

Lights, Camera, Silence: How Casting Processes Foster Compliance in Film and Television Performers

STEPHANIE PATRICK

I remember arriving late and frazzled for the job interview after getting lost. It was for a casting assistant position in a large Canadian city. The interview itself was being held in one of the city's prominent film studios, which gave off some sense of legitimacy to a young woman who never dared to dream of actually working in the film industry. I arrived to find that my tardiness was irrelevant. The whole event was more of a cattle call than a traditional interview, with a hallway packed full of eager kids waiting for their shot in the movie business (most in their early 20s and thus less likely to have social and/or financial responsibilities beyond the job). I waited more than an hour. Already the message was clear: "you're one of many dying for the gig; your chances are slim; you will be *lucky* to get it."

Such messages, of course, form the backbone of the casting trade. They are sent daily to actors who similarly pack the halls at casting sessions, sizing each other up as they rush to learn lines or get "into character." They send these messages to their assistants every time they bring them onto a star-studded set or to a red carpet premiere. They are subject to those messages themselves by producers and directors who think that everyone beneath them on the production team is replaceable. After three years of working in the Canadian casting industry, I became certain that these workers – myself included – were not, in fact,

The Popular Culture Studies Journal, Vol. 3, No. 1&2
Copyright © 2015

replaceable. It is the job of the casting team to find actors who are “special,” “talented” and “authentic.” It is simultaneously our job to convince the actors that they are not special. And, if necessary, it is our job to replace them. This contradiction drives the work of the casting department, forcing us to find ideal yet replaceable workers to agree to production demands.

This paper aims to contribute to autoethnographic work on identity and power in relation to popular culture by deconstructing the casting processes for film and television. As outlined by Carolyn Ellis, autoethnography is “research, writing, story, and method that connect the autobiographical and personal to the cultural, social and political” (xix). Autoethnographic work “[reveals] social processes that might apply to other settings” (Ellis, *The Ethnographic I*, 10) and can therefore bridge individual experiences with wider structural and political realities. Drawing upon my experiences casting over 20 films and television shows, as well as numerous commercials, videogames, music videos and other productions, this article explores the ways in which the film industry fosters compliance amongst employees who might otherwise question or critique the creation of content that is explicitly racist, sexist, ableist, homophobic or in other ways discriminatory.

Using autoethnographic techniques that protect the identities of those with and for whom I worked, including the omission of identifying characteristics and details as well as the use of composite characters (Ellis, “Telling Secrets, Revealing Lives,” 16), this paper describes my personal struggles with the content that I helped to create. This method is also grounded in feminist standpoint epistemology, as it illustrates my insider/outsider conflict as a white female working with and for a mostly white, male-dominated industry (“2013 Job Patterns for Minorities and Women in Private Industry (EEO-1)”). Acting on behalf of the production team, I often had to take on (in the form of actively searching out) the team’s dominant perspective and comply with what was expected of me in

ways that contributed to the continued stereotyping and marginalization of minority groups in mainstream media (Harding; Hesse-Biber, Leavy and Yaiser). I participated in the casting of women in roles that perpetuate female oppression. And, for a while, I felt lucky to be able to do so.

Neoliberal Work in the Media

As part of our job interview process we were made to believe that we had to compete with two other candidates for the casting assistant position. In a reality TV-esque showdown, we were brought together with our potential employer and given specific instructions for our first task/test: we had to read a short script and provide two “wish lists” of actors for each of the roles. A wish list is a kind of “dream team” of actors that you would cast in each role if money and availability were of no concern. As a Canadian company, there was a caveat to all of our work – we always needed two choices: one American and one Canadian, as the number of Canadian actors and crew members on a production affects the amount of funding that can be accessed. American stars can “sell” potential projects to distribution teams, but they also take up valuable spots that could be filled by Canadian actors. Knowing the Canadian star system was a key aspect of the job.

I remember agonizing over these wish lists. We had three days to get back to the casting boss with our choices. I did not have any formal training for this process and instead relied on my own tastes and the hopes that they might fall in line with that of the hiring team. I remember being so proud of what I thought were unique, washed-up, B-rate, character actors for the roles – my American choice was Tony Danza; my Canadian one was William Shatner (this was back in the *Boston Legal* days before the reboot of both *Star Trek* and Shatner’s “coolness” level). I sent in my carefully constructed lists, feeling I had much on the line with this opportunity but having no guess as to how well I did.

Having never received feedback, I still do not know how well I did with that particular task. It must have been somewhat acceptable because I was called in to help with an audition session. I got the job! When I showed up for the session, I found myself face-to-face with another of the supposed “finalists” for the gig. In fact, it turned out that they hired all three of us (it was explained that the first project would be our “trial” session), thus ensuring that none of us had any sort of gauge as to how good we were at casting. I am now quite convinced that is impossible to know how good one is at casting.

The ambiguity of the notion of “talent” is not unique to the art of casting. Actors learn certain “tools of the trade” but the skill of acting itself is a vaguely defined talent that has varying worth, depending on many factors including persistence and pure luck. Although some people train for years to perfect the craft, others are plucked out of obscurity and deemed worthy of fame, often with no previous acting experience. Casting is arguably even more evasive to define as a skill. There are few – if any – casting training programs for wannabe casting directors and to this day there remains no Academy Award recognizing “Best achievement in casting.”¹ Further confounding the craft is the fact that casting decisions are made by a varying slew of people, not only the person who is credited with casting.

This confusion surrounding the term “talent” in relation to specific skills sets and the job market extends beyond those working in the media. As noted by Arne Kalleberg, the shift from a knowledge-based economy to a more creative or talent-based one wherein “talent” remains an obscure

¹ There are other industry awards for casting (i.e. Spirit Awards). However, despite the 2013 addition of a Casting branch of the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences, the Oscars have yet to create an award designated specifically for casting directors (“Casting Directors Celebrate New Academy Branch, Hope for Casting Oscar - The Hollywood Reporter”).

notion at best, has produced a labor market with a growing number of highly educated yet underemployed workers, numerous careers over the course of a lifetime and an increasing return to adult education and training programs by more experienced workers (Kalleberg, 10).

The ambiguity surrounding the notion of talent serves three important functions. Firstly, it fosters a sense of uncertainty and, therefore, insecurity in workers. When workers are not confident in their precise skillset they feel lucky to even have a job – especially when that job is viewed as a “glamorous” one. Furthermore, neoliberal globalization policies – the outsourcing of work, for instance, or the demise of labor unions – have resulted in a growing shift toward part-time, contractual work (Arat-Koc; Arnold and Bongiovi; Bérubé; Brodie; Kalleberg). Kalleberg defines *employment precarity* as the state in which “people lose their jobs or fear losing their jobs, when they lack alternative employment opportunities in the labor market, and when workers experience diminished opportunities to obtain and maintain particular skills” (2). This sense of precarity weighs even more heavily on workers as other social welfare programs and community supports decline. A climate of individualism and competition is favored over alliances and collectivism.

Secondly, this sense of uncertainty and competition forces workers to increasingly commoditize themselves in innovative ways. On the one hand workers find additional ways to monetize their free time (i.e. taking on paying riders through drive-share apps like Uber; having their lives recorded for reality entertainment programs) while on the other hand workers are promised that precarious, non-monetized labor will be eventually be rewarded with full-time paid careers (i.e. internships). The film industry is notorious for such forms of employment and numerous interns cycled through the casting company over the three years I worked there. Although it must be acknowledged that such forms of labor can and often do provide some form of reward to laborers – in the case of casting, they offer experience, access to film sets and stars as well as industry

parties and screenings – they disproportionately reward those at the top of the economic ladder with more profits at lower costs.

A third major benefit to corporations unwilling or unable to define “talent” is that, as Brown and Tannock point out, it “gives corporate employers an awful lot of leeway to make self-interested and unfair recruitment and promotion decisions” (387). Hiring and promotional discourses draw on vague notions of “talent” and “hard work” to justify practices that can be (and often are) couched in bias. Discourses of merit mask the structural obstacles that prevent many from accessing the elite training institutions or social networks needed to obtain desirable work in the first place, as well as the necessary politics often involved in climbing corporate ladders. This sense of “meritocracy” – that it is possible to earn what one deserves – is one of the underlying appeals of the capitalist system, so its circulation as a popular myth is crucial. One of the key sites of circulation of meritocratic discourses in Western society is the celebrity system.

Casting and Celebrity

Throughout my short career in casting I witnessed first-hand multiple failures of meritocracy in the media system. There is one instance, however, that serves as a glaring example of how little “talent” really comes into play in the decision-making. I was positively crushed when an actor who gave—in my view—the best audition I had ever seen was passed over for the part. The decision was based not on his performance, but on the production team’s desire to go with a “known” actress in the mother role, making him far too old to pass as her son. The miscasting of a too-young actress who is known more for her physical assets than her emotive ones was not an uncommon occurrence, but it usually did not so directly undermine the legitimacy of what I did on a day-to-day basis. I am certain that it’s no coincidence that this incident took place toward my

final days in casting. I was increasingly fed up with the lack of reason, fairness, and accountability in a system that serves, on many levels, as the public example of meritocracy at work.

Many scholars in celebrity studies have noted the ways in which the celebrity system both perpetuates and deconstructs myths of meritocracy (Collins; Holmes, “Whoever Heard”; Negra and Holmes; Rojek). Merit-based celebrities are held up in market-driven systems as examples that hard work and “talent” combined with just the right amount of luck are the keys to success in an equal playing field (Smith). Celebrities whose fame is not based upon some notion of talent or achievement are framed as having unmerited success and often denigrated for daring to defy meritocratic norms (Holmes, “Dreaming a Dream”; Williamson).

Though there have been structural analyses of the power dynamics at play in the celebrity system (Dyer; Gamson; Marshall; Rojek; Turner), there has been significantly less scholarly work on the microcosm of casting systems in which stardom itself can originate. Although much has been written not only on the craft of acting (Adler; Hagen; Meisner), as well as performance more generally (Goffman; Taylor), there has been comparatively little theoretical engagement with the casting process as a structural barrier to visibility and power.

There are obvious issues of practicality – how to access insiders whose own precarious job security relies on a certain level of complicity and silence – that limit where and how such analyses may unfold. At the time of my employment in casting I had no interest or foreseeable future in scholarly research and thus, for this article, had to rely on saved correspondences, informal dialogue with a former colleague (who reviewed and offered feedback on this article), and my memories about casting. As such, this work follows methodologically from previous autoethnography such as that of Chris Chapman and Nancy Taber who retrospectively reflect on the role they once played in perpetuating

institutionalized power relations to which they/we at some point become morally attuned/opposed.

My Casting

Though growing up I certainly never dreamed of being specifically in casting (does anyone?), I had always loved film, television and popular culture. I remember being amazed and thrilled to discover that one could actually obtain a university degree in film studies. Although other people in my program wanted to be actors or directors, I just wanted to earn credit for watching movies. I never thought that I would one day find myself on the same set as one of my favorite comedic actors of all time... The awe and excitement I felt that moment was something I knew tapped into the deepest desires of most everyone in our celebrity and media-saturated society. It was also a feeling I called upon again and again in my day-to-day work of casting. I decided who could walk onto those sets and who could not. I controlled access to the stars and to stardom. I granted people a chance at pursuing their dream.

In Eastern Canada I worked with three different star systems, depending on the origins of the production team: the Quebec system, the English-Canadian system, and the American (United States) system. Though stars were regularly featured in the projects, those contracts were negotiated between producers and directors, usually long before the casting team signs on. Our job was to find the “unknowns” – hiring local actors (from auditions) and extras or background performers (usually recruited online). Though I did not engage with the casting of stars myself, stardom or celebrity served two key functions in relation to my job: first, celebrities were helpful in selling a gig to potential recruits; second, fame itself was clearly the (exploitable) goal of the pool of workers from which I could choose. I will first explain the ways in which I sold work.

Selling is a large part of the casting job at both ends – on the one hand the casting director needs to sell an actor to a director in order to complete the job, while on the other, the casting team often has to sell a project to actors and extras. Film industry work, by nature, is precarious. Though in total, film and television production creates approximately 125,000 full-time jobs in the country each year (“Industry Facts & Figures | Canadian Media Production Association”), those jobs are often temporary. In Canada in 2011, artists and cultural workers were 20 percent less likely to hold steady, full-time employment than the general labor force, while actors and comedians were four times as likely to be self-employed (“A Statistical Profile of Artists and Cultural Workers in Canada | Hill Strategies”). The precarity of the work necessitates a certain level of compliance on the part of performers, but it can also mean that actors, who know that a gig is temporary and unlikely to be the “big break” they need, are less willing to humiliate themselves, perform naked or nearly naked, simulate graphic acts of sex or violence, etc. Selling these frequent scenarios to actors was one of the hardest parts of my job. One of the ways in which actors can be convinced is through the prestige of association with certain “known” and “respected” actors and directors. In particular relation to the Canadian setting, the prestige of an American project itself was often enough to sell performers on the job. Throwing in an American star or two usually made the sell downright easy.

The most common sell was nudity. Projects often required one or more women to appear nude onscreen – usually with few or no lines to say. Producers and directors often want a certain kind of nude woman in their production. The chances of lining up what they wanted and who was available were slim. On one French-Canadian co-production we needed to cast three women to appear as silent and naked escorts in our protagonist’s room – to demonstrate how out-of-control his ego and partying had become. My male colleague and I canvassed the best, most elite local strip clubs and persuaded a number of women to meet the director in person.

But it was not *his* name that convinced them to come—we fortunately had an American star on the roster. When they met with the director to discuss the scene, it was up to him then to convince them that his vision was “artistic,” “inspired” and “tasteful.”

My own gendered experience of this phenomenon has made me hypersensitive to female representation onscreen – particularly the background casting of women as “strippers” and/or prostitutes as specters of white male protagonists’ loss of control. Films like *The Wolf of Wall Street* benefit from high-profile actors (Leonardo DiCaprio) and directors (Martin Scorsese) who enable the casting of marginalized groups in peripheral and degrading roles that they might otherwise refuse.

Though my first experience on a film set involved high-profile actors and Hollywood directors, I quickly learned that those gigs were rare. On most Canadian film sets, there are no A-list actors or directors that can lure workers to the gig. I quickly learned the improvisational techniques necessary to lure actors and background performers onto a set. Shooting in small towns attracted onlookers willing to monetize their curiosity about the film industry. Getting paid as an extra to stand around and watch people shooting films was a somewhat lucrative pastime that I also partook in to supplement my precarious salary. Other times we would sell the extras on an “up-and-coming” director or an important historical moment that “needs to be told.”

The more seasoned actors know that background work rarely leads to more prominent opportunities and thus refused multiple job offers. Sometimes they could be convinced otherwise by telling them that they were featured and more likely to get upgraded: “you’re right beside the star” or “there are only two of you in the scene!” Once an actor arrived on set, what happened to them—wherever they might be placed or whatever they might be asked to do—was beyond my control. And more often than not, whatever they were asked, they did. I once sent numerous girls to the same set – some were to be partygoers, others were to be strippers at the

party. The director was not satisfied with the look of the girls cast as strippers (who had agreed and were comfortable in that role) and switched them on set with more “attractive” women – women who had declined that role to me on the phone, but said yes to the director on set. I clearly and absolutely benefitted from their compliance. The refusal to do something on set certainly reflects poorly on the casting director, but it is their team that has to scramble to find replacements, which, with specific roles and limited time, can be more difficult than the initial hiring.

Though certainly the issue of nudity could be viewed as an actor’s personal choice, there are numerous other ways in which actors are asked to go the extra mile to prove that they really want the role, and, consequently, the career. It is one thing to ask a person to do something they might find embarrassing or uncomfortable, but why would an actor sacrifice his core beliefs for a small role on an unknown – or even a known – director’s project? Besides the damage to one’s identity (see Robinson), there are economic considerations to take into account as well: because of continued marginalization – perpetuated by media representation – women and other minorities might not be in a position to turn down paying jobs. Across all industries, women in Canada are more likely to have part-time, precarious employment while visible minority women are even less likely to access stable, full-time employment (Stats Canada).

The economic harms of contract work in general place workers in a precarious position and disempowers them. Cultural workers in Canada earn, on average, 12 percent less than the average worker, while artists earn 32 percent less (“A Statistical Profile”). In order to supplement lower incomes, many art and cultural workers take on second jobs, as I sometimes did myself by taking background work. In 2011, 11 percent of artists worked at least two jobs, twice the overall number (“A Statistical Profile”). The prevalence of unpaid or low-paid positions (often sold as internships) suggests to workers that if they want to “get their foot in the

door” they need to be willing to work for less than anyone else. In return for “paying their dues,” most hope just to be able to eventually gain some type of economic stability.

Yet, above and beyond being able to earn a living in a trade they love, acting provides the potential for reward on a much greater scale. Though many might be hesitant to admit to aspiring to fame (see Allen's recent study on girls in performing arts schools), there is no doubt that, besides the more obvious perks of celebrity, a certain level of renown is desirable in order for an actor to move from a more precarious working position to having a sense of stability and security. Certainly higher levels of fame make actors less replaceable (though they always still are – high profile firings include Eric Stoltz in *Back to the Future* (Klahn) and Charlie Sheen from *Two and a Half Men*), yet there are standardized features of the industry – and the casting process specifically – that serve as a constant reminder to actors of their interchangeability.

Getting Into the Room

“She’s too fat.” “She looks *nothing* like her headshot.” “He’s not black enough.” “She’s cock-eyed.” Before the days of dating apps like Tinder, split-second decision-making based solely on appearance was the purview of casting teams. Actors are not only expected, but also, by profession, required to expose themselves to this kind of physical scrutiny. As a female casting assistant working with males, I was in no way shielded from such talk – in fact, the longer I worked, the more implicated in it I myself became. Headshots are an actor’s key of entry into the audition room or onto set. Many actors are excluded from the process based solely on who they are.

This level of scrutiny means that the audition room is one of the hardest places to get into. Once a casting breakdown was released and the submissions from agents poured into the office, we would use photos to

pick and choose which lucky few had the chance to come in to audition for the role – a role that most usually called for a white male. Therefore, there was a clear singular demographic of local actors I came to know quite well because they auditioned most frequently. As I grew more experienced and confident in my position, I struggled with these norms and tested the limits of the casting boundaries, bringing in women or racialized actors when a role lacked any physical description in the script (i.e. “Doctor” or “Lawyer”). In Canada, women are half as likely as men to work as producers, directors or in other top-level creative positions (“A Statistical Profile”). In the U.S., minority women occupy only 5.5 percent of senior or executive-level management positions in the motion picture and sound recording industry (“2013 Job Patterns for Minorities and Women in Private Industry (EEO-1)”). It is not surprising that producers and directors often default to white male characters.

The rarity of auditions heightens the urgency and sense of competition among actors, particularly when they are part of a visible minority. Once they manage to land an audition, they are merely one, among many, auditioning for the role – usually actors come to know their competition in their type as they regularly encounter each other at the same auditions. Often, the casting directors will arrange the auditions as they did during my first interview, telling everyone to come at the same time so that the hallway is packed and the intimidating messages about your competition are clear.

Once inside the audition room, the power of the actor diminishes further. Usually it is the casting team and not the director who is in the room – again, showing actors how inconsequential they are. The actors perform their scenes and take their cues from the casting team; this is where some of the most obvious power dynamics can emerge. I once ran a casting session for a project that required female performers to play “hookers,” “hot make-out girls” and “strippers.” At the end of the short audition scene I interviewed each young woman: “Are you willing to do

partial nudity? Full nudity? Are you comfortable kissing a man? Another woman? Are you willing to simulate sexual acts?" The audition room is a vulnerable place for a young actress and is not the best time to say "no." And, mirroring my own gendered performance of professional neutrality, not a single woman did.

At times I was lucky enough to be in the audition room with the decision-makers. On key projects or for certain roles, directors and producers would join the sessions – or, more likely, the callbacks – to see how easy it was to work with the actors themselves. The power dynamics are even more unevenly distributed in such sessions. The pressure on actors to comply with what they are asked is immense. Once the actor is on set, the cameras rolling, the crew and cast all on the clock, the pressure intensifies. Any hesitation on their part costs money and time, marks them as "difficult" and undesirable to work with, and – at the most extreme – can halt production altogether. Workers who could present this kind of threat to the system are safest when they feel disempowered. But actors are not the only workers within the film industry made to feel disempowered. The film industry employs numerous peoples on sets from many different backgrounds – people who themselves are subject to discrimination and marginalization, whose labor then contributes to the creation of cultural products that sustain their own marginalization. What keeps them going back?

A Wake-Up Call

Eventually I broke out of the cycle. Though three years over the span of a lifetime may seem inconsequential, it can feel like a lot longer when it is filled with internal struggle. The mundane day-to-day tasks of casting are easily forgotten when you find yourself at an exclusive party, surrounded by A-list stars (Canadian *and* American), celebrating the premiere of your work at the Toronto International Film Festival. The discriminatory nature

of casting can be more easily overlooked when visiting a diverse and vibrant film set full of actors and extras who are both grateful to be there and who are not being asked to do anything unexpected. The inherent nepotism, sexism, and bias within the system are overshadowed by the prestigious awards shows and the proud family and friends. The long underpaid, overtime hours are forgivable when you're supposed to be driven by passion rather than money.

Passion is, in fact, key to the continuation of this cycle. This shared passion brings vastly different people together to work on a collaborative creative project that is much greater than themselves. Passion keeps people going, providing moments of accomplishment, satisfaction and even wonder amidst other times of helplessness and compliancy. Perhaps it depends on who the coworker is, but mine certainly drove me forward as we supported each other through the most unbearable of times.

One particularly difficult project renewed my faith in the potential of teamwork and creativity. The film required hundreds of extras per day in the middle of winter, most of whom were young men with no car trying to get on set before public transportation even started. Between the snowstorms and the difficult wardrobe, hair and directorial team (including a director who actually *films* his extras!) I came close to unraveling. On one particular occasion I came too close for comfort. It was a Sunday shoot, with the usual on-set call time of 6AM, which means that I start fielding calls from late and lost extras by 5AM (after I finish confirming all the extras the night before at 1AM, maybe 2AM). On these occasions it was simplest just to stay at the office overnight on one of the pullout sofas. I was alone, and I was exhausted, but by 6:30AM my phone had calmed down. I felt that usual sigh of relief when you know you've done all you can to get the right people to the right place. Now that the situation is out of your hands maybe you can go back to sleep for another hour or two... And maybe not.

My boss called to tell me that the director had seen all the extras on set and decided that there simply were not enough. I remember that moment – all the stress, all the frustration, all the exhaustion from that project just overwhelmed me. I came undone. I just cried. He tried to get me back on track over the phone but it didn't work. We hung up. He was on his way. I continued to cry. I don't know for how long. After a while I made coffee, which calmed me. Eventually my boss walked in, it couldn't have been much past 7AM. He picked up the phone and started calling people from our database. He didn't get angry that I hadn't already started. He didn't say a word when I sat and drank coffee while he called potential extras. Eventually I picked up another phone and started calling too. Together, we managed to get about a dozen more young men up, out of bed, and onto set on a wintry Sunday morning. The director was happy. He and the film won numerous awards and he was one of the few directors I worked with who went on to a prestigious Hollywood career. It was a job well done.

Conclusion

Incredible things can happen when workers feel a sense of community and agency. Unfortunately such feelings surfaced rarely in my casting career, and are increasingly uncommon in today's neoliberal work environment. As precarious, part-time, contract work continues to rise, so too does the sense that we are all fighting for just a few jobs, and, consequently, the abandonment of collective consciousness and alliance. Increased discourses about "competitive job markets" and "high unemployment" – whether statistically true or untrue – can affect the psyche of workers. In a world in which social supports are shrinking and discourses of personal responsibility are increasing, the prospect of losing one's job is fearful enough to influence individual choice and behavior. Workers who once were in a position to negotiate with employers (let alone those who are culturally conditioned not to negotiate) are less likely to make demands.

Employees increasingly comply with policies or procedures with which they disagree and often ethically oppose. Employers either become complacent towards employees or they overcompensate in ways that foster a sense of gratitude (i.e. competitions for internships or contracts at the most prestigious companies).

There is one industry, however, that has to seduce, confuse, manipulate and outright bribe people to agree to its demands – the film and television production industry. Across North American film sets there are workers performing in ways that humiliate them, harm their sense of identity and community, and conflict with their core values. What is it about the “American Dream” that makes these sacrifices worth it? What does this say about the power of the promise of fame and riches in an increasingly precarious and disparate world?

As an employer, the film and television industry is more implicated in fostering such harms than most industries – the media create and circulate the images that perpetuate the marginalization of minorities in mainstream society. And they rely upon those minorities to do so. But what might happen if casting assistants were honest with and accountable to the actors they engage? What if casting directors were freed to make choices based on which talent best suited each role? What if actors refused roles that locked them into stereotypes? What kinds of films might get made if we weren't all just so thankful to be there in the first place? I don't know, because I left.

Works Cited

“2013 Job Patterns for Minorities and Women in Private Industry (EEO-1).” U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission N.p., n.d. Web. 16 July 2015.
<http://www1.eeoc.gov/eeoc/statistics/employment/jobpat-eeo1/2013/index.cfm#centercol>

Adler, Stella. *The Technique of Acting*. Toronto; New York: Bantam Books, 1988. Print.

Allen, Kim. “Girls Imagining Careers in the Limelight: Social Class, Gender and Fantasies of ‘Success.’” *In the Limelight and under the Microscope: Forms and Functions of Female Celebrity*. Ed. Su Holmes and Diane Negra. New York: Continuum, 2011. 149–173. Print.

Arat - Koc, Sedef. “Neo-Liberalism, State Restructuring and Immigration: Changes in Canadian Policies in the 1990s.(Families, Restructuring and the Canadian Welfare State).” *Journal of Canadian Studies* 34.2 (1999): 31. Print.

Arnold, Dennis, and Joseph R. Bongiovi. “Precarious, Informalizing, and Flexible Work.” *American Behavioral Scientist* 57.3 (2013): 289–308. *Primo*. Web.

“A Statistical Profile of Artists and Cultural Workers in Canada | Hill Strategies.” N.p., n.d. Web. 16 July 2015.
<http://www.hillstrategies.com/content/statistical-profile-artists-and-cultural-workers-canada#toc-1>

Bérubé, Michael. *The Left at War*. New York: New York University Press, 2009. Print. Cultural Front (Series).

Brodie, Janine. "Citizenship and Solidarity: Reflections on the Canadian Way." *Citizenship Studies* 6.4 (2002): 377–394. *Primo*. Web.

Brown, Phillip, and Stuart Tannock. "Education, Meritocracy and the Global War for Talent." *Journal of Education Policy* 24.4 (2009): 377–392. *Primo*. Web.

"Casting Directors Celebrate New Academy Branch, Hope for Casting Oscar - The Hollywood Reporter." N.p., n.d. Web. 14 July 2015. <http://www.hollywoodreporter.com/live-feed/casting-directors-celebrate-new-academy-597337>

Chapman, Chris. "Colonialism, Disability, and Possible Lives: The Residential Treatment of Children Whose Parents Survived Indian Residential Schools." *Journal of Progressive Human Services* 23.2 (2012): 127–158. *Primo*. Web.

Collins, Sue. "Making the Most out of 15 Minutes." *Television & New Media* 9.2 (2008): 87–110. *EBSCOhost*. Web.

Dyer, Richard. *Stars*. London: Educational Advisory Service, British Film Institute, 1979. Print.

Ellis, Carolyn. "Telling Secrets, Revealing Lives: Relational Ethics in Research with Intimate Others." *Qualitative Inquiry* 13.1 (2007): 3. Print.

---. *The Ethnographic I: A Methodological Novel about Autoethnography*. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2004. Print. Ethnographic Alternatives Book Series ; v. 13.

Gamson, Joshua. *Claims to Fame : Celebrity in Contemporary America*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994. Print.

Goffman, Erving. *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1959. Print. Anchor Books ; A174.

Hagen, Uta. *A Challenge for the Actor*. New York: Scribner's ; Toronto, 1991. Print.

Harding, Sandra G. *Feminism and Methodology : Social Science Issues*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press ; Milton Keynes England, 1987. Print. Ottawa Psychoanalytical Society Collection.

Hesse-Biber, Sharlene Nagy, Michelle L. Yaiser, and Patricia Leavy. *Feminist Perspectives on Social Research*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004. Print.

Holmes, Su. "Dreaming a Dream: Susan Boyle and Celebrity culture.(SNAPSHOT)." *Velvet Light Trap* 65 (2010): 74. Print.

---. "'WHOEVER HEARD OF ANYONE BEING A SCREAMING SUCCESS FOR DOING NOTHING?': 'Sabrina', the BBC and Television Fame in the 1950s." *Media History* 17.1 (2011): 33–48. *Primo*. Web.

- “Industry Facts & Figures | Canadian Media Production Association.”
N.p., n.d. Web. 16 July 2015. <http://www.cmpa.ca/industry-information/industry-facts-figures>
- Kalleberg, Arne L. “Precarious Work, Insecure Workers: Employment Relations in Transition.” *American Sociological Review* 74.1 (2009): 1–22. Print.
- Klahn, Kirsten. “7 Big-Name Actors Who Were Fired or Replaced in Hit Movies.” N.p., n.d. Web. 12 May 2015.
<http://www.cheatsheet.com/entertainment/7-actors-who-were-replaced-last-minute-in-major-movies.html/?a=viewall>
- Marshall, P. David. *Celebrity and Power : Fame in Contemporary Culture*. Minneapolis, Minn: University of Minnesota Press, 1997. Print.
- Meisner, Sanford. *Sanford Meisner on Acting*. 1st ed. New York: Vintage Books, 1987. Print.
- Negra, Diane, and Su Holmes. “Introduction.” *Genders* 48 (2008): n. pag. Print.
- Robinson, Russell K. “Casting and Caste-Ing: Reconciling Artistic Freedom and Antidiscrimination Norms.” *California Law Review* 95 (2007): 1–73. Print.
- Rojek, Chris. *Celebrity*. London: Reaktion Books, 2001. Print. Focus on Contemporary Issues.

Smith, Glenn D. "Love as Redemption." *Journal of Communication Inquiry* 33.3 (2009): 222-238. *Primo*. Web.

Taber, Nancy. "Learning How to Be a Woman in the Canadian Forces/unlearning It through Feminism: An Autoethnography of My Learning Journey." *Studies in Continuing Education* 27.3 (2005): 289–301. *Primo*. Web.

Taylor, Charles. *The Malaise of Modernity*. Concord, Ont: Anansi, 1991. Print. The Massey Lectures Series ; 1991.

Turner, Graeme. *Understanding Celebrity*. London ; Thousand Oaks: SAGE, 2004. Print.

"Visible Minority Women." Statistics Canada. N.p., n.d. Web. 16 July 2015. <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/89-503-x/2010001/article/11527-eng.htm#a16>

Williamson, Milly. "Female Celebrities and the Media: The Gendered Denigration of the 'ordinary' Celebrity." *Celebrity Studies* 1.1 (2010): 118–120. *Primo*. Web.