ACTORS' CAREER TRAJECTORIES: ROLE DIVERSIFICATION PATTERNS AND RELATIONAL DYNAMICS IN THE TV-ACTING FIELD IN TURKEY

YASEMIIN GİRGİN AND RELATIONAL DYNAMICS IN THE TV-ACTING FIELD IN TURKEY

Thesis submitted to the<br>Institute for Graduate Studies in Social Sciences in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

# Master of Arts in <br> Sociology 

by

Yasemin Girgin

Boğaziçi University

## DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I, Yasemin Girgin, certify that

- I am the sole author of this thesis and that I have fully acknowledged and documented in my thesis all sources of ideas and words, including digital resources, which have been produced or published by another person or institution;
- this thesis contains no material that has been submitted or accepted for a degree or diploma in any other educational institution;
- this is a true copy of the thesis approved by my advisor and thesis committee at Boğaziçi University, including final revisions required by them.

Signature $\qquad$
Date $\qquad$

ABSTRACT<br>Actors' Career Trajectories: Role Diversification Patterns and Relational Dynamics in the TV-Acting Field in Turkey

An important determinant of status and success in an actor's professional life is the ability to play a great diversity of roles. Role diversification demonstrates actors' talent, increases their status within the field, and consequently improves their social and economic conditions. A serious obstacle to achieving these is what I call "role stickiness", where actors get repeatedly cast for certain kinds of roles. Despite the importance of role diversity and stickiness, however, little is known about the actual dynamics that shape them. In this thesis, I uncover the sociological determinants of differential role diversity levels between actors by tracing the careers of 112 actors ( 56 male, 56 female) working in Turkish TV-serials. I demonstrate that gender is a crucial variable in shaping role diversity levels, with female actors having significantly lower scores than their male counterparts. Education is another variable that impacts diversity scores of actors, but the returns to education are also unequal across male and female actors. Furthermore, the 21 in-depth interviews I conduct with actors and decision-makers such as agents, casting directors, directors, and producers from the field show that the lack of talent demonstration opportunities for female actors lower their meritocratic agency in shaping their career trajectories and legitimizes the advantaged positions of male actors in the field.

Oyuncuların Kariyer Yörüngeleri: Türkiye'deki TV-Oyunculuğu Alanının Rol Çeşitlilik Şablonları ve İlişkisel Dinamikleri

Bir oyuncunun profesyonel hayattaki statü ve başarısını belirleyen önemli etkenlerden biri çeşitli roller oynayabilme yetisidir. Rol çeşitliliği oyuncuların yeteneğini kanıtlar, alandaki statüsünü arttrrır ve bunun sonucunda sosyal ve ekonomik koşullarını iyileştirir. Bu kazanımlara erişimin önündeki ciddi bir engel ise benim "rol yapışması" olarak adlandırdığım, oyuncuların tekrar tekrar belli türden roller için kast edilmesi durumudur. Rol çeşitliliği ve yapışmasının önemlerine rağmen, onları şekillendiren dinamiklere dair halihazırda az şey bilinmektedir. Bu tezde Türkiye'deki TV dizilerinde oynayan 112 oyuncunun (56 kadın, 56 erkek) kariyerini takip ederek oyuncular arası farklı rol çeşitlilik seviyelerinin sosyolojik etkenlerini ortaya çıkarmaktayım. Kadın oyuncuların erkek meslektaşlarına oranla anlamlı derecede düşük skorlara sahip olduğunun ortaya koyarak, cinsiyetin rol çeşitlilik seviyelerini şekillendirmede çok önemli bir değişken olduğunu göstermekteyim. Buna ek olarak, eğitim de oyuncuların çeşitlilik skorlarını etkileyen bir değişkendir, ancak eğitimin sağladığı kazançlar da erkek ve kadın oyuncular arasında eşitsizlik göstermektedir. Ayrıca, alandan oyuncu ve menajer, kast direktörü, yönetmen ve yapımcı gibi karar vericilerle gerçekleştirdiğim 21 adet derinlemesine görüşme kadın oyunculara tanınan yetenek ortaya koyma firsatlarının noksanlığının onların kariyer yörüngelerini şekillendirmedeki meritokratik özneliklerini düşürdüğünü ve erkek oyuncuların alandaki avantajlı pozisyonlarını meşrulaştırdığını göstermektedir.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to show my gratitude to the following people without whom I would not have made it through my master's journey.

To my committee members Barış Büyükokutan and Ceylan Engin for their contributions and feedback on my thesis, and their guidance on academic life whenever I knocked on their doors.

To my professor İdil Aybars, for her constant support and encouragement.
To my dear friend Turgut Keskintürk, not only he helped the development of the quantitative research design of my thesis but he also continuously inspired me to become a better social scientist by being an extremely hard-working and dedicated person so that I had to break my neck to catch up with him!

To my professor Bülent Küçük for the inspirational conversations on sociology and life which contributed greatly to my perspective.

To my dear friends Nihan Özcan and Büşra Üner with whom we weathered great storms together. Spending time with them made these nearly dystopic times much more bearable. I feel so lucky that I attended Boğaziçi at this time and had them as my classmates!

To Güzin Özkan for her warm conversations and constant support whenever I needed it. Whenever I visited her, I felt better about life thanks to our joyful chats. Her presence is one of the reasons why I now consider Boğaziçi Sociology as a home. To all my friends who helped me get through this stressful process.

To my mother Hayriye Gönen, and my aunt Sevinç Palas for being incredibly supportive and loving family members who were always there for me so that I could prosper.

The last person I would like to thank always talks about the importance of "personal drive" and he embraces an "Of course you were going to succeed, I knew it. No surprises!" attitude towards his students' academic achievements. And I sincerely agree that it may be the case for some of us. But I would have never wanted to become a sociologist without him. I would neither believe in myself as a potential scholar nor feel enthusiastic about how fascinating social science can be if it weren't for him. Therefore, last but not least, I thank Tuna Kuyucu for being the best professor, mentor, advisor, and colleague a person can ever have!

Dedicated to my grandmother, Nimet Gönen.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION ..... 1
CHAPTER 2: HOW TO STUDY ACTING ..... 6
2.1 Introduction ..... 6
2.2 What is Acting? ..... 8
2.3 Characters and Genres: Categorization of Acted Work ..... 12
2.4 The Field of Acting ..... 16
2.5 Examination of Career Trajectories ..... 19
2.6 Acting Field in Turkey: Significance of Television ..... 23
CHAPTER 3: ROLE DIVERSIFICATION PATTERNS ..... 26
3.1 Role Stickiness ..... 27
3.2 Measuring Role Diversity ..... 32
3.2.1 Hypotheses ..... 37
3.2.2 The Sampling Procedure ..... 38
3.3 Results ..... 40
3.4 Discussion ..... 45
CHAPTER 4: HIGLAND OF "BRILLIANT" MEN AND "LUCKY" WOMEN: RELATIONAL DYNAMICS IN THE FIELD ..... 48
4.1 Method ..... 49
4.2 Signs of Implicit Bias and Gender Inequality in Evaluation Processes ..... 50
4.3 Self-Censorship Dynamics and the Influence of the Internalized Male Gaze on Decision-Making Processes ..... 52
4.5 The Degree of Substitutability and Its Consequences ..... 61
4.6 To Be Or Not To Be United: The Socialization Structures in the Field ..... 67
APPENDIX A: LIST OF INTERVIEWS ..... 85
APPENDIX B: QUESTIONNAIRES ..... 86
APPENDIX C: ETHICS COMMITTEE APPROVAL ..... 104
REFERENCES ..... 105

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Layers of Theorization ..... 7
Figure 2. Visual Exemplification of Role Distance ..... 33
Figure 3. Role Diversity Scale ..... 36
Figure 4: Predicted Diversity Scores from Gender and Acting Experience ..... 43
Figure 5. The Diversity Score Boxplots by Gender and Education ..... 44

## CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

"My tears have dried from crying; I want to laugh and make people laugh from now on!"1. These words came from Ayça Bingöl, a conservatory graduate famous Turkish female actor ${ }^{2}$ who has been playing in heartbreaking dramas in television. In an interview, she complained about the role she once played "sticking" to her, shaping her entire career. Bingöl's experience is not unique as many other actors also talked about the same problem. For example, another female actor Melek Şahin stated that "When you play a long-running character, the role sticks to you. The producers do not risk their business thus prefer whoever is already suitable for the role, you receive offers that are close to the character you played. It would be untrue if I said I do not complain about this." ${ }^{3}$ A famous male actor Oktay Kaynarca left Kurtlar Vadisi, an incredibly popular mafia and action TV-serial he starred, complaining "Am I going to play Çakır my whole life?" ${ }^{4}$. Nevertheless, he has been playing the lead character in another mafia and action serial for many years. A former female Yeşilçam (old Turkish Cinema) actor Arzu Okay said she never had the chance to select the movies she played and added: "If you enter with the lead role, it goes along that way.

[^0]If someone starts to play the villainess, they always make her play the villainess." ${ }^{5}$ Moreover, a young female actor Ege Kökenli told that her reason for selecting the acting sector was the chance it provides in terms of experiencing differences in life and talked about the opposing reality she had encountered: "The role usually sticks to you, and then you receive offers that are in the same color." ${ }^{\circ}$ All of these statements exemplify the significance of role stickiness in actors' careers.

Role stickiness is a colloquially discussed Turkish term that refers to typecasting of the actors for certain kinds of roles from which they cannot easily escape. It is a quite popular expression; a highly referred phenomenon in the mainstream media in Turkey. ${ }^{7}$ It is also the main inspiration of this thesis. I conceptualize this colloquial yet unstudied social phenomenon as the positioning of an actor to a specific point in the acting field with little to no room for maneuver. In other words, the state of being restricted in terms of talent demonstration due to a character image that has once left an impression on the audiences and/or the decision-makers.

The sociological puzzle of this thesis stems from my intellectual curiosity regarding the mechanisms behind role stickiness and the extent to which roles they play stick to the actors. What are the social determinants of role stickiness? Do the roles haphazardly stick to some actors, or are there certain patterns of role stickiness? How does role stickiness impact acting careers? These are the fundamental questions

[^1]this thesis aims to address via mixed-method research on the biggest acting field in Turkey: the field of television-acting.

In the contemporary context of Turkey, the TV serials are amongst the most important components of acting careers. Turkish TV serials are substantial in economic terms, as television is a much bigger sector than film and theatre. TV serials are even considered as a form of "soft power" because Turkey became a major supplier of international television industry (Öztürk and Atik, 2016). This advancement resulted in the recognition of Turkish actors worldwide, enhancing their reputation, popularity, and salaries. Under these conditions, television has become the most significant occupational source of talent demonstration for actors. Therefore, auditioning and competing for TV serials currently comprise a great deal of most actors' career planning. Besides, shooting TV serials takes an immense amount of time since the serials are about 150 minutes long and aired weekly for 910 months per year. This means that most of the actors' "acting career time" is being spent on TV serials' sets. Thus, a plausible way to begin the inquiry of the actors' career trajectories is through analyzing the TV field in the context of Turkey.

Existing sociological studies on the field of acting are extremely limited and mostly descriptive. As I will discuss in detail in the following sections, though some of these studies advance our knowledge about the issues of inequality and typecasting, none of them approach acting careers through a role-based analytical perspective. Furthermore, they also do not pay attention to the mutually constitutive relationship between the social dynamics of the field and the structures of role diversity in career trajectories. Considering the roles actors play are the outputs signaling their talent, the products they have in their hands to present to find new
jobs in a highly competitive "project network organization" (Jones, 1996) such as the TV-acting field in Turkey, they should be examined thoroughly.

To observe the trends in career trajectories of actors with different characteristics (e.g. gender, race, class, age, education), the roles they obtain should be examined in a comparable manner. This process necessitates making certain previously unmade theoretical decisions and mathematical abstractions. As challenging as it may be, such an examination holds the innovative capacity to open new channels for unprecedented directions in the study of cultural and creative industries. By operationalizing role diversity, this thesis endeavors to originate a novel ground for knowledge accumulation in these industries.

Moreover, this study diverges from the previously conducted research on Turkish TV industry by focusing on an unstudied dimension: the acting careers. Research pertinent to the television serial industry in Turkey remains highly restricted to the areas of representation studies -which examines the meanings behind the produced fictional content- and celebrity studies -which examines the aspects of stars' lives- only. This thesis project is going to be the first of its kind to designate the roles as the products of the acting profession and examine them through an organizational perspective. It will also be the first to identify and analyze the TV actors in Turkey not as stars, which is a very narrow concept that is not applicable to all the actors, but as workers in the field of TV-acting.

The analysis will consist of two stages: the quantitative part, where I examine role stickiness/diversification patterns of different sets of actors; and the qualitative part, where I provide anecdotal evidence regarding the mechanisms of inequality embedded in the acting field and their relationship with role stickiness. From my previous observations in the field as a former actor, I have suspected that gender and
education constitute the two key factors in determining occupational prestige. Therefore, my thesis research initially analyzes the relationship between role stickiness (which, as I will elaborate, is in a direct relationship with occupational prestige) and certain key demographic variables such as gender and education. I am going to highlight the significance of gender in role diversification and how it translates into an even more rampant form of inequality via interacting with other variables. In the qualitative part of the research which consists of in-depth interviews with actors, agents, directors, casting directors, and producers; I then try to understand the relational dynamics in the field that act in correspondence with the gender inequality I have identified via quantitative data. Based on the interviews, the argumentation process will deliberate on the relationship between gender inequality and an actor's meritocratic agency in talent evaluation processes. I define meritocratic agency as the personal talent-based capability of an actor in terms of designating their career trajectory. Overall, this thesis targets a meticulous investigation of the TV-acting field in Turkey with the help of role stickiness and diversification dynamics and aims to provide a roadmap on how to extend the research on cultural and creative industries.

## CHAPTER 2

## HOW TO STUDY ACTING

### 2.1 Introduction

Artistic professions demand proof of creative talent. Acting, as one of these professions, requires exhibition of talent in the form of characters. Actors compete in an occupational field that is characterized by flexible working conditions, temporary contracts, and unstable employment (Faulkner and Anderson, 1987; Jones, 1996; Menger, 1999; Manning, 2010). They strive to distinguish themselves from their competitors and maintain careers on the slippery grounds of the sector. In such a highly competitive project-based industry, exhibition of talent becomes one of the most important elements for survival. Demonstration of ability to convincingly reflect the emotional depth of different characters from diverse settings can allow actors move forward in their careers through enhancing their acting status. Enhancement of the acting status leads to improvements in terms of actors' reputation, wage, and job offers accordingly.

This thesis primarily aims to (i) inquire the mechanisms behind the acquisition of acting status via the concept I invented as an analytical tool, role stickiness, and (ii) identify the repercussions of variations in acting status on the career trajectories of the actors in Turkish acting industry. To achieve these objectives, I will employ an interdisciplinary approach and utilize a combination of literature from the areas of performance studies, film studies, cultural sociology, and sociology of work and occupations. The figure below delineates the theory infrastructure I created for my research design.


Figure 1. Layers of Theorization

My broadscale approach for the examination of actors' career trajectories derives from the sociology of work and occupations literature. I categorize actors as projectbased workers in a highly connected, small, and competitive industry. I do not categorize them as, for instance, celebrities, elites, or stars because those categories only apply to a small portion of actors who are called the "A-list" thus they do not capture the reality of the acting labor and career structures in general and do not provide a ground to tackle the issue from an occupational perspective I try to understand the dynamics of their career trajectories via examining their acted work and probing the decision-makers who have direct impact on the composition of these works: actors themselves, agents, casting directors, directors, and the producers. I locate cultural sociology at the first inner layer of my theorization circle. I approach the acting industry as a field in a Bourdieusian sense. I aim to inquire a field-specific form of prestige that is obtained through acting talent or, as I define it, acting status. I
tackle two main questions: How do the actors obtain prestige via roles they play? And what are the characteristics of the actors who manage to obtain higher acting status? Of course, to talk about acting status, the acted works need to be compiled and categorized. This is the point where I turn to the more inner layer, film studies literature. I take help from film studies to establish certain categorizations which can allow me to compare the career trajectories of the actors on a scale. Finally, I situate the act at the nucleus of my circle. Acting must be described before any of the above categorizations can be made and career trajectories of the actors can be compared. Therefore, I will begin my theorization with the help of performance studies literature and embed the common aspects of the most prominent definitions of acting to my theory infrastructure. In the following subsections, I will thoroughly discuss how I integrate literature from each of the areas above to my research design. Then I will provide information about the significance of television in Turkish acting industry and conclude this chapter.

### 2.2 What is Acting?

From the strata of theorization I have pointed out above, I would like to first elaborate on the nucleus -i.e. the fundamentals of acting- to provide the basis for my inquiry of acting careers. I will leverage the definitions of some of the foundational figures of acting who have contributed greatly to the theoretical development of the field. Stanislavski ${ }^{8}$ emphasizes the necessity of strong imagination in acting to achieve the inner creative state. He points out that in the process of imagination, the quantity of reserves (in terms of acting material) must be considered (1936). To him,

[^2]actors must constantly add material to their store both from their own impressions, feelings, experiences; and the life around them, including reminiscences, books, art, science, knowledge of all kinds.
"A real artist must lead a full, interesting, beautiful, varied, exacting and inspiring life. [...] We need a broad point of view to act the plays of our times and of many peoples. We are asked to interpret the life of human souls from all over the world. An actor creates not only the life of his times but that of the past and future as well. That is why we need to observe, to conjecture, to experience, to be carried away with emotion." (Stanislavski, 1936, p.192)

However, Stanislavski also indicates an impediment on the way of achieving the inner creative state he identifies: "the natural limitations" (1936).
"The comedian wants to play tragedy, the old man to be a jeune premier, the simple type longs for heroic parts and the soubrette for the dramatic. This can only result in forcing impotence, stereotyped, mechanical action."
(Stanislavski, 1936, p.295)
His premise is that the only stuff from which artists can create a living soul is their own spiritual human material they feed through numerous materials.

Chekhov ${ }^{9}$, in dialogue with Stanislavski, builds his acting theory upon the processes of imagination and deals with the limitations Stanislavski has presented.
"Chekhov declared that the end-product of all actor training is the development of the stage character. He observed that the Stanislavski actor has been taught to build his role on the similarities between his personal history and that of the character in the play. But this constant repetition of the actor's own nature in creating different parts over the years causes a progressive degeneration of talent. The creative means are used less and less. Eventually, the actor will begin to imitate himself, relying, for the most part, on repeated personal mannerisms and stage cliches. Like Stanislavski and Vakhtangov10, Chekhov had touched on a fundamental problem of acting: the limited range of the standard actor's characterizations. But Chekhov's solutions, as outlined in the 1935 lecture, differed considerably from theirs." (Gordon, 1991, xxvii)

[^3]Chekhovian approach designates the prospect of improvement of the performer's ability to imagine, not only by collecting materials from inner or outer sources and adding them into their storage; but also, via stimulating and training their imagination (Powers (Ed.), 1991). In other words, under this modality, the storage itself too expands instead of containing only the available units inside of that storage. This approach overcomes the finitude of creative means and thus degeneration of talent caused by the non-enlargeable depot constraints.

According to Hagen ${ }^{11}$ and Frankel ${ }^{12}$ (1973) acting entails a craft as subtle and delicate as the most demanding creative art. They point out that acting is about cause and effect, receiving and doing something about what you receive in response to an assumption, or an imaginary stimulus. By means of this process, actors should bring to an audience the revelation of the failings and aspirations, the dreams and desires, the negative and the positive aspects of human beings (Hagen and Frankel, 1973). Hagen emphasizes the diverse set of situations an actor must be able to reflect through imagining actions and presenting reactions towards them.

As a form of performative art, acting demands a special sensibility from an actor who must enter into the experiences and emotions of the characters they represent and convey these to the audience (Strasberg ${ }^{13}$ and Chaillet, 2017). Strasberg's highly prominent 'method acting' aims to amplify Stanislavski's model

[^4]with significant additions focusing on the psychological dimension, such as sense memory and affective memory exercises $(1941,1988)$. These exercises are for training the imagination, senses, and emotions, to help the actor expand her ability to conceive more than the typical. As he states, "Our training nurtures creativity, which is the highest material that can be used for art" (Strasberg, n.d., as cited in Cohen, 2010).

These different approaches focus on one common objective: enhancing the actor's imaginative capacity. Based upon these foundational theories, it is safe to claim that acting, at its core, is about the revelation of creative talent. Actors invent believable characters via stimulating their creativity and enhancing their imagination. The more they strengthen their imaginative capacity, the better they are likely to become as actors. Though there are debates and discussions around how to actualize the enhancement of imaginative capacity, this enhancement unequivocally is the main goal. To become an accomplished actor, one must continuously improve their imaginative capacity. Given its importance, the imaginative capacity classifies as simultaneously one of the most prominent contributors and the primary signals of acting talent. This capacity can be increased via the experience of acting different parts, which would help actors avoid becoming blunt and conventional by using their old material repeatedly. Moreover, the diversified parts can show the playmakers of the industry the wide range of an actor's talent. Therefore, it is legitimate to claim that an actor's perceived talent highly depends on their ability to represent a variety of characters throughout their career. Role diversity is akin to an actor's curriculum vitae, signaling to the playmakers (such as the producers and directors) the actor's abilities and talents.

So far, I have made an introduction to the importance of role diversification for acting. I will now continue with questions on investigating role diversity. How can the roles actors play be categorized? How can a social scientist measure the diversity of the characters played by the actors throughout their careers? In the following subsection, by way of film studies literature, I will try to establish the ground for answering these questions.

### 2.3 Characters and Genres: Categorization of Acted Work

I aim to delve into the subject of character composition in this subsection. What makes up a character? What basic features comprises the outline of a character? Hereafter, I attempt to answer these theoretical questions to construct a scale based on character traits in the following parts.

Every creative production has its own style of storytelling. The word genre refers to a style, especially in the arts, that involves a particular set of characteristics (Cambridge Dictionary, n.d.). Indubitably, the roles are not free from their universes. Genres shape the textures of the characters they accommodate. Therefore, to talk about role diversity, it is integral to touch on the classification of genres. In the process of sorting a film to a particular genre, the main question is the corpus it belongs to (Grant, 2007). According to Janet Staiger, there are four methods to approach genre definition: "(1) find a film and judge other films against the pattern and conventions in that film (the idealist method); (2) determine from empirical observation the necessary and sufficient characteristics to include a film in the category (the empiricist method); (3) make an a priori declaration of the characteristics of the group (the a priori method); and (4) use cultural expectations to categorize the text (the social convention method)" (2003, p.187). Though the
empiricist method is probably the most common amongst them because it is considered practical and sensible, it is not flawless. What Andrew Tudor states as the empiricist dilemma (1973) refers to the circular logic within the empiricist method in determining genre. The principal characteristics based on which the films are isolated can only be discovered from the films themselves after they have been isolated (Grant, 2007). Tudor's "common cultural consensus" method aims to overcome the empiricist dilemma by means of analyzing works that almost everyone would agree belong to a particular genre and generalize out from there. Tudor claims that this method is acceptable because 'genre is what we collectively believe it to be'" (1973, p.139). This approach is generally considered as an expedient solution in film studies. In the content analysis part of my research, I am going to follow Tudor's perspective in assigning TV-shows to their primary genres.

Genre may provide the role a rind, but it is the features of the specific character that generate the intrinsic composition of the acted work. Henceforward, I will go over the literature relevant to narration and characters to identify the cardinal elements constituting a role. Narration is very important in shaping the hallmarks of characters.
"Narrative is one powerful framework that poses the connection of objects in time. It allows us to make cause and effect pairs, to connect pairs with other pairs, to construct a linked set of events. One of the purposes of a narrative is to demonstrate how certain effects that are desired may be achieved, how desire is linked to possibilities for being, how events may proceed." (Branigan, 1992, p.217)

The connections between characters are built through narration. The storylines of characters contain goals and dreams which may either connect or clash with each other. Characters from the same side usually share certain values and traits that contradict with the ones of the opposite side. Concordantly, there are two universal categories that imply the essentials of a character: the protagonist and the antagonist.

The protagonist embraces positive values while the antagonist represents the negative side (Bulman, 2007). Leading parts may occupy the apex positions within each of these categories (e.g., hero or villain), nevertheless, any supporting character can also be sorted into either one of the categories by their inclination.

Alongside the pivotal protagonist and antagonist categories, there are additional features that contribute to the contexture-shading process for each character of the narration. By contexture-shading, I mean the construction of characters through a combination of elements that add up different colors to the precursor outlook and help create a mixed end product. With the help of film studies literature, I am going to emphasize two of these additional generalizable features that are common for all characters regardless of content type. According to Bulman (2007, p. 42), the list of fundamental questions illustrating characters include "What is their status in life regard to job/social class?", and "How do they speak?". Class and accent reflect a character's identity greatly because they signal cultural cues about the character's background. The elements of social class and accent are found in depiction of every character regardless of the content of the show, which makes them tractable and comparable. There has been various research on class and accents of characters. ${ }^{14}$ While these studies mostly focus on the question of representation through characters, however, I focus on how these elements of characters form different role structures and take part in the composition of heterogenous career paths for the actors who play them.

[^5]Finally, in addition to the genre, protagonist/antagonist, social class, and accent categories, there is another axis determining the shape of a role: weight in the storyline. This feature is not about the role's inner or outer composition as a character, but about how the role is positioned within the story. There are two universal categories in this area: lead and supporting. The awards in festivals and ceremonies are given to actors in these two categories: The best (male/female) actor in a supporting/leading role. The distinction between these categories is that the leading role has a central place in the story while the supporting role contributes to the journey the leading role is taking in positive or negative ways. There is comparative research on composition of lead and supportive roles by age, gender, and race that examines dynamics of inequality in acting. For example, Lincoln and Allen (2004) revealed that male actors in their sixties were routinely cast as leads, even in physically demanding roles; nonetheless, female stars were rarely cast as leads after they enter their forties. On the ground of the acting definition that I have compounded in the previous subsection, I argue that the ability to switch between the lead and supportive roles adds up to the talent diversity of the actors. As far as the imaginative capacity goes, being able to reside in at the center of the story and passing over the edge of another story as an outsider both have potentials to feed the creativity, keeping the actor energetic via enabling diverse ways of engagement with the storylines as well as keeping them away from one label out of the two lead/supportive categories.

Altogether these elements form the ground laying categories through which an actor's exhibited creative range can be identified. Why is this identification important? Because it is, I argue, related with the prestige a person obtains within the
field as an actor ${ }^{15}$. I will unpack this subject with the help of the Bourdieusian theory of fields in the following subsection.

### 2.4 The Field of Acting

Bourdieusian field theory has contributed greatly to organizational analysis in sociology. The conceptualization of a field as a structured hierarchical social space where positions exist independently of agents -these positions are either stable and structured or still in the making depending on the level of institutionalization of the field in inquiry- (Bourdieu, 1982) elicits an analytical ground for understanding the characteristics of different organizations. According to Bourdieu, the artistic field consists of two homologous structures: the structure of the works (i.e. of genres, forms, and themes) and the structure of the field of power, a field that is unavoidably a field of struggle. Individuals from the artistic fields, depending on their interest to preserve or transform the structure of the distribution of the specific symbolic capital in the field, perpetuate or subvert the existing rules of the game (Bourdieu, 1993). The symbolic capital refers to the prestige gathered through the obtainment of several forms of capital that are valid within the field. In every field, there are different forms of capital by means of which individuals transform or keep their positions and the current structure of the field. Bourdieu distinguishes the three universally effective kinds of capital as follows: economic capital, cultural capital, and social capital. For the field of acting, a significant form of cultural capital which translates into prestige in the field is the artistic talent capital. This form of capital can be accumulated through acting a diversity of roles. It does not refer to the artistic

[^6]talent of an actor per se, but rather, the artistic talent the actor exhibits to the audiences. Actors can be very talented, but without acting a wider range of roles, they cannot signify the talent they have in terms of the cultural codes effective in the field of acting. It is the exhibition of talent via diversified roles that accumulates this capital. It signals the profundity of a person as an actor and increases the person's acting status. It establishes a prestigious reputation for the person as a "highly talented actor". This capital can also have a multiplying effect on other kinds of capital. For instance, it can lead to raises in economic capital via acquisition of more offers with higher salaries. Moreover, it can contribute to raises in social capital as well. Since you are a prestigious actor, the other people in the field of acting (both the other actors and the playmakers of the field such as the producers and the directors) would likely respect you more, wish to get to know you more closely, and maintain good relations with you in general. The high acting status serves as the ticket to the "VIP lounge" of the field. Of course, this does not mean it is the only entrance available, but it is the ticket that actors can attain without the need of using other forms of capital.

In view of its impacts on the enhancement of symbolic capital in the field, obtaining a higher acting status is vitally important for the actors. A crucial question that emerges at this point is: Since acting status is merit-based, do all talented actors have access to the opportunity and benefits of acquiring a high acting status? If there are disparities on the achievement of artistic talent capital based on ascribed categories (e.g. gender, ethnicity and race), the augmentative impact of this capital on the other capital forms can just as easily deepen the already existent gap between actors and provide an enormous additional advantage to the privileged.

This verisimilitude reminds me of the two strategies of struggle Bourdieu (1982) exemplifies with plain sentences: "I am the strongest" versus "We are going to compete in the game I play the best" (p.198). The strong one's strength does not matter at all if the game is not the one they are familiar with, they cannot translate their strength into triumph. The privileged establishes the ground by inserting their game. In the case of the field of acting, the privileged can structure the game in a format that could help them accumulate higher artistic talent capital and win the game.

The artistic field, like many others, is founded and dominated by white men. The field of acting, as a part of this clan, has foundational white men figures (e.g. Thespis, Shakespeare, Stanislavski etc.) and the vast majority of the field's playmakers have been white men since its inception. Under the domination of a certain coterie in a field; their culture, their ways of seeing and doing things becomes the norm. This harms the competition for people who do not come from the same categories, in this case, all the non-white and the non-men.

Intrinsically, acting status has a potential for democratization of the otherwise unequal conditions for the actors via its meritocratic style of obtainment, playing diverse parts. However, if the access to the resources (offers for diverse roles) is blocked for certain categories due to the pervasive perceptions of the culturally biased dominant playmakers of the field, then the acting status becomes a tool for legitimization of the existing powerholders' privileged position. I am interested in understanding whether such a situation is prevalent in the field of acting and if so, what are its main dynamics.

Throughout this part, with the help of Bourdieusian theoretical framework, I have identified artistic talent capital. I have discussed how the accumulation of
exhibited talent via role diversity can generate a form of cultural capital that could enhance the acting status and pointed out the ways in which achieving a higher acting status can enable multiple advantages for an actor. In the following subsection, I will explore the domain of occupational inequalities to identify the indirect mechanisms exacerbating inequalities in various work settings, and I will locate acting status within this ecosystem.

### 2.5 Examination of Career Trajectories

Up to this point I have encoded acting as a job, creative talent as its main artisan entailment, role diversity as the pivotal sign of creative talent, and acting status as the prestige gathered via such diversification. The purpose of the logic chain I constructed linking these different facets is to avail the study of the acting careers from an occupational perspective. Though the sociology of work and occupations literature offers a great variety of research and ideas, due to some fundamental complications, it is difficult to directly implement most of their theoretical perspectives to the study of acting. Above all, the acting field has a peculiar organizational structure that do not resemble the other work fields. In this subsection, I will discuss some important theoretical frameworks from work literature and indicate how to solve the problem of implementation utilizing the conceptualizations I made in the previous part.

Occupational stratification constitutes one of the most primary research areas in sociology of work. Occupational stratification can be a result of one or more of the following three causes: organizational inertia (i.e. resistance to change over time), internal relations of power, and exogenous pressures (Stainback et al., 2010). The exogenous pressures to the field of acting can be analyzed through a macro lens, by
means of investigating the generic dynamics of inequality in Turkey which is out of the scope of this research. Nevertheless, internal relations of power and organizational inertia are directly associated to the inquiry of the relationship between role diversification patterns and acting careers. Internal relations of power pertain to the job characteristics in a specific field, it is about how positions and hierarchies defined by the organizational structure of a work field shapes the power dynamics within that field. In brief, it is about the job definitions and positionings. Organizational inertia, on the other hand, is not about the position itself but about the evaluation of people for positions in certain ways that ensure the preservation of the existing conditions.

The previous research on internal relations of power emphasizes the importance of the leadership and human resources positions in assuaging or aggravating inequality (Cohen et al., 1998; Collins, 1997; Dobbin, 2009; Hultin and Szulkin, 2003; Kurtulis and Tomaskovic-Devey, 2009; Lyness and Schrader, 2007; Lyness and Thompson, 2000). For example, Cohen et al. (1998) find that women were more likely to be promoted and recruited into a managerial level job when a higher proportion of women were already there via using longitudinal data on managerial workers at 333 savings and loan banks in California. In line with this research, Grugulis and Stoyanova (2012) find out that the most sought-after jobs are occupied by white men in UK Film and TV industry due to their social capital and the networks they were able to build with other white men who were in these industries whereas professionals who were women or members of ethnic minorities were less likely to secure jobs and were often restricted in the type of jobs they held.

As for organizational inertia, Stainback et al. (2010) argue that it is the most powerful force affecting workplace inequality and tends to reproduce organizational
divisions of labor, demographic composition of jobs, and the relative power, status, compensation, and respect afforded to different actors over time. Acker (1990) argues that most organizations are constructed on gendered segregation, categorizing women at the lower-level, and consistently placing them to lower responsibility and complexity demanding jobs. Stainback et al. underline that decision makers’ evaluations of candidates for jobs, promotions, and terminations are often influenced by largely unconscious cognitive biases, which reproduce status inequalities within organizations through mechanisms. Most important exemplars of cognitive biases can be juxtaposed as status beliefs, stereotyping, and in-group preferences. Status beliefs attach different values to different statuses and by doing so, they help the reproduction of privilege among culturally valued statuses such as male and white. Stereotyping is closely related with status beliefs, leading to classification of lowerperceived status people to lower-ranking positions. In-group preferences refer to the homophily, in other words, favoring people who are more like you. These preferences are highly linked with the construction and preservation of the previously discussed power relations.

Up to now, I have summarized the highly used theoretical approaches in the analyses of workplace inequalities. It is upsetting yet valid to remark that they are not applicable to the field of acting. At least not with the current configuration. To elaborate, the approaches above concentrate on the composition of the workplaces, the positions occupied, and the segregation of people from top jobs based on their ascribed characteristics. However, the organizational structure of the acting field is different than many others. Most importantly, people with different ascribed features do not usually compete for the same roles, because there is a script to be followed. The casting briefs include the gender and the physical appearance of the characters.

Therefore, the gender, ethnicity, and race-based segregation research is not pertinent in terms of getting into jobs. Secondly, there is no formal "position" to be promoted for the actors. The closest to a position rank is that they play supporting and leading characters differentiating from one project another depending on the script. Nonetheless, this does not signal the advancement of one actor over the other (e.g. Many award-winning older actors play supporting roles in shows that star no-name young people).

What really defines actors' positions in the field is the prestige they have. It can be acquired, as I have discussed in the former subsection, via enhancement of the acting status. How is acting status relevant to the theoretical discussions here? I claim that acting status, which comes from the demonstrated talent range of an actor, can provide an intermediary layer for the study of acting profession from an organizational perspective. To assess whether gender inequality is prevalent in the field of acting, by means of leveraging Acker's theory of gendered organizations (1990), we can compare the role diversity levels male and female actors are able to obtain in the industry. By inserting the role diversity an independent variable, we can also observe whether the cognitive bias mechanisms Stainback et al. (2010) describe exists in the field. If men and women are given equal talent demonstration opportunities, we would expect them to have, on average, similar role diversities throughout their career. Nevertheless, if the scores significantly differ from each other, this could point out that the opportunity structure may be unequal, which is what we should expect in accordance with the theories I mentioned above. If the status beliefs regarding male actors is higher than females, we should expect them to receive more diverse offers as they are cognitively pre-coded as more talented. If the stereotypes assign more valuable traits to men, then they could be perceived as they
are able to play diverse things where the women could be seen as they can play only the roles that are initially "ascribable" to them. If in-group preferences are effective in the field of acting, the males should receive more trust and thus opportunities from the directors and producers who are also predominantly male. All in all, we can test the accuracy of these work and organizational theories for the field of acting by means of the intermediary layer of acting status. Utilizing role diversity can help figuring out the intricate constitution of the acting field that cannot be captured via naked eye as a work and organizations researcher.

### 2.6 Acting Field in Turkey: Significance of Television

I limited my study to a specific branch to allow myself effectively manage time and exert appropriate effort to conquer the bulk of social mechanisms of this sphere. The main acting fields can be commonsensically categorized as theater, film, and television. I chose to deal with television acting, primarily because of its substantial position in actors' careers in the case of Turkey. Television is the biggest, the highest paying, and the maximum reputation-bringing domain for the actors in Turkey. In a Bourdieusian sense, the TV-acting capital can easily transfer to film and theatre, but the same degree of transivity from the other ways around is not as likely in the case of Turkey.

Watching TV serials is one of the most occupant activities of Turkish daily life. As the private television broadcasting has become prevalent starting from the early 2000s, TV channels invested on serials to attract attention of the greater masses. Today, especially the TV serials that air during the "prime time" period are being watched by people from nearly all parties of the society (İnceoğlu and Akçalı, 2018). Turkey shatters a global record in television viewing. Milliyet (2017), published
research of Ajans Press on "Television Viewing Tendencies", which analyzed the data gathered from the Radio and Television Supreme Council (RTÜK). According to the research, the daily average of television viewing was found to be 330 minutes in Turkey. In the 330 minutes of TV viewing, the viewers usually preferred to watch TV series. There are tens of TV series broadcasted in Turkish television each season. Watching them constitutes one of the main leisure time activities of the people living in Turkey. Moreover, TV series do not solely strike the Turkish audience's attention, they are also exported to many countries around the globe as well. Turkish TV serials connect with hundreds of millions of viewers around the world, scoring top ratings across Latin America and the Middle East; they are even making new inroads in Central and Eastern Europe, South Africa and Asia (Vivarelli, 2017).

Turkish TV serials made the first big leap in global arena through the 2000s starting with the export of Deli Yürek by Calinos Holding to Kazakhstan, and the show's surprisingly huge success resulted in the exports of Gümüş and Binbir Gece. (Öztürk and Atik, 2016). From the 2010s onwards, Turkey has become one of the most important suppliers of TV series across the globe. In 2014 Turkey has become the second biggest TV serial exporter of the world (Hürriyet Daily News) ${ }^{16}$. İzzet Pinto, the CEO of Global Agency, the distributor company of Turkish serials stated that Turkish TV serials' marketing price is at least quintuple of American ones in Balkans, Middle East, and South America ${ }^{17}$.

[^7]Popularity of Turkish serials brought international reputation and many other occupational rewards and opportunities to the actors in Turkey. For example, in 2015 Engin Akyürek was nominated for an international Emmy for his role in a Turkish TV-serial called Kara Para Aşk and received multiple acting awards worldwide, including the best actor award from Seoul International Drama Awards, also in $2015{ }^{18}$. Similarly, Neslihan Atagül has won multiple international awards with TV- serials she acted. In 2017, Kara Sevda, the TV-serial she starred also won the International Emmy as the best drama show. ${ }^{19}$ Thanks to Turkish TV-serials, many actors have become worldwide famous and signed contracts with prestigious international production platforms such as Netflix and Disney Plus. Under these conditions, it is sensible to point out that the TV-acting field is the most significant and extensive domain in Turkey and has huge impacts on acting careers.

[^8]
## CHAPTER 3

## ROLE DIVERSIFICATION PATTERNS

Do actors get to reveal the range of their talent by acting a diversity of roles, or do they repeatedly keep playing similar roles? Do roles stick to some actors more than others? In other words, are there role diversity discrepancies between actors with different ascribed characteristics? In the previous chapter, I have introduced the notion of acting status and I elaborated how the occupational prestige in the field is maintained via role diversification. This chapter will begin with the conceptualization of role stickiness as an analytical tool for measuring role diversity. After I expand on role stickiness, I will respectively outline my quantitative research design and hypotheses, present my findings, and deliberate on their implications.

In my preamble for this chapter, I would like to underline the significant influence of the distinct organizational structure of the acting field on the research design of my inquiry. Actors first and foremost exhibit their talent to survive in this extremely competitive project-based sector. In other words, talent demonstration is their primary currency. Nevertheless, there is very little we know about the dynamics of talent demonstration and the opportunity structures in the field of acting. Some major issues of the acting industry such as the wage gap and sexual harassment have been thoroughly discussed in the literature. But the intricate mechanisms (re)producing and legitimizing these problematic norms remain to be explored. Collaborative research between sociologists and psychologists will be necessary to understand the complexities of the talent evaluation processes. Tracking role diversity may only be one step towards a long way. However, it is a crucial step. As

Geena Davis points out in the documentary This Changes Everything (2018) ${ }^{20}$, before people encounter the actual numbers, they tend not to believe that there are certain latent inequalities persistent in the industry. By tracking actors' career trajectories, I aim to augment the limited information we have on talent demonstration, and to open a new path for constructing analytical research in creative industries.

### 3.1 Role Stickiness

The accumulation of role diversity enhances an actor's acting status and helps advance their career trajectories. Whether in television, cinema, or the theater fields, actors strive to be cast for a range of characters to demonstrate their talent and increase their status within the field. Since they are employed on temporary contracts in project network organizations, their likelihood of securing employment in the next production largely depends on the constant demonstration of their talent. This is also very important because the acting world is extremely competitive, and there are too many people with similar physical features or educational background competing for a role. To distinguish themselves from others in competition via their talent, actors must utilize role diversification. However, role stickiness poses an overriding hindrance blocking their way. As I have defined in the introduction, role stickiness refers to the feature(s) of a role to persistently follow an actor, clench their role territory and often result in the labelling of an actor as a certain "type" of cast member for the rest of their career trajectory.

[^9]Before I elaborate on role stickiness, I would like to talk about some of the previous research conducted on typecasting to lay the ground. The first one deals with the question of strategy in acting labor market. There are mainly two kinds of survival options survival options or career advancement in acting careers; one is based on typecasting where actors build a certain persona by perpetually playing similar roles in accordance with their physical and personal characteristics, and the other is based on the demonstration of the wideness of acting talent range in which actors' acting caliber becomes the real product at hand. The latter provides opportunity for obtaining prestige as I discussed in the previous chapter. Analyzing whether typecasting can be advantageous for actors in their research, Zuckerman et al. (2003) show that actors who are typecast might in the short term take advantage of the niche effect in the sector by filling in a position that demands high specialization. By constantly playing the same kind of role, typecast actors secure themselves a place in the next production. However, this niche effect is likely to lose its power over the long run in an actor's career. Typecast actors gradually lose their competitive edge and their market power (p.1059). Typecasting, in other words, might initially work to an actors' advantage but, by blocking the aggregation of a variety of roles, it hinders the maintenance and advancement of actors' careers in the longer term.

Aside from the research above on typecasting as a strategy, there are two sociological studies on the dynamics of typecasting. In their research on class-based inequalities in the British acting industry, Friedman et al. (2016) find that people from working class origins were significantly underrepresented in the acting profession. Moreover, their qualitative interviews reflect the ways in which the privileged background affect actors' responses to occupational challenges such as
typecasting. The descriptive part of this study highlights that the working-class actors are more heavily subjected to "typecasting" according to their real-life characteristics than others. The interviewees also state that there were fewer roles written in the stories for their "type". In a more closely related research account, Friedman and O'Brien (2017) particularly engage with the issue of typecasting. Their study emphasizes the prominence of the somatic norm ${ }^{21}$ and designates typecasting as a pivotal mechanism that reestablishes the norm. Utilizing qualitative interviews, they point out that there are abundant leading roles suitable for middle-class white men while the others are confined into socially caricatured roles. They point out that the resistance against such typecasting is highly dependent on class-origins. In defining typecasting, they harness Wojcik's words (2003, p.226): "typecasting is a political practice, not only as a labour issue but also as a touchstone for ideologies of identity". Friedman and O'Brien approach typecasting as a political sorting practice based on an individual's embodied characteristics. They emphasize the intersectionality of the typecasting issue with representation of race and class.

The last two studies provide important insights regarding typecasting, but they leave out an analysis of the universal dynamics of typecasting and do not provide generalizable and testable mechanisms that are specific to the acting industries. In brief, their reasoning is too general while their data is too specific to serve as a link between British acting industry and the structure of political ideology. I agree that the processes of typecasting incorporate political ideology, just like all other social processes. Nevertheless, I do not think that approaching typecasting from this angle adds any explanatory power to elucidate the mechanisms of the acting industry at hand.

[^10]First, I find their perspective constricted because it does not leave room for an aggregate analysis. For instance, we could obtain new verities from the anti-cases in the industry too. The white, middle-class, lead men can be typecasted as well. By framing typecasting as an issue solely pertinent to the marginalized groups, that approach not only misses the reality but also misses the opportunity to compare and contrast the extents to which people from different categories are being typecasted. Thus, it restricts the flow of information that could help explain how the actors can hold typecasted or not-typecasted positions in the sector. I argue, an analytically stronger stance should characterize the typecasting issue as an assignment practice which occludes the operation of meritocracy in the acting plane. Because what typecasting specifically blocks is the meritocratic evaluation of an actor. Typecasting may exacerbate the inequalities in acting industry like the articles above point out, however the mechanism through which typecasting manages to exacerbate these inequalities cannot be found by looking at the general dynamics such as the political ideology.

Secondly, I find their perspective deficient because they equate typecasting with playing socially caricaturized characters. Repeatedly playing such characters does involve a process of typecasting, yet this is the only aspect of caricaturizing that pertains to typecasting. The caricaturized characters are not the issue of typecasting per se, but rather the issue of representation studies. By this I mean how the script depictures a character and what that image signals are related with the representation of different groups of people on screen. It does not directly add up to the typecasting of the actors throughout their careers, and therefore does not link to the work and labor part of the acting industry research.

So far, I have talked about the previous research on typecasting and pointed out some of their inadequacies. I will now move on to the insufficiency of typecasting as a concept. Typecasting is a fixed locution and cannot be turned into an analytical scale. Its main assumption is that actors have certain physical and/or personal characteristic types and some of these actors are being strictly categorized in the sector accordingly to their specific features. Its starting point is the actors which makes it harder to generalize and compare and does not go beyond merely descriptive. Role stickiness on the other hand, begins with examining the role (a written, classifiable notion everybody competes for) and its indispensable features which makes it more comparable and analytical. Actors are labelled as typecasted because some elements of roles stick to them. It is the level of role diversity that locates an actor in the typecasted category.

If an actor is repeatedly typecast, all the elements of a particular role (for instance; a poor, good-hearted, peasant woman in a drama genre show) stick to that actor. But role stickiness is not always as static and precise in reality. Some aspects of a role might follow an actor while other aspects might change in consecutive roles they play. For example, a woman might be playing a villain in multiple productions but other characteristics of that role such as social class or urban/rural background might be different. Would she be considered as typecasted or not? We should be able to talk about degrees to compare different actors' trajectories in terms of similarities and diversities of the roles they play by examining each role through its identifiable and categorizable characteristics. Therefore I propose role stickiness as a more rigorous concept in term of social scientific research.

In brief, roles are multifaceted, and measures of role stickiness must take this into consideration to quantitatively analyze career trajectories. Typecasting, as a
descriptive concept, cannot deal with this level of complexity as it can only point to static categories. Role stickiness, on the other hand, deals with the different combinations of traits that make up characters acted by the actors instead of personal "types". For these reasons, I argue that role stickiness and diversification are analytically stronger concepts to assess aggregate patterns within the acting field to a more comprehensive extent. In the following subsection, I will elaborate on my research design.

### 3.2 Measuring Role Diversity

To construct generalizable arguments that could elucidate social reality via identifying certain mechanisms pertinent to specific scope conditions, in other words, to explain social reality from a "middle-range" perspective in a Mertonian sense (1968), it is imperative to set restrictions. I aimed to inquire measurable aspects of social phenomenon (in this case, the role diversity patterns in acting careers) that can also be tested in other contexts with similar characteristics.

I utilize quantitative content analysis to observe patterns in actors' career trajectories. Krippendorff defines content analysis as a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts (or other meaningful material) (1980, p. 18.). Deriving from Krippendorff's perspective, I tried to categorize the main features of roles actors play in television. In building the general theoretical ground for my categories, I benefitted greatly from the film/narrative studies literature I have discussed in the previous chapter. Since this study will be the first of its kind, I also took inspiration from the content analysis-applied research on adjacent subjects such as communication and representation studies in the process of establishing the categories to examine roles (Head, 1954; Yoekem, 1958; Tedesco, 1974; Lincoln
and Allen, 2004; Eder 2010; Hewett, 2015). I merged certain categorizations from previous film and TV related studies in a manner that could help accomplishing the purpose of this thesis: to understand the role diversification processes. Ultimately, I designated the pivotal components of a role as genre, character type (protagonist/antagonist), weight in the storyline, social class, and accent. These categories are valid for examination of any acted work, unlike some rather more context-specific categories such as behavior type or occupation which cannot easily be quantified and generalized by scale.

After establishing categories for my research, I needed to form a scale of role diversity that can measure the "distance" between consecutive roles played by an actor. The notion of distance is needed to calculate the level of diversity an actor has been able to achieve in their trajectory. Below is a graph (Figure 2) that illustrates the role distance conceptualization I made.


Figure 2. Visual Exemplification of Role Distance

To determine role distances, I am going to leverage the traits I have pointed out above. I assigned scores that measure differences within these traits (See Figure 3 below). The first trait, "genre" within which the character acts, consists of three fundamental categories, i.e. comedy, drama, and action. I located drama at the center with action and comedy located at the two edges due to the greater dissimilarity of their forms and scene contents. I then assigned one point to each genre change between consecutive roles. If an actor, for example, plays in a comedy series and then switches to drama, she accumulates one point from this change. If the change is from comedy to action or vice versa, then it amounts to two points. The second main trait, "character type", refers to whether an actor plays a protagonist or an antagonistic role. I define the protagonist characters as those that have a general tendency to act in accord with socially accepted norms (such as modesty, living in accord with family values, humbleness, chastity etc.) and antagonistic ones as those that tend to violate these norms, placed within the more negatively perceived side of the story. If a character switches sides (which is rarely the case in Turkish TV serials), I choose to define them with the more pronounced type within the storyline. I also assigned one point to each change between these main categories and constructed a total score for character type for each actor observed. For social class, I developed a scale between upper, middle, and lower classes and assigned one point to each change. If an actor plays an upper-class character in one show and a middleclass one in another, she receives one point for this role change. But if the change is from upper to lower class or vice versa, then she accumulates two points as this is a greater role change that demands more from the actor. The character's weight in the storyline, which is the fourth trait, can change from supporting to leading status and each change translates into one point for the actor. This is important in identifying
the "cast type" of a role and in assessing whether an actor can switch between the two. Finally, whether the character has a regional or urban accent constitutes the last character trait that I included in the role diversity scale. Characters with strong regional accents are very common in Turkish TV serials and they usually signal rural and/or more traditional personas who have problems of adaptation to modern urban life. As such, they constitute an important part of the overall character that is played. I assigned one point to changes within this category for each actor as well.

Genre

$$
\begin{array}{lll}
\text { Comedy } & \text { Drama } & \text { Action }
\end{array}
$$

## Character type

## Character social class

Upper Middle Lower

Character's weight in the storyline

Lead
Supportive

Character's accent

Rural
Urban

Figure 3. Role Diversity Scale
(Linear scales for measuring levels of change between the characters played)

I calculated the total role diversity score of a given actor by summing up the standardized mean scores (standardized at mean 0 and standard deviation 1) of the total distance an actor has accumulated for each role trait and dividing this number
by the total number of shows the actor has appeared in. And then I controlled for the total number of seasons later via "total acting time" variable. I use standardized mean scores rather than actual summation of distances to ensure comparability across the scoring of different role traits and avoid obtaining a diversity score that is biased due to my scoring scheme. Below is the formula I used for role diversity calculation:

Role Diversity Score $=\sum_{\text {role distance }} /$ Total Number of Shows<br>Role Distance $=$ Distance $_{\text {genre }}+$ Distance $_{\text {character type }}+$ Distance $_{\text {social class }}+$ Distance $_{\text {weight }}+$ Distance $_{\text {accent }}$

### 3.2.1. Hypotheses

From my observations in the field of acting in Turkey, I formulated several hypotheses to test on the data I have gathered. The list of my hypothesis is as follows:

H1: The roles diversity scores of female actors are lower than male actors. My main hypothesis (H1) pertains to gender-based differences in actors' careers. I anticipate the role diversity scores of female actors to be lower than their male counterparts because of the unequal norms prevalent in the field. As I discussed in the previous chapter, numerous studies on work and organizations suggest that gender bias is common in the processes of evaluation, and the managers/bosses (i.e. decision-makers) tend to consciously or unconsciously support the belief that women are not capable of performing complex tasks as much as their male counterparts in their selections. I expect this type of bias in the field of acting as well. The only difference here is that it operates in the form of role diversity (i.e. providing male
and female actors with different levels of opportunities because of their perceived calibers) under the peculiar organizational structure of the field of acting.

H2: The role diversity score of an actor raises by age.
I expect actors' role diversity scores to raise by age. As actors usually play more parts over time, they must strengthen their positions in the field. The more actors prove themselves in the field, the higher scores they should achieve.

H3: Conservatory education increases role diversity scores.
Education signals the decision-makers the capability and professionality of an actor, which should make them more preferable. Additionally, the professors in conservatory entrance committees try to select the most talented candidates between hundreds of applicants every year. Passing such an examination must indicate presence of talent as well. Moreover, receiving a four-year professional acting education also contributes to actors' skill sets and enhances (or brightens) their talent.

H4: The role diversity scores of male actors increase more than female actors with conservatory education.

If the decision-making processes in the acting field operate in gender-biased ways (H1), then I also expect the inequalities in perceptions of male and female actors to deepen the gap and additional credentials to provide more benefits for the advantaged group, i.e. male actors.

### 3.2.2. The Sampling Procedure

Statistical analysis of the structural factors behind differential diversity scores necessitates a representative sample of all actively working actors within the industry. To create such sample within the Turkish TV serials field, I utilized
clustered-random sampling and selected four actors (two males, two females) from the main cast of all prime-time shows airing new episodes on Turkish television as of February 2020 using a random number generator program that assigned a random number to every male and female actor in a show. I had in a total of 112 actors (56 male, 56 female).

I compiled information regarding the age, years of acting experience and the educational background of all these actors from several film and TV reference websites and biographical directories including the Internet Movie Database (http://www.imdb.com), Beyazperde (httpe://www.beyazperde.com), Sinematürk (http://www.sinematurk.com), 1001dizi (http://www.1001dizi.net), Biyografya (https://www.biyografya.com), and Biyografi (http://www.biyografi.info). I eliminated the actors who have not been a main cast member in at least two television serials. Therefore I left out any actor who were making their debut with the airing project from which I was gathering my sample, as I targeted at measuring the levels of "change" between consecutive roles. I then watched at least two randomly selected episodes of all the shows these actors appeared in as a main cast member throughout their acting career and coded their characters in terms of the five acting traits I explained above. I ended up with 878 characters played by these 112 actors and I used this data to calculate the distance between subsequent roles, which allowed me to reach the role diversity scores.

### 3.3 Results

I employed an OLS regression model to examine the effects of gender, age, experience in the sector and education of actors on actors' role diversity patterns. Data at hand supports the hypotheses I have presented above (See Table 1). In the three OLS regression models with different control variables, gender remains statistically significant ( $\mathrm{p}<0.05$ ) as a predictive variable of role diversity, which confirms the hypothesis that net of all other characteristics of an actor, men have higher diversity scores than women. Given the relatively small sample size, I expect this relationship to be stronger (i.e. significant at a higher level) with a larger sample. Total acting time of an actor has the strongest impact on their role diversity score (at the $\mathrm{p}<0.001$ level). This is not surprising given that actors play a more diverse set of roles as they advance in their career. What is more interesting is how these variables interact with gender. Does the impact of experience on diversity scores differ for men and women? The data suggests it might. When I look at the two groups separately, I encounter that there is a notable margin between the diversity scores of inexperienced male and female actors and this gap widens as experience levels go up (See Figure 4). This indicates that experience level does not translate into diversity score equally across the two groups. Women of all experience levels are at a disadvantage compared to men.

My analysis demonstrates that male actors have significantly higher diversity scores than women for all age groups. Women, in other words, are not able to increase their role distances to the same degree as men. This gender gap starts at an early stage of actors' careers, and it widens as actors gain more experience in the sector. I also compare the professional education levels of actors and analyze how education is correlated with role diversity measures via boxplots (See Figure 5). The
findings indicate that receiving a formal acting education from a conservatory increases a person's diversity score significantly. The effect of education on diversity, however, is different for male and female actors with men having a more substantial increase of diversity score as a result of education than women. This indicates that the sector rewards formal credentials unequally across gender groups.

Table 1. OLS Regression Results

| Diversityscore | Model 1 | Model 2 | Model 3 | Model 4 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Gender | $\begin{aligned} & -0.188^{\dot{\pi}} \\ & (0.0783) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.199^{*} \\ & (0.0775) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.200^{*} \\ & (0.0785) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.195^{\star} \\ & (0.0798) \end{aligned}$ |
| Totalactingtime | $\begin{aligned} & 0.0975^{\star \approx \pi} \\ & (0.00961) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 0.0923^{\star \star \pi} \\ & (0.00941) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 0.0925^{\star \star \star} \\ & (0.00993) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 0.0887^{\star \div *} \\ & (0.0129) \end{aligned}$ |
| Eduarea |  | $\begin{aligned} & 0.200^{\star \star} \\ & (0.0727) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 0.202^{\star \star} \\ & (0.0744) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 0.200^{\star \pi} \\ & (0.0745) \end{aligned}$ |
| Edulevel |  |  | $\begin{aligned} & -0.0152 \\ & (0.0634) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.0169 \\ & (0.0626) \end{aligned}$ |
| Agegroup |  |  |  | $\begin{aligned} & 0.0334 \\ & (0.0524) \end{aligned}$ |
| Intercept | $\begin{aligned} & -0.957^{\star \star \star} \\ & (0.0824) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -1.014^{\star \approx \pi} \\ & (0.0799) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.971^{\star \star \star} \\ & (0.162) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -1.019^{\star \dot{\pi} *} \\ & (0.183) \end{aligned}$ |
| $\begin{aligned} & \hline N \\ & R-s q \\ & \hline \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 112 \\ 0.665 \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 112 \\ 0.681 \\ \hline \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 112 \\ 0.681 \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{r} 112 \\ 0.682 \end{array}$ |



Figure 4. Predicted Diversity Scores from Gender and Acting Experience Note: Shaded areas indicate $95 \%$ confidence intervals.


Figure 5. The Diversity Score Boxplots by Gender and Education

### 3.4 Discussion

In this subsection, I will elaborate on how the imbalance in acting career trajectories relates to the historically grounded predicament of gender inequality. The results I have presented above reveal an overlooked form of gender inequality: role diversification. Female actors tend to play similar characters throughout their careers compared to male actors. Disparities in role diversification patterns constitute an obstacle for achieving higher acting status and success in their careers via the meritocratic method of talent demonstration.

Why is this the case? What sector-specific assumptions lie behind the different role diversification patterns? How does this form of inequality help perpetuate other types of inequality in the field of acting? As the trends of occupational and positional segregation indicates; men dominates the majority of working fields which sustain higher compensation levels and holding higher (and more senior managerial) work positions in general (Reskin, 1988; Kim, 1989; Acker, 1990; Cockburn, 1991; Ridgeway, 1997; Hultin and Szulkin,1999; Reskin and McBrier, 2000; Riach, 2002; Tomaskovic-Devey and Skaggs, 2002; Ridgeway and Correll, 2004; Filippin and Ichino, 2005; Phillips and Sorensen, 2003; Shin, 2009; Grugulis and Stoyanova, 2012; Hennekam and Bennett, 2017; Patterson et al.,2017) The internalized belief on the lesser capacity of women in comparison to men generates fundamentally from what Millett (1978) calls the "patriarchal bias". The patriarchal bias is an institutionalized social construction that shapes the organizational structures and the ways in which they operate. In the case of acting, it is manifested through the segregation of the actors' paths to survival and success in the industry.

This segregation becomes visible via role diversity scores. The scores reflect the preclusion of female actors from gathering prestige via their meritocratic agency, by
means of revealing the range of their talent. As I will address in depth in the next chapter, this acts in correspondence with male actors sustaining higher compensation levels and holding higher prestige

Like all other forms of inequality, patriarchal hierarchy in the field of acting holds the ability to maintain itself through the mechanisms that justify its disposition. Charles Tilly eloquently summarizes the organizational inequality preservation as follows:
"Durable inequality among categories arises because people who control access to value producing resources solve organizational problems by means of categorical distinctions. Inadvertently or otherwise, those people set up systems of social closure, exclusion, and control" (1999, p.8).

Gender inequality persist by maintaining who does the maintaining the categorical distinctions between male and female actors in the acting field as well. The distinctions operate through the diverging expectations from these actors in the evaluation processes. The discrepancies of role diversity suggest that the evaluation processes of male and female actors may possess different characteristics. Female actors are not given the same chance to demonstrate their talent range; even the positive effects of having professional education and experience remain limited for them. Although female actors are excluded from this meritocratic chain of success in the industry as their male colleague demonstrates his talent and rises to higher points in his career; the talent these males are able to present gives social closure to female actors. The system helps controlling the female actors and maintaining the male dominance in the field of acting.

To sum up, I argue that the imbalance of talent demonstration opportunities translates into a practice of legitimization of the prevalent gaps between male and female actors regarding reputation, earnings, and working conditions. For example, female actors usually make significantly less money than their male counterparts,
and this situation is being legitimized with the help of talent demonstration opportunities provided to men. I will talk more about this in the following chapter with anecdotal evidence from the field. By means of the qualitative data I gathered through in-depth interviews with actors, agents, casting directors, directors, and producers; I will delineate the specific mechanisms of inequality and implicit bias operating in the field of acting and then I will discuss how they impact actor' career trajectories in detail.

## CHAPTER 4

HIGHLAND OF "BRILLIANT" MEN AND "LUCKY" WOMEN: RELATIONAL DYNAMICS IN THE FIELD

In the previous chapter, I have identified the differences in the role diversification patterns of male and female actors. A large body of sociological literature dealing with occupational inequality and stratification manifests persistent and systemic inequality between men and women (e.g. Acker, 1990; Bielby and Bielby, 1992; Bielby and Bielby, 1996; Ridgeway, 1997; Burt, 1998; Lyness and Thompson, 2000; Lincoln and Allen, 2004; Flippin and Ichino, 2005; Lyness and Schrader, 2007; Grugulis and Stoyanova, 2012; Jones and Pringle, 2015; Lutter, 2015; WingFai et al., 2015).

However, the disparity of male and female actors' role diversity patterns remained unstudied until now, conceivably because male and female actors do not compete for the same roles. Nevertheless, male and female actors compete and try to maintain successful careers within the same industry with unequal talent demonstration opportunities. Moreover, according to my qualitative findings, male and female actors are being judged on the same "talent" criterion when their reputation, personal brand value, and salaries are determined by the decision-makers. In this chapter, I first will inquire about the mechanisms providing the sufficient basis for the unequal talent demonstration opportunities and reveal the ways in which they legitimize and reproduce women's backward positions in the industry. I will then talk about the organizational dynamics which either influence the inertia and continuation of the system due to lack of action towards the issues or lead to improvements regarding the inequalities in the field.

### 4.1 Method

The data I utilize to tackle the social dynamics that act in correspondence with role diversification patterns comes from in-depth interviews I conducted with actors and decision-makers in the field (people who directly influence actors' careers) More specifically, I interviewed 14 actors ( 7 male and 7 female) and 7 decision-makers composed of agents, directors, casting directors, and a producer (4 male and 3 female) from the industry. I adopted a snowball sampling approach for my interviews as it is extremely difficult to contact people in this exclusive community without credible references. Moreover, I conducted most of data-collecting during the COVID-19 restrictions, which had negative impacts on this study ${ }^{22}$. Though the majority of the interviews were conducted in person, four of the interviews were conducted via Zoom. I allowed the participants to choose the location for the interview to make them feel comfortable. The places included cafes, production companies, and houses. The average duration of the interviews was approximately two hours. Confidentiality is extra important for the people from this field as they are publicly well-known. I guaranteed the participants that the interview data I gathered will be anonymized to protect their privacy. I posed them some open-end questions about their careers, their perspectives on acting and the actors, and their ideas about the sector in general. The questionnaires I used can be found in the Appendix B. I will deliberate my findings under five subtopics: implicit gender bias in talent evaluation processes, self-censorship, gender-based differences in aspirations and expectations, substitutability, and the socialization and unionization dynamics. Examination of the field of TV-acting via qualitative interviews will provide

[^11]important insights regarding the role diversification issue I have pointed out in the previous chapter. The interviews will display the ways in which the imbalances in talent demonstration opportunities acts in correspondence with other forms of inequality.

### 4.2 Signs of Implicit Bias and Gender Inequality in Evaluation Processes

In this part, I will discuss the "brilliant men" and "lucky women" labels as constructs that shaped how actors were classified and rewarded by decision-makers in the field. In my interviews, I posed the question "Who do you think are the best actors in Turkey?" and allowed the interviewees to list as many actors as they wish. Even though the Turkish word for actor, oyuncu, does not indicate gender; the 7 decisionmakers listed a total of 22 actors, only 7 of which were female. Five of these female actors came from female interviewees. In line with general sectoral trends of occupational segregation, these female interviewees were casting directors or agents, not directors or producers. When I asked the same question to actors, I received 64 names, 41 of whom were also male. Of the 23 female actors listed, 13 came from the lists of women interviewees. Interestingly, the women interviewees also included more male names than female names in their lists. Overall, the numbers clearly indicated gender bias.

Moreover, when I probed the interviewees about the reasons why they included the names they did, I received different justifications for male and female actors. While men were regarded as "brilliant", "very talented", and "brave"; women were generally associated with being "lucky" and "hard-working". It was also common for interviewees to justify the extraordinary salaries of some male actors by
referring to their "very high talent", an opinion shared by both men and women. For example, a male director (Interview 20) said:
"Of course, Halit (Ergenç) deserves greater pay than his partners because he is so brilliant! He can play any character!"

A male producer who never mentioned any female actors' names during the interview states the following:
"If you want rating, you should get Kıvanç or Kenan. Nobody beats them. This is why they are the highest earning actors. [...] The man's personal world does not interest me as long as he is talented." (Interview 18)

A female actor (Interview 12) stated the following justifications regarding the names she listed:
"He is a genius he can play everything, so talented! He can take risks and pull it off! [...] She is very disciplined and hard-working, she was at the right place at the right time of course, but she used her luck well."

The vast majority of participants from the field associated acting talent with the ability to play a diverse set of roles and they associated this trait much more frequently with male actors. Even though all actors I interviewed expressed a strong preference for role diversification, it is male actors who are more able to achieve this. I argue that the field-specific norms and expectations that protect and propagate male domination lie underneath this gap. This clear male preference among participants is largely in line with recent experimental work conducted by Storage et.al. (2020) on children and adults about implicit gender-brilliance stereotyping. In this research subjects were asked to associate "brilliance" and "talent" with different characters shown to them on a computer screen. Using what social psychologists call the "implicit association technique" (Greenwald et al., 1998), the study has revealed that
most of the participants in the study associate brilliance and talent with male images. This finding helps explain the under-representation of women in fields that are associated with "brilliance" like science and technology. My findings suggest that such an association may exist in creative industries as well. The acting profession also relies to a great extent on talent, which translates into acting status and career success. Because male actors are perceived as more "talented" and "brilliant", they are given more chances to demonstrate their talent in diverse roles they act, which enhances their acting status further, thereby creating a self-feeding cycle.

### 4.3 Self-Censorship Dynamics and the Influence of the Internalized Male Gaze on Decision-Making Processes

Another important dimension that has a significant impact on the diversity of roles played by the actors is the prevalent male gaze in the field. ""The male gaze" refers to the androcentric attitude of an image; that is, its depiction of the world, and in particular of women, in terms of male or masculine interests, emotions, attitudes, or values." (Eaton, 2008, p.878.) In the field of television acting, the male gaze is highly internalized both by the actors and the decision-makers. Although all the interviewed actors indicated their desire for playing a greater diversity of roles -while none of the male actors reflected any uneasiness- two of the female actors (Interviews 2 and 8 ) pointed out reservations and concerns regarding some features and actions of the characters.

A female actor (Interview 2) stated her exhaustion regarding the "stickiness" of the "rich and insolent woman breaking up a family" role she played throughout her career. She stated that she desires to play a broader diversity of roles, yet she no longer wishes to accept any of the villain roles unless she absolutely has to due to
financial difficulties; because of the great amount of psychological persecution she, as a woman, has previously received from the public. She said:
"My male actor friend who recently played the terrorist man killing innocent people in a highly popular TV-serial only received little teasing reaction. Meanwhile, I even encounter death threats for being a "dishonorable" woman."

Aside from highlighting the irrationality of the audiences criticizing actors for the roles they play, this anecdote reflects an example of the cultural double standards which have repressive impacts on female actors' career choices.

Another female actor (Interview 8) posed her concerns regarding certain scenes: "I would only have problems with acting in sexual scenes and luckily, we do not have many of them in television serials due to the Radio and Television Supreme Council's restrictions. It is not like self-censor or neighborhood pressure; it is about me. If I play in those kinds of scenes, how can I ask greengrocer Ahmet to give me two kilograms of orange again? Or what would happen if my father and my brother watch it?"

The male gaze was so deeply internalized by the actor that she would not even refer to her preference as self-censorship though her statement is a clear example of the pressure of what the men would think of her after watching those sexual scenes.

On the other hand, all the male actors declared they would be comfortable with playing any scene or character, and most of them underlined that being able to play everything is what makes a "good" actor. There was a consensus in the sector about this qualification, as most of the decision-makers from the industry made statements supporting the idea.

The anecdotal evidence suggests that the conventional norm within the acting industry for determining whether an actor is qualified contrasts with the reality of
cultural hegemonic masculinity. This contrasting reality delimits the borders of female actors' acting territories by forcing them to practice self-censorship. The privileged position of the male actors to confidently act in any character/scene without fears of facing public shaming, on top of their role diversity advantage, helps accumulate their higher acting status and deepens the gap.

Furthermore, the internalized male gaze has effects on the selection processes of the actors by casting directors and directors. Before I delve into these impacts, I would like to highlight the organizational structure of the TV industry. Occupational segregation in the Turkish TV industry is quite substantial. While the top positions such as producer and director are mostly taken by men, the positions that require comprehending the perspectives and satisfying the needs of those top decisionmakers are occupied by women (e.g.: casting director, agent). These occupational segregation trends play an important part in the internalization of the male gaze by various components of the field and translate into the normalization of it in the evaluation processes.

In the interviews, female casting directors expressed a lack of autonomy in doing their jobs. They think they are dependent on the producers and directors to a greater extent than they should have been in an ideal, properly functioning industry. The casting directors highly talked about the pressure of presenting solely what the producers (who are typically male) would prefer. This is a process of turning them into, as a casting director states, "servants" rather than casting experts, withdrawing the imagination and the autonomy of the casting directors off the table. A 52-yearold casting director (Interview 15) who has been in this sector for over 30 years told: "After the huge success of Turkish TV serials worldwide in the last decade, the producers have become very powerful and prepotent, less risk-bearing, and more
guarantee-seeking." According to her, the casting directors have lost their agency within the process of determining whom to audition or cast for a certain role, and they were not allowed to take risks (e.g. casting a no-name actor, or casting someone who was previously typecast to a very different type of role) as they had before. She has also reported that the most important competency for casting directors has now become the ability to think "exactly" like the producer to find the perfect candidate for him according to his "prescription", instead of providing novel perspectives and guiding the producer in their area of expertise.

It is not only the casting directors who struggle to please their male bosses in the industry. A female actor (Interview 2) mentioned her job interview experience with a famous female director who was anxious about surviving in the maledominated occupation:
"The director told me she loves my acting and she apologized to me for not selecting me. She said since I am a sophisticated girl, I would question the femme fatale character's motivation and the reasons behind her actions to understand her and relate to the character, and this would require more effort for the director. Numerous other beautiful girls would not question the text and selecting one of them seemed more appropriate to the director since she is an up-and-coming director. She said she is fighting a battle for proving herself in this predominantly male profession, so she did not have the chance to add more perspective to her work at the moment and she was just trying to create something her producer and colleagues would find decent."

The anecdote exhibits the extra pressure on the shoulders of female directors. They strive to demonstrate their ability of shooting adequate work that could receive approval from their male bosses and colleagues. This situation reverberates in the form of internalization of male gaze by female directors in the process of
categorizing female actors and deciding their suitability for roles. In the example above, the female actor's talent is undermined. Her presence in the production as an actor is reduced to being a beautiful object. Her qualifications do not work adequately to her advantage. Instead, the qualifications can even be intimidating and detrimental as in this case. Anecdotal evidence supports the idea that female directors try to fit into the male-dominated occupation by becoming more like males. The internalization of the male gaze by various types of decision-makers (agents, casting directors, directors, scriptwriters etc.) in the industry poses a multi-layered obstacle for female actors on the way to enhance their acting status via demonstration of their abilities.

### 4.4 Gender-Based Differences in Aspirations and Expectations of Actors

 Until now, I examined the dynamics that pave the way for gendered role diversification patterns. Henceforth, I will continue by outlining the consequences of prevalent role diversification patterns on male and female actors' career trajectories. In this subsection, I will specifically elaborate on actors' career dreams, aspirations, and projections to untangle the mechanisms through which the talent demonstration opportunities (or lack thereof) influence actors' professional careers. The interview data reveals noticeable differences in female and male actors' career projections. While female actors show interest in playing more "active" roles in general, male actors are, in their words, interested in "pushing their edges" (Interviews 3,4,5,9). One side's request pertains to the basic agency of the character, while the other involves the challenge and complexity of the character to reflect the talent. Furthermore, most female actors did not believe they could achieve dream roles and frequently reported the factor of "luck", unlike their male counterparts who weremore optimistic and self-confident about achieving their farfetched goals. I will now present anecdotal evidence from the answers actors gave to the interview questions I posed them and then tackle the issue of "luck" and its implications.

What is your dream role?
In their responses to this question, male actors tended to express interest in playing various sorts of physically or psychologically ill or disabled people (Interviews $3,4,9,10)$ to push the edges of their acting talent whereas female actors generally replied to this question with a strong desire for playing anything that is more "active" rather than "passive" for a change. Here are some examples from female actor's interviews:
"I never played a self-sufficient smart woman who stands on her own feet. I always played naïve or silly women needing help. In our serials, it is always the woman who does what should not be done and it is the man who fixes that and saves the woman." (Interview 2)
"I have played women who were kept in the background regardless of whether they are the supporting character or the lead. I dream of playing a powerful woman who has an active storyline rather than passive." (Interview 1)
"The sector has swallowed my dreams I do not have many dreams left. But I would like to play a smart, capable person once." (Interview 11)

Female actors' replies indicated a stance against the passivity granted to the characters they played. They declared their desire to play the subject of the show. The complexity of the characters was not their concern, instead, the agency was. The answers to the following question concretized the discrepancies between male and female actors.

What do you think is your likelihood of playing your dream role?

Though both women and men desired to play different roles from their previous ones, their anticipations about the realizability of those desires significantly varied. Male actors in general did believe they will play those roles, even if the dream roles and current roles did not have anything in common at all, while female actors were often more doubtful. Examples below illustrates the differences:
"Zero. I definitely don't think I can play it." (Female actor, Interview 2)
"I don't want to play what is deemed appropriate to my type. [...] But they do not like to take risks in Turkey. With a foreign producer, maybe." (Female actor, Interview 11)
"I always progressed; I think I will." (Male actor, Interview 10)
"Very high. It is proportional to my alacrity. If I want it, it will happen" (Male actor, Interview 6)

The differential levels of optimism became even more transparent with the next question:

Are you at your dream position in your career? If not, do you think you will reach it?

While male actors were more confident and optimistic about their career futures in general, the female actors indicated insecurity, pessimism, and reservations in their responses to this question. Some answers from male actors were as follows:
"I am in the sufficient position for achieving my dream position, it is far away now but of course I think I will reach it because until this day in my life I have accomplished everything I wanted so I think I will accomplish this one too. I believe in myself." (Interview 3)
"I think I will achieve my dream because I am talented and judicious." (Interview 13)
"I have a forward-moving accomplishment graphic. But since a person's dreams will never end, I will never settle for any position." (Interview 9)
"I am good at fathoming people out, so I believe in myself. I will achieve my dream position." (Interview 5)
"It all comes down to me. I think I will." (Interview 6)
Female actors' answers were substantially different from their colleagues. The responses included:
"I think this is up to luck. At one moment the director and the producer can be in their good moods and like your eyebrows then you can act a part that would change your career." (Interview 2)
"I think it is unlikely. I mean I would really want it, but the industry is very competitive and whether I can achieve it or not is ambiguous." (Interview 1) "All I can do is to work for it, but I do not know what would happen afterward." (Interview 14)
"I do not drink at the tables of directors and become intimate with them, so I probably won't." (Interview 11)

The salient difference here is that male actors tend to believe they have certain personal resources that could possibly distinguish them from the competing crowd and help them succeed, whereas female actors constantly think about the greater weight of external factors in determining their career success. I argue this is partly because their acting capability is not taken into consideration during the selection process to the same degree as their male counterparts. The biased selection processes where the talent of females is not assessed at a level on par with their male
counterparts place female actors in a more substitutable talent pool, increasing the impact of "external factors" or what female actors usually refer to as "luck" in the interviews. Nevertheless, the decision-makers from the industry mainly use the acting talent criterion when it comes to the reputation, personal brand value, or salary of the actors. They justify the unequal rewards for male and female actors utilizing talent criterion. Below is a summary table demonstrating the fundamental difference in the responses of the actors with the most extract quotes that encapsulate the main inference gathered from the interviews.

Table 2. Self-Perceived Mediators of An Actor's Success

| Are you at your dream position in your career? If not, do you think you will reach <br> it? |  |
| :---: | :---: |
| Male Actors | Female Actors |
| "It all comes down to $m e$ " |  |
| (Interview 6) | "It all comes down to the <br> producers and directors" <br> (Interview 2) |
| Mediator = Own capacity |  |
| Success | Mediator = The perception of <br> decision-makers |
|  |  |

Male and female actors identified different intermediaries for their career goals. While an actor's positioning in the field is a dynamic process that is actually maintained through the correspondence between the input (actors' agency) and the perception of that input (by the decision-makers), female and male actors emphasized different ends of this correspondence as the principal determinant of achieving success.

### 4.5 The Degree of Substitutability and Its Consequences

The biased evaluation processes place female actors in a broader competition pool thereby marking them as more substitutable than their male counterparts. When the demonstrated talent range is more limited due to restricted opportunities, the competition pool under which they are evaluated becomes wider as people achieve closer mediocre scores in absentia of higher ends and the talent variation shrinks. Therefore, the other evaluative factors (e.g. looks, personality, networks etc.) become relatively more constitutive. On the other hand, when the competition pool is narrowed down by talent (which is the case for male actors) even the inefficacies regarding the other factors become more tolerable.

Based on the interview data, I will examine two of the other evaluative factors-i.e. Physical features and personality- and illustrate the effects of the differentiating compositions of female and male actors' competition pools I have mentioned above. Appearance is considered an important feature for screen acting. Being aesthetically pleasing and/or attractive provides an advantage to the actors as it makes them physically more admirable in the eyes of the audience. All other factors being equal, a casting director is more likely to select a better-looking person. If the
aspect of talent becomes less important in the evaluation process, the looks become even more significant.

In the interviews, some female actors expressed interest in physical adjustments and shared their experiences regarding the requisitions from the decision-makers for such adjustments whereas male actors generally criticized the aesthetic interventions and deemed the females who had done those interventions. A variety of aesthetic interventions are in demand among Turkish female actors. Botox, face fillings, chin and nose operations, and blemish removal are some of the more popular aesthetic intervention forms. Along with these, vertical banded gastroplasty surgery is also prevalent. Most female interviewees stated that they had aesthetic operations or have close female actor friends who had, while unsurprisingly, male actors said they did not. During the interviews, it was emphasized multiple times by the male actors, and (only) once by a female actor that naturality is necessary for the plausibility of actors. Anecdotal evidence indicates that they hold a higher chance of playing in various types of roles from rural/urban categories and/or from lower/higher classes in the absence of aesthetic interventions. Moreover, in this way they can preserve their capacity to perform gestures and facial expressions on a full scale and play the characters more demonstratively. However, the anecdotal evidence also reveals that the expectations of the decision-makers in the field from the female actors do not match with the sound reasoning above. A 45-year-old female actor (Interview 7) who has also become an acting coach and currently thinking about quitting acting has narrated her aesthetics story:
"After graduating from conservatory summa cum laude, I started working with a topclass agent and auditioned for a lead part in a new TV show. I got the part. Shortly before the shooting started, my agent told me that the producers wanted me to get lip
and cheek fillings and took me to the plastic surgeon. I just could not do it. I did not want to turn into someone I am not, and I decided to decline the offer and left the surgeon's office. The show broke the rating records once aired and the girl who replaced me became an A-list star, but I never regretted my uncompromised attitude though I never made the jump in my career and had to start coaching because of the difficulties I had in terms of finding acting jobs."

A female actor shared her experience with weight loss:
"I am 1,65 cm tall. I was 51 kilograms, then I lost some weight and became 49. What my agent told me while we were waiting for an audition at a producing company was "You look better now but you should lose some more, you will look your best when you become 45-46 kilograms". This pressure is insane and certainly not healthy!" (Interview 14)

Another female actor told her vertical banded gastroplasty surgery story:
"I started acting when I was a very young and slim girl. Later I continued my career abroad for a few years and I gained weight while I was living there. It was extremely difficult for me to find jobs when I got back here. Producers and directors were telling my agent "What has this girl been through? What kind of trauma did she have to make her eat like a pig? I cannot deal with her psychological issues at the set." I started finding jobs much more easily after the gastroplasty operation, it meliorated the course of my career." (Interview 8)

Another female actor stated the following:
"My agent told me that my chin was hindering me from giving a good picture in front of the camera, making me look stiff and masculine, so I had a little something done to soften my facial features and to look proper on the screen." (Interview 11)

These interviews exhibited the impacts of physical constraints on female actors. Nonetheless, there were no similar stories shared by their peers, male actors. They did not mention being coerced to have botox or fillings or lose weight to become a size zero. On the contrary, their imperfect physical features were even praised by the decision-makers. Casting directors' interviews revealed a significant discrepancy between the evaluation of male and female actors' looks by dint of a unilateral concept two of them used: "the ugly man charisma". It was mooted that some male actors' talent made them so irresistible and translated their "characteristic" physical features into "charisma". Nothing of that sort was ever mentioned regarding any female actors during the interviews. Female actors, as they underlined, were expected to look "suitable" for the screen and this suitability usually referred to face symmetry, fleshiness of lips, the largeness of the eyes, and skinniness. Many of them mentioned they feel obliged to get some aesthetic intervention done. This was not necessarily always because they all have internalized the male gaze and wanted to look perfect, but instead because they knew that this was something they needed to do to survive in the industry. And the ones who do not meet the aesthetic requirements knew that their chances will be lower. Here is an example from the interview with a female actor:
"I have freckles and I am not very effeminate either, I think this is one of the reasons why I am not a very popular actress. [...] I could work on the way I look and become more appealing for the screen, and I did not. This is partially my fault." (Interview 1)

Female actors noted that the industry is much more demanding when it comes to the physical features of females. Most female actors I interviewed were not very enthusiastic about getting face fillings or other operations. Many of them reported they underwent certain interventions to fit into the norms of the industry so that they
could achieve their acting career goals. This unilateral pressure acts in correspondence with the discrepancies in the processes of evaluation.

Another essential evaluative factor in acting careers is personality. Almost all the decision-makers mentioned the importance of agreeableness. They usually emphasized how stressful the set environment is in general and that the people working in sets should be as agreeable as possible to proceed smoothly and complete the work. The directors and the producer especially defined the ideal actor as an acquiescent person who follows their guidance. For example, a male director stated the following:
"The man you call the director has a special chair and that chair has a meaning. The actor is the material it is only the instrument through which I convey my message. I do not prefer to work with actors who do not obey. [...] The director is the godking." (Interview 16)

However, the anecdotal evidence from these decision-makers has also indicated that the personality criterion could sometimes be stretched in accordance with talent. Unsurprisingly, the subjects of these cases of anomaly were always men. For instance, a male director stated an exception as follows: "The man is turbulent. But he is very talented, so we tolerate him." (Interview 20) Unsurprisingly, such an exception was never mentioned by anyone for any female actor. On the contrary, a 29-year-old female actor said that she thinks she partially owns her success in playing recurring roles to her "submissive" character. In line with these responses, female actors were more concerned with being replaced than their male colleagues. For instance, a female actor said: "I know that if I do not accept this wage, they will find a hundred different pretty girls who would." (Interview 2 ) Some male actors stated they would not be okay under a certain pay limit, because they did not want to
undermine their current personal brand value and/or they were talented actors who deserved the amount they asked for. "Uniqueness" was also only pronounced by three of the male actors. (Interviews 3,5,6,13)

The general patterns in the interviews implied that with their lower talent demonstration opportunities and neglected meritocratic capacities, women must build better relationships than men to achieve similar levels of stability in their careers. And these better relationships mostly came with a price of endurance. Here is an excerpt from a female actor's interview:
"There is nearly always some male director or producer insulting me or harassing me or inviting me to have dinner with him at some upstate place where no one could "bother" us. [....] What can I dream of? Shall I dream about how the director or the producer is going to hit on me during a dinner party they throw to celebrate the serial? And how I will be completely helpless because I must continue working on that project to pay my rent? This is what we have to go through." (Interview 2)

All in all, the interview data at hand exhibited distinctions between the evaluation processes of male and female actors in terms of their physical and personal features. The evidence supported the argument I presented regarding female actors' meritocratically more substitutable positions making them more vulnerable in terms of maintaining careers in the field. The vulnerable positioning of the female actors often acted in tandem with other forms of inequalities in the field. Female actors were the ones who usually made the extra efforts (which sometimes came at the expense of tolerating psychological violence and harassment) to survive in the field of TV-acting in Turkey. In the next and final subsection of this chapter, I will inquire the ways in which the social actions reproduce the system or trigger change and help attenuate the inequalities in the field.


#### Abstract

4.6 To Be or Not to Be United: The Socialization Structures in the Field In this last part of this chapter, I will examine the (re)formation processes of social groups in the field. I will inquire about the informal and formal social interactions and ask how these processes contribute to the maintainability of the existing inequalities.


The actor members of the TV-acting field spend most of their daily lives on sets, waiting for the setups to be ready for their scenes. The amount of waiting involved in screen-acting careers is usually unknown to outsiders. Actors mostly wait for a few hours just to act for a few minutes for a scene in their daily routine. They socialize during these long waits. Employing the interview data I gathered, I looked for patterns in these informal social interactions. My data reveals that male actors build stronger connections with the set crew. They involve in daily conversations beyond small talk with people from the set crew regardless of gender. On the other hand, female actors tend to be more hesitant and self-conscious in their social interactions with the crew. More than half of the female actors reported two major concerns: "What if male crew members misunderstand me and think I flirt with them?" and "What if they no longer show respect to me?". Female actors believed that in order to be respected and to avoid "gossip" which could hurt their careers, they must be distant while male actors did not show any concerns regarding such a problem. This discrepancy contributes to the unequal conditions between male and female actors and provides the ground for a warmer work environment for male actors in which they can feel more comfortable and flourish.

I have also encountered substantial anecdotal evidence regarding the identification of female actors as fragile and sensitive. Being mocked both by their
peers and the set crew was a common trend for female actors. A female actor talked about her experience as a female actor in a male-dominated cast:
"Our set is full of prominent male actors because of the show's subject, I am one of the few girls and almost all of my scenes are with the male actors. Sometimes they tease me. They ally and mock my healthy nourishment, spiritual interests, and yoga exercises. One of them said, "We tease you so much, sometimes I feel worried that you are going to cry!" and laughed. [...] I want to get along with them because I know that if any bad word comes out of their mouths about me, I would never be able to work on any project anymore. After all, I got this job partially because my older producer vouched for me and told me I was a ladylike, calm, and malleable girl who is easy to work with." (Interview 14)

A different female actor (Interview 2) complained about the male cast and crew members criticizing her for being too emotional and referring to her as klzcağız, which means "poor girl".

Another striking example was shared by a female actor about a male director she has worked with for a TV-serial:
"I was the only woman in that scene. I was crying on stage after my character find out about the death of a loved one. He constantly yelled at me "Cry more! Cry more!" and furiously threw papers on the floor. It was horrible. After the scene, he laughed at me and said, "See how I made you cry!" I hated his sexist approach." (Interview 8)

Though the stories of personal-level embarrassment solely came from female actors, the general derogatory approach of directors to cast and crew members was a common issue for many actors. Moreover, directors did not usually act in solidarity with the cast and crew either. For example, a female actor reported that while the
cast and crew were freezing, the director was provided with five separate heaters on set and did not share them at all. (Interview 1) Directors also appeared to normalize their superior positions and did not have any reluctance about their unethical practices. For instance, a male director (Interview 16) talked about his practice on sets as follows:
"There is a difference between the mentalities of our actors and foreign actors. In my show, there were foreign guest actors. It was 4:00 in the morning and we were still working because the set took longer than expected. I did not close the microphones of the actors because I wanted to listen to what they talked about. The foreign actors talked about their characters and their acting strategies whilst our actors were cursing me because of the delay. This is the difference between their respect for the job. We cannot progress with this mentality Turkish actors have."

Considering the Turkish actors have probably been consistently working long hours whereas the guest actors only came to act in their particular scenes, this practice is not merely unethical, but the inference rendered from it is also incorrect. Nonetheless, the statement reveals the authority the director sees in himself.

The sets may be the most time-consuming places where socialization happens in the field, but they are not the only sphere where field-related social interactions take place. There are other personal or organizational occasions such as celebrations, TV-serial dinners, award ceremonies, parties etc.; in other words, events that take place away from sets during non-working hours. The qualitative findings about these events align with the meritocratic substitutability argumentation I have presented. While most male actors did not emphasize regularly attending these events as a crucial element for maintaining careers, the vast majority of female actors (both celebrity and no-name) reported that they think attending them and building stronger
social networks through participation had significant impacts on acting careers. Some female actors told they attend these events and think the events were significantly beneficial for their careers, while others associated their lack of obtaining desired success with not attending these events regularly. Female actors' opinions were very strong and adamant on this issue. I probed the social dynamics in the field and received interesting answers. Below are some exemplary anecdotes from various female actors:
"What social dynamic? The social dynamic of the industry is the raki table!" (Interview 11)
"I always think about whether I am missing an event right now or not. I constantly ask myself who should I meet, who should I connect with, and what parties I should attend. [...] I think producers have $\% 100$ power over selection processes, and I got my current job because the producer knows me well and I maintain a good relationship with him." (Interview 14)
"I know it is important, but I do not go out at night and tour around Cihangir." (Interview 8)
"Things work from the inside. You need to be in a direct relationship with the producer or the director. It is cultural allegiance. The hierarchy and the seats seem so valuable. [...] It requires some investment like wearing high heels and makeup and showing yourself at the events. But I do not do that therefore I know that I will not be in the position I would like. People tell you things happen if you really want them but there are a lot of things you have to sacrifice. [...] It is a struggle with the typical male profile. They cannot view you as a genderless human being." (Interview 1)

I have so far discussed the informal socialization processes in the field and pointed out the discrepancies between male and female actors and talked about some
of the ways in which the decision-makers leverage their hierarchical positions. Now I will move on to question whether there are any existing/emerging mechanisms for uniting against these inequalities. Is there a united front established in the field to attenuate the problems mentioned above? I will interrogate the formal socialization dynamics, i.e. unionization and its impact on transforming the priorly discussed systemic inequalities.

The actors' union of Turkey became an official initiative in 2010. Its full name is the Stage, Cinema, Television, Dubbing Actors' Union ${ }^{23}$. In the interviews, I respectively probed the actors and the decision-makers about their opinions regarding unionization, whether they think the actors' union is sufficiently working, and what they thought could be done to improve the union further. Nearly all of the actors and the majority of the decision-makers shared similar ideas about the current operation of the union: good intentions but bad strategies.

One of the union's most important achievements is the prohibition of babies under 6 months old to work on sets. This accomplishment was highly appreciated by the interviewees. Nevertheless, there were still violations and the impracticability of the actions taken against such breaches was criticized. A 28-year-old female actor who is a semi-celebrity stated the following:
"I called the union because there was a baby younger than 6 months in the set, and they told me to leave the set in protest. How can I do such a thing? Instead, they could ask to have a photo and organize protests against this with highly recognized actors. If I leave my job, I will be unemployed and I will not be able to pay my rent. The people at the union do not think about that!" (Interview 2)

[^12]The inefficient strategies of the union which were highly criticized by the actors, included gathered events (e.g. poetry recitation), actions (e.g. condemnation) and publicity (e.g. using no-name or semi-celebrity actors)
"[Talks about an event organized by the union] Some actors from the union went on stage and read monologue poems in a highly boring way, is that what's going to create a tremendous impact? No way!" (Interview 8)
"The union condemns the producer who does not pay the actor's salary. This is impractical. Condemnation does not solve anything." (Interview 4)

The vast majority of the actors criticized the union as being ineffective to raise a loud voice. They have commonly underlined one missing strategy: using the famous actors as the faces of their campaigns/protests to deliver their messages. According to actors, the union did not properly use the reputation of these actors to achieve higher visibility. They believe these famous actors could convey to the government the severity of their problems and attain sanction power over the unresolvable problems in the sector.

Nearly all the actors demanded one major improvement in the industry:
Royalty payments. Many of them highlighted how the legislation of a royalty law would enhance their financial conditions and provide them a source of safety in this highly precarious occupational field. Of course, there were some tangible positive impacts the union has made in the field in terms of combatting the prevalent inequalities as well. For example, the union has formed the Gender Equality Unit for Fighting Against Harassment and Mobbing. This unit organizes workshops about gender inequality and educates the actors against physical and psychological violence. Furthermore, the union provides lawyer support to its members who apply with a sexual harassment/mobbing complaint. Additionally, the union promoted the
establishment of the "Susma Bitsin" [Speak up to End] platform -an extension of the international \#MeToo movement in Turkey- and actively shows support for the platform. ${ }^{24}$

The union is relatively new, and it is not well established yet. This could be one of the factors that incapacitate the union from functioning more efficiently. It is not very inclusive either. Most of the actors I probed told that they were not even a member of the union. An actor talked about her acting experience abroad and the mandatory code for joining the union to ensure eligibility to work on sets, and she suggested that if the union was officially recognized and the attendance requirement was practiced in Turkey, the set conditions of the actors could be enhanced. (Interview 8) At this juncture, I would like to denote the lack of governmental policymaking to solve the issues pointed out by the union as one of the reasons why the union cannot function as well as anticipated. A collaboration between the union and the state is obligatory in order to attain a reliable and functional occupational field.

To conclude this chapter, I would like to highlight the issues I have touched upon and the arguments I have made based on them. First, I have noticed an implicit gender bias in the answers of participants to the "best actors" question and discerned that the male actors in the industry were more often referred to as brilliant and talented than their female counterparts. Secondly, I talked about the self-censorship dynamics and the internalization of male gaze by the actors and the decision-makers in the industry. I have delineated some of ways through which the male gaze is operationalized and affected career paths. Thirdly, I contemplated the discrepancies between male and female actors' career aspirations and projections. I deliberated on

[^13]the influence of female actors' lower meritocratic agency in the evaluation processes (due to lack of talent demonstration opportunities) in these projections. Later on, I explained the mechanisms through which this lacking agency translates into a greater inequality between male and female actors. I argued that in the deficit of meritocratic opportunities, the other evaluative factors such as physical and personal features may naturally become more substantial in determining an actor's career trajectory.

Finally, I have elaborated on the socialization and unionization processes and their contributions to inertia or change in the field regarding the inequalities. With the help qualitative data, I have speculated on the reasons behind the inefficiency of the union in its current state.

## CHAPTER 5

## CONCLUSION and FURTHER RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

The acting industry has always been an appealing subject for both academic and nonacademic writers. However, the systematic study of the industry itself instead of the materials it produces (e.g. TV serials) has been very limited. In my thesis, I attempted to fill in this gap in the sociological literature on the acting field by inserting the concept of role stickiness and developing a research based on this conceptualization. Role stickiness provides a theoretical medium through which an analytical study of the actors' career trajectories can be actualized. By means role stickiness, I traced the change between the elements of consecutive roles played by the TV actors in Turkey throughout their careers. I quantitatively demonstrated the differences between the career trajectories of actors in terms of gender and education. I then conducted in-depth interviews with actors and the decision-makers in the field to understand how these differences form and in what ways they effect an actor's career trajectory.

This study (i) theorizes about the relationship between role diversity, acting status, and stratification in the acting field, (ii) empirically demonstrates the differences in role diversity across different groups, and (iii) uncovers some of the sociological determinants of these differences. As such, it makes an important contribution to the fields of sociology of work and organizations and gender studies by empirically demonstrating how an overlooked factor -i.e. role diversitycontributes to inequalities in the acting field by reducing the upward mobility chances of women actors. Construction of a gender-biased assessment that undermines the impact of the talent factor locates female actors in more substitutable
thus vulnerable sectoral positions with greater risks while legitimizing financially, socially, and mentally advantaged positions of male actors on the basis of "talent". Moreover, with its analytical approach to examining the notion of role stickiness, this thesis expands the field of inquiry in creative industries. The analytical ground of role diversification contributes not only to the knowledge accumulation but also to the process of gathering the knowledge from the field of acting as it provides a basis for measurement of role diversification.

Data at hand suggests that the roles female actors play stick them more than the roles male actors play. This discrepancy acts in tandem with other forms of inequality in the sector. To elucidate in detail, the implicit gender bias mechanisms limit female actors' talent demonstration opportunities and their chance to prove themselves in the field of acting through the enhancement of their acting status. With the accumulated disadvantages this limitation brings, female actors fall behind their male counterparts in acting careers. At zero point where female actors' careers begin, they are not given an equal variety of chances to widen their acting range and increase their reputations by employing the meritocratic method, i.e. demonstration of their talent through playing a broad diversity of roles like their male counterparts, which makes them less marketable for diverse roles and less reputable for status attainment in the acting industry. Instead, behind the barrier of role stickiness, female actors are selected through an evaluation process in which their stereotypical features of appearance and personality traits are more emphasized than their talent. The lack of role diversity provides a lower talent threshold for meritocratic competition and increases the number of eligible participants since it is not as eliminative. In this case, the other factors become more important in selection processes than they normally (at least for males) are for female actors' talent-wise precarious career
development. To become competitive candidates for acting jobs, female actors try harder to excel at physical features and communication skills. Moreover, they minimalize their wage demands. Therefore they undergo aesthetic interventions, tolerate psychological violence and sexual harassment at the workplace, and settle for lower pay than their male counterparts.

The findings discussed in the relational dynamics chapter reveal the double standards of the industry. Casting directors state that they are looking for goodlooking people but then they say, "He has an ugly man charisma because he is so talented" (Interview 19). Directors say they are looking for amenable people but then they say, "He is turbulent but so talented" (Interview 20). A producer claims he looks for good actors but according to the anecdotal evidence he dismisses the award-winning woman who demands equal pay with her male acting partner. Apparently, in the Turkish television acting industry, sexism comes in the shape of hypocrisy.

Lack of talent demonstration opportunities, as I argued above, incarcerates female actors in a talent-wise more restricted compartment, resulting in them feeling a greater pressure regarding the exhibition of better performances in the other evaluative areas to reach similar levels of stability and success with their male counterparts. The extra performance includes enduring negative conditions leading up to psychological violence and harassment to survive in the field. The evaluative discrepancy affects female actors' aspirations and their projections about acting careers as well. Female actors feel more desperate and pessimistic about their careers than their male counterparts because of the lack of their meritocratic agency in determining the course of their own careers. This lacking agency interestingly
correlates with female actors' emphasis on agency in dream roles (i.e. playing active characters), perhaps it embodies a reaction to their current condition.

At this juncture, it is important to underline that the chain of inferences regarding the relationship between the unequal talent evaluation process and the multitude of inequality dynamics derived from the qualitative data must be seen as only initial reference points for further investigation. As with all exploratory research, the interview data provides new suggestions, poses new questions regarding causality, and opens up the discussions for further investigation. For the argumentation emanating from the limited anecdotal evidence to exceed beyond speculative, larger datasets must be gathered and the newly discovered relationships suggested by the qualitative data at hand must be traced and analyzed through the questions extracted from the initial qualitative research.

Before I finalize my thesis, I would like to point out some of the main limitations of this study and proceeding from them, designate further research directions I find crucially important to build a general theory of how creative industries work. This thesis quantitatively examined the relationship between role diversity levels of actors and their gender, education, and age. Including race and ethnicity variables in this research design could have provided important insights regarding inequalities as well. However, there was no data available on the race and ethnicity of actors in Turkey. There is no ethnic identity data in Turkey in general as it is not a question asked in the surveys. Moreover, since Turkey's population is composed of people from various ethnicities diffused to diverse geographies, it was not possible to make conjectures from available information (e.g. assigning ethnicity by looking at their place of birth would be presumptive) without conducting an industry-level survey. This option was not feasible in terms of logistics or finances
for a master's thesis. Therefore, a future research direction should involve conducting broader research that includes the race and ethnicity dimension.

Another important limitation of this study is that it constitutes the alpha version of its realm. It is the archetype of the empirical ground it attempts to introduce. There were no prior scales or measurements of role diversity and stickiness to refer to for the research design. Scholars never attempted to "measure" the complexities behind typecasting before. It is understandable given the fact that typecasting refers to a quite descriptive concept. Typecasting denotes that the actors have certain types, and they are often cast for similar acting jobs based on that type. However, such similarity is not always clear-cut and easy to detect. How could we observe such (dis)similarity and compare different acting career trajectories? Descriptions would not be sufficient to this end. Therefore, in designing my thesis research, I tried to build a convenient analytical framework which could allow me to compare and contrast the levels of similarity between different roles actors play. Nevertheless, making theoretical choices was not an easy process. Deciding the extent to which the role categorizations should ramify was particularly difficult. On the one hand, these categories should not be too unspecific because then the degree of alterations between them could not be observed. Ramifications make the contrasts between the categorized roles more visible. On the other hand, if these categories are too exhaustive, they would not be generalizable enough. Therefore I tried to find the optimal ground and included the most fundamental features that constitute a role. Nonetheless, some other features can be added, and the scale can be readjusted in the future while replicating this research. For instance, my scale neglects and thus misses out on the "general mood" personality feature of the character played (e.g. whiny, gullible, cranky etc.). The main reasons behind my exclusion were that the mood
could often very easily switch within a few episodes in Turkish television serials, and aside from that, it was very difficult to label and categorize the moods by and large. A new scale in future research with different categorizations added or retracted could provide verifications or corrections regarding the findings I have obtained in this research and make it possible to elaborate on the current inferences.

Moreover, the weight of each feature in shaping a role is different. This variance could also be considered in the scaling part of future research. For example, I think genre and character type are more determinative features of a role and I would like to take that into account in the future by the arrangement of certain coefficients in calculations with the help of theoretical implications from mathematical sociology.

I approached the issue of typecasting as a complex phenomenon and implemented the concept of role stickiness to conduct analytical research regarding its unstudied dimensions. By means of dividing the role into its particles and assignment of the categorizations to the role features, I was able to measure who gets to play a greater diversity of roles and observe patterns, i.e. conduct comparative research between different groups of actors. However, there are many other comparisons possible that could enhance our knowledge regarding both acting and the rest of the creative industries in general. In the following part, based on my research, I will advert some of these comparisons.

To test the validity of the quantitative results at different levels and reach generalizable conclusions, the other fields of acting, especially theatre and cinema as well as the other acting industries in the world with different sizes and cultural and socio-economic conditions should be inquired. Field-wise comparisons would be fruitful in terms of acquiring the impact of the duration of the production in defining
the stickiness an actor faces throughout their career. Moreover, they would provide the whole picture of an actor's career. Though television is the primary field where the vast majority of acting takes place in Turkey, theatre and cinema can constitute significant places in some acting careers as well. Additionally, the field-specific norms may differ, and they could be outlined via further research. For instance, the theatre could have the most liberty in what sense? amongst the other fields, as a smaller and low-impact field with lesser audiences and commercial concerns. These fields' interactions with each other in terms of providing an actor prestige and reputation could also be measured in further research. Actors' role diversity scores from these different fields and the amount of time they spend in each field can be calculated, and the most advantageous paths in what sense for actors could be identified.

In addition to field-wise comparisons, contrasting different countries could be extremely beneficial as well. For example, country-wise comparisons could signal whether the gender-based talent demonstration opportunity inequality has certain cultural roots specific to certain contexts. Furthermore, comparing the same fields from different countries would enable measuring the impact of the extent of commercial concerns on productions. For instance, if the universal sectorial position of a field from one country is much higher than the other, that field could operate as a more restrictive one and this could influence their selection processes as the casting directors from my interviews have pointed out while making historical comparisons regarding the TV-acting field in Turkey.

Finally, I think it is important to adopt macro lens and integrate the acquired data from acting industry research to a more extensive research segment to establish a general theory of creative industries. The last research direction I would like to
point out pertains to the organizational processes in various occupational fields in different creative industries. Why do different art fields unionize in the way they do? This is an important question that is yet to be answered in the case of Turkey. For instance, in the interviews, one of the actors pointed out that the Cinema TV Syndicate, which composes of the directors and the crew members was much better organized than the Actors' Union and thanks to them the 12 -hour maximum working hour per day restriction was attained for TV and movie sets. Another actor posed the inspirational question: "Why does the MESAM work, and the Actors' union does not?" (Interview 10). The name MESAM refers to the Musical Work Owners' Occupational Association [Türkiye Musiki Eseri Sahipleri Meslek Birliği]. The differences between the creative processes of musical work and acting work could constitute certain possible hypotheses (e.g. Acting necessitates an extensive teamwork. The product (the act) is not only presented but also created in front of a bevy of people an actor has to collaborate with, whereas music can be produced in solitude and then shared with other. Working together in intensive creative processes can be more chaotic and unfavorable for cooperation of people), nevertheless, it is also highly likely that there can be other differences in the organizational structures of this union and the actors' or cinema TV workers' unions. These differences may originate from the differences in socialization and the selection processes of actors and musicians for gigs/productions and they could be studied in-depth to understand the organizational flaws, barriers, and wrongdoings and help identify how different creative industries can obtain more functional unions for themselves.

I will conclude my thesis with a current epitome of why more research is needed to shed light on the intertwined dimensions of inequality in the field of
acting. A male director expressed his thoughts about the lead female actor of his movie in an interview for a newspaper:
"She was frayed out hormonally too. [...] It is harder to work with female actors anyway. They want to look good and receive awards at the same time., ${ }^{25}$ The man who owns this perception of female actors has recently been selected by the producers to direct one of the most devastating stories of violence against women; the story of Bergen, a famous singer who was first blinded by nitric acid and then murdered by her ex-husband. Amongst all the talented male and female directors in the sector, this was the person chosen to convey such a story, almost as a prize for his sickening attitude against women. He is now receiving the rewards of praise and admiration for telling Bergen's story.

It is the system that forces women to feel the obligation to look good. They know that if they do not look good, they will be marginalized and/or humiliated, and they certainly will not be selected for any important parts. After all, they cannot obtain the "ugly man charisma" as I have discussed in the previous chapter. How does this inequality persist? Because it is being neglected. For one thing, the sexism behind those statements and their substantiality are not being properly identified so that it could be highlighted and exposed. This allows the perpetrators the opportunity to get away with it and proceed with their sexist attitudes. The man who says those scandalous sexist things can still be appointed as the director of the life story of a famous female singer who was murdered by her ex-husband and be appraised in the film industry.

The consequences of the internalized male gaze, and the homophily reaching up to favoritism of men in the film and TV industries need to be examined thoroughly.

The mechanisms providing the sufficient and necessary conditions for the maintained inequality need to be starkly unfolded to the public so that people can recognize the generators of the unequal system and the barriers they build. Only then they can develop attitudes against those generators of inequality. This thesis aims to provide information regarding some of the embedded dynamics of inequality and make them visible so that longitudinally the corrupt functioning of the sector can suffer damage with the accelerated accumulation of knowledge deciphering the getaway mechanisms. The consciousness needs to be enhanced, and it does not happen through colloquial discussions, complaints, or purely descriptive content production. The enhancement process requires conducting research, gathering large data through methodologically strong foundations, and then meticulously dealing with the procurement of visibility of the data at hand. Otherwise, the hypocrisy will prevail. Therefore the issues of inequality will remain embedded in the unsighted webs of relationships in the field.

## APPENDIX A

## LIST OF INTERVIEWS

| Interview ID | Interviewee |
| :---: | :---: |
| Interview 1 | 34-year-old female actor |
| Interview 2 | 28-year-old female actor |
| Interview 3 | 41-year-old male actor |
| Interview 4 | 38-year-old male actor |
| Interview 5 | 37-year-old male actor |
| Interview 6 | 23-year-old-male actor |
| Interview 7 | 45-year-old female actor |
| Interview 8 | 48-year-old female actor |
| Interview 9 | 38-year-old male actor |
| Interview 10 | 46-year-old male actor |
| Interview 11 | 32-year-old female actor |
| Interview 12 | 33-year-old female actor |
| Interview 13 | 36-year-old male actor |
| Interview 14 | 27-year-old female actor |
| Interview 15 | 52-year-old female casting director |
| Interview 16 | 41-year-old male director |
| Interview 17 | 42-year-old male agent |
| Interview 18 | 42-year-old male producer |
| Interview 19 | 54-year-old female casting director |
| Interview 20 | 49-year-old male director |
| Interview 21 | 40-year-old female agent |

## APPENDIX B

## QUESTIONNAIRES

OYUNCULAR
(ACTORS)

1) Kendinizden biraz bahseder misiniz? Oyunculukla nasıl ilgilenmeye başladınız? Dizi sektörüne girişiniz nasıl oldu? (Can you talk a little bit about yourself? How did you start acting? How did you enter to the TV-Serial sector?)
2) Dizilerde oynadığınız karakterler nasıl özelliklere sahip? Sizce birbirleriyle nasıl benzerlikler veya farlı11klar taşıyorlar? (What kinds of features do the characters you play in TV serials have? What are their similarities or differences?)
3) Menajeriniz var mı? Var ise ne zamandır birlikte çalışıyorsunuz? Daha önce farklı menajerler ile çalışıınız mı? Eğer çalıştıysanız onlar ile yollarınızı ayrma sebepleriniz nelerdi? (Do you have an agent? If so how long have you been working together? Did you work with different agents before? If you did, why did you parted ways with them?)
4) Menajerinizle ile ne sıklıkta bir araya geliyorsunuz? Proje ve rol seçimlerinde karar alırken menajeriniz ile nasıl bir diyalog kuruyorsunuz? Onun fikirleri sizin için hangi açılardan belirleyicidir? Neden? (How often do you get together with your agent? What kind of a dialogue you have with your agent while making decisions about project and role choices?
5) Hayalinizde nasıl bir karakter oynamak var? Neden? (What is you dream character? Why?)
6) Böyle bir karakteri oynama şansınızın ne kadar yüksek olduğunu düşünüyorsunuz? Neden? (What do you think is your likelihood of playing such a character? Why?)
7) Kast direktörlerinin size dair nasıl bir algıları olduğunuz düşünüyorsunuz? Sizce sizi akıllarına getiren, size uygun buldukları karakter tipleri var $\mathrm{mı}$ ? (Var ise) Bu kodlamanın sebebini neye bağlyorsunuz? (What do you think is casting directors' perception of you? Do you think there are character types that make them think about you, find suitable for you? (If so) What do you think is the reason for such codification?)
8) Genellikle hangi tür karakterler için auditionlara veya yönetmen görüşmelerine çağırılıyorsunuz? Olumlu sonuçlanan görüşmelerin ortak özellikleri var mı? Neler? (What kinds of characters do you usually get invited to auditions or director meetings for? Are there any commonalities between the calls that end up positively?)
9) Yönetmenlerin diziler için oyuncu seçiminde en çok dikkat ettiği özelliklerin neler olduğunu düşünüyorsunuz? (What do you think are the features directors pay attention the most when choosing actors for TV serials?)
10) Bugüne kadar birlikte çalıştığınız yönetmenlerden en çok hangileriyle uyumlu çalıştığınızı düşünüyorsunuz? Neden? (Which directors you have worked with so far are the ones you think you have worked with in most harmony? Why?)
11) İş bulma kaygınız var mı? Var ise bu sizin proje ve karakter seçimlerinize nasıl yansiyor? (Do you have anxiety about finding a job? If so how does this echo in your project and character choices?)
12) Toplumun oynayacağınız karakter ile ilgili ne düşüneceği sizin için ne kadar önemli? Neden? (How important is it to you what society thinks of the character you play for you? Why?)
13) Dizi yapımcıları ile iletişiminiz nasıl? Yapımcıların oyuncu seçimlerinde ne kadar etkin olduğunu düşünüyorsunuz? (How is your dialogue with TV serial producers? How effective do you think the producers are in actor selections?)
14) Kariyerinizde hayal ettiğiniz noktada mısınız? Değil iseniz o noktaya ulaşacağınızı düşünüyor musunuz? Düşünüyorsanız veya düşünmüyorsanız, bunu neye bağlyorsunuz? (Are you at your dream position in your career? If not, do you think you will reach that position? If you do or you do not, what do you think is the reason behind it?)
15) Oyuncuların örgütlenebildiğini düşünüyor musunuz? Neden? (Do you think actors can organize? Why?)
16) Sendikanın kapsayıcı olduğunu düşünüyor musunuz? Sendikanın çalışmalarının işe yaradığını düşünüyor musunuz? Hangi açılardan? Sizce bu çalışmalara ek neler yapılabilir? (Do you think the union is inclusive? Do you find the unions's work effective? In what ways? What more do you think can be done?)
17) Sizce Türkiye'deki en iyi oyuncular kimdir? Başarılarındaki etkenler neler? (Who do you think are the best actors in Turkey? What are the determinants of their success?)
18) Sektör dinamiklerine dair eklemek istediğiniz, olumlu veya olumsuz görüşler var mı? (Are there any positive or negative thoughts you would like to add regarding the sector dynamics?)

## MENAJERLER

(AGENTS)

1) Kendinizden biraz bahseder misiniz? Sektöre girişiniz nasıl oldu? Menajerlik ile nasıl ilgilenmeye başladınız? Neden menajerlik yapmayı seçtiniz? (Can you talk a little bit about yourself? How did you enter the sector? How did you start talent management? Why did you choose being an agent?)
2) Birlikte çalışacağınız oyuncuları hangi kriterlere göre seçiyorsunuz? Bir oyuncunun gelecek vaat ettiğini nasıl öngörrüyorsunuz? (What are your criteria for choosing the actors you will work with? How do you foresee if an actor is promising?)
3) Sizce menajerin oyuncu ile diyalogu nasıl olmalı? Ne sıklıkla oyuncu ile bir araya gelmeli? Proje ve rol seçimlerinde menajer hangi açılardan ve ne ölçüde yönlendirici olmalı, neden? (How do you think should be the dialogue between the agent and the actor? How often should they get together? In what ways and to what extent an agent should be guiding, and why?)
4) Menajerler yapımcı ve yönetmenleri oyuncularını tercih etmeye nasıl ikna eder? (How do agents convince producers and directors to choose their actors?)
5) Oyuncularınızı oyunculuk yelpazesi çeşitliliği üzerinden mi yoksa belirli bir imaj üzerinden mi markalaştırmayı daha verimli bir strateji olarak görüyorsunuz? Oyuncuya göre stratejiniz değişiyor mu? (Do you see branding your actors through a variety of acting ranges or a specific image as a more efficient strategy? Does your strategy change depending on the actor?)
6) Kast direktörlerinin kafalarında oyuncuları belli karakter tiplerine kodladıklarını düşünüyor musunuz? Buna dair gözlemlerinizden biraz bahseder misiniz? (Do you think casting directors code actors into certain character types in their heads? Can you tell us a little about your observations on this?
7) Yönetmenlerin diziler için oyuncu seçiminde en çok dikkat ettiği özelliklerin neler olduğunu düşünüyorsunuz? (What features do you think the directors pay attention to the most when selecting actors for TV serials?)
8) Okuduğunuz senaryo brieflerine göre oyuncularınızı sunarken nasıl sınıflandırma yapıyorsunuz? Bir hikâyede "x karaktere Zeynep çok iyi gider" demenize yol açan etkenler neler? (How do you classify your actors according to the scenario briefs you read? What are the factors that cause you to say "Zeynep will be very good for character $x$ " in a story?)
9) Toplumun oyuncunuzun oynayacağınız karakter ile ilgili ne düşüneceği sizin için ne kadar önemli? Neden? (How important is it to you what society thinks of the character your actor play for you? Why?)
10) Dizi yapımcıları ile iletişiminiz nasıl? Yapımcıların oyuncu seçimlerinde ne kadar etkin olduğunu düşünüyorsunuz? (How is your dialogue with TV serial producers? How effective do you think the producers are in actor selections?)
11) Çalıştığınız oyunculardan kariyerinde hayal ettiğiniz noktada olanlar ve olmayanların başarı/başarısızlıklarını düşündüğünüzde bunları hangi faktörlere bağlıyorsunuz? (When you think about the actors you work with who are or are not at their dream positions, what do you think are the most important factors behind their succes/failures?)
12) Oyuncuların örgütlenebildiğini düşünüyor musunuz? Neden? (Do you think actors can organize? Why?)
13) Sizce kanal yöneticilerinin projelere olumlu ve olumsuz ne gibi etkileri oluyor? (What kinds of positive or negative effects do you think the channel managers have over the projects?)
14) Menajerlerin oyuncuların kariyerlerini ne ölçüde aşağı veya yukarı çekebileceğini düşünüyorsunuz? Sizce sektörde menajerlerin ne kadar inisiyatifi var? (How much higher or lower do you think the agents can push the actors' careers? How much initiative do you think the agents have in the sector?)
15) Kendi oyuncularınız hariç Türkiye'de hangi oyuncuları en iyi buluyorsunuz? Başarılarındaki etkenler neler? (Who do you think are the best actors in Turkey except for your own actors? What are the determinants of their success?)
16) Sizce dizi sektöründe iyileştirilmesi gereken neler var? Siz bu konulara dair neler yapıyorsunuz/ yapmayı planlıyorsunuz? (What do you think should improve in the TV serials sector? What do you do/ plan to do about these issues?)
17) Sektör dinamiklerine dair eklemek istediğiniz, olumlu veya olumsuz görüşler var mı? (Are there any positive or negative thoughts you would like to add regarding the sector dynamics?)

## KAST DİREKTÖRLERİ

(CASTING DİRECTORS)

1) Kendinizden biraz bahseder misiniz? Dizi sektörüne girişiniz nasıl oldu? Ne kadar zamandır kast direktörlüğü yapıyorsunuz? Neden bu mesleği seçtiniz? (Can you talk a little bit about yourself? How did you enter the sector? How long have you been working as a casting director? Why did you choose this profession?)
2) Sizce kast direktörlüğünü yaptığınız projeleri seyredilesi kılan, başarı elde etmelerini sağlayan etmenler neler? (What do you think are the factors that make your projects watchable and successful?)
3) Oyuncuları seçerken nelere dikkat ediyorsunuz? (What do you look for when selecting the actors?)
4) Seçim sürecinizden biraz bahseder misiniz? Auditiona çağırmak istediğiniz oyuncuları nasıl belirliyorsunuz? Yönetmen ve yapımcı ile yürüttüğünüz diyaloglar nasıl ilerliyor? Ne sıklıkta bir araya geliyorsunuz? Bütün auditionları yönetmene ve yapımcıya izletiyor musunuz yoksa aralarından seçim mi yapıyorsunuz? Bu seçimin kriterleri nelerdir? (Can you talk a little bit about your selection process? How do you decide on which actors you want to invite to the auditions? How do the conversations between you and the director and the producer proceed? Do you make the director and the producer watch all the auditions or do you make selections among them? What are the criteria of this selection?)
5) Yapımcı ile oyuncu seçimi konusunda ayrık düşündüğünüz zamanlar oluyor mu ? Bu noktalarda genellikle hangi kriterler ışığında karar veriliyor? (Do you and the producer ever think differently about the actor selection? When you do, what is the criteria for the final decision?)
6) Yönetmenler bir oyuncu seçiminde sizin tercihiniz ile yapımcının tercihi arasında kaldıkları durumlarda daha çok sizin kararınızı desteklemeye mi yatkın oluyorlar yoksa yapımcıların mı? (Are the directors more likely to support your choice or the producer's choice when they cannot decide between actors?)
7) Yapımcıların kararına ne ölçüde etki edebildiğinizi düşünüyorsunuz? (To what extent do you think you could influence the decision of the producers?)
8) Hangi durumlarda isimsiz oyuncuların seçilmesi için ekstra gayret sarf etmeyi tercih edebiliyorsunuz? Bir örnek verebilir misiniz? (In what situations you prefer to make an extra effort to get no name actors selected? Can you give an example?)
9) İdeal oyuncu sizce nasıl olmalıdır? (How do you think the ideal actor should $b e$ ?)
10) Belli senaryoları okuduğunuzda aklınıza gelen, uygun olduğunu düşündüğünüz oyuncular oluyor mu? Bunda, önem sırası yapacak olsanız, sırasıyla en çok nelerin etkisi olduğunu düşünüyorsunuz? (When you read certain scripts, do you think of any actors you find suitable? What do you think has the most impact on this, in order of importance?)
11) Menajerlerin oyuncuların kariyerlerini daha aşağı ya da yukarı götürebildiğini düşünüyor musunuz? Neden? Eğer evet ise, buna dair gözlemlediğiniz bir
örnek oldu mu? (Do you think agents can push actors' careers up or down? Why? If yes, have you observed an example of this?)
12) Sizce kanal yöneticilerinin yapılan projelere olumlu ve olumsuz ne gibi etkileri oluyor? (In your opinion, what kind of positive and negative effects do the TV channel managers have on the projects?)
13) Sizce oynadıkları rollerin oyunculara yapışmasına sebep olan faktörler neler? (What do you think are the factors that cause the roles they play to stick to the actors?)
14) Sizce toplumun güzel, çirkin veya iyi kötü gibi kodladığı ve sevip/sevmediği belli fiziksel tipolojiler var mı? Var olduğunu düşünüyorsanız örnek verebilir misiniz? (Do you think there are certain physical typologies that society encodes as beautiful, ugly, or good and bad, and like or dislike? Can you give an example if you think such typologies exist?)
15) Bir projenin kastını yaparken onun tutup tutmamasına dair sizin, diğer kişilerden bağımsız olarak, kast direktörü perspektifinden nasıl kaygılarınız oluyor; bu kaygılar sizin kararlarınıza nasıl yansıyor? (When casting a project, what kinds of concerns you have about whether or not it will work, from the casting director's perspective, independently of other people; and how do they echo in your decisions?)
16) Toplumun kast direktörlüğünü yaptığınız projeler ile ilgili ne düşündüğü sizin için ne kadar önemli? Neden? (How important is it to you what society thinks of the projects in which you work as the casting director?)

Oyuncuların örgütlenebildiğini düşünüyor musunuz? Neden? (Do you think actors can organize? Why?)
18) Sizce dizi sektöründe iyileştirilmesi gereken neler var? Siz bu konulara dair neler yapıyorsunuz/ yapmayı planlıyorsunuz? (What do you think should improve in the TV-serials sector? What do you do/ plan to do about these issues?)
19) Sizce Türkiye'deki en iyi oyuncular kimdir? Başarılarındaki etkenler neler? (Who do you think are the best actors in Turkey? What are the determinants of their success?)
20) Sektör dinamiklerine dair eklemek istediğiniz, olumlu veya olumsuz görüşler var mı? (Are there any positive or negative thoughts you would like to add regarding the sector dynamics?)

## YÖNETMENLER

(DIRECTORS)

1) Kendinizden biraz bahseder misiniz? Neden yönetmen olmak istediniz? Dizi sektörüne girişiniz nasıl oldu? Ne kadar zamandır bu sektörün içindesiniz? Ne kadar zamandır yönetmenlik yapıyorsunuz? (Can you tell us a little bit about yourself? Why did you want to become a director? How did you enter to the TV-serials sector? How long have you been in this industry? How long have you been working as a director?)
2) Sizce sizin yönetmeni olduğunuz projelerinizi seyredilesi kılan, başarı elde etmelerini sağlayan özellikler neler? (What do you think are the features that make the projects you direct watchable and enable them to be successful?)
3) Projelerinizde oynayacak oyuncuları seçerken nelere dikkat ediyorsunuz? (What do you pay attention to when choosing the actors to play in your projects?)
4) Seçim sürecinizde kast direktörü ile yürüttüğünüz diyalog nasıl ilerliyor? Ne sıklıkta bir araya geliyorsunuz? Onların fikirleri sizin için hangi açılardan belirleyici olabiliyor? Neden? (How does your dialogue with the casting director progress in your selection process? How often do you get together? In what ways can their ideas be decisive for you? Why?)
5) Yapımcı ile oyuncu seçimi konusunda ayrık düşündüğünüz zamanlar oluyor mu? Bu noktalarda hangi kriterler ile karar veriliyor? Siz bu kriterleri oyuncu seçmek için ne kadar uygun buluyorsunuz? Neden? (Are there times when you and the producer think separately about the casting? At these points, on what criteria the decision is being made? How suitable do you think these criteria is to choose actors? Why?)
6) Yeni isimleri projelerde oynatmayı riskli buluyor musunuz? Hangi durumlarda onları oynatmayı tercih edebiliyorsunuz? (Do you find it risky to make new names act in projects? Under what circumstances do you prefer to use them as actors in your projects?)
7) İdeal oyuncu sizce nasıl olmalıdır? (How do you think the ideal actor should $b e$ ?)
8) Belli senaryoları okuduğunuzda aklınıza gelen, uygun olduğunu düşündüğünüz oyuncular oluyor mu? Bunda, önem sırası yapacak olsanız, en çok nelerin etkisi olduğunu düşünüyorsunuz? (When you read certain scripts, do you think of any actors you find suitable? What do you think has the most impact on this, in order of importance?)
9) Menajerlerin oyuncuların kariyerlerini daha aşağı ya da yukarı götürebildiğini düşünüyor musunuz? Neden? Eğer evet ise, buna dair gözlemlediğiniz bir örnek oldu mu? (Do you think agents can push actors' careers up or down? Why? If yes, have you observed an example of this?)
10) Daha önce bir projeden senaryonun gereği dışında ayrıldığınız oyuncular oldu mu ? Onlar ile yollarınızı ayırma sebepleriniz nelerdi? (Have there been any actors you left out from a project although the scenario did not necessitate? What were your reasons for parting ways with them?)
11) Hayalinizde hangi türde bir dizi projesi çekmek var? Neden? (What kind of a TV-serial do you dream of shooting? Why?)
12) Sizce kanal yöneticilerin yapılan projelere olumlu ve olumsuz ne gibi etkileri oluyor? (In your opinion, what kind of positive and negative effects do the TV channel managers have on the projects?)
13) Sizce oynadıkları rollerin oyunculara yapışmasına sebep olan faktörler neler? (What do you think are the factors that cause the roles they play to stick to the actors?)
14) Bugüne kadar birlikte çalıştığınız oyunculardan en uyumlu çalıştıklarınızı düşünecek olursanız, bu uyumun sebebini hangi etkenlere bağlarsınız? (If you were to think of the actors you have worked the most harmoniously with so far, what factors would you attribute as the reason for this harmony?)
15) Bir projeye başlarken onun tutup tutmamasına dair kaygılarınız oluyor mu? Oluyor ise bu sizin kararlarınıza ne şekilde yansıyabiliyor? (When starting $a$ project, do you have financial concerns about whether it will work or not? To what extent does this reflect on your decisions in the project?)
16) Toplumun yönettiğiniz projeler ile ilgili ne düşündüğü sizin için ne kadar önemli? Neden? (How important is it to you what society thinks of the projects you direct? Why?)
17) Oyuncuların örgütlenebildiğini düşünüyor musunuz? Neden? (Do you think actors can organize? Why?)
18) Sizce dizi sektöründe iyileştirilmesi gereken neler var? Siz bu konulara dair neler yapıyorsunuz/ yapmayı planlıyorsunuz? (What do you think should improve in the TV-serials sector? What do you do/ plan to do about these issues?)
19) Sizce Türkiye'deki en iyi oyuncular kimdir? Başarılarındaki etkenler neler? (Who do you think are the best actors in Turkey? What are the determinants of their success?)
20) Sektör dinamiklerine dair eklemek istediğiniz, olumlu veya olumsuz görüşler var mı? (Are there any positive or negative thoughts you would like to add regarding the sector dynamics?)

## YAPIMCILAR

## (PRODUCERS)

1) Kendinizden biraz bahseder misiniz? Dizi sektörüne girişiniz nasıl oldu? Ne kadar süredir bu sektörün içindesiniz? Ne kadar zamandır yapımcılık yapıyorsunuz? (Can you tell us a little bit about yourself? How did you enter the television industry? How long have you been in this industry? How long have you been producing?)
2) Sizce sizin yapımcısı olduğunuz projelerinizi seyredilesi kılan, başarı elde etmelerini sağlayan özellikler neler? (What do you think are the features that make the projects you produce watchable and enable them to be successful?)
3) Projelerinizde oynayacak oyuncuları seçerken nelere dikkat ediyorsunuz? (What do you pay attention to when choosing the actors to play in your projects?)
4) Seçim sürecinizde kast direktörü ile yürüttüğŭnüz diyalog nasıl ilerliyor? Ne sıklıkta bir araya geliyorsunuz? Onların fikirleri sizin için hangi açılardan belirleyici olabiliyor? Neden? (How does your dialogue with the casting director progress in your selection process? How often do you get together? In what ways can their ideas be decisive for you? Why?)
5) Yönetmen ile oyuncu seçimi konusunda ayrık düşündüğünüz zamanlar oluyor mu? Bu noktada neye bakarak, nasıl kriterler ile karar veriyorsunuz? Hangi durumlarda yönetmenin seçimi ile ilerlemeyi tercih ediyorsunuz? (Are there times when you and the director think separately about the casting? At this point, what do you look at, and on what criteria do you decide? In which situations do you prefer to proceed with the choice of the director?)
6) Yeni isimleri projelerde oynatmayı riskli buluyor musunuz? Hangi durumlarda onları projelerinizde oynatmayı tercih ediyorsunuz? (Do you find it risky to make new names act in projects? Under what circumstances do you prefer to use them as actors in your projects?)
7) İdeal oyuncu sizce nasıl olmalıdır? (How do you think the ideal actor should $b e$ ?)
8) Belli senaryoları okuduğunuzda aklınıza gelen, uygun olduğunu düşündüğünüz oyuncular oluyor mu? Bunda önem sırasına göre en çok nelerin etkisi olduğunu düşünüyorsunuz? (When you read certain scripts, do you think of any actors you find suitable? What do you think has the most impact on this, in order of importance?)
9) Menajerlerin oyuncuların kariyerlerini daha aşağı ya da yukarı çekebildiğini düşünüyor musunuz? Neden? Eğer evet ise, buna dair gözlemlediğiniz bir örnek oldu mu? (Do you think agents can push actors' careers up or down? Why? If yes, have you observed an example of this?)
10) Daha önce bir projeden senaryonun gereği dışında ayrıldığınız oyuncular oldu mu ? Onlar ile yollarınızı ayırma sebepleriniz nelerdi? (Have there been any actors you left out from a project although the scenario did not necessitate? What were your reasons for parting ways with them?)
11) Hayalinizde hangi türde bir dizi projesi çekmek var? Neden? (What kind of a TV-serial do you dream of shooting? Why?)
12) Kanal yöneticileri ile diyalogunuzdan biraz bahsedebilir misiniz? Sizce yöneticilerin yapılan projelere olumlu ve olumsuz ne gibi etkileri oluyor? (Can you talk a little bit about your dialogue with the TV channel managers?

In your opinion, what kind of positive and negative effects do the TV channel managers have on the projects?)
13) Sizce oynadıkları rollerin oyunculara yapışmasına sebep olan faktörler neler? (What do you think are the factors that cause the roles they play to stick to the actors?)
14) Bugüne kadar birlikte çalı̧̧tığınız yönetmenlerden birlikte en uyumlu çalıştıklarınızı düşünecek olursanız, bu uyumun sebebini hangi etkenlere bağlarsını? (If you were to think of the directors you have worked the most harmoniously with so far, what factors would you attribute as the reason for this harmony?)
15) Bir projeye başlarken onun tutup tutmamasına dair ekonomik kaygılarınız oluyor mu? Bu sizin projedeki seçimlerinize ne ölçüde yansıyabiliyor? Eğer bazı kalemlerden kesinti yapmanız gerekse, önceliği nerelere vermeyi tercih edersiniz? Neden? (When starting a project, do you have financial concerns about whether it will work or not? To what extent does this reflect on your choices in the project? If you had to cut some items, where would you prefer to prioritize? Why?)
16) Toplumun projelerinizde yer alan oyuncular ile ilgili ne düşündüğü sizin için ne kadar önemli? Neden? (How important is it to you what society thinks of the actors involved in your projects? Why?)
17) Oyuncuların örgütlenebildiğini düşünüyor musunuz? Neden? (Do you think actors can organize? Why?)
18) Sizce dizi sektöründe iyileştirilmesi gereken neler var? Siz bu konulara dair neler yapıyorsunuz/ yapmayı planlıyorsunuz? (What do you think should
improve in the TV-serials sector? What do you do/ plan to do about these issues?)
19) Sizce Türkiye'deki en iyi oyuncular kimdir? Başarılarındaki etkenler neler? (Who do you think are the best actors in Turkey? What are the determinants of their success?)
20) Sektör dinamiklerine dair eklemek istediğiniz, olumlu veya olumsuz görüşler var mı? (Are there any positive or negative thoughts you would like to add regarding the sector dynamics?)

## APPENDIX C

## ETHICS COMMITTEE APPROVAL

Evrak Tarih ve Sayısi: 03.06.2022-68970
T.C.

BOĞAZİCİ ÜNIVERSİTESI
SOSYAL VE BEȘERİ BİLİMLER YÜKSEK LİSANS VE DOKTORA TEZLERİ ETİK İNCELEME KOMİSYONU
TOPLANTI KARAR TUTANAĞI
Toplantı Sayısı .
Toplant Tarihi
Toplantı Tarihi
Toplantı Saati
Toplantı Yeri
Zoom Sanal Toplant
Bulunanlar
26.05.2022

10:00
Prof. Dr. Ebru Kaya, Prof. Dr. Feyza Çorapçı, Doç. Dr. Arhan S. Ertan, Doç. Dr. Senem Yıldız,
Bulunmayanlar Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Yasemin Sohtorik İlkmen

Yasemin Girgin
Sosyoloji

Sayın Araştırmacı,
Daha önce SBB-EAK 2020/61 sayısı ve "Türkiye'deki Oyuncuların Kariyer Yörüngelerinin Sosyolojik Bir Analizi" başlığı ile onay almıș, içerik değişmeden başlığı "Oyuncuların Kariyer Yörüngeleri: Türkiye'deki TV-Oyunculuğu Alanının Role Çeşitlilik Şablonları ve İlişkisel Dinamikleri" olan araştırma projeniz 26 Mayıs 2022 tarihli toplantıda incelenmiş ve SBB-EAK 2022/66 sayıs1 ile kabul edilmiștir.

Bu karar tüm üyelerin toplantıya çevrimiçi olarak katılımı ve oybirliği ile alınmıştır. COVID-19 önlemleri kapsamında kurul üyelerinden islak imza almamadığı için bu onay mektubu üye ve raportör olarak Yasemin Sohtorik İlkmen tarafindan bütün üyeler adına e-imzalanmıștır.

Saygılarımızla, bilgilerinizi rica ederiz

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Yasemin
SOHTORIK ILKMEN
e-imzalıdır
Dr. Öğr. ÜyesiYasemin Sohtorik
İlkmen
Öğretim Üyesi
Raportör

## REFERENCES

Acker, J. (1990). Hierarchies, jobs, bodies: A theory of gendered organizations. Gender \& Society, 4(2), 139-158.
https://doi.org/10.1177/089124390004002002
Benshoff, H. M., \& Griffin, S. (2021). America on film: Representing race, class, gender, and sexuality at the movies. NJ: John Wiley \& Sons.

Bielby, D. D., \& Bielby, W. T. (1996). Women and men in film: Gender inequality among writers in a culture industry. Gender \& Society, 10(3), 248-270. https://doi.org/10.1177/089124396010003004

Bielby, W. T., \& Bielby, D. D. (1992). Cumulative versus continuous disadvantage in an unstructured labor market: Gender differences in the careers of television writers. Work and Occupations, 19(4), 366-386.

Boberg, C. (2021). Accent in North American film and television: A sociophonetic analysis. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1993). The field of cultural production: Essays on art and literature. NY: Columbia University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (2020). Habitus and field: General sociology, volume 2 (1982-1983). Cambridge: Polity.

Branigan, E. (1992). Narrative comprehension and film. London: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315003108

Bulman, C. (2007). Creative writing: A guide and glossary to fiction writing. Cambridge: Polity

Burt, R. S. (1998). The gender of social capital. Rationality and Society, 10(1), 5-46.
Cambridge Dictionary. (n.d.). Genre. In https://dictionary.cambridge.org/. Retrieved from https://dictionary.cambridge.org/tt/s\�\�zl\�\�k/ingilizce/genre (accessed March 27, 2022)

Chekhov, M. (1991). On the technique of acting (M. Powers \& M. Gordon, eds.). New York: HarperCollins.

Cockburn C. (1991). In the way of woman: Men's resistance to sex equality in organizations. Ithaca, NY: ILR Press.

Cochrane, J. (2014). 'Language, accent, and identity in Scottish film: Audience perceptions.' In H. D. Jones (ed.) The media in Europe's small nations. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 123-140.

Cohen L. E., Broschak J. P, Haveman H. A. (1998). And then there were more? The effect of organizational sex composition on the hiring and promotion of managers. American Sociological Review, 63, 711-27.

Cohen, L. (Ed.). (2010). The Lee Strasberg notes. London and New York: Routledge.

Collins, S. M. (1997). Black corporate executives: The making and breaking of a Black middle class. PA: Temple University Press.

Dobbin F. (2009). Inventing equal opportunity. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Eaton, E.W. (2008). Feminist philosophy of art. Philosophy Compass. WileyBlackwell. 3 (5): 873-893.

Eder, J. (2010.). Understanding characters. Projections. The Journal for Movies and Mind. Vol. 4(1), 16-40.

Faulkner, R. R., \& Anderson, A. B. (1987). Short-term projects and emergent careers: Evidence from Hollywood. American Journal of Sociology, 92(4), 879-909.

Filippin, A., \& Ichino, A. (2005). Gender wage gap in expectations and realizations. Labour Economics, 12(1), 125-145.

Friedman, S., \& O’Brien, D. (2017). Resistance and resignation: Responses to typecasting in British acting. Cultural Sociology, 11(3), 359-376.

Friedman, S., O'Brien, D., \& Laurison, D. (2017). 'Like skydiving without a parachute': How class origin shapes occupational trajectories in British acting. Sociology, 51(5), 992-1010.

Grant, B. K. (2007). Film genre: From iconography to ideology. London: Wallflower.

Greenwald, A. G., McGhee, D. E., \& Schwartz, J. L. K. (1998). Measuring individual differences in implicit cognition: The implicit association test. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 74(6), 1464-1480.

Grugulis, I., \& Stoyanova, D. (2012). Social capital and networks in film and TV: Jobs for the boys? Organization Studies, 33(10), 1311-1331.

Hagen, U., \& Frankel, H. (1973). Respect for acting. New York: Macmillan.
Head, S. W. (1954). Content analysis of television drama programs. The Quarterly of Film Radio and Television, 9(2), 175-194. https://doi.org/10.2307/1209974

Hennekam, S., \& Bennett, D. (2017). Sexual harassment in the creative industries: Tolerance culture and the need for change. Gender, Work \& Organization, 24(4), 417-434.

Hewett, R. (2015). The changing determinants of UK television acting. Critical Studies in Television, 10(1), 73-90. https://doi.org/10.7227/CST.10.1.6

Hultin M, Szulkin R. (2003). Mechanisms of inequality: unequal access to organizational power and the gender wage gap. European Sociological Review. 19:143-59

İnceoğlu, İ., \& Akçalı, E. (2018). Televizyon dizilerinde toplumsal cinsiyet eşitllğgi araştırmast. Istanbul: TÜSİAD.

Jones, C. (1996). Careers in project networks: The case of the film industry. In M. B. Arthur \& D. M. Rousseau, The Boundaryless Career: A New Employment Principle for a New Organizational Era. Oxford University Press.

Jones, D., \& Pringle, J. K. (2015). Unmanageable inequalities: Sexism in the film industry. The Sociological Review, 63(S1), 37-49.

Kim, M. (1989). Gender bias in compensation structures: A case study of its historical basis and persistence. Journal of Social Issues, 45(4), 39-49. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4560.1989.tb02358.x

Krippendorff, K. (1980). Content analysis an introduction to its methodology. London: Sage.

Kurtulis F. A. \& Tomaskovic-Devey D. (2009). Do women managers help women advance? A panel study using EEO-1 records. Working paper, Dep. Econ., Univ. Mass.

Lincoln, A. E. (2007). Cultural honours and career promotions: Re-conceptualizing prizes in the field of cultural production. Cultural Trends, 16(1), 3-15.

Lincoln, A. E., \& Allen, M. P. (2004). Double jeopardy in Hollywood: Age and gender in the careers of film actors, 1926-1999. Sociological Forum, 19(4), 611-631.

Lund, C. P. W. (2009). The portrayal of working-class speech in British film: a study of accent in British films from the 1960s and the 2000s [Master's thesis, University of Bergen]. University of Bergen Open Research Archieve. https://bora.uib.no/

Lutter, M. (2015). Do women suffer from network closure? The moderating effect of social capital on gender inequality in a project-based labor market, 1929 to 2010. American Sociological Review, 80(2), 329-358.

Lyness, K. S. \& Schrader, C. A. (2007) "Moving ahead or just moving? : An examination of gender differences in senior corporate management
appointments." Group \& Organization Management. 31(6), 651-76. https://doi.org/10.1177/1059601106286890.

Lyness, K. S. \& Thompson, D. E. (2000). Climbing the corporate ladder: Do female and male executives follow the same route? Journal of Applied Psychology, 85(1), 86-101.

Manning, S. (2010). The strategic formation of project networks: A relational practice perspective. Human Relations, 63(4), 551-573.

Menger, P.-M. (1999). Artistic labor markets and careers. Annual Review of Sociology, 25, 541-574.

Merton, R. K. (1968). Social theory and social structure. New York: Free Press.
Miller, D. L. (2016). Gender and the artist archetype: Understanding gender inequality in artistic careers. Sociology Compass, 10(2), 119-131.

Millett, K. (1978). Sexual politics (1st Ballantine Books ed.). New York: Ballantine.
O'Meara, J. (2014). "We've got to work on your accent and vocabulary": Characterization through verbal style in "Clueless." Cinema Journal. 53(3), 138-145. http://www.jstor.org/stable/43653626

Öztürk, M., \& Atik, A. (2016). Ulusal pazardan küresel pazarlara uzanan süreçte Türk dizilerinin gelişimi [Advancement of Turkish serials throughout the process prolonging from the national Market to the global markets]. Maltepe Üniversitesi İletişim Fakültesi Dergisi, 3(2), 66-82.

Patterson, S. E., Damaske, S., \& Sheroff, C. (2017). Gender and the MBA: Differences in career trajectories, institutional support, and outcomes. Gender and Society, 31(3), 310-332.

Phillips, D. J., \& Sørensen, J. B. (2003). Competitive position and promotion rates: commercial television station top management, 1953-1988. Social Forces, 81(3), 819-841. https://doi.org/10.1353/sof.2003.0041

Reskin, B. F. (1988). Bringing the men back in: Sex differentiation and the devaluation of women's work. Gender \& Society, 2(1), 58-81. https://doi.org/10.1177/089124388002001005

Reskin B.F., McBrier D.B. (2000). Why not ascription? Organizations’ employment of male and female managers. American Sociological Review, 65:210-33.

Riach, P. A., \& Rich, J. (2002). Field Experiments of Discrimination in the Market Place*. The Economic Journal, 112(483), F480-F518. https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-0297.00080

Ridgeway, C. L. (1997). Interaction and the Conservation of Gender Inequality: Considering Employment. American Sociological Review, 62(2), 218-235. https://doi.org/10.2307/2657301

Ridgeway, C. L., \& Correll, S. J. (2004). Unpacking the Gender System: A Theoretical Perspective on Gender Beliefs and Social Relations. Gender \& Society, 18(4), 510-531. https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243204265269

Shin, T. (2009). Earnings inequality within organizations. Social Science Research, 38(1), 225-238. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssresearch.2008.09.003

Staiger, J. (2003 [1997]) 'Hybrid or inbred: The purity hypothesis and Hollywood genre history'. In B. K. Grant (ed.) Film genre reader III. Austin: University of Texas Press, 185-99.

Stainback, K., Tomaskovic-Devey, D., \& Skaggs, S. (2010). Organizational approaches to inequality: Inertia, relative power, and environments. Annual Review of Sociology, 36(1), 225-247. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-soc-070308-120014

Stanislavsky, K. 1863-1938. (1936). An actor prepares. New York: Theatre Arts, inc.

Stead, P. (2013). Film and the working class: The feature film in British and American society. London: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315855684

Storage, D., Charlesworth, T. E. S., Banaji, M. R., \& Cimpian, A. (2020). Adults and children implicitly associate brilliance with men more than women. Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 90, 104020. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2020.104020

Strasberg, L. (1941). Acting and the training of the actor. Producing the Play, 128162.

Strasberg, L. (1988). A dream of passion: The development of the method. New York, NY: New American Library.

Strasberg, L., \& Chaillet, N. (2017) "Acting." In Encyclopcedia Britannica. July 26. Retrieved from https://www.britannica.com/art/acting accessed Dec 15, 2020.

Tedesco, N. S. (1974). Patterns in prime time. Journal of Communication, 24(2), 119-124. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.1974.tb00376.x

Tilly, C. (1999). Durable inequality. Berkeley: University of California Press.
Tomaselli, K. (1988). The cinema of apartheid: Race and class in South African film. London: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315855677

Tomaskovic- Devey, D., \& Skaggs, S. (2002). Sex Segregation, Labor Process Organization, and Gender Earnings Inequality. American Journal of Sociology, 108(1), 102-128. https://doi.org/10.1086/344214

Tudor, A. (1973). Theories of film. New York: Viking Press/London: British Film Institute.

Vivarelli, N (2017). Turkish TV dramas continue to sell despite local turmoil. Variety, 3 April. Available at: www.variety.com/2017/tv/global/turkish-tv-dramas-phi-second-chance-masum-1202019972/(accessed on 20 January 2020).

Wing-Fai, L., Gill, R., \& Randle, K. (2015). Getting in, getting on, getting out? Women as career scramblers in the UK film and television industries. The Sociological Review, 63(1), 50-65. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-954X. 12240

Yoakem, L. G. (1958). Casting. Film Quarterly, 12(2), 36-42. https://doi.org/10.2307/3186051

Zuckerman, E. W., Kim, T., Ukanwa, K., \& von Rittmann, J. (2003). Robust identities or nonentities? Typecasting in the feature- film labor market. American Journal of Sociology, 108(5), 1018-1073.


[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ (2019, 08 July) "Ayça Bingöl: Ağlamaktan gözümde yas kalmadl, gülmek güldürmek istiyorum..." Medyafaresi. https://www.medyafaresi.com/haber/ayca-bingol-aglamaktan-gozumde-yas-kalmadi-gulmek-guldurmek-istiyorum/913963 retrieved 24 April 2022.
    ${ }^{2}$ The word "actor" is being used as a gender-neutral term throughout this thesis.
    ${ }^{3}$ (2021, 22 August) "Cocuklar Duymasin'n Emine'si Melek Sahin'i görenler tanıyamıyor" "https://www.trhaber.com/magazin/cocuklar-duymasin-in-emine-si-melek-sahin-i-gorenlerh9010.html retrieved 15 May 2022.
    ${ }^{4}(2017,20$ September) "Keşke hiç kabul etmeseydim o rolü"
    https://www.hurriyet.com.tr/galeri-bir-rol-oynadim-uzerime-yapisti-40498293/2 retrieved 15 May 2022.

[^1]:    ${ }^{5}$ (2017, 04 May) "Benim hiç film seçme şansım olmadı" https://www.tsa.org.tr/tr/yazi/yazidetay/342/arzu-okay---benim-hic-film-secme-sansim-olmadiretrieved 15 May 2022.
    ${ }^{6}$ (2021, 28 December) "Kefaret'in Nil'i Ege Kökenli'nin dizi sektörü ile büyük bir derdi var!" https://tvdenevar.net/haber/kefaret-039-in-nil-039-i-ege-kokenli-039-nin-dizi-sektoru-ile-buyuk-bir-derdi-var retrieved 15 May 2022.
    ${ }^{7}$ Some examples include:
    https://www.mynet.com/galeri/bir-rol-oynadim-uzerime-yapisti-104011-mymagazin/8
    https://www.sabah.com.tr/galeri/aktuel/bu-rol-uzerime-yapisti
    https://www.medyafaresi.com/foto-galeri/rolleri-uzerine-yapisan-oyuncular/82836

[^2]:    ${ }^{8}$ Constantin Stanislavski was a Russian stage actor and director who developed the naturalistic performance technique known as the "Stanislavski Method" or method acting. https://www.biography.com/actor/constantin-stanislavski retrieved May 15, 2022.

[^3]:    ${ }^{9}$ Mikhail Aleksandrovich "Michael" Chekhov was a Russian-
    American actor, director, author and theatre practitioner. He was a nephew of the playwright Anton Chekhov and a student of Konstantin Stanislavski. Stanislavski referred to him as his most brilliant student. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Michael_Chekhov retrieved May 15, 2022.
    ${ }^{10}$ Yevgeny Bagrationovich Vakhtangov was a Russian-Armenian actor and theatre director who founded the Vakhtangov Theatre. He was a friend and mentor of Michael Chekhov. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yevgeny_Vakhtangov retrieved May 15, 2022.

[^4]:    ${ }^{11}$ Uta Thyra Hagen was a German American actress and theatre practitioner. She later became a highly influential acting teacher at New York's Herbert Berghof Studio and authored best-selling acting texts, Respect for Acting, with Haskel Frankel, and A Challenge for the Actor. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Uta_Hagen retrieved May 15, 2022.
    ${ }^{12}$ Haskel Frankel was a theater critic who also helped writing several works credited to prominent performers, including "Respect for Acting" (1973) by Uta Hagen. https://www.nytimes.com/1999/11/10/arts/haskel-frankel-73-author-and-theater-critic.html\# retrieved May 15, 2022.
    ${ }^{13}$ Lee Strasberg was a theatre director, teacher, and actor, known as the chief American exponent of "method acting," in which actors are encouraged to use their own emotional experience and memory in preparing to "live" a role. https://www.britannica.com/biography/Lee-Strasberg retrieved May 15, 2022.

[^5]:    ${ }^{14}$ E.g. Accent in North American Film and Television: A Sociophonetic Analysis (Boberg, 2021); Language, Accent, and Identity in Scottish film: Audience Perceptions (Cochrane, 2014); The portrayal of Working-Class speech in British film: a study of accent in British films from the 1960s and the 2000s (Lund, 2009); "We've Got to Work on Your Accent and Vocabulary": Characterization through Verbal Style in "Clueless." (O'Meara, 2014); The Cinema of Apartheid: Race and Class in South African Film (Tomaselli, 1988); Film and the Working Class: The Feature Film in British and American Society (Stead, 2013); and America on Film: Representing Race, Class, Gender, and Sexuality at the Movies (Benshoff \& Griffin, 2021).

[^6]:    ${ }^{15}$ Not as an influencer, an activist, a beauty pageant winner, a politician etc. but as an actor -solely based on their actor id.

[^7]:    ${ }^{16}$ Turkey world's second highest TV series exporter after US. (2014, January 26). Hürriyet Daily News. https://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/turkey-worlds-second-highest-tv-series-exporter-after-us-73478 retrieved March 72022.
    ${ }^{17}$ İzzet Pinto: Amaç Türk dizilerini ticari olarak çok daha değerli hale getirmek. (2020, April 17). Anadolu Ajanst.
    https://www.aa.com.tr/tr/kultur-sanat/izzet-pinto-amac-turk-dizilerini-ticari-olarak-cok-daha-degerli-hale-getirmek/1808392 retrieved March 82022.

[^8]:    ${ }^{18}$ Oyuncu Engin Akyürek Emmy Ödülü'ne aday gösterildi. (2015, November 20). Cumhuriyet. https://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/haber/oyuncu-engin-akyurek-emmy-odulune-aday-gosterildiretrieved March 272022.
    ${ }^{19}$ Turkish TV series wins International Emmy Award for first time. (2017, November 22). Hürriyet Daily News. https://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/turkish-tv-series-wins-international-emmy-award-for-first-time-122819 retrieved March 272022.

[^9]:    ${ }^{20}$ Donahue, T. (Director). (2018). This Changes Everything [Documentary Film]. Geena Davis Institute on Gender in Media.

[^10]:    ${ }^{21}$ Somatic norm refers to the idea of whiteness as a default, with non-white ethnic and racial groups as deviant, different and other. (Friedman \& O'Brien, 2017)

[^11]:    ${ }^{22}$ As COVID-19 made it difficult to meet people in person, there were some cancellations and refusals of alternate Zoom meetings which lowered the number of interviews conducted.

[^12]:    23 https://oyuncularsendikasi.org/en/about-us/who-are-we/

[^13]:    ${ }^{24} \mathrm{https}: / / \mathrm{www}$. instagram.com/susmabitsin/

