²⁷ Projeden iki gün önce proje şirketine gittim iki kişi geldi içeri, kameraman ve focus puller. Olabilecek en kötü iki kişiydi onlar benim için. Dedim hassiktir! Benim hakkımda yakınmaya başladılar falan tecrübesizim diye. O gece, Beşiktaş'a geri döndüm telefonum çaldı. Yapım koordinatörüyü arayan: Kusura bakma! Seninle çalışamayacağız. Neden diye sordum, herkesin haberi var mı bu durumdan? Evet dedi ekip kararı. Kısacası, benim yerime kendi adamlarını koymayı tercih etmişler. Ama yine de eskiye göre daha rahattım Çünkü artık firmayla bağlantılarım vardı, neticesinde kısa bir süre sonra yeni bir proje teklif ettiler bana.

¹²⁸ Benim projeler bitince ben firmadan çalışmanın rahatlığını yaşıyorum. Çünkü insanlar firmayı arıyorlar, isteklerini söylüyorlar firmada işi bana paslıyor. İşsizlikten çok yakınmıyorum ben.

find jobs continuously. Shortly, the future has to be planned continuously in the present by forcing the worker to remain competitive in the future. Papadapoulous et al. explain this feeling in this sense:

Self-exploitation happens in the regime of precarious life and labor when someone tries to anticipate and explore the future through its dissemination into the present and to intensify their own efforts to ensure that they remain competitive in the future. This post-contractual form of dependency is twofold: it is a dependency on the employer, who offers limited contracts, as well as a dependency on oneself to increase one's own capacity to get such contracts in the future. (Papadapoulos et al. 2008: 233)

As it is argued here, the issue of exploitation turns into way of life, on which one feels it on its body in terms of continuous questioning whether one is “good enough” for survival in the industry. This materializes in this particular sense if the below the line worker as establishing continuous networks.

Additionally a relatively disadvantageous section in the production process is the unskilled workers of the production process, which actually don't contribute to the product directly however do certain assisting works such as tea-making, being a figurant, carrying some staff and so on. The director/co-producer explains how they are found:

“These are people passing by and watching the shooting. If there is a need, you go and ask whether he works somewhere or not. If he doesn't you say ‘come and serve us tea, or do some swapping.’”(DR/CPR)¹²⁹

Figurants are the best examples for those unskilled ones especially in terms of their population. Moreover, figurants are also a source of the cast agencies which have an important place in the industry. Figurants are also institutionalized as the below the line workers who are connected to a firm. There are special cast agencies who take pictures of voluntarily applying people for being a figurant in a TV series. The producer company applies to this agency to find figurants according to the appearance or property they need. What the agency does is to tell those people that they are called to take part as figurants in a TV series and organize the meeting in the shooting day. It is similar to the previously explained firm system however what

¹²⁹ Onlar gelip geçen, geçerken çekime bakan insanlar. Bir ihtiyaç varsa gidersin, bir yerde çalışıyor musun dersin. Çalışmıyorsa gel çay koy bize dersin, ya da işte getir götür işi yap falan.

needs to be underlined is the specific case of the “job” itself. Actually, “being a figurant” is a daily job. All of the figurants met during the thesis were whether working somewhere else, retired, students or unemployed ones. Even the unemployed ones considered this daily job of being a figurant not as a job at all. The figurants express this as following:

“I’m not working. Actually I’m studying for the KPSS exam. During that time because I was bored I went to a cast agency and got registered. In one year I took part in one project. They called me two times more but I didn’t go. Actually, I wouldn’t come to this either, however since it is an adventure genre; I thought that it might be a bit enjoyable.” (FGR-1)¹³⁰

“I work in a furniture shop. I’m registered in a cast agency. Yesterday they called. I left the shop to one of my friends, and come here.” (FGR-2)¹³¹

“I’m a retired banker. I have been always interested in theater. Therefore in my retirement period I have registered in a cast agency.” (FGR-3)¹³²

“It is my fifth year in school; I have extended the school year. Therefore I was looking for a part-time job. Since I have only three classes this semester, there is too much time left for me. I have had always a dream to become an actor, not a figurant actually, but I became one.” (FGR-4)¹³³

One of the biggest agencies’ description part shows also the general work force registered in a cast agency:

In summary, Mayadroom Agency provides job opportunities in TV series, advertisement and cinema films as figurants which means people taking part in small roles, from children to old, to students,

¹³⁰ Ben çalışmıyorum. KPSS’ye hazırlanıyorum aslında. İşte, çalışırken falan canım sıkılıyordu, gittim bir kast ajansına kayıt oldum. Bir yılda sadece bir projeye gittim. Ondan sonra iki kere daha çağırdılar ama gitmedim. Aslında buna da gelmeyecektim ama bu macera türü diye, zevkli olur diye düşündüm.

¹³¹ Ben mobilya dükkanında çalışıyorum ya. Ajansa kayıtlıyım. Dün aradılar. Dükkanı arkadaşına bıraktım geldim.

¹³² Ben emekli bankacıyım. Her zaman tiyatroya bir ilgim vardı benim aslında. O yüzden emeklilik dönemimde gideyim bir kast ajansına kayıt olayım dedim.

¹³³ Benim okulda bu beşinci senem, uzattım okulu. O yüzden part-time bir iş arıyordum. Bu sene sadece üç dersim olduğu için boş zamanım da çok oluyor. Zaten hep aktör olmak istemişimdir, figüran değil ama, yine de oldum.

*retired, housewives, unemployed, and for thousands of people feeling a need, by paying their monthly wages without postponing them. (Mayadroom agency)*¹³⁴

As the expressions and description shows being a figurant isn't considered as a continuous job rather than it is considered as an additional supply or interest. In this sense, the frequency of the job becomes important. As it can be derived from the expressions of the figurant the frequency of calling someone for a job is very rare. Similarly the figurant-4 indicates it:

*"I had worked as a figurant 8 times in my previous agency, with my new agency 5 times. Approximately 15 times it is."*¹³⁵ (FGR-4)

The answer given to the question whether he feels himself as a frequently chosen member of the agency is as following:

*"No! On the contrary you get the feeling like 'are they going to call me again?' This feeling never ends no matter how much they have called you"*¹³⁶ (FGR-4)

When the reason of this is asked the following answer was given:

"If the camera catches your face one time, you might not be called to a TV series a certain time as a different figurant, because the audience might remember your face from another role. Therefore I don't want generally to be seen by the camera." (FGR-4)¹³⁷

¹³⁴ Özetle; MayadRoom Ajans Televizyon Dizileri, Reklam Filmleri ve Sinema Filmlerine, çocuğundan yaşlısına, öğrenci, emekli, ev hanımı, işsiz ile ihtiyaç sahibi olan binlerce insanı her ay hak edişlerini aksatmadan zamanında ödeyerek Figüran olarak adlandırılan küçük rollere göndermekte ve iş olanağı sağlamaktadır. <http://www.mayadroomajans.com/Detail.aspx?ID=1>

¹³⁵ Eski ajansla 8 işe falan gittim, bunda da 5 tane falan gittim. Toplam 15 kere falan gitmişimdir yani.

¹³⁶ Yo, aksine acaba arayacaklar mı diye hissediyorsun. Bu bir de ne kadar işe giderse git değişmez, her zaman hissedersin.

¹³⁷ Kamera yüzünü bir kere yakalarsa bir süre diziye figüran olarak çağrılmazsın çünkü seyirci senin yüzünü tanıyabilir başka bir rolden. O yüzden ben kamera tarafından görülmeyi pek istemem.

Besides this functional reason another fact for this might be the enormous amount of the figurants registered to an agency. The registered figurant amounts of some agencies taken from their web-sites are as following¹³⁸:

Mayadroom Agency: 80.000 (in year 2009)

Family Agency: 90.000 (in year 2011)

Best Model Agency: 40.000 (in year 2009)

Cem Agency: 38.000 (in year 2007)

On the other hand, the staff carriers and tea-maker, or generally the servants are people sometimes brought by someone working in the set to do some staff. However in the sets observed, the servants were people working as the figurants for their daily payments. During an observation of a shooting set it is asked to a production assistant who these people are:

“We find them around here, or sometimes tell someone to bring one, or there are people waiting in the figurant market. If we like their working we ask them to come the next day. Sometimes they come, sometimes not.”¹³⁹ (PRA)

In this sense as a general conclusion, it might be argued that there are two important determinants for the case of job continuity. One is the case of strong networking. That is, the ones who have strong ties with the people in the industry, in the cases of unemployment are more capable of finding jobs and reduce the time-period passing as unemployment. This case makes the worker feel under a pressure in terms of developing himself/herself, finding connections, and as a result exploiting self by questioning whether one is good enough to compete in the industry. However, as it is generally said this is also not equally felt in the industry. On the contrary, since the above the line workers because of their long history in the industry have more networks in the industry they are more capable on finding new jobs compared to the peripheral workers. The case determining the precariousness in the industry is

¹³⁸ Besides this amounts of registered members it is mentioned that everyday there is a 50 new applicants to the agencies. (ISMMMO, 2010: 405)

¹³⁹ İşte onları burada etraftan buluyoruz. Bazen diyoruz ki işte varsa biri getirin yardım etsin. Ya da işte figüran pazarında bekleyenler oluyor. Eğer işte çalışmalarını beğenirsek yarın da gel diyoruz. Belki geliyorlar, belki gelmiyorlar belli olmaz.

the case of skill. Since the above the line workers are considered as privileged in terms of their high “scarce” skills, they are more advantageous in terms of job finding.

4.4.2 Wages

It is obvious that in a project-based industry the security of wages are interrelated with the fact of job continuity. In other words, the workers in the industry are receiving wages if they only actively take part in the projects. More specifically a TV series broadcasted the whole season continues 8-9 months approximately 35-40 episodes. This means that a worker is paid only 8-9 months in one year. If the worker wants and could find a job, might take part in the TV series broadcasted in the summer season.

The above explained possibility is of course the most optimistic story for a TV series worker. However, as it is said, the issue of being paid is closely related with the fact of job continuity, results to a state of environment in which the wages aren't secure.¹⁴⁰ The following news which is also written previously marks also this point:

TV Series which couldn't reach the desired rating levels are rapidly discontinued broadcasting. The sector which has entered the new season rapidly with 66 new TV series started to collapse after these discontinuations. While 19 TV series discontinued broadcasting after 3 weeks, it is also talked that 7 TV series' conditions are critic. Since many of the actors/actresses have got their payments beforehand they didn't have much trouble financially. However if it is supposed that 100 people are working in a TV series, approximately 2000 people get unemployed. (Bugün, 23.11.2011)¹⁴¹

¹⁴⁰ For a similar finding look at Christopherson and Storper (1989)

¹⁴¹ Beklenen reytinge ulaşamayan, dolayısıyla beklenen reklam gelirini sağlayamayan diziler ise hemen yayından kaldırılıyor. 66 diziyse sezona hızlı bir giriş yapan sektör, çok sayıda dizinin yayından kaldırılmasıyla büyük bir çöküş yaşadı. 3 haftada 19 dizi yayından kaldırılırken 7 dizinin daha durumunun kritik olduğu konuşuluyor. Pek çok başrol oyuncusu paralarını peşin aldığı için maddi sıkıntı yaşamadı. Ancak bir dizide yaklaşık 100 kişinin çalıştığı düşünülürse, yaklaşık 2 bin kişi bir anda işsiz kaldı. <http://magazin.bugun.com.tr/bunlar-dedikodu-dedi-ama-176134-haberi.aspx>

Similarly the scriptwriter-1 and director of photography/lighting chef express:

We, the scriptwriters, are generally considered to be earning too much money. A scriptwriter gets approximately 10.000-15.000 TL per episode. However, since we work under groups lets say having 5 members; the amount one scriptwriter gets decreases. It is still too much, 12.000 TL in one month, but what happens? The TV series discontinues broadcasting after its third episodes. You get that money and become unemployed until the next season. I made a calculation once and figured out that I had earned that year similar with one of my friends earning approximately 2.500 TL per month. (SCW-1)¹⁴²

“This is a job in which you can earn good money relatively from other jobs in the private industries. However, the possibility of getting unemployed is much higher.” (DOP / Lighting Chef)¹⁴³

Since this is the case the money earned in the industry needs to be considered not monthly but yearly. Nevertheless the following wages are still relatively high compared to the Turkey’s conditions:

The amounts stated are wages earned per week¹⁴⁴

Leading Actors/Actresses: 15.000-60.000 TL

Supporting Actors/Actresses: 5.000-15.000 TL

Bit Part Taking Actors/Actresses: 2.000-5.000 TL

Scriptwriters: 7.000- 20.000 TL

Director: 5.000 – 15.000 TL

Director of Photography: 4.000 – 8.000 TL

Director of Art: 3.000 – 8.000 TL

THE LINE

Director Assistant: 1.000-2.000 TL

Other director assistants (2nd, 3rd, 4th): 500 – 1000 TL

¹⁴² Biz senaristler aslında çok para kazanılır zannediliriz. Bir senaristin bölüm başına kazandığı para 10.000 -15.000 arasındadır. Ama biz grup içinde çalıştığımız için diyelim ki 5 kişiden oluşuyor her senaristin eline geçen para düşüyor.

¹⁴³ Bu iş diğer işlere göre daha çok para kazanabileceğin bir iştir ama işsiz kalma şansın daha çoktur.

¹⁴⁴ Derived from the sectoral analysis made between 2011-2012. Since this thesis is finished before 2012 season started the amounts might not reflect the exact data of this season.

Lighting Chef: 1.500- 2.500 TL
Cameraman: 1.000 -2.000 TL
Focus Puller: 1.000 – 2.000 TL
Camera Assistants: 400 – 1.000 TL
Lighting Assistants: 400 – 1.000 TL
Set Chef: 1.000 – 1.500
Set Assistants: 400 – 1.000 TL
Director of Art Assistants: 400 – 1.000 TL
Sound Technician: 1.000 – 2.000 TL
Boom Operator: 500 – 1.000 TL
Make-Up: 500 – 1000 TL
Décor: 500 – 1000 TL
Episodic Actors and Actresses (with dialogue): 250-500 TL
Episodic Actors and Actresses (without dialogue): 100-250 TL
Figurants: 20-30 TL
Unskilled Workers: 20-50 TL

As it is seen, although the wages are high there is a similar core-periphery divide in terms of wages, in which the creative core workers earn higher, while the technical and unskilled workers' wages are relatively lower. However, in this part what is more important than the amount of wages is the stability of getting the wages in time. The general rule continues in this sense either.

As previously mentioned, the actors and actresses are the most advantageous side in terms of receiving their wages in time. It is also indicated that there are some privileged actors and actresses who get even their 13 episode wages beforehand. However there are also some cases which also affect the actors/actresses. Ece Uslu says in an interview:

“I guess it is my bad luck. We may face such undesired things. We stopped the project as a team. I said ‘I continue when all the debts are

*paid.’ Since it wasn’t paid, I didn’t continue.” (Milliyet, 24.04, 2012)*¹⁴⁵

A similar case is in the following news:

*“Zeynep Eronat, who prosecuted the production company for the credits of 16 episodes’ wages from the TV series she was acting in a leading role, said except Fikret Kuşkan and Nejat İşler everyone has unpaid wages. The Lawyer of Eronat, Hüsnü Özçetin said ‘We have proceeded a prosecution for the debt, but we couldn’t find anything for seizing.’ Also the producers said ‘Yes we have debts but don’t have money. We will pay them from the money we will get from the first project we are going to make. That’s the point we are in.” (Ali Eyüboğlu, 08.04.2012)*¹⁴⁶

As it is clear, as well as actors/actresses getting their wages beforehand, there are also cases where even the leading actors/actresses aren’t able to get their money. However, what have to be underlined from the last quotation above are the cases of Nejat İşler and Fikret Kuşkan. Since they are more popular actors from those others taking part in the TV series, they are the first ones firstly paid. In this sense, it might be argued that a hierarchical order is even acceptable within the actors/actresses.

As the actors and actresses the other above the line workers may also face with similar conditions:

*“Nisan Akman, who directed 86 episodes in the second season of Parmaklıklar Ardında, has credits of 20 episodes’ wages. Akman who says he didn’t trialed the production company because she thought that they had lived haplessness said ‘We waited them for getting a new project and pay our debts, but they didn’t. Compulsory, I have started to a new project.” (Ali Eyüboğlu, 08.04.2012)*¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁵ Herhalde benim şanssızlığım. Böyle tatsız olaylar yaşayabiliyoruz. Ekip olarak durdurmuştuk işi. “Bütün borçlar kapanırsa devam ederim” dedim. Ödenmediği için de devam etmedim. http://cadde.milliyet.com.tr/2012/04/24/HaberDetay/1430899/SIRA_ANNELİKTE

¹⁴⁶ Başrol oyuncusu olduğu diziden 16 bölüm alacağını tahsil etmek için dava açan Zeynep Eronat, Fikret Kuşkan’la Nejat İşler’in dışında herkesin şirkette parasının kaldığını söyledi. Eronat’ın avukatı Hüsnü Özçetin, “İcra takibi başlattık, ama şirkette haciz koyacak bir şey bulamadık. Yapımcılar ise ‘Evet, borcumuz var, ama paramız yok. Yapacağımız ilk işten alacağımız parayla borçlarımızı ödeyeceğiz’ diyor. Gelinek nokta bu” dedi. <http://cadde.milliyet.com.tr/2012/04/08/YazarDetay/1347176/paralari-parmakliklar-ardinda-kaldi>

¹⁴⁷ İkinci sezonunda başladığı ‘Parmaklıklar Ardında’ dizisinde 86 bölüm yönetmenlik yapan Nisan Akman’ın şirketten 20 bölüm alacağı var. Bir şanssızlık yaşadıklarını düşündüğü için yapımcılara dava açmadığını söyleyen Akman, “Yeni bir iş alsınlar da ödememizi yapsınlar diye bekledik, ama olmadı. Ben de mecburen yeni bir işe girdim.

The same problem is obviously valid for the below the line workers. For example, ironically, in a TV series, Bu Kalp Seni Unutur Mu which was about the 70's worker and socialist movements is faced with its workers' strike:

It is claimed that the producer aren't able to pay the wages of the actors/actresses. Therefore the crew is working without receiving their money of the last 8-10 weeks. The crew running out of patience decided to stop working under these conditions. (Vatan, 10.02.2010)¹⁴⁸

Another example might be given from the TV Series Kızım Nerede, which was discontinued broadcasting due to its financial problems:

"The TV series named Kızım Nerede's crew is facing with difficult days. As the actors/actresses and the set crew can't receive their wages of 10 episodes decided to don't go to the set."(Bugün, 03.06.2011)¹⁴⁹

A more detailed story is explained by Berfu Şeker by giving examples from her experiences in an article:

"Let me give an example from my life: I could receive the money of a TV series which continued 3 months long, in 12 months, again, the money of another TV series which continued 1 month, in 12 months by installments. For the money which I deserved, I had gone again and again to the production companies. Every time 'they had no money', or they said me to 'go and come tomorrow.' Because I wasn't sick of it, had hope and could endure the insulting process, I was able to receive the chickenfeed. I also know that some of my friends give up in this process by being sick of and some of them struggled with trials which caused them more financial losses. (Bianet, 26.09.2009)¹⁵⁰

<http://cadde.milliyet.com.tr/2012/04/08/YazarDetay/1347176/paralari-parmakliklar-ardinda-kaldi>

¹⁴⁸ Yapımcının, oyuncu ve set işçilerine maaş ödeyemediği iddia ediliyor. Bu yüzden ekip, 8-10 haftadır para almadan çalışıyor. Sabrı tükenen ekip, mevcut şartlarda çalışmama kararı aldı. http://haber.gazetevatan.com/Bu_kalp_Seni_Unutur_mu_ekibi_kazan_kaldirdi_/286529/11/Haber

¹⁴⁹ 'Kızım Nerede' adlı dizinin ekibi zor günler yaşıyor. Oyuncular ve set ekibi 10 bölümdür paralarını alamadığı için sete gitmeme kararı verdi. <http://magazin.bugun.com.tr/kizim-nerede-de-para-isyani-157248-haberi.aspx>

¹⁵⁰ Kendi yaşamımdan örnek vereyim: Üç ay süren bir dizinin parasını on iki ayda, yine bir ay süren bir dizinin parasını ise taksitli olarak on iki ayda aldım. Hakkım olan parayı almak için defalarca yapımcı firmaların kapısını aşındırdım. Her defasında "para yoktu", "bugün git yarın gel" deniyordu.

Besides all these difficulties, the below the line workers aren't paid also in their "testing periods." In other words, a worker doesn't guarantee to receive his/her payments unless he/she pass the testing period and really be accepted to the firm or project. The camera assistant, who says that he worked without receiving money at the beginning, is an example for this. Moreover, the sound technician says:

"It is a common thing to exploit the assistants in the industry. There are a lot of people working as interns without getting paid." (ST)¹⁵¹

Another point is also underlined by the sound technician:

"We are getting paid per episode but this is a very wrong system. Sometimes, especially the first episodes of a TV series are shot in one month or in one and a half month. For example in a TV series I worked we shot two episodes in 2 months and get a wage for 2 episodes and this makes our wages very low." (ST)¹⁵²

In this case explained by the sound technician, the crew had to be paid for 8 episodes in the normal shooting frequency, where every episode is shot in one week, however, as he says the crew is paid for 2 episodes that result to a 6 episode excess for the producer considering the normal shooting frequency.

In this context, when it is focused on what the results of the precarious conditions are in the case of wage-receiving reveals problems on self-sufficiency. Although the student says that he doesn't have cash problems since his parents provide him enough money to continue his life, he also says the following:

"It resulted to something might be called as depression. My parents and my teachers always supported me. I'm not an egoist man, but my self-confidence is very high, because of the support given me by the people around me. However because I wasn't doing anything I had

Yılmayıp, bu ümit ve onur kırıcı sürece katlandığım için gittikçe eriyip giden üç kuruş paramı alabildim. Kimi arkadaşımınsa bu süreçten yılarak paralarından vazgeçtiğini, kimininse astarı yüzünden pahalıya gelen mahkeme süreciyle uğraştığını gördüm.

<http://bianet.org/biamag/diger/117221-set-kazalari-ve-zihniyet-problemleri>

¹⁵¹ Ama şey vardır sektörde çok, asistanı sömürme. Bir sürü stajyer parasını almadan çalışır.

¹⁵² Biz bölüm başına para alırız ama bu çok yanlış bir sistem. Bazen, özellikle ilk bölümlerde diziler bir bir buçuk ayda çekilir bir bölümü. Mesela benim çalıştığım bir dizinin iki bölümünü iki ayda çektik, ama iki bölümlük para aldık. Bu da bizim ücretimizi çok düşüren bir şey.

felt myself under pressure. This created an intimidation. But, recently I have been trying to think positively.” (ST)¹⁵³

Similarly the camera assistant tells about his dark period:

I was still unemployed. I found some small jobs, but they weren't enough. Compulsory, I had got some money from my parents that time. Until that time you had earned some money somehow, your standards had increased. So, the money had been send by your parents weren't enough anymore. It was summer, my parents said: 'What are you doing there? If you do nothing there come back here.' By here, I mean Izmit. I found it logical. I got off from Istanbul. Then, I had experienced a 5-6 months long dark period. Why do I say dark? I hadn't do anything, professionally or amateur. There was nothing, potentially. No job, no projects. No no no! I got bored. I didn't know what to do.” (CA)¹⁵⁴

Going one step further and looking at the unskilled workers' side, it is observed that they have no standard payments except figurants. Unskilled workers who work as carriers or as similar service providers are paid for their daily work after the work finishes. In one of the observations of a TV series' set three people were selected from the public watching, one of them was used as a figurant, two of them had helped the set crew during the work as ones knowing the shooting place well. It was asked to the executive producer, the one who is in charge in the shooting place financially on behalf of the producer, whether they paid or not. He said that they pay 20 TL each of them. It was also asked about their selection criteria. One of the production assistant said that they go and ask whether someone

¹⁵³ Bu depresyon diyebileceğimiz bir şeye sebep oldu. Aslında ailem ve çevrem bana hep destek verdi. Ben egoist biri değilim ama özgüven çok yüksektir bana çevremden gelen destek sayesinde. Ama yine de bir şey yapamadığım için kendimi çok baskı altında hissettim. Bu bir yılgınlık yarattı. Ama son zamanlarda daha pozitif düşünmeye çalışıyorum.

¹⁵⁴ İşsizdim. Arada ufak tefek işler oldu ama yeterli değildi. Mecburen ailemden biraz para almam gerekti. Ama o zamana kadar biraz da olsa para kazanmışsın, standartların yükselmiş, ailenin yolladığı para yeterli gelmiyor. Yazdı, ailem dedi eğer bir şey yapmıyorsan niye orada duruyorsun buraya gel. Burayadan kastım İzmit. Bana da mantıklı geldi. Ayrıldım İstanbul'dan. Orada 5-6 aylık karanlık bir dönem geçirdim. Neden karanlık diyorum? Amatör ya da profesyonel olarak hiçbir şey yapmıyordum. Yapacak hiçbir şey yoktu. Ne iş ne bir proje. Yok yok yok! Sıkıldım, ne yapacağımı bilemedim. Bu dizinin bana bir şey katabileceğini düşünmüyordum ama yine de yer almayı tercih ettim “boşver, belki biriyle tanışırız diye, tanıştık da”. Bir ışık şefiyle tanıştım. İyi biriydi. İyi ilişkilerim oldu onunla. Dizi bitmek üzereyken bana bir yerlerde iş bulmak için yardım edeceğini söyledi. Bana dedi: çalış ve yüksel. Dizi bitti, zaman geçti aradan aradım bunu. Durumumu anlattım. Beni birine yolladı, bir görüntü yönetmeni. Ona da anlattım her şeyi. Neyse, başladım çalışmaya, para kazanmıyorum tabi ama bir süre sonra bana para vermeye başlayacaklarını biliyorum.

wants to work and finally that they make a collective decision to give the work. However, in the same set, it is also asked to a man selected as a figurant whether he is going to be paid. He said: “no! I was voluntary. I went to the man over there¹⁵⁵ and said that I want to take part in it, he said, let’s see. After, he called me.”¹⁵⁶

Besides the people who are selected from the shooting location or brought according to daily needs, the figurants work under relatively standardized conditions. The reason to use the words “relatively standardized” is because of the selection process in which the cast agency is involved. The figurants are paid by their cast agency whether end of the day or monthly according to the day they’ve worked. The amount a figurant gets is approximately 25 TL for 20 hours. If the shooting continues more than 20 hours, additional payment is given. This is the expressed standard process however the expressions of the figurants show that they aren’t paid regularly:

“Actually, I wouldn’t come again. It is a very difficult thing, and also they don’t pay your money in time. In the last job I went they paid it 2 months later.” (FGR-1)¹⁵⁷

“The agency I’m registered in now, pays the wages regularly, however the other one I was previously in, had postponed it generally.” (FGR-4)¹⁵⁸

What a cast agency gets for each figurant they send to the set as commission is approximately 75-100TL. Cast agencies are used as intermediary agents that provide a service of classifying their figurants which makes the selection process easier for the production company. Some examples of these categories are; cast with dialogue, cast of presenters, cast of special abilities, cast of university students, cast of babies and children, cast of twins and triplet, cast of families, cast of doctors and science man, cast of nurses, cast of bodyguards and so on. In the selection process, the production companies specify their needs for figurants and the cast agencies’

¹⁵⁵ Here he showed the executive producer.

¹⁵⁶ Yok ya ben gönüllü oldum. Şu adama gittim, dedim ben de oynasam ya bir yerde dedim, bakalım dedi, sonra da çağırdı gel diye.

¹⁵⁷ Aslında buna da gelmeyecektim, çünkü çok zor iş. Ha bir de paranı zamanında ödemiyorlar. Son gittiğim işte iki ay sonra ödediler.

¹⁵⁸ Şimdi kayıtlı olduğum ajansta düzenli ödüyorlar. Ama diğerinde genelde erteliyorlardı.

categorizations make them easier to find their specific need. However, there are also figurants who aren't registered in cast agencies. They are those waiting in a specific place called as "figurants market" which is the forecourt of the Ataturk Cultural Center in İstanbul, Taksim. Actually this is the center where all the figurants coming from cast agencies also meet and are taken by the TV series' shooting place. This place has become in time also a place where unregistered figurants are also meeting and looking for possible jobs. A newspaper article describes it:

"It is morning 7 o'clock. As always, a crowd is waiting for the producers in front of Taksim Ataturk Cultural Center. We stepped in. Retired ones having plastic bags in their hands, young ones returned nearly from military service, students, housewives together with their children with sleepy eyes, men. People from every age, as you understand. Although many of them are there for a living, there are also ones with the hope of getting seen by camera a little bit. However, 20 TL wage is most of theirs reason." (Yusuf Bülbül, 25.09.09, Zaman, taken from Kenthaber)¹⁵⁹

In one of the observations of this place it was asked to an unregistered figurant why he didn't choose a cast agency to register, he said:

"What should I do in an agency? They want money for registration, and I have also heard some of them don't give even your permissible money. Why should I pay them? By waiting here I can also find a job, I don't need any agency." (Figurant-5)¹⁶⁰

The money taken for registration mentioned by the figurant-5 is explained by figurant-4 more clearly:

"When you register to a cast agency, they want 25TL as photography fee. They take your photos to put in their albums and that costs 25TL. Then you also go to one shooting for free, they don't pay any money

¹⁵⁹ Sabah saat 07.00. Taksim Atatürk Kültür Merkezi'nin (AKM) önünde bir kalabalık her zamanki gibi kendilerini gelip seçecek prodüktörler bekliyor. Hemen araya kaynadık. Eli poşetli emekliler, askerden yeni dönmüş gençler, öğrenciler, yanlarında uykulu gözlerini ovuşturan çocuklarıyla ev hanımları, erkekler... Her yaştan insan var anlayacağınız. Çoğu ekme parası için burada olsa da ucundan kıyısından kameraya görünürüm umuduyla sabahın alaca karanlığında gelenler de yok değil. Ancak günlük 20 TL yevmiyeyi doğrultmak isteyenler çoğunlukta. <http://www.kenthaber.com/Haber/Genel/Dosya/manset-alti/figuran-pazarindan-insan-manzaralari/515e6b39-8d55-4dc8-9589-7544aca4334d>

¹⁶⁰ Ne yapıcım ajansta? Kayıt için para istiyorlar, hatta aralarında senin helal parayı vermeyenler bile varmış diye duydum. Niye para vereyim ki onlara? Burada bekleyerek de iş gelir, ajansa majansa ihtiyacım yok benim.

by saying that is for tryout. I also know people who are called for the tryout and then not anymore. ” (Figurant 4)

These expressions of the figurants reveal that besides the money coming from the agency which is 75-100 TL per figurant there is also 25 TL coming from the registration and also another 25TL by sending a figurant as free –this comes by taking his/her money for the cast agency. As a result, every new person registering to the cast agency equals to a 50 TL for nothing.

To conclude it is important to say that the problem of wages is one of the most frequent mentioned problems in the industry. While there are very huge gaps on the amount of the money got by the workers in terms of the core-periphery divide, even in the cases where the wages are delayed the core workers enjoy privileged conditions. However, in this case the most privileged ones are the actors / actresses, more specifically, the ones who have the possibility to take their 13 episode wages beforehand. This results obviously to an obvious inequality among the labor force.

4.4.3) Working Conditions

This part is about the precariousness of the workers in terms of their working conditions which include the working hours, workplace security and working relations of the workers.

First of all the long working hours were observed as one of the most expressed problems in the interviews conducted. The most known expression about this was the protest conducted in 24th December of 2011 that has the motto “National TV Series are long inappropriately”¹⁶¹ The beginning of the text written by the Scriptwriters’ Organization calling the workers to the protest is as following:

The TV Series’ sets stop, the workers are protesting:

*“National TV Series are long inappropriately.” 24 December at 18.00
the scriptwriters are going to live their pens, the directors are going to*

¹⁶¹ Yerli Dizi Yersiz Uzun

say 'stop', the sets are going to 'stop', the power is going to went off. All of the workers of the sector are going to get on their service cars, but this time to go to Taksim Square front of the Ataturk Cultural Center. At 19.00 with the joining of The Union of Cinema Laborers they are going to come together for saying stop to the durations of the TV Series. The Scriptwriters Organization who started to walk in this path with the motto "National TV Series are long inappropriately", in their second protest, is going to make a calling to the officials -who are the reason for the inhumane working conditions and are going to demand to decrease the duration of TV series to 45 minutes which lower the quality by disregarding the world standards.¹⁶²

In the case of the long working hours which is approximately 12-20 hours daily, it needs to be underlined that only the technical workers work actively during a day. As the technical workers do the work of setting up the shooting set of the next scene according to the directions of their directors, and after the scene's shooting is complete, preparing the set again for the next scene, they work continuously except their break times. Even in the break times there is a division that prevents everyone to make a break at the same time. On the other hand, if we look at the case of directors and actors/actresses, or more generally the creative workers, they are only apparent during the shooting. During the time when the set is prepared for the next shot the creative workers rest and discuss the next scene in their caravans destined for them. They give directions to their assistants and the assistants organize the next scene. When the shooting set is ready, the directors come, make the final revisions and then the actors/actresses come to act in the scene, after the scene is finished the creative workers go back to their caravans. The director assistant explains this very clearly:

"As an assistant you are the organizer, everything is in your responsibility, the director screws on you. For example one comes late

¹⁶² Dizi setleri duruyor, çalışanlar protesto ediyor!
Yerli dizi yersiz uzun!"

24 Aralık saat 18.00'de senaryo yazarları kalem bırakacak, yönetmenler stop diyecek, setler duracak ve şalterler inecek. Tüm sektör çalışanları servislere binip bu defa Taksim Meydanı'na AKM'nin önüne gelecek. Saat 19.00'da Sinema Emekçileri Sendikası SİNESEN'in de katılımıyla dizi sürelerine dur demek için toplanacaklar.

"Yerli dizi yersiz uzun!" sloganıyla yola çıkan Senaryo Yazarları Derneği SENDER, ikinci eyleminde tüm sektör çalışanlarıyla birlikte ilgililere çağrı yapacak ve insanlık dışı çalışma koşullarını yaratan, dünya standartlarını hiçe sayarak kaliteyi düşüren dizi sürelerini 45 dakikaya indirme taleplerini tekrarlayacaklar.

to the set, he/she asks 'why don't you call him/her earlier', if the set isn't ready she/her asks 'why it is delayed'. Actually you are the director, the boss comes and says 'It's OK or not! You are the one who suffer the pain.' (DA)¹⁶³

Similarly, it is observed in the TV series' shooting sets, that the technical workers except their break times do some work actively. The regie department informs the technical workers about the next scene, the art department deals with the make-up, costumes or the decoration, the camera equipment deals with the position, movements and the used objectives of the camera, the lighting department deals with the lights' position, type and power of the lights used and the set chef and assistants help these departments and organizing the relations within the set. According to the observations made a scene preparation lasts approximately 30-60 minutes. During this time the creative workers wait in their caravans as it is mentioned previously. After this time the directors come to the place and make some revisions if there is any need which lasts approximately 10-20 minutes. Lastly, the actors and actresses come to place and the scene is shot approximately in 10-30 minutes. What is here important is the technical workers' active working time, whether the creative workers are there or not. A rough calculation shows that, during 40-110 minutes of a scenes shooting only the technical workers are those who are actively work, while the creative workers enjoy a sort of resting in their caravans. In this sense it might be argued that the long working hours mostly affect the technical workers in comparison to the creative workers in practice. The camera assistant tells an interesting example showing this:

"There was once a director. He had had problems with his wife I guess at home. He had been living in the set. He had made 20 hours of shooting a day. For him nothing had changed because he had been living there." (CA)¹⁶⁴

The ACT's confession reveals this issue clearly:

¹⁶³ Asistan olarak bütün organizasyonu sen yaparsın, her şeyden sen sorumlusundur, yönetmen senin ağzına sı..r. Mesela biri sete geç gelir, neden vaktinde aranmadı diye sorar, set kurulmadıysa niye gecikti diye sorar. Yani aslında yönetmen sensindir, patron gelir, tamam oldu, olmadı der. Bütün yük senin omuzlarındadır.

¹⁶⁴ Bir yönetmen vardı bir keresinde, adamın eşiyle sorunları varmış galiba evde. 20 saat çekim yapıyordu. Sette yaşıyordu. Onun için bir şey değişmiyordu pek çünkü zaten sette yaşıyordu adam.

“We¹⁶⁵ are very lucky in this sense, because while waiting our line to come we can sit in a hot room, drink a hot tea. Therefore while set workers are experience such problems I can’t simply say I’m experiencing difficulties. If we have, let’s say 1 problem, the set workers have 3 problems.” (ACT)¹⁶⁶

Besides this practical analysis, another important point concerning the working hours, is again the technical workers’ obligation to be the first one early in the morning in the shooting set. The camera assistant explains this as following:

“We come first to the shooting place we prepare the camera then the director of photography comes and gives some directions and we then wait the director to come and start the shooting.” (CA)¹⁶⁷

However, the most privileged ones in the set considering the case of coming the shooting set is also the actors/actresses. The Director assistant’s following expressions are explaining this fact:

“One of the actors, he is a general manager somewhere, he says: ‘my work finishes every day at 7 pm, before it I can’t come to the shooting.’ In this case you have to wait until 7 pm, whether you have something to do or not. It starts at 7 pm and finishes then at 1am. Also there is the leading actress; she is a student at conservatory. Actually one of the biggest mistakes is to give a student a leading role because she is off until 5pm. Then you have to finish her shots until 11pm, 1 am.” (DA)

What was observed in the shooting sets of the TV series during the participant observation was also similar to the director assistant’s expressions. In the TV series’ observed many of the actors/actresses including the leading roles weren’t on the shooting day while some of them come, worked 3-4 hours and left.

The case of the technical workers’ working hours is also applicable for the unskilled workers who work actively day long except their break-times. In their case the figurants reveal a different case. The figurants are there for only acting 3-60

¹⁶⁵ By “we” he means the actors/actresses.

¹⁶⁶ Actor; aged 45, male

¹⁶⁷ Çekim yerine ilk biz geliriz kamerayı falan hazırlarız. Sonra görüntü yönetmeni gelir, bazı direktifler gelir. Sonra da yönetmeni bekleriz sahneyi çekmek için.

seconds in the TV series', nevertheless they stay whole day in the set. While the reason during an observation was asked to one of the figurants, he said:

“We stay here all day long except the main reason of our duty here, because there might be other cases which they require us” (FGR-2)¹⁶⁸

The same answer was also given by the production assistant:

“We don't know actually when we need a figurant. Therefore they have to stay here. Who knows; might the director say I want a pedestrian traffic at the background?” (PRA)¹⁶⁹

In this context it might be argued that the case of the figurants reveal that actually figurants' main duty isn't to act in the desired 3-60 seconds, rather than it is to wait with an uncertainty whether there will be a need for them. However they have no place for waiting, what they do is to wait on foot in a place where they aren't involved to the shooting whole day.

The second point that requires attention in the context of precarious working conditions is the physical dangers that the workers face. The following news informing the accident resulted with a workers death in the TV Series “Arka Sıradakiler”'s shooting might be good starting point:

The accident happened at near 7pm in Istanbul Kağıthane Altunay Street. According to the information had been gathered, during the TV series' shooting a group including the TV series' art assistant Selin Erdem, started to have a chat. At that time, it had been claimed that the brake of the closed-case minibüs with 34 TH 8305 license plate driven by İdris F. destroyed, went downhill rapidly and hit the TV series' crew. [...] Selin Erdem, who got injured heavily, couldn't be rescued for all that medical interventions. (Haberturk, 02.05.2012)¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁸ Burada asıl işimiz dışında bütün gün bekliyoruz çünkü belki bize ihtiyaç duyacakları başka şeyler olur diye.

¹⁶⁹ Ne zaman figurana ihtiyacımız olacağını bilmiyoruz ki. O yüzden burada durmalılar. Kim bilir yönetmenin arkada yaya trafiği istiyorum demeyeceğini.

¹⁷⁰ Kaza, İstanbul Kağıthane Altunay Caddesi üzerinde saat 19.00 sıralarında meydana geldi. Edinilen bilgiye göre, dizinin çekim arasında aralarında sanat asistanı Selin Erdem'in de bulunduğu bir grup, kaldırım üzerinde sohbet etmeye başladı. Bu sırada freni patladığı iddia edilen film ekibinin araçlarından İdris F. yönetimindeki 34 TH 8305 plakalı kapalı kasa minibüs, yokuş aşağı hızla dizi ekibine çarptı. [...] Ağır yaralanan 26 yaşındaki Selin Edem tüm müdahalelere rağmen kurtarılamadı. <http://www.haberturk.com/medya/haber/738817-arka-siradakilerin-setinde-dehset-video>

As it is in that case, one of the reasons of the physical dangers that the technical workers face, is the places they are allowed to wait. During the observations made in the sets of the TV series, the technical workers during work and their break times wait outside where actually the traffic runs except the shooting times. It was also observed that many of the technical workers sit on the walkways as Selin Erdem was doing before the accident. In this sense it might be argued that the workplace security isn't much provided for the technical workers as it is also argued by Selin Erdem's case's lawyer:

“Sığınak, who indicated that they aren't accepting the impression that these deaths happen as ordinary accidents and they have to get used to these deaths, reacted to the fact that just the driver is getting trialed. He said 'these deaths happening due to the fact that the employer doesn't do his/her responsibilities in the workplace, and therefore this deaths have to be considered as murders by the law as it is according to our conscience.'” (Hurriyet, 08.06.2012)¹⁷¹

Thinking this fact together with the case of the creative workers who wait, rest and work most of the working day inside the caravans, it is obvious that they aren't too much in such dangers. Moreover it isn't only traffic accidents that the workers face with, if the condition of “working outside” is considered. If the scene is outside, technical workers work outside. However, during their breaks and short resting times since there is no place assigned them, they have to wait also outside during these times. The ACT explains this:

“They¹⁷² are very self-abnegating people. They work until 4am and start again to work at 7am; in summer, in winter, in mud, in dust. They work with an extraordinary self-denial. We¹⁷³ are very lucky in this sense, because while waiting our line to come we can sit in a hot room, drink a hot tea.” (ACT)

¹⁷¹ Bu ölümlerin sıradan bir kaza ile gerçekleştiği ve bu ölümlere alışılması gerektiğini kabul etmediklerini ifade eden Sığınak, sadece araç sürücüsünün yargılanmasına tepki gösterdi. Sığınak, "İş yerinde işverenin sorumluluklarını yerine getirmediği için gerçekleşen ölümler, bizim vicdanımızda olduğu gibi hukukun gözünde de kaza değil bir cinayet olmalıdır" dedi.
<http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/magazin/televizyon/20711643.asp>

¹⁷² by “they” he means the technical crew.

¹⁷³ By “we” he means the actors/actresses.

Berfu Şeker explains this “self-devoted” working more clearly:

Those figurants, fuses are exploded on their bodies, made jump from the second stage with leather shoes on their feet, thrown to water although they don't know how to swim; those lighters, who died on cold because of waiting without speaking, those set chiefs blank cartridge guns exploded on their hands, those cameramen, holding the bridge fences with one hand and trying to shot the scene and also many others work in this schizoid atmosphere without realizing that they face with the death's cold breath. No matter there are injured ones or deaths, the reason why the shootings continue without any break could only be obtained with such a separation from reality I think, because I can't understand such an impassivity otherwise. (Bianet, 26.09.09)¹⁷⁴

“A separation from reality” expressed by Berfu Şeker fits to the example by the sound technician:

“Once I was very sick. We were two people in Nevşehir. There were only a technician and a boom operator. What was normal was to leave and go to see a doctor. I felt being bound hand and foot. I couldn't say something to my senior. Actually he/she also couldn't do anything because the work has to be done somehow. Actually it hasn't to be like this. The job has to be cycled somehow. As I said, I felt being bound hand and foot, and worked. Also, one of my friends got once sick. He had been coughing; blood had been coming out of his mouth. Even in that case, he wasn't able to go back to Istanbul, he was actually working in Adana. He had rested two days long in Adana where he was working and started to work again.” (ST)¹⁷⁵

He also continues:

¹⁷⁴ Üzerlerinde fünye patlatılan, ikinci kattan kösele ayakkabıyla atlatılan, yüzme bilmeden suya atılıp boğulma tehlikesi geçiren figüranlar, ışığın başında dururken sesini çıkaramadığı için soğuktan donarak ölen ışıkçılar, kuru sıkı tabancalar elinde patlayan set amirleri, köprülerin parmaklıklarına tek elle tutunup çekim yapmaya çalışan kameramanlar ve daha nice bu şizoid atmosferin içinde ölümün soğuk nefesiyle burun buruna olduklarının farkına bile varmayarak çalışıyorlar. Yaralananlara ve ölenlere rağmen çekimlerin aralıksız devam etmesi ancak böyle bir gerçeklikten kopuşla sağlanabilir diye düşünüyorum zira başka türlü böylesine bir vurdumduymazlığı anlamlandıramıyorum.

<http://bianet.org/biamag/diger/117221-set-kazalari-ve-zihniyet-problemleri>

¹⁷⁵ Bir keresinde çok hastaydım. Nevşehir'de iki kişiydik. Bir teknisyen bir boom operatörü. Normal olarak benim işi bırakıp doktora gitmem lazım. Elim kolum bağlı. Üstüme bir şey diyemedim. Aslında onun da yapacak bir şey yok çünkü işin bir şekilde yapılması lazım. Aslında böyle olmaması lazım. İşin bir şekilde paylaşılması gerek. Dediğim gibi elim kolum bağlı, çalışmaya devam ettim. Bir keresinde de bir arkadaşım hasta olmuştu. Öksürüyor, ağzından kan geliyor adamın. Bu durumda bile İstanbul'a geri dönemedi. Adana'da çalışıyordu. İki gün Adana'da dinledi, çalıştığı yerde, sonra çalışmaya devam etti.

“It just happened yesterday. It was snowing; I don’t know what the temperature was, minus something. It was 1am we were still shooting the scene.” (ST)¹⁷⁶

The boom operator says about these hard conditions:

“In such times you question what you are working for? If you die, you have nothing in your hands; you die together with your dreams.” (BO)¹⁷⁷

The third point that affects the precariousness of the working conditions of the production process might be considered as the working relations. More clearly, the observed and expressed maltreatment in the industry, also exclusion and discrimination seems to cause adverse effects on workers’ self-feelings.

In this context, first of all, what is the key determinant are the privileged positions of the creative workers on the technical and unskilled workers. Moreover, as a result of the functioning of the labor process as it is explained before, the hierarchical order causes to certain mistreatments to the lower level workers which is expressed as having adverse effects on self-feeling. The camera assistant talks about his senior, director of photography:

There are also other examples mentioned earlier, revealing this fact, given by the interviewees:

“As an assistant you are the organizer, everything is in your responsibility, the director screws on you. For example one comes late to the set, he/she asks ‘why don’t you call him/her earlier’, if the set isn’t ready she/her asks ‘why it is delayed’. (DA)¹⁷⁸

“I was working in a project under a director of art; she had 7-8 years of experience, but was younger than me. The series was shot in a villa

¹⁷⁶ Daha dün oldu işte. Kar yağıyor, hava eksi bilmem kaç derece, saat 1 olmuş hala çekim yapıyoruz.

¹⁷⁷ İşte böyle zamanlarda niye çalışıyorum ki ben diyorsun. Yani ölsen... Hiçbir şey yok elinde, hayallerinle birlikte ölüyorsun.

¹⁷⁸ Asistan olarak sen organizasyonu yaparsın, her şey senin sorumluluğundadır, yönetmen senin ağzına sıçar. Bir geç kaldıysa neden zamanında aranmadı der, set hazır değilse neden gecikti der.

you know. One day I was drinking tea in the first floor. She came down, screamed at me and said not to sit and work.” (YL-1)¹⁷⁹

In one of the shooting sets observed, the hierarchical order of mistreatment was very clearly observed. The director who came from the caravan to the shooting place screamed at the set chief by asking why the director’s seat isn’t ready. After the set chief has been scolded, went to the place where the set assistants were working and screamed at them: “Are you crazy you idiots? Do you think this a child’s play? Hurry up, bring the director his seat!”¹⁸⁰ In another set, the set assistant screamed at his set assistants who were trying to cover the windows of a depot to give the feeling as if it is night inside: “Come on! Come on! How couldn’t you finish this f..king work in one hour?”¹⁸¹

Another important point to indicate is the reactions of the people, generally those who are in most subordinate places. Generally, it is observed that mainly the assistants are continuously swearing silently when they finish their jobs. One of the clearest examples for this is the case of the “tea-maker of a set.” After he was observed grumbling by himself it is asked him what the problem is and he gave the following answer:

“I can’t get the fucking woman to like of the tea. If you ask her to soak the tea, let’s see whether she can or not.”¹⁸² (TM)

However this mistreatment isn’t only expressed by words in a shooting set. Certain other behaviors are also expressed as showing privileged positions in the set. The actor explains this by saying that these words have to be off the record:

“This is somehow related with the personality. For example, x¹⁸³ is one who doesn’t care about anyone. I worked with him. Let’s say it is

¹⁷⁹ Bir projede bir sanat yönetmenin altında çalışıyorum. 7-8 yıl deneyimi var ama benden genç. Dizi bir villada çekiliyor biliyorsun. Birinci katta çay içiyorum. Aşağı geldi bu,bağırdı çağırdı kalk çalış falan dedi. Tamam dedim, çıktım yukarı ne yapayım dedim. Duvara çivi çakılacakmış. Siktir git lan dedim çıktım işten. Ben yıllarca çalıştım bu işte ben miyim bu iş içi taa en aşağıdan çağırılacak.

¹⁸⁰ Siz manyak mısınız gerizekalılar! Çocuk oyuncağı mı sandınız siz bu işi? Çabuk olun çabuk, hocanın sandalyesini götürün.

¹⁸¹ Hadi be! Hadi be! Bir saatte bitiremediniz şu a..na kodumun işini!

¹⁸² A..na kodumun karısına çay beğendiremiyoruz. Bir çay demle desen bakalım kendi demleyebilecek mi?

meal time. That is the time when all the set comes together and eats. Actually the actors, directors eat in their caravans generally. Anyway, he comes to the place where the meal is served, looks at the meal, if he doesn't like it he shouts to the production assistant. 'I didn't like that meal. Order me a pizza, order me kebab.' I think this is something bad to do. Of course the people in the set wouldn't say him anything, however eating pizza, kebab or something else while others eat the same meal. I don't approve such a behavior. ”¹⁸⁴ (ACT)

Besides such behavior-related mistreatments, another frequently mentioned problem is the women's discrimination or abuse they are experiencing. Berfu Şeker explains this as following:

“Masculinity which is considered as a norm results men to abuse women working in the set verbal/by hand; and it is considered as normal by everyone. Also women working in the set considering these things as normal as the men does, think these abuse and insults as the fault of the women and relate it to the women's femininity, sexuality, awkwardness. Women working in set know that; every woman entering the sector has to behave and dress like men. (Bianet, 26.09.09)¹⁸⁵

When this case is asked to the director assistant his answers are actually somehow proving these words:

“Because all the women had had beards and moustaches in the set I was flirting with figurants, and this had attracted attention. What do I

¹⁸³ Here he says a name of a famous actor.

¹⁸⁴ Bu biraz da kişilikle alakalı bir şey. Mesela, x hiç kimseyi umursamayan bir adamdır. Ben onunla çalıştım. Mesela yemek zamanı gelir. Yemekler sette herkesin bir arada olduğu bir yerdir. Aslında aktörler yönetmenler karavanlarında yer gerçi. Neyse. İşte bu gelir böyle yemeğin başına ne var diye bakmaya, yemeği beğenmedi diyelim, bağırır prodüksiyon asistanlarına 'ben yemeği beğenmedim, bana pizza söyleyin, bana kebab söyleyin.' Bu kötü bir şey bence. Kimsenin bir şey diyeceğinden değil tabii ki. Ama işte orada herkes aynı yemeği yerken pizza, kebab ya da işte başka bir şey istemek, benim çok tasvip edeceğim bir şey değil.

¹⁸⁵ Setlerde erkeklığın norm alınması hiyerarşik olarak üst konumlarda bulunan erkeklerin sette çalışan kadınlara sözlü/elli tacizlerde bulunmasına ve bunun herkes tarafından normal algılanmasına yol açıyor. Set çalışanı kadınlar da, erkekler gibi bu olayları olağan karşılamakla kalmıyorlar, bu taciz ve hakaretleri mağdur kadının kabahati olarak görüyor, o kadının dişiliğine, hafif meşrepliğine, beceriksizliğine pay biçiyorlar. Sette çalışan kadınlar bilir; sete giren her kadın erkeksi giyinmek/davranmak zorundadır.

<http://bianet.org/biamag/diger/117221-set-kazalari-ve-zihniyet-problemleri>

have to do? Flirting with you? You have a beard and moustache how should I flirt with you.” (DA)¹⁸⁶

Additionally, the following news also shows that the case of abuse isn't only experienced by low level workers however even the actresses might be faced with it:

The beautiful actress explains she quitted the TV series since she has been verbally abused by one of the producers and one of the actors and she saw that the case got dirtier because it hasn't resulted successfully. (Hurriyet, 11.04.2009)¹⁸⁷

As it is argued in chapter one, especially these “subject” centered power relations are considered as the relevance points of the post-structuralist labor process analysis. More clearly, according to this theories the labor / capital conflict isn't enough to understand the power relations and subjectifications in the workplace, because there are many conflicts none of them being prior to other. In one sense, it is acceptable that there are certain subjectifications derived from the micro-centered power relations in the industry. As it is tried to be explained in this part, besides the commercial values inherited by the workers, there are also an embodied experiences of self-pressure where the worker has to exploit himself/herself for the survival in the industry. On the other hand, as the industry demands especially a “young man” as a subject that derives also from the power relations outside the workplace, masculinity and youngness becomes also a center of oppression. However as it was indicated in the criticisms towards the post-structuralist analysis all these subjective tendencies has to be considered under the general objective exploitation. What these subjectivities provide is the knowledge through which power relations these structured antagonism are lived, experienced and expressed.

As a result, in this part, it is dealt with the working conditions and the precariousness in three main points: Firstly it is focused on the long working hours

¹⁸⁶ Setteki bütün kadınların sakalı bıyığı olduğu için ben genelde figüranlara asılıyordum. O da göze batıyor işte. Ne yapayım, sana mı yazayım? Sakalın bıyığın çıkıyor senin neyine yazayım.

¹⁸⁷ Dizinin yapımcılarından biri ve oyuncularından biri tarafından taciz edildiğini dile getiren güzel oyuncu, önce sözlü tacize uğradığını, ardından sonuç elde edemeyince işin çirkin boyutlara vardığını görünce diziyi bıraktığını anlatıyor...

<http://hurarsiv.hurriyet.com.tr/goster/haber.aspx?id=11406674&tarih=2009-04-11>

and found out 12-20 hours of working time in the industry. However it is also indicated that in practice, the long working hours are only applicable for those technical and unskilled workers, while the creative workers are enjoy the privilege of coming at specific hours to the shooting set or during the set the chance to rest in their caravans while the others work. Secondly, it is focused on the physical health problems that the workers are facing with. However also in this case since the creative workers are enjoying more secure working places such as caravans or rooms the most dangerous working conditions are also applicable for the technical and unskilled workers. Nevertheless, it is also underlined that the general workplace insecurity might cause problems for the creative workers either, although it is relatively less than the others, since they don't deal with dangerous works as the other groups of workers do. In the third part, it is dealt with the working relations and the mistreatments in the set which affect the self feeling of the workers. In this case again generally the technical and unskilled workers, but especially their subordinates face with certain insults, which at the end turns into a silent or unexpressed anger. Moreover it is also argued that if the case considers the women's condition the discrimination and mistreatment becomes a common problem in the set.

4.4.4) Social Security

The case of protection, more specifically the case of social security is explained by Rodgers and Rodgers broadly by saying protection *is to what extend workers are protected either by law, or through collective organization, or through customary practice – protected against, say, discrimination, unfair dismissal or unacceptable working practices, but in the sense of social protection, notably to access social security benefits.* (Rodgers and Rodgers, 1989:3) In this sense, the problems or specifically the precarious employment conditions tried to be explained above are seen to be diminished through the existence of strong social security benefits. This means that its non-existence provides another indicator for the job's

precariousness. What the concrete demands of the Union Sine-Sen considering the labor process' legal protection is explained in their Draft Law:

“Cinema is an art production field, in which departmentally specialized creators and laborers produce according to a specific division of labor. However in Turkey there is no special ‘Cinema Labor Law’ describing cinema-TV field and its workers. Still, except the TV Channels, cinema film producers and advertisers, everyone in this field work under very heavy conditions. The state hasn’t taken a step for years for a ‘Cinema Labor Law’

[...]

“Including the state institution Turkish Radio Television Institution’s out-housing projects the film crews have had to work without social insurance. Related Ministries and TRT don’t control whether there the workers are insured or not.”

[...]

TV Channels and producers continue to collectively fire the uninsured crews without paying their wages. Therefore, Cinema Laborer’s Union has established in October a law department. In two months, 20 case applies have been made to this law department. Most of the cases have been prosecuted by the workers couldn’t get their wages of 5-15 episode and those collectively have been fired.

As the descriptions and complaints show the main problem concerning the labor process' social security are considered in two main fields. One is the demand for a “Cinema Labor Law” specific for the branch of industry; the other one is to ensure the insured work force and its regular control. In the interviews conducted for this thesis therefore the answers for the case of social insurance is sought. The director/co-producer explains the general point which is identical with the Union’s expressions:

“These firms are founded by tradesman. They have cameras, lights, sound equipments and workers personally connected. There is only one worker whose insurances are paid. Generally, they insure themselves. You know to open a firm you have to insure someone, generally they are themselves. Then they found some freelancers and send to work.” (Director/Co-Producer)

However the Unionist mentions a tendency towards insuring the workers in the industry because of the increasing controls made by the Ministry after the growing protests:

“The controls are frequent nowadays. The ministry inspectors are controlling the companies, the sets and if they find anyone without insurance they fine the production company. ” (Unionist)¹⁸⁸

Similarly, Zafer Ayden the head of the Union says in one of his interviews:

“According to Zafer Ayden, Inspectors of Istanbul Region of Ministry of Labor and Social Security are examining the files that Sine-Sen and other cinema institutions have given them. These inspectors have been going to the shooting sets to get to know the cinema-television-advertising sector that has been completely unregistered until now. The inspectors haven't been controlling the social insurance yet. In the days coming, it is expected the inspectors to ask how much of the workers are insured and show them their social insurance cards besides visiting the sets. ” (Evrensel, 25.03.2011)¹⁸⁹

However, in this sense the sound technician opens another interesting point in terms of how the social insurance system works practically:

“For a while they have attached importance on social insurance. They insure the workers because the control has been increased. They do it, as the production companies have been inspected. We are insured by our firm, since we are members of it. We are insured but actually we pay our social insurance payments by ourselves. Since we are paid weekly, we pay our social insurance by ourselves, we have such a difficulty. We pay 350TL every month for social insurance. ” (ST)¹⁹⁰

These expressions of the sound technician that is to make the workers pay their own social insurance rather than their employees is realized with the help of the *Regulation of Social Insurance Process*' additional article-2's first subparagraph which says:

¹⁸⁸ Bugünlerde kontroller sık. N'apıyor, bakanlık müfettişini yolluyor şirkete, sete kontrol ediyor herkes sigortalı mı diye eğer bir kişi bile sigortasız bulunursa hoop kesiyor cezaı.

¹⁸⁹ Ayden'in aktardığına göre, Çalışma ve Sosyal Güvenlik Bakanlığının İstanbul bölgesine bağlı müfettişler Sine-Sen ve diğer sinema kurumlarının kendilerine verdikleri dosyaları inceliyor. Bu müfettişler, şimdiye dek tamamen kayıt dışı kalmış sinema-TV-reklam sektörünü tanımak için geçen haftadan itibaren setlere gitmeye başlamış. Müfettişler henüz sigorta kontrolü yapmıyor. Önümüzdeki günlerde ise müfettişlerin setleri ziyaret etmenin yanı sıra, çalışanlardan kaç kişinin sigortalı olduğunu sormaları ve sigorta kartı görmek istemeleri bekleniyor.

¹⁹⁰ Son zamanlarda sigortaya önem vermeye başladılar. Çalışanları sigortalıyorlar çünkü kontroller arttı. Sigortalıyorlar çünkü yapımcı firmalar denetleniyor. Biz firma tarafından sigortalıyız ama kendimiz ödüyoruz sigortayı. Biz haftalık ücretle çalıştığımızdan kendimiz ödüyoruz bu büyük bir sıkıntı. Her ay 350 lira sigortaya ödüyoruz.

“Commercial taxi, minibus and similarly qualified local public service vehicles’ workplaces and also those specified in the Law’s fourth article’s second paragraph’s (b) subparagraph and also those working with a temporary labor contract under one or more employers and those working less than ten days in one month calculated according to their working hours pay their social insurance charges by themselves according to 30 days.”¹⁹¹

In this sense, the set workers are informed as working less than 10 days in one month; this leads the set workers to pay their own social insurance charges according to the given article above. In the last conversation made with the Trade-Unionist he said:

“The problems are still continuing without any implementation because the union members aren’t claiming their own problems. I had pushed them. We could reach something together but the cinema institutions become inward-looking and opportunistic front of the state.” (Trade Unionist, in personal correspondence, 06.07.2012)¹⁹²

These words also show problems in another traditional side of the collective protection institutions in the employment relations, that is, the trade unions. As it is mainly argued, after 80’s, the de-unionization problem is also expressed by the trade-union of the TV series’ workers. In the not-published thesis of Derya Çetin, focusing on the unionization problems in the cinema industry, Ahmet Keskin the general secretary of Sine-Sen argues:

“In the period has been lived after 80’s people because of fear, more truly, since they materialize junta’s desire towards the creation of a apolitic society and made the individualistic society to be placed in people’s mind, everyone looks to the issues as “me” rather than “us”. All of the rights had been won formerly has been misused, we are fighting for their regathering.” (Ahmet Keskin, in Çetin, 2010 :262)¹⁹³

¹⁹¹ Ticari taksi, dolmuş ve benzeri nitelikteki şehir içi toplu taşıma aracı işyerleri ile Kanunun 4 üncü maddesinin ikinci fıkrasının (b) bendinde belirtilen ve Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığınca belirlenecek alanlarda kısmi süreli iş sözleşmesiyle bir veya birden fazla kişi tarafından çalıştırılan ve çalıştıkları kişi yanında ay içerisinde çalışma saati süresine göre hesaplanan çalışma gün sayısı 10 günden az olan kişilerin sigortalılıkları, bu madde kapsamında kendileri tarafından 30 gün üzerinden prim ödemeleri suretiyle sağlanır.

¹⁹² Sorunlar aynen ve kağıt üzerinde uygulanmadan duruyor... Sendika üyeleri sorunlarına sahip çıkmıyor çünkü. Onlar benim itmelerimdi. Ancak birlikte bazı şeyleri yapabildik ama sinema kurumları içine kapandı ve devlete karşı eyyamcılaştı. (sendikacı, kişisel yazışma.)

¹⁹³ 80 sonrası yaşanan süreçte insanlar korkudan, daha doğrusu cuntacıların yaratmak istediği apolitik toplumu hayata geçirdiklerinden ve bireyci toplum anlayışının halkın belleğine kazındığından

Keskin also points out the important regulation that prevents the workers in the industry from forming a unity in the industry:

“Although this industry branch is an independent one all over the world, in our case, animal stock marketers, bureau workers, education laborers are all considered in the same industrial branch. It is very difficult to organize. In our country, the trade union laws tell us to make a work contract if only 10% of the workers working in an industrial branch is organized. To do this, to pass the barrage in this industrial branch we have to have 60 thousand members. But in the industry of the amount of the workers in the fine arts if you get all of them together it wouldn't exceed 20 thousand. The barrage would be 2 thousand in an industrial branch having 20 thousand workers, but if you add education and stock market in to this branch the barrage increases, the people can't organize. More truly, they organize however are not able to make a working contract.” (Ahmet Keskin, in Çetin, 2010 :262)¹⁹⁴

Ahmet Keskin's arguments reveal the fact clear, but it is partly true. What Çetin's thesis also underlines is the fact that even in the years that is before 80's, the unionization of the cinema workers had been also weak. In other words, to talk about a de-unionization process firstly it has to be talked about a unionization process. Çetin's thesis shows that this had been a continuous problem even in the most collective movement, in the Ankara Parade, an existence of a fragmentation within the workforce. She gives an important quotation of Semih Selvidal:

“Even during the Ankara Parade a discomfort had started. The parade had been taken out of its purpose. The new Turkish cinema's problem isn't only censorship. Our social insurance and the enactment of a cinema law had been always covered up. Then a meeting was conducted with the ministries in Ankara. I also entered these meeting. Some people left us alone there and tried to explain

herkes bizden çok ben meselesiyle olaya bakıyor. E geçmişte kazanılan hakların hepsi istismar edilmiş durumda, bunların yeniden kazanılması hakkında mücadele ediyoruz.

¹⁹⁴ Dünyanın her yerinde bu işkolu bağımsız bir iş kolu olmasına rağmen, bizde hayvan borsacıları, büro işçileri, eğitim emekçileri aynı iş kolundalar. Örgütlenmek çok zor. Ülkemizdeki sendikal yasalar bir iş kolunda sözleşme yapabilmek için o iş kolunda çalışan işgücünün %10'unun örgütlenmesi gerektiğini söylüyor. Bu konulan rakamsa Türkiye'de bu iş kolunda (17) barajı aşmak için yaklaşık 60 bin üyemiz olması lazım. Oysa ki güzel sanatlar kolunda çalışanların tümünü sayalım, toptasınız 20 bini geçmez. 20 bin çalışanı olan bir işkolunda baraj 2 bindir, ama o işkoluna eğitimi borsayı koyarsanız baraj artar, insanlar örgütlenemez. Daha doğrusu örgütlenirler ama sözleşme yapamazlar.

their own problems. The problems that had been collected years long weren't mentioned rather than personal problems were."¹⁹⁵

These shortly expressed problem on the lack of a collective interest, Çetin says, resulted to the emergence of different organizations according to sectional divides. (Çetin, 2010: 195) Today, this case isn't different. After the collective movement to reduce the length of the TV series which was seen as a common problem has get unsuccessful, the sectional divide in the industry turned to be more apparent. Especially the scripwriters and actors/actress' representing nowadays separate problems in their formed separate organizations. In this sense it might be argued that in such an industry where sectional fragmentation is combined with a high fragmentation of working class towards individuality might not be simply represented by unions. Other ways of collectivies has to be sought towards the fight against increasing precariousness, which it is dealt with in chapter 4.

¹⁹⁵ Ankara Yürüyüşü sırasında huzursuzluk başlamıştı. Yürüyüş amacından saptırılmıştı. Yeni Türk sinemasının sorunu sadece sansür değildir. Bizim sosyal güvencemiz ve bir sinema yasasının çıkması olayı her zaman hasıraltı edildi. Daha sonra da başkente gidilip bakanlarla bir görüşme yapıldı. O görüşmelerde ben de bulundum. Bazı kişiler bizi orada yalnız bırakıp kendi meselelerini izaha çalıştılar. Yıllardır biriken sorunlar değil özel sorunlar dile getirildi (Ses Dergisi, 1978a: 3).

CHAPTER 4

5. COLLECTIVE BELONGINGNESS AND SUBJECTIVITIES OF THE TURKISH TELEVISION SERIES' WORKERS

5.1) Fragmentation of the Working Class

As it explained in the previous chapters the case of the TV Series' workers indicate high precarious conditions. Against the increasing precariousness, as they generally say, “for humanly working conditions”¹⁹⁶, a collective political behavior is inevitable. However what is argued in this chapter is firstly the difficulties of an organization in the sector, because of the observed high individualization and lack of community feeling in the industry because of structural reasons and related to it, subjective tendencies. On the other hand, secondly, it is argued that the notions on the developing “politics of precariousness” which try to consider precariousness as a general result of flexible capitalism might provide some answers for the political organization and show certain optimistic sides for the organization in the industry.

But the wider scope that piece-wage gives to individuality tends to develop on the one hand that individuality, and with it the sense of liberty, independence, and self-control of the laborers, and on the other, their competition one with another. (Marx, 1967: 385-6)

As it was also explained before this quotation taken from Marx, show actually how the processes of “sub-contracting” and “skill” tends to shift the labor into a individualized feeling, in which the workers tend to compete with each other at the same time they collaborate. In this context, the structural division among the workers has a key importance to underline. As it is argued in the second chapter the waged labor in this industry are formed and structured related but through different processes. The producer, who is in the side of the capital in the structured

¹⁹⁶ “İnsanca çalışma şartları”
<http://bianet.org/bianet/toplum/119279-sinema-tv-emekcileri-is-yasasi-istiyor>

antagonism, has its fellow core creative workers. The producers' tendency to work with people who are known for him/her comes from the desire to reach a degree of certainty in the production. On the other hand, the core/creative workers who enjoy also a sort of common interest which might be summarized as "being in the networking pool of a producer" to feel a degree of certainty either. As it is also shown in Chapter 3, this structuring has direct effects on the feeling of precariousness. The indicators of precariousness offered in general terms as job continuity, wage, working conditions and social security are tend to affect commonly the technical workers compared to the creative workers. The unskilled workers a sub-part of the labor process aren't directly involved in the production process, they are considered as daily workforces, however even in their cases in terms of the feeling of precariousness they are close to the side of the technical workers.

In this context, the structural fragmentation within the workers is a major problem in terms of a community feeling among them, yet, an important point needs to be mentioned. As it is shown in Chapter 3 there are also common cases in terms of the precarious employment conditions that make this structural division hardly visible and make those different sections come together. In this sense, precariousness that is seen as a common intersection point for different class positions among all industries, it might be argued to bring similar precarious conditions to the privileged class positions, mainly the core/creative workers. However in this case, without forgetting this possible interpretation, the recent collective political movements reveal there is such a fragmentation which at the end prevents the workers to act on common causes.

The attention getting collective movement of the workers in the industry had been aiming to reduce the durations of the TV series and related to it their working hours. Besides this main aim their other demands on more secure working conditions and social security had been also expressed. Including the actors and other creative workers, all the set workers had been involved in these movements. The actors, as being "stars" had been the key figures to provide more public attention to the movement. After the movement has provided the desired attention both from the politicians, TV Channel's and producers, the head of RTUK addressed the high wages that the actors/actresses get:

“When those who act in TV series determine their wages high, the producer has to lengthen the duration. When the duration is been lengthened, a set worker works more however the wages don’t become fairer.” (Radikal, Davut Dursun, 02.01.2011)¹⁹⁷

This addressed tension is expressed clearly in these following two entries in an Internet forum:

“If it is difficult for them¹⁹⁸, then they shouldn’t shoot it. There are people who can’t earn the money they get from one episode in one year. Why are they crying, are they working by force? Tell me, are they going to accept if their wages per episode is going to be cut half-and-half? Set workers etc. none of them is caring about them.” (donanimhaber, rem1903, 26.12.2012)¹⁹⁹

“Now, dudes. Ok, the actors/actresses get milliards from the TV series but the set workers behind the scene get minimum wage approximately. The tea-maker, lighter, sounder, cameraman, is it easy for them remain standing whole day. I think it is not. The producer companies have to come together, but there are producer companies which want the TV series they shoot long. Those who don’t want it and also the protestors have to go to a strike, don’t shoot 5 episodes, then the channels are going to come with an agreement. However I think, the actors won’t engage in such a thing.²⁰⁰ (donanimhaber, firtinam, 05.02.2011)

A newspaper article broadens this tension between the workers in the industry:

“I don’t believe on those actors/actresses who continuously complain about the TV series’ duration and the working conditions. They are not honest, are acting pharisaical. Let me say it clearer; the money they earn enjoys them, nobody wants to disturb himself/herself. When you ask them, they start to complain; “the working hours are too long.

¹⁹⁷ "Dizide oynayanlar ücretleri yüksek tuttuğunda yapımcı süreyi uzatmış oluyor. Süre uzayınca alt düzeyde bir set çalışanı, daha uzun çalışıyor ama ücretlerinde iyileştirme olmuyor. <http://www.radikal.com.tr/Radikal.aspx?aType=RadikalDetayV3&ArticleID=1034885&CategoryID=77>

¹⁹⁸ by them it is meant here the actors/actresses

¹⁹⁹ Zorlarına gidiyorsa çekmesinler kardeşim, Aldıkları bir bölüm parasını yıl boyunca kazanamayan insanlar var. Ne ağlıyorlar,zorlamı çalışıyorlar. Söyleyin bakalım bölüm başına kazançları yarı yarıya düşerse kabul edeceklermi?? Set çalışanlarıymış falanmış, hiç birinin umrunda değil.

²⁰⁰ Şimdi arkadaşlar , tamam oyuncular milyarlar alıyo olabilirler dizilerden ama set arkasındaki işçiler asgari ücret alıyolar anca çaycısı,işıkçı,sesçi,kameraman sabahtan aksama kadar ayakta durmak kolay mı? bence değil. Yapım şirketlerinin birlik olması lazım çektikleri dizinin uzun olmasını isteyen yapım şirketleri çok , uzun olmasına karşı çıkan yapım şirketleri be eylemciler iş bırakın 5 bölüm çekilmesin ozaman kanallar uzlaşma sağlamak için masaya oturur. Ama oyuncularında böyle bir işe kalkışacağını sanmıyorum iş bırakma falan.

How can a TV series be 90 minutes? They slang to talk big. Yes, you shot every week 90 minutes of TV series, you work six days a week, and you are at sets the whole day under snow, in mud. You aren't able to understand whether it is night or day. However you also earn 10-15 thousand liras every week. I don't mention those earning 30-40 thousand liras, those who get 13 episode's wage beforehand, those who get 700-800 thousand liras advance payments. Everyone knows it very well, if the TV series wouldn't exist, they couldn't see too much money in their pockets. Who earns in Turkey such wages? Ok, let them earn, let them earn more. However, they shouldn't shed crocodile tears by saying "the TV series are too long, our working conditions are too harsh. How many of the actors/actress would accept if the producers would say: 'ok we will reduce the durations of the TV series to 45 minutes, however you should reduce your wages half-and-half.' Be sure, none of them! The actors/actresses are happy from what they earn. The scriptwriters are happy from what they earn. Producers happy from the profit they get. The TV channels happy from the advertisement they get." (Hurriyet, Cengiz Semercioğlu, 08.05.2012)"
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As a result, this expressed division had gave the chance to producers express ideas offering cuts in the wages of core/creative workers especially of the actors/actresses, that at the end resulted to decrease the effects of the movement.

This fragmentation that puts certain workers into privileged working conditions, which they don't want to give up also makes the "upward mobility" a desirable fact. In this sense rather than a technical worker complaining from the existing conditions enduring and surviving them becomes a more "rational" behavior. More clearly, what is expected from the young individual is simply to survive and make connections. If one is capable to do it, although many are not, in every new project or in the next season of the same TV series a promotion is

²⁰¹ Dizilerin sürelerinden ve çalışma koşullarından sürekli şikayet eden ünlü oyunculara inanmıyorum artık...Samimi değiller...Riyakârca davranıyorlar...Daha açık söyleyeyim; para tatlı geliyor, kimse huzurunu bozmak istemiyor.Sordun mu da başlıyorlar saydırmaya;Çalışma saatleri çok uzun...90 dakika dizi mi olur...Mangalda kül bırakmıyorlar.Evet, her hafta 90 dakika dizi çekiyorsunuz, haftanın 6 günü çalışıyorsunuz, karda çamurda sabahlara kadar setlerdesiniz, geceniz gündüzünüz belli değil...Ama buna karşılık da her hafta 10-15 bin lira para alıyorsunuz?Haftada 30-40 bin lira kazananları, 13 bölüm peşin alanları, 700-800 bin lira avans alan oyunculara saymıyorum bile...Türkiye'de kim bu kadar para kazanıyor? Bütün oyuncular bal gibi biliyor ki, televizyon dizileri olmasa hayatları boyunca biriktirseler bu paraları bir arada göremezlerdi...Helali hoş olsun, daha çok kazansınlar...Ama sonra çıkıp da "diziler çok uzun, çalışma şartları çok ağır" diye timsah gözyaşları dökmesinler.TV patronları çıkıp, "Evet arkadaşlar dizi sürelerini 45 dakikaya indiriyoruz ama siz de ücretlerinizi yarıya indireceksiniz" dese kaç oyuncu kabul eder?Kaç yapımcı kabul eder?Emin olun, hiçbirisi...Oyuncu kazandığı paradan memnun...Senarist aldığı ücretten memnun...Yapımcı elde ettiği kârdan memnun...Kanal aldığı reklamdan memnun...

expected which continues until the upper field of the section the worker is working. The generally spoken year limit to fulfill the desired upward mobility is 7-12 years. In this context, the upward mobility might be seen as a root for the individualization the craft workers feel. The new entrant, who knows that he/she, will reach somehow to the upper level if he/she is able to continue working in the industry at the end isn't easily to be expected to feel belongingness to his/her current place among the technical workers. In other words, a technical worker isn't actually a technical worker individually; he/she is the potential creative worker of the future who expects to enjoy less precarious conditions then.

Nevertheless, it can't simply be argued that the upward mobility is an absolute character of the industry that provides everyone in the industry this chance. On the contrary a high competition among the workers to reach the level of the creative workers might be seen as one of the core reasons undermining the feeling of togetherness among the technical workers in which case the fellow is seen as a potential opponent. The elimination system in the industry can be seen clearly by a research from the online databases, such as sinematurk. As well as the existence of those promoting to the above the line positions from those have been working in the last 10 years in the below the line positions; there are also those who haven't been able to do it. Nonetheless, this doesn't change the conditions of the competition; it continues.

In this case, what becomes also important is that the survival in the industry has also a class base. Since the upward mobility requires a 7-12 years of enduring against the psychological and material conditions, those who come from more middle-class rooted families are more able to survive in the industry. Those ones who come from relatively more secure family backgrounds, more clearly from middle class positions, such as the student whose parents are retired bankers, the sound technician..., the scriptwriter whose father is a military man is observed as being more endurable to the harsh conditions of the industry. However workers, whose parents coming from the working class positions are on the contrary, relatively weaker. The editor, who had to give a harsh fight to make his father to accept his decision on working on the cinema, the make-up artist because of her problems in the industry called back by her parents to Ankara, the director assistant

given up working in the industry and decided to continue in a more stable job as a bank cashier, the figurant who doesn't think to continue as an actor in the future and wants to enter the KPSS exam are all children of blue-collar working class. This class related tension between enduring vs. giving up, is seen also in Sennett's contrasting analysis²⁰²:

Here class counts for everything. A child of privilege can afford strategic confusion, a child of the masses cannot. Chance opportunities are likely to come to the child of privilege because of family background and educational networks; privilege diminishes the need to strategize. (Sennett, 2006:80)

5.2) The Selves of the Workers

The previous part argues the fragmentation of the workers into different groups mainly the core/creative and peripheral/technical. This makes the community feeling and collective behavior more possible within the technical workers that face with similar precarious conditions, as it is also explained in chapter 3. However, in this part it is focused on the subjective side of the issue that is how the technical worker actually feels himself/herself, and its effects on the workers' feeling as a member of a community. Papadopoulos et al. say:

A subject included as otherness is and never was a frightening subject for the given political order. Rather, this subject is constituted as an anxious and afraid subject. And, with Spinoza, we know that when the mob is frightened, it inspires no fear. Hence we can say that fear is triggered by those who are unwilling to participate in the politics of inclusion and instead engage in acts of escape. (Papadopoulos et al., 2008: 238)

The economics which is purely based on change and rapidness has an obvious "time" dimension. "There is no long term"; is a quotation used by Sennett (2010: 21) for the description of the working life of the new culture of capitalism. In chapter 3's two sections, it is focused on the TV Series' workers' precariousness faced in terms

²⁰² Also see N. Erdođan, 2011:75-115

of employment and job continuity. The difficulties and contingency that the workers are faced in terms of entering the industry, additionally, even in the cases after a work is found the high uncertainty of its continuation causes of a feeling where the long term path is unpredictable. The following words of the camera assistant talked for this thesis, he wrote in an internet forum about his attendance to a meeting organized by his friends:

“This meeting will be after the feast, won’t it? Certainly, we will have a shooting set, but there is too much time until it. I might get fired until that time, then I will join you.” (filmfabrikasi, ercane, 15.07.2012)²⁰³

What the camera assistant mentions as “too much time” actually equals approximately to 1 month. Since he experienced in his past a situation, it is also mentioned in this thesis at page: 86-7²⁰⁴, he can’t simply be sure about his “short-term future.” Similarly the lighting chef / director of photography claims that his next job isn’t determined, he waits for phone calls and probably there will be a cinema movie shooting of one of his friends at summer. “Until that time” he says “nothing is apparent.”²⁰⁵ This uncertainty of future that prevents the seeing of the next available job clearly, might also result to different career paths that hasn’t been in the minds of the workers; as in the case of the director assistant, his future that he has planned as having a job in which “artistic” expressions might be fulfilled, is ended with a career as a banker; similarly with the make-up assistant working now in a textile company’s marketing department. Approximately after three months of the interview conducted with the student, he sent me an e-mail in which he wanted to inform me about a development in his career that also shows how the future is keen to change easily:

“I accept the offer of a firm that reached me through Kariyer.net as a photography intern. It has been good actually, because the firm is

²⁰³ bu tam bayram sonrası oluyo di mi ? kesin bizim set olur ama o zamana çok var belki kovulurum, o zaman gelirim.
<http://filmfabrikasi.com/forum/viewtopic.php?f=87&t=11743&p=129924#p129924>

²⁰⁴ He says: Two days before the project I went to the project company and two people came in: The cameraman and focus puller. They were the worst people for me they could be. I said ‘screw you’. They started to grouse about me since they think that I’m not experienced enough. At that night, I came back to Besiktas my phone rang. The production coordinator was calling: ‘Excuse me! We can’t work with you’ Why, I asked, ‘does everyone know about this.’ ‘Yes, he said, it is a group decision’.

²⁰⁵ O zamana kadar başka bir şey gözükmüyor. (Işık Şefi / Görüntü Yönetmeni)

very huge global company. And now, I promoted from part-time internship to full-time photographer and at the same time have become the photography departments' chef with the last revision. Shortly, I have promoted in three months to the position "head-photographer" of a global firm's Turkey branch having 500 million sales while I hadn't been able to pass a very short distance in the cinema-television department." (STU)²⁰⁶

However, besides the uncertainty that this job brings there are subjects who are still hopeful about their future to develop a career in the industry, in which they believe that they will reach the place they actually "deserve" and "desire":

"You might remember I said you that I will never give up cinema etc. However there is a saying; 'eat a big mouthful, but don't make big promises.' All of these had happened after 15-20 days after we talked. But I still didn't give up cinema, someday I will be back, but looks it will be not soon." (STU)²⁰⁷

"Somehow you will promote. I have never thought about the opposite. You will. Only thing you need is patience." (ST)²⁰⁸

"If I would quit this TV series I'm working in it, I would never go and be a banker or something like that. Rather than I would still chase a place in advertisement or film sector or make my own short films. Actually, if you look at those who quitted the job, you will see that most of them have the desire to turn back. This job is something like this, if it catches you, you can't simply abandon it." (BO)²⁰⁹

The desired future in the field of cinema by many of the subjects dealt here is seen as a place where they work more independently, in the side of more creative

²⁰⁶ Kariyer.Net üzerinden bana ulaşan bir firmanın fotoğraf stajyerliği teklifini kabul ettim. Aslında iyi de oldu zira firma çok büyük bir global şirket. Ve ben şu anda part-time stajyerlikten, tam zamanlı fotoğrafçıya döndüm ki aynı zamanda fotoğraf departmanının şefi de oldum en son düzenlemeyle. Kısacası 3 senedir sinema televizyon alanında bir arpa boyu yol alamazken, fotoğraf alanında 3 ayda 500 milyon ciroya sahip global bir şirketin Türkiye operasyonunun baş fotoğrafçısı oldum. (an e-mail sent by the student (STU), in 10.01.2012)

²⁰⁷ Hatırlarsın röportajda hani sinema alanından vazgeçmem vs. demiştin ama işte büyük lokma ye, büyük söz söyleme demişler. Tüm bunlar senle konuştuktan 15-20 gün içerisinde gerçekleşti. Hee ama hala sinemadan vazgeçmiş değilim, bir gün döneceğim ama pek yakın bir zamanda değil sanırsam. (an e-mail sent by the student (STU), in 10.01.2012)

²⁰⁸ Bir şekilde bir yerlere gelirsin mutlaka. Hiçbir zaman aksini düşünmedim. Gelirsin. Sadece sabır gerek.

²⁰⁹ Bu çalıştığım diziden ayrılısam falan gidip bankacı falan olmam ben. Yine reklam ya da dizi kovalarım, kendi kısa filmimi falan çekerim. Zaten bu işi bırakanlara falan bakarsan çoğunun geri dönmek istediğini göreceksin. Bu iş böyledir. Bir kez seni yakaladı mı kolay kolay bırakamazsın.

conditions of working. The editing assistant, the student, the boom operator and the sound technician says that they want to make their own films, while there are more specific subjects they want to reach on the top level of their department; such as the camera assistant who wants to be a director of photography. As a result, the industry functions in a high competitive environment in which those subjects struggle to reach upper levels and enjoy more “self-expressive” and “independent” jobs (Leadbeater and Oakley, 1999) in the future. However, the truth is that, as also mentioned previously, only some of them get successful. The TV series continue with the power of the workers who work with the hope of becoming one day into a position where one feels himself/herself more creative:

“I like to be useful. If I believe that I receive something from there, I will work 15 hours 16 hours a day. Of course, I don’t want to enter as let’s say as lighting man a stay there as it. What I want is to enter and establish connections, to show myself to people, to show my brilliance, show my talent. Then I want to be a scriptwriter-director, that is write and direct my own scenarios.”(STU) ²¹⁰

“What I want really is to create something and express my creation to the people”²¹¹ (ST)

These expressions indicate the case what Flecker and Hoffbauer calls as “capitalizing on subjectivity.” They indicate here a mutual advantage in which the “self-reliable” and “self-developing” subject is both useful for himself / herself and this turns at the end into profitability. However as it is said, since these sides in the antagonism between capital and labor are not equally powerful there is no guarantee that secures the selves development. Even in cases where development is reached since labor is put in a competitive environment, it inevitably requires subjects winning and losing for the sake of capital. This is also the case in the TV Series. As the self-reliable subjects enter the industry and work as hard as possible to show themselves for reaching the desired place in their future plans don’t get inevitably successful. On the other hand the graveyard of the TV Series’ labor market is full of

²¹⁰ Ben faydalı olmayı seviyorum. Eğer oradan bir şeyler alabileceğimi düşünürsem, günde 15 saat 16 saat çalışırım ben. Ama tabii ki ışıkçı olarak girip de ışıkçı olarak kalmak istemiyorum. Benim asıl istediğim oraya girip çevre yapmak, insanlara kendimi göstermek, zekamı göstermek, yeteneklerimi göstermek. Ondan sonra da yazar-yönetmen olmak istiyorum. Yani kendi senaryolarımı yazıp yönetmek istiyorum.

²¹¹ Benim yapmak istediğim aslında bir şeyler yaratmak ve bu yarattıklarımı insanlara aktarabilmek.

workers who aren't able to survive in the industry and those who still work but not able to promote as they want. This isn't as generally said a problem of personal success, it is a structural outcome that offers little places for creative workers and demands huge numbers of technical ones.

As a result of the struggle to reach the desired places in the industry, the workers exploit themselves to be still in the competition in the future. As Papadopoulos et al. argue, the exploitation relations exceed the boundaries of the labor relations, and turns into a feeling exploiting one's future in the present:

Self-exploitation happens in the regime of precarious life and labor when someone tries to anticipate and explore the future through its dissemination into the present and to intensify their own efforts to ensure that they remain competitive in the future. This post-contractual form of dependency is twofold: it is a dependency on the employer, who offers limited contracts, as well as a dependency on oneself to increase one's own capacity to get such contracts in the future. (Papadopoulos et al. 2008: 233)

As it is explained before in the context of job continuity the highly changing working conditions in the industry doesn't give the guarantee of the next available job, furthermore, forces the worker to feel the existing job always under a danger. This reveals the dependency to the employer. What is here more striking is the fact of the exploitation of the self by the self. The worker in this industry who is forced to remain always ready, refresh the networks and establish a pool full of contacts, moreover, to endure the heavy working conditions for the sake of in-job-learning, exploits actually himself/herself. As it is said, while the time lived "now" is exploited by the employer, the future is exploited by the workers' selves.

Besides this, there are cases in which the workers of a TV Series don't feel a satisfaction in the work they do at present. In this sense the satisfaction they get is also delayed to future projects. Looking at what they say for some of the TV Series they work in makes this clearer:

"It is a worthless youth TV series. It broadcasts every day in weekdays at five o'clock." (DA)²¹²

²¹²

Kıyırık bir gençlik dizisidir. Hafta içi her gün saat beşte yayınlanır.

“We work here for realizing our dreams, we don’t like the TV series etc. What we want is to add something different to our knowledge” (BO)²¹³

“It just happened yesterday. It was snowing; I don’t know what the temperature was, minus something. It was lam we were still shooting the scene. All of us were like let’s shoot and finish it. How would you expect this scene to be good?” (ST)²¹⁴

“Sometimes there is a scene you ask whether to go somewhere and put the boom there, they say that there is no need for it, ‘we shoot TV series here!’ They call the TV series as weekly garbage” (BO)²¹⁵

I feel ashamed of some of the scripts that I’m writing. I don’t say to people that I’m the writer of that TV Series. (SCW-1)²¹⁶

“I went one day to a TV Series to replace one of my friends. I asked there to understand the style of shooting how the scenes are shot etc. They gave me the answer: we shoot it with ‘logic of TV series.’ We know it, when someone says logic of TV series it means a long take, a middle take and a close take” (ST)²¹⁷

As these expressions make it clearer there is a common understanding considering some of the TV series as somehow worthless, having an easy logic and even embarrassing. However the answer to the question why these workers do the job that is not satisfying them as it was said previously might lie on the point of view considering TV series as a step to promote, establish connections and learn something about the job, at the expense of delaying the satisfaction from the job.

The subject situated in a competitive environment sees the fellow as a possible opponent in the struggle to reach his/her future plans. However at the same time, since the industry works together with “networking” this also indicates a need for

²¹³ Biz burada hayallerimizi gerçekleştirmek için çalışıyoruz, dizi falan filan sevmiyoruz. Bildiklerimize yeni bir şeyler katmak için çalışıyoruz.

²¹⁴ Daha dün oldu işte. Kar yağıyor, hava eksi bilmem kaç derece, saat 1 olmuş hala çekim yapıyoruz. Hepimiz çekelim de bitsin gidelim diye bakıyoruz. Böyle bir sahne nasıl güzel olabilir ki?

²¹⁵ Bazen bir sahne oluyor şuraya gireyim mi boomla diyorum, gerek yok diyorlar, ‘dizi çekiyoruz burada.’ Haftalık çöp derler zaten dizilere.

²¹⁶ Bazı yazdığım dizilerden utanıyorum. Söylemiyorum insanlara bunun yazarı benim diye.

²¹⁷ Bir gün bir diziye gittim bir arkadaşın yerine. Sordum çalışma mantıklarını anlamak için nasıl çekiyorsunuz sahneleri diye bana verdikleri cevap ‘dizi mantığıyla çekiyoruz’du. Biz onu biliyoruz. Dizi mantığı deyince, işte uzak plan, orta plan, yakın plan.

the fellow for remaining competitive in the future that puts the subject at the end into the middle of a dilemma, one between individual and group. The balance according to some scholars is provided by an individual that develops the group he/she is involved in with the networks he/she has, at the same time he/she enjoys the groups existing networks to develop his/her network. (Borgatti, et al., 1998) However, this still doesn't solve the problem of competition between the members, it only establishes a sort of negotiation. Sennett explains what lacks in these established "networks" clearly. According to Sennett (2010), the idea of mobility, change and non-routine damages the trust and loyalty that actually develops together with a career path, which doesn't change, goes together with a lifelong commitment to an industry and your fellows. Sennett introduces here a pronoun, the new "we" which contrasts with the old one, is formed by weak-ties among people and lacks of the deeper bounds in which everyone accepts the other with its all personalities. (pg: 151) Teamwork that is one of the forms of the new "we", don't form as the traditional commitments do; that is, in time and by experience; rather than it is rapid and constantly changeable. On the contrary, the establishment of the strong commitment bounds depends according to Sennett on the need of the people to each other. However this kind of traditional need is a deeper one, differently from the need in the teamwork which is functional. Instead of the whole being of a person, in teamwork a person is reduced into his/her functionality in terms of being a member of the team. (pg: 152)

In this sense the argued commitment, trust, reliability in the networking systems is as Sennett argues lacking from a deeper understanding of a community. More clearly, the workers' interdependence, trust and reliability in the network systems are "self-interest" driven ones. As it is indicated in the Leadbeater and Oakley's (1999) *Independents*, what describes the new cultural entrepreneur is their feeling of independence in terms of not belonging in a corporate community.

As a result a TV series is commonly produced by workers who don't internalize the job they are doing, rather than seeing it as a reflection of a path that brings potentially to the place where they at the end want to satisfy their personal desires. In this context, the work is done not as Sennett says by strong communities in which the people are tied together rather than by teams consisting of subjects each

of them want to do the job to fulfill their personal desires. In this competitive relations, these self-interest driven identities see the fellow worker as a threat for the future as someone potentially get the his/her place in the future. However, as it is said they also need each other to fulfill their future dreams that at the end turn into a social place where small groups consisting of subjects that are not strongly connected to each other that form, abolish and then re-form in new projects. Now the question turns into a political one; that is the question whether such a frequently changing shapeless collection of workers form a political unity to evoke change.

5.3) Politics of Precariousness

In this case the problem of collective political behavior turns into a difficult problem causing to a pessimistic point of view. Candeais (2007) analyzes these views in-depth. He refers mainly the works of three scholars, Wacquant, Bourdieu and Castel that according to him could be read within the boundaries of a “conservative world view” having its roots from the Durkheimian concept of “anomy” finally resulting an individualized rejection and destruction rather than forming a collective political behavior. (Candeias, 2007: 4) According to Wacquant, the class experience “a fight over distinction and recognition, dividing lines of respectability, which make confidence, communication and comprehensive solidarity more difficult”, so that, they can not “recognize the collective nature of the dilemma” (Wacquant 2004, cited in, Candeias, 2007:2) In another study where Wacquant indicates the unfinished genesis of the precariat why these “disconnected” subjects can not form a collectivity:

Advanced marginality also differs from previous forms of urban poverty in that it develops in the context of class decomposition rather than class consolidation, under the press of a double tendency toward precarization and deproletarianization rather than toward proletarian unification and homogenization. Those who are subjected to its tropism and caught in its swirl therefore find themselves disconnected from the traditional instruments of mobilization and representation of constituted groups and, as a consequence, deprived of a language, a repertoire of shared images and signs through which to conceive a

collective destiny and to project possible alternative futures.
(Wacquant, 2007: 72)

Similarly in Castel's sense the "redundant" precariat is made up of "socially atomized, anomic and resigned" subjects, which are not integrated, also unable to be integrated since they have lost the positive identity through work. (Candeias, 2007:2) In this sense what Castel sees as a solution for this "irreversible process" is to offer a social state "as a way of remedying certain glaring dysfunctions, assuring at least a minimum of cohesion between social groups." (Castel, 2003: 370)

Additionally, Bourdieu indicates the existence of a regime of fear by putting forward that "people who are in precarious situation can hardly be mobilized since they are limited in their ability to sketch out future projects" (Bourdieu, 1998:98 cited in Candeias, 2007: 5) Precariat, "as an impossible class with heterogeneous positioning, finds no representation in the inherited political institutions"; therefore as an inevitable solution for Bourdieu the state needs to be reminded of its social responsibilities and put back in the position to intervene in a regulatory way against unleashed market. (Bourdieu, 2001: 104, cited in Candeias, 2007: 5)

On the contrary, according to Candeias what these ideas overlook is the fact that how neoliberal modes of integration have effectively forced reorganization of the society. (Candeias, 2007: 1) Moreover, according to him "they miss the contradictions of new developing forms of labor", by denying the fact that "the involvement of the subjectivity as active in social relations. (Candeias, 2008: 13)" He says that, the process of subjection, doesn't indicate a simple subordination however it is a dialectical process of becoming made and of making oneself within (or in conflict with) given forms. (Candeias, 2007: 3) To remember it is argued in the first chapter, critical realism offers a broad point of view to understand the power of the subject in reproducing (and also transforming) the structure. Similarly, Candeias writes about the "habitus", "in which social individuals realize their activities and thus contributes to the social regularization of actions" (pg: 4). That is to say that, the individual lives the subjection and self-constitution processes together, as a result, "the individual is never completely constituted always newly subjected and produced, which openness also the possibility to re-articulation. (pg: 4) In this context, the individualized, frightened, narcissistic workers in the industry which is

seen as an obstacle for the collective feeling among the workers, they also form resistant selves (Collinson, 2003: 539) which is purely visible in the workers' expressions offers an important point for departure to the mentioned re-articulation. To show this points first of all, even it resulted unsuccessful, the workers showed certain "forms of public declared resistant (J. Scott, 1990: 198):"

It is claimed that the producer aren't able to pay the wages of the actors/actresses. Therefore the crew is working without receiving their money the last 8-10 weeks. The crew running out of patience decided to stop working under these conditions. (Vatan, 10.02.2010)²¹⁸

"The TV series named Kızım Nerede's crew is facing with difficult days. As the actors/actresses and the set crew can't receive their wages of 10 episodes decided to don't go to the set."(Bugün, 03.06.2011)²¹⁹

Besides this, as Candeias puts forward, "the praxis of resistance" tried to be reached "for building of the agency must not be invented from nothing; it is in fact already there in everyday praxis and thinking." (Candeias, 2007: 5) In this context, this study showed this everyday praxis and thinking, in other words, the existence of "disguised, low profile, undisclosed resistance." (J.Scott, 1990: 198)

"In such times you question what you are working for? If you die, you have nothing in your hands; you die together with your dreams." (BO)²²⁰

I still had said that it was the right choice to quit the job, because I was frazzled. My health had started to be affected adversely. You have no private life. You have no chance to see the women you met. You have no chance to make love. You can't take a bath days long. There are even cases you have to hold in pee 2-3 hours long. You can't simply leave and go to pee because there is no one who can do your job. You have to stay there. If you are, let's say, taking notes of the time-code you have to find someone doing this for you, however

²¹⁸ Yapımcının, oyuncu ve set işçilerine maaş ödeyemediği iddia ediliyor. Bu yüzden ekip, 8-10 haftadır para almadan çalışıyor. Sabrı tükenen ekip, mevcut şartlarda çalışmama kararı aldı. http://haber.gazetevatan.com/Bu_kalp_Seni_Unutur_mu_ekibi_kazan_kaldirdi_/286529/11/Haber

²¹⁹ 'Kızım Nerede' adlı dizinin ekibi zor günler yaşıyor. Oyuncular ve set ekibi 10 bölümdür paralarını alamadığı için sete gitmeme kararı verdi. <http://magazin.bugun.com.tr/kizim-nerede-de-para-isyani-157248-haberi.aspx>

²²⁰ İşte böyle zamanlarda niye çalışıyorum ki ben diyorsun. Yani ölsen... Hiçbir şey yok elinde, hayallerinle birlikte ölüyorsun.

everyone is busy. Everything is properly organized and actually you are the one who is responsible for the organization as the director assistant. If something goes wrong the director comes and shits on you. If someone is late, he/she screams at you 'why didn't you call him/her earlier?', if the set isn't ready he/she asks you the reason for it. Long story short, last year, I quarreled with my senior director assistants, because they were thinking I was inefficient, actually it was impossible to be efficient. (DA)²²¹

"I was working in a project under a director of art; she had 7-8 years of experience, but was younger than me. The series was shot in a villa you know. One day I was drinking tea in the first floor. She came down, screamed at me to not sit and work. I said OK, went upstairs and asked her my duty. He told me to bang a nail to the wall. I screamed 'screw you!' and quitted the job. I worked years in the job, am I the one who has to be called for such a job?" (YL)²²²

"If you are coming from Ankara, write this down and tell our story there. We are real laborers of Yeşilçam. Say that the Yeşilçam workers are living there with honor and by being proud of themselves, waiting in Yeşilçam. These people have housing-rents, electricity bills, which they can't pay. However, none of them are going to their older bosses or juvenile actors; or to those earning a lot of money, for asking one penny. (YL-2)²²³

²²¹ Gına gelmişti artık bu işten. Aslında bir hata yaptım. 26-27 yaşında bir insanın işini bulmadan işten ayrılmaması gerekiyormuş. 6 ay işsiz kaldım. Ama yine de işten ayrılmanın doğru karar olduğunu düşünüyordum çünkü artık bıkmıştım. Sağlığım olumsuz yönde etkilenmeye başlamıştı. Özel hayatın yok. Tanıştığın kızla buluşma şansın yok. Sevişmeye vaktin yok. Bazen oluyor günlerce duş alamıyorsun. Ya iki-üç saat çişini tutmak zorunda kalıyorsun çünkü işi öylece bırakıp gidemiyorsun çünkü onu senin yerine yapabilecek kimse yok. Orada olman lazım. Her şey düzgünce düzenlenmiş organize edilmiş ve aslında o organizasyondan sorumlu olan sensin reji asistanı olarak. Bir şey yanlış olursa yönetmen gelir senin ağzına sıçar. Biri geç kalırsa sana bağırrır niye zamanında aranmadı diye. Set hazır değilse sebebini sana sorar. Lafın kısası, geçtiğimiz sene üstümdeki asistanla atıştım, benim yetersiz olduğumu düşünüyorlardı çünkü, ama aslına bakarsan yeterli olmak da mümkün değil zaten. O yüzden sektörde çok fazla sirkülasyona olduğunu düşünüyorum zaten. Her neyse, ben ayrılıyorum dedim.

²²² Bir projede bir sanat yönetmeninin altında çalışıyorum. 7-8 yıl deneyimi var ama benden genç. Dizi bir villada çekiliyor biliyorsun. Birinci katta çay içiyorum. Aşağı geldi bu,bağırdı çağırdı kalk çalış falan dedi. Tamam dedim, çıktım yukarı ne yapayım dedim. Duvara çivi çakılacakmış. Siktir git lan dedim çıktım işten. Ben yıllarca çalıştım bu işte ben miyim bu iş içi taa en aşağıdan çağırılacak.

²²³ Eğer Ankara'dan geliyorsan bunları yaz ve bizim hikayemizi orada anlat. De ki gerçek Yeşilçam emekçileri orada onurlu ve gururlu bir şekilde Yeşilçam'da bekliyorlar. Bu insanların kiralari var, elektrik faturalari var, ödeyemiyorlar. Yine de patronlara ya da jönlere gidip bir kuruş para istemezler. İş isterler, ama onu da vermezler. Neden vermiyorlar? Çünkü bugün oyunculuk işi ajansların elinde. Geç set arkasına, teknik kısma, orada da firmalar var. Yapımcı hep aynı ışık şefiyle set kordinatörüyle kameramanla çalışır. Tamamen. Böyle bir firmada da çalışabilmek için önce genç olman lazım, onların sana verdiği şartlar altında vasıfsız işçi gibi çalışabilmen için

“Our directors were really workaholic. One of them is from Batman the other from Erzurum. They lived in very difficult conditions and I think that makes them very resolute. They start early morning to work until 1-2 am. They only sleep and have no private life. As a result they wait from their assistants, I mean from us, the same performance, however I had never shown them it. It is actually impossible to show it. Therefore they hadn’t liked me too much, I mean, because I was a bit relax-minded. (DA)²²⁴

“It is a common thing to exploit the assistants in the industry. There are a lot of people working as interns without getting paid.” (ST)²²⁵

There was a grouchy director of photography, he was proud of working very fast. If you slow him down, he gets mad. He had also a focus puller who was younger than me, newly growing up, and was trained by the director of photography himself. He was an order giving type, to handle him you had to be cool.[...] Moreover, because I had the necessity to stay somehow in the sector, I realized that I should not give a hoot those things. (CA)²²⁶

“Actually, I wouldn’t come again. It is a very difficult thing, and also they don’t pay your money in time. In the last job I went they paid it 2 months later.” (FGR-1)²²⁷

Actually you are the director, the boss comes and says ‘It’s OK or not! You are the one who suffer the pain.’ (DA)²²⁸

²²⁴ Bizim yönetmenlerimiz işkoliktiler. Biri Batmanlı bir Erzurumlu. Çok zorluklardan gelmişler bu onları çok dayanıklı yapmış. Sabahın köründe çalışmaya başlarlardı gece bira ikiye kadar. Sadece uyuyorlardı özel hayatları falan yok. Bu yüzden asistanlarından da aynı performansı bekliyorlardı, ama benden onu hiç alamadılar. Aslında almaları da mümkün değildi zaten. O yüzden beni çok sevmezlerdi, çünkü kafam rahattı. İşten erken çıkmak isterdim, arkadaşlarımla buluşayım bir bira içeyim falan. Ben bunu seviyorum. Böyle bir yaşam biçimini dizide çalışarak sürdüremezsin.

²²⁵ Ama şey vardır sektörde çok, asistanı sömürme. Bir sürü stajyer parasını almadan çalışır.

²²⁶ Firma beni bir çekime gönderdi. Daha önce iki asistanımız ayrılmıştı oradan. Oraya gittim ve problemin ne olduğunu anladım. Huysuz bir görüntü yönetmeni var, çok hızlı çalışmakla övünüyor. Birisi kendisini yavaşlatırsa deliriyor adam. Kendi focus puller’ı var yanında kendi yetiştiriyor. Böyle emir veren bir tip. Onu idare etmek için sakın olmak gerekiyor. [...] Ayrıca, bu sektörde devam edebilmek için böyle şeyleri hiç umursamamak gerekiyor. Evet humanizm tarafı biraz sorgulanabilir ama aslında haklılar da, çünkü sana bir şey öğretmeye çalışıyorlar. Onları dinlemen lazım.

²²⁷ Aslında buna da gelmeyecektim, çünkü çok zor iş. Ha bir de parayı zamanında ödemiyorlar. Son gittiğim işte iki ay sonra ödediler.

²²⁸ Asistan olarak bütün organizasyonu sen yaparsın, her şeyden sen sorumlusundur, yönetmen senin ağzına sı..r. Mesela biri sete geç gelir, neden vaktinde aranmadı diye sorar, set kurulmadıysa niye gecikti diye sorar. Yani aslında yönetmen sensindir, patron gelir, tamam oldu, olmadı der. Bütün yük senin omuzlarındadır.

“I can’t get the fucking woman to like of the tea. If you ask her to soak the tea, let’s see whether she can or not.”²²⁹ (TM)

All of these expressions reveal that the workers in the industry aren’t simply passive determined subjects who work willingly under the offered precarious conditions. Some of them by screwing, some by not minding or some by totally refusing to work show a certain awareness besides the consent it is expressed. As Papadopoulos et al. (2008) say, these subjects who developed certain tactics towards acts of escape (pg: 238) might also provide new sociability beyond the capitalist control, since these are *“not only reactive, but rather a means for a future purpose, for the production of a coherent self, a praxis that substantiates itself.”* (Candeias, 2007: 4-5) Papadopoulos et al. provide an example related directly to the main concern of the thesis²³⁰:

Similarly, the creativity of the architect, the cinematographer or the graphic designer stems very much from their capacity to connect, socialize, produce beyond the project in which they are currently involved and for which they are paid. Whilst all these activities and experiences are necessary for work, at the same time they exceed what capitalist exploitation wants to and can appropriate. There is always a surplus sociability which remains unexploited in embodied capitalism. This surplus sociability destabilizes social regulation, that is, it cannot be fully regulated, because it is incompatible with the current system of measurability of labor power. (Papadopoulos et al., 2008: 274)

In this sense, a clearer question might be the following: How it is possible to organize the pre-declared “Independents” whose primary character comes from its desire to be non-organized? Bora and Erdoğan, although they write about a different sociological entity, the white-collar unemployed, address the precarious structural environment determined by “uncertainty and agitation” as a general intrinsic character of capitalism affecting the working conditions based on precariousness. (Bora and Erdoğan, 2011: 38) They indicate certain difficulties such as

²²⁹ A..na kodumun karısına çay beğendiremiyoz. Bir çay demle desen bakalım kendi demleyebilecek mi?

²³⁰ See also Candeias 2008: 14, to a similar underlining of new subjective capacities: Decisive seems to me a direct, as far as possible, involvement in socially necessary und thus socially recognized work in cooperative relations, able to support the development of the social individuals. This redirects our view to the sphere of reproductive work: gender relations, housework, children education, care, social work, voluntary ecological or cultural work, self- work etc., which could tie a supportive social net.

“heterogeneity, fragmentation, non-standardization, individualization, casualization, flexibility and competition for work” –that were also expressed as similar difficulties in this thesis’ context; as obstacles front of the establishment of a collective subject (pg: 38), however they remind that “the class’ normal state isn’t a unity, rather than it is separation.” As a result they recall that “the class isn’t a natural unity” and is formed “as relations in the social struggles” and “the collectivity is established in the political moment.” (pg: 39) As also Candeias say:

“Agency is thus marked by a contradictory ensemble of possibilities and limitations of agency. This contradictoriness and its permanent movement demands actions of orientation from the subject (Markard 2001, 1176). Conscious and unconscious moments are here included in the habitus. In that case, the subject thus takes up active influence on its possibilities to act – a process that can form a basis for connections and further development.” (Candeias, 2007: 5)

Precariousness, in this sense might be seen as the root for the formation of the class. As it is tried to be explained, the separation of the mental and manual labor, or creative, technical and unskilled work, the high individualization among the workers, subjective interests, are all issues preventing the working class from forming a unity from people “between them a communication hardly takes place”. (Candeis, 2009: 2) Andrew Ross asks a key question here needs attention:

Even if this concept is theoretically plausible, does it make sense to imagine cross-class coalitions of the precarious capable of developing a unity of consciousness and action on an international scale? Critics of this view dismiss as naive the assumption that a highly trained aristocracy of labor will find common cause with the less skilled, simply on the basis of insecurity. (Ross, 2008: 35)

As Ross says this is one of the primary questions. However as mention above, rather than a pre-formulation of a common cause political practice might offer some answers. Ross gives many examples and concludes:

In each case, employees were organizing in the teeth of industrial cultures that promote an individualist professional ethos, and each discovered that a little solidarity can go a long way. (Ross, 2008: 42)

However, besides these factors splitting the workers from each other, precariousness establishes a commonality among them which may let them come together. “While precariousness comes as a common property of all employment

types, it also provides a function for class homogenization.” (Çerkezoğlu and Göztepe, 2010: 89) Özuğurlu contributes:

It is real that for the name of flexibility the forms of employment are varied. This deepened the differences within the working class and caused for the strengthening of those differences. This is a fact. This is also a fact: There is also an essential tendency cutting the sectionalized labor force market and varied employment forms from end to end widthwise; thereby, homogenizing the working class differences on the line of the common destiny. This tendency is the precariousness of working. Therefore it is the place for remembering: The new working class is the ones whose destinies unite while their lives are falling apart. (Özuğurlu, 2010: 47)

It is tried to be shown in this thesis in most general sense that the set workers of the private TV series’ industry in Turkey besides all the subjective / sectoral differences it has –as all the industries have; face with a more structural and homogenizing problem: The problem of precariousness related to the flexibility of the labor process, which might be overcome by a collective political organization based on politics of precariousness for the collective organization of the working class.

6. CONCLUSION

TV series are one of the most appreciated cultural products in television as well as in the general media. By being the Turkish television's prime-time's main content and also being one of the most profitable products for both television and media producers it is both a leisure time and economic activity. The focuses on TV series have dealt generally with its content or the relation of this content with the audience. On the other hand, other studies that have focused TV series as an economic entity hasn't gone into the detail of the production relations, the producer, TV channel, rating and the creative worker level have been the primary point of observation. This thesis, in this sense, is an attempt aiming firstly to fill this gap in the Turkish literature by focusing on the production and labor relations of a TV series, and deals more with those ones whose voices haven't been too much heard so far. By doing this the main aim of this thesis was to explain the production and labor relations of a TV series starting from the TV channel level to the level of figurants within a general context of capitalist production relations.

In the first chapter, a theoretical framework tried to be conducted to develop the collected information of this case study. Firstly the Television Series production dealt with in this thesis is mentioned within the boundaries of the conceptualization Cultural Industries as it is commonly done. Cultural Industries as a critical revision of the "Culture Industry" is stated mainly as a critique on the totalistic view of it that doesn't open ways for autonomous analysis of different production and labor processes of cultural production by seeing them as a result of similar processes. Therefore the use of Cultural Industries are mentioned as rescuing from the economic determinist point of view by opening places for studies by indicating each industry having its own relatively autonomous dynamics. Besides this, it is also mentioned that such a point of view has the possibility of falling into simple atomism that considers each sector and its relations as disconnected from other social,

economic and political relations. To prevent this, a need for “a wider social totality” that cultural industries has to be considered in, is asserted. The answer for such a marking is found in the theory of “political economy.” By rejecting the views that see political economy as not giving the required importance for autonomous and subjective derivations and falling into economic determinism; political economy is stated as an analysis that gives both place for objectivities and subjectivities in a relational way. To make this clearer, a methodological discussion is opened and Critical Realism’s layered ontology that puts both structure and plural subjects together is indicated as the basis.

Moving one step further with the light of the developed methodology the flexible accumulation strategies is seen as the primary structure dominating the capital / labor conflict in capitalism’s historical specificity. To do this the flexible production systems are conceptualized widely and its effects on the labor market are shown. In this sense, the employment relations are put under another objective case that argues that many labor relations under flexible capitalism experience the so called process of precariousness. In this context a conceptualization of precarious employment is made and precariousness is shown as a general condition that affects a lot of industries including high-skill jobs, in which the Cultural Industries are also considered.

However, besides this objective state that puts the Turkish Television Series production into the context of cultural industries within flexible capitalist production systems, the conditions of labor market around this objective structure was also considered. In this sense the labor side of the main structural antagonism in capitalism, the capital/labor, was said to be fragmented into two main group of workers, one core group including the creative workers, the other one including the technical workers. This general state of working class fragmentation was asserted also applicable for the case of Turkish television series workers.

Nevertheless, besides this state of fragmentation a part was opened up to understand the workers' consciousness. To do this, the literature dealing with the workers' self-feeling and identification especially in flexible capitalism and furthermore specifically those ones working in high-skilled jobs are analyzed, and

provided as a theoretical background for the worker consciousness analysis of this thesis.

With the help of the theoretical framework, In Chapter 2, it was dealt with the general capital level of the industry. In the first part of it, the reason causing for a production design that is flexible was investigated, and the cause was indicated as the rating system that puts the Television Channel into an environment where demand is uncertain. As especially in the industries where demand is uncertain there rises a need for rapid change, which is reached through a design that has to be flexible to keep up with these changes without harming the capital too much. In this sense the strategy of the TV Channels were said to be passing the design of the production and labor process to the producer by sub-contracting. In this context the producer strategies were analyzed and it was argued that the producers use a similar strategy to pass the same uncertainty received from the TV Channel by passing it to the labor process. This general strategy of the capital side, concretely the TV channel and producer was asserted as the primary reason that the labor process lives as precariousness, which is dealt in the third chapter on detail.

In chapter 3, after a short entrance that explained the methodology to develop the data of this study, the question how the labor process is organized was answered. In this sense with the help of the networking strategy it was argued that the creative workers were used as strategical counterparts of the capital for the organization of the production process and they were stated as representing the capital's interests in the production and labor process. In this sense the labor market of TV series production was expressed as having a dualism: at one side, workers who do tasks mainly “conceptualizing” the job that is done, named as creative workers, which are less in number; at the other side workers who do tasks mainly “executing” the job, named as technical workers, which are high in number.

Having specified the disadvantageous sides that the technical workers were put in the organization of the labor process the networking based relations were asserted as the primary reason for the so called precarious employment relations. Having the above mentioned fragmented workers at base, precariousness indicated in cases like “job continuity”, “wages”, “working conditions” and “social security” was

put as not affecting all of the workers at similar senses, on the contrary, it was argued that the creative workers were experiencing less precarious conditions.

In chapter 4 having such an inequality at the base, it was focused on the political stand of the working class. Creative workers, by representing at the final stance the interest of the capital side and also by not working and living in the same precarious conditions with the technical workers, were argued as not suitable for representing a resistant political behavior towards capital. In this sense, secondly, it was argued in this chapter that technical workers are generally bound up with market-oriented values such as promotion and competition which at the end stated as an obstacle on collective political organization. However this pessimistic point of view was also overcome by addressing the individual level resistant behaviors of the workers and politics of precariousness was shown as a potential way of political organization where different industrial workers and class positions come together around precarization.

Before finishing some points for further elaboration might be helpful. The TV series still continue with those mentioned precarious employment conditions without any change. To show how actual this problem is, the accident happened and resulted with 3 décor workers' death is a great example.²³¹ These happenings in the TV series production almost turned into an understanding accepting this as a part of this job. Although there are low-level protests after these happenings they do not turn into a collective political movement that might be a threat for the capital side which is shown here as the primary source of the exploitation and domination relations. In this thesis besides understanding how these relations work, it was hoped that it might offer some clues for a formation of a political movement. This exceeds the boundaries of this thesis, yet, it might still be given some clues.

The technical workers that are seen as the core point of a possible collective political movement. As it was argued, in this particular case of TV series production, besides the "capital", there is also a privileged working class section who receives their privileges from their creative capacity, share common interests with the capital, especially with the "producer" side of it. There are of course cases that cause certain

²³¹

<http://www.yurtgazetesi.com.tr/gundem/iste-o-kazanin-ic-yuzu-h17643.html>

precarious conditions that affect also them as less privileged periphery workers. However these are short-run alliances. In long-run because of the strong networking ties between the producer and creative workers they are bound together, and creative workers function as the traditional function of “manager” who is the hand of the capital over the labor process. However, this doesn’t inevitably exclude the creative workers from the political commitment. As precarization is a process that might affect also the creative workers’ side in political moment an alliance is still possible.

The technical workers as the primary political subject of the TV Series in class movements might be considered as in the traditional boundaries of white-collar workers. Although some scholars consider white-collar consciousness being representing the one of petty-bourgeoisie and therefore as not seeing them as in the “working class”, as it was explained in this thesis the precarization process show that there is in some cases no difference between the technical workers and proletariat. In this context, an objective analysis show that as the different from the argument that the working class is minimized, actually they started to expand. In this context, it is here important to underline that technical workers’ problems might not be thought separately only as a particular industrial problem rather than within the boundaries of general precarization. Speaking more specifically and relating it with more concrete issues of the technical workers should be considered together with those white-collar unemployed of Turkey, the fired THY²³² workers, the call-center workers, the unappointed teachers, the medical workers, the salaried teachers and so on.

To conclude, as generally expressed the politics of precariousness against capitalism that cuts many industries and different class positions might provide an answer. That is rather than being a closed movement only focusing on the industrial problems and demanding reforms in it, a movement that focuses on the general “precarious” conditions that affect the labor (and also the unemployed and poor) in the flexible capitalism might provide an answer. A politics that brings all these class positions by re-articulating them in the political moment might be more frightened against the capitalist mode of production. In such a movement the technical workers with their knowledge on technology and communication might offer important contributions to this re-articulation process that needs inter-local dialogues between

²³² Türk Hava Yolları (Turkish Airlines)

the working class. On the other hand the technical workers might also help in the political moment for the development of a sort of consciousness among the creative workers and help for their realization of their actual position in the capital and labor antagonism. It is obvious that all these arguments need further investigation, especially a need for strengthening with experience on the political moment, and this is only possible during political struggle. The differences and distances are only possible to bring together as unity in this way:

“The unity of theory and practice, then, is also not a given mechanical datum, but a historical becoming, which has its elementary and primitive phase in the sense of 'difference', of 'distance', of barely instinctive independence, and develops up to the real and complete possession of a coherent and unitary conception of the world” (Gramsci, cited by Cox, 1998: 8)

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APPENDIX:



TEZ FOTOKOPİ İZİN FORMU

ENSTİTÜ

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü
Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü
Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü
Enformatik Enstitüsü
Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü

YAZARIN

Soyadı :

Adı :

Bölümü :

TEZİN ADI(İngilizce) :

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TEZİN TÜRÜ : Yüksek Lisans

Doktora

1. Tezimin tamamı dünya çapında erişime açılsın ve kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla tezimin bir kısmı veya tamamının fotokopisi alınsın.
2. Tezimin tamamı yalnızca Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi kullanıcılarının erişimine açılsın. (Bu seçenekle tezinizin fotokopisi ya da elektronik kopyası Kütüphane aracılığı ile ODTÜ dışına dağıtılmayacaktır.)
3. Tezim bir (1) yıl süreyle erişime kapalı olsun. (Bu seçenekle tezinizin fotokopisi ya da elektronik kopyası Kütüphane aracılığı ile ODTÜ dışına dağıtılmayacaktır.)

Yazarın imzası

Tarih