Labor Process in the Service Sector: The Case of Tourism Workers in Holiday Villages on the Southern Coast of Turkey, 1980-2012

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Abstract

"Labor Process in the Service Sector: The Case of Tourism Service Workers in Holiday Villages on the Southern Coast of Turkey, 1980-2012"

Hüseyin Yener Erköse, Doctoral Candidate at the Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History at Boğaziçi University, 2017

Assoc. Prof. Berna Yazıcı, Dissertation Advisor

This dissertation examines employment and working conditions of tourism service workers employed in mass tourism-oriented holiday villages located in Manavgat (Antalya) and Fethiye (Muğla). By focusing on workplace and the production character of holiday villages, the research explores the relations of service production from the workers' perspective. By utilizing Marxism inspired Labor Process Theory (LPT), it aims to reveal the dynamics of industrialization in the services. Thus, it contributes to the understanding of labor process in the growing services, bringing the perspective of a developing country.

The study argues that the industrialization in the tourism services that are provided in holiday villages is a factor of increasing competition that came with a change in the marketing strategy of tourism enterprises in the mid-1990s. Consequences of this change on the labor control model employed by capital, on employment and working conditions, on workers' skills, and on the workers' response to capital's increasing pressure are at the center of this study. Besides industrialization, the study argues that in a time of the rise of services and flexible production, capital intensifies and diversifies control over labor while labor continues to resist in various forms within a structurally antagonistic relationship.

This study is based on ethnographic research. It incorporates in-depth interviews with service workers as well as participant observation, which included formal employment in one of these holiday villages.

134,161 words

Özet

"Hizmet Sektöründe Emek Süreci: Türkiye'nin Güney Sahillerindeki Tatil Köylerinde Çalışan Turizm Hizmet İşçilerinin Durumu, 1980-2012"

Hüseyin Yener Erköse, Doktora Adayı, 2017
Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Atatürk İlkeleri ve İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü

Doç. Dr. Berna Yazıcı, Tez Danışmanı

Bu tez Manavgat (Antalya) ve Fethiye (Muğla)'daki kitle turizmine yönelik tatil köylerinde çalışan turizm hizmet işçilerinin istihdam ve çalışma şartlarını araştırır. Tatil köylerinin işyeri ve üretim yeri olma özelliklerini vurgulayarak buralarda gerçekleşen hizmet üretim ilişkilerini işçilerin bakış açısından inceler. Marksgil Emek Süreci Teorisini kullanarak, hizmet sektöründeki endüstrileşme temayülünü ortaya koymayı hedefler. Böylece, gelişen bir ülkede hızla büyüyen bir sektör içinden, hizmet sektöründe sermaye-emek ilişkilerini anlamaya katkı sunar.

Bu çalışma tatil köylerindeki turizm hizmetlerinde görülen endüstrileşmenin, turizm firmalarının 1990'lı yılların ortalarında pazarlama stratejilerinde yaptıkları değişiklik sonucu yükselen rekabetin bir unsuru olduğunu savunur. Bahsi geçen değişim sonucunda sermayenin emek üzerinde uyguladığı kontrol yöntemleri, istihdam ve çalışma kosulları, işçilerin becerileri ve vasıflarıyla isçilerin sermayenin artan baskısına verdigi tepkiler bu çalışmanın ana konularıdır. Bu bağlamda bu tez, hizmet sektörünün ekonomide ağırlığının arttığı ve esnek üretimin yaygınlaştıgı bir dönemde, sermayenin emek üzerindeki kontrolünü yoğunlaştırıp çesitlendirirken emeğin de farklı biçimlerde sermayeye direnmeye devam ettiğini savunur. Sermaye ve emek arasindaki bu ilişki yapısal karşıtlık içinde sürer.

Tez işyerleri olan tatil köylerinde yapılan etnografik saha araştırmasına dayanır. Araştırma bir yandan hizmet işçileri ile gerçekleştirilen derinlemesine mülakatları, bir yandan da bu tatil köylerinden birinde iki aylık bir formel çalışma hayatının da yer aldığı katılımcı gözlem metodunu içerir.

134.161 kelime

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To Petek and Atlas

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Abbreviations

AKP	Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi
AKTOB	Akdeniz Turistik Otelciler ve İşletmeciler Birliği
CSS	Customer satisfaction survey
F&B	Food and beverage
GR	Guest relations
ILO	International Labor Organization
LdV	Leonardo da Vinci
LPT	Labor Process Theory
MEKSA	Mesleki Eğitim ve Küçük Sanayi Destekleme Vakfı
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation & Development
TSC	Türk Seyyahin Cemiyeti
TTC	Türkiye Tayyare Cemiyeti
THY	Türk Hava Yolları
TUGEV	Turizm Geliştirme ve Eğitim Vakfı
TURBAN	Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Turizm Bankası
TUREM	Turizm Eğitim Merkezi
TURİNG	Türkiye Turing ve Otomobil Kurumu
TÜİK	Turkish Institute of Statistics
TÜROB	Türkiye Otelciler Birliği
TÜROFED	Türkiye Otelciler Federasyon
TÜRSAB	Türkiye Seyahat Acentaları Birliği
UNWTO	World Travel Organization
WTTC	World Travel and Tourism Council
YÖK	Yükseköğretim Kurulu

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NOTE: The in-house editor of the Atatürk Institute has made recommendations with regard to the format, grammar, spelling, usage, and syntax of this dissertation in compliance with professional, ethical standards for the editing of student, academic work.

We broke the world, to make it whole…

– Ursula K. Leguin, The Other Wind

"Excellent!" I cried. "Elementary," said he.

– Arthur Conan Doyle, The Complete Sherlock Holmes

1

Introduction

> *It is easier now to manufacture people than machines.*
>
> – Lord Byron

This dissertation is a critical analysis of hospitality service work at the seasonal, touristic, 3–S (sea-sun-sand) holiday villages (resort hotels) located along the southern coast of Turkey. It elaborates on the capitalist labor process of holiday production as a particular commodity, the quality of which allegedly defines the ability of enterprises to create loyal customers – that is repeat guests – who are arguably guaranteed sources of current and future income for the bosses that own these enterprises. Applying Marxism-inspired Labor Process Theory (LPT), I analyze the social relations of production of this particular commodity, comprised of a variety of services and goods consumed by potential repeat guests, in order to shed light on capital–labor relations in the service sector of a developing country within the new era of neoliberal globalization. My intention is to enter the hidden abode of the production of smiling faces at the reception desk, of the fun and play emanating from the entertainment, of the taste of food and drinks served on shiny

plates and glasses on the front stage; and of the tidy, comfortable, good-smelling rooms and clean towels and the year long continuous maintenance service backstage.

My main argument is that working conditions in hospitality attest to increasing industrialization and exploitation. In a sector with novel work organizations built on interactive relations with customers – involving performativity, emotionality, aesthetics, and the personality of employees – relations between capital and labor in the services are reminiscent of those in manufacturing in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Relying on accounts of both long-time and younger service workers on one hand, and on my own observations and actual work experience at one of these holiday villages on the other, I explain the changes over time in the production of hospitality as a commodity. Along with it, I discuss changing employment relations and the working conditions of workers producing this particular commodity, from the end of 1980s until the beginning of 2010s. Through this, I intend to explain the adverse effects of neoliberalism on people as producers of goods and services and on work as a meaningful, satisfactory human activity. I claim that employment in tourism and hospitality along the southern coast of Turkey is the epitome of the degradation of work and worsening conditions of workers in the neoliberal era and under what could be called neo-Taylorist scientific management. This argument rejects claims of a shift to a post-Fordist, post-industrialist,[1] or knowledge economy that allegedly empowers employees, bringing structural antagonism between labor and capital to an end. Classes are still relevant, and the working class and class conflict are not passé, claims of their demise notwithstanding.[2]

I trace the rise of tourism as an industry and the development of the dire employment and living conditions in which workers found themselves back

1 Daniel Bell, *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society: A Venture in Social Forecasting* (London: Heinemann, 1974).

2 Ulrich Beck and Elisabeth Beck-Gernsheim, *Individualization: Institutionalized Individualism and Its Political and Social Consequences* (London: Sage, 2002); André Gorz, *Farewell to the Working Class: An Essay on Post-Industrial Socialism*, translated by Michael Sonenscher (London: Pluto Press, 1982); Jan Pakulski and Malcolm Waters, *The Death of Class* (London: Sage, 1996).

to 1980, the year when a neoliberal economic model was launched. Although tourism became a major employer over time, it has seldom been subject to a critical analysis from a labor perspective. Employment and working conditions of tourism workers have hitherto remained a marginal theme in both tourism and labor studies. I will be contributing to this critical perspective through using a growing LPT literature on the service industry.

Turkey began to see its economy change according to decisions taken by the pre-coup government on 24 January 1980. The decisions, which could not be applied due to popular resistance and trade union activism, were imposed only through the heavy hand of the military coup that took place on 12 September 1980.[3] The decisions applied thereafter transformed the economy from an import-substituting industrialization model to an export-oriented one, redefining the relations between the state, capital, and labor. This new economy package drastically curbed workers' rights. Trade unions were closed for years while activists received long prison sentences, leaving workers unorganized and weak. Vis-à-vis entrepreneurs, they were deprived of the security and bargaining tools of the earlier period. Wages were frozen and a subcontractor system gradually became dominant, reducing labor costs and dividing workers. Labor markets were re-regulated (de-regulated) to make them more flexible for the purposes of capital. The new model necessarily introduced international competition for local firms and invited international investment into the country, having reduced labor costs and having brought labor under tight control. Over time, as a result of these changes, Turkey frequently appeared on the blacklists and shortlists of the International Labor Organization (ILO) as a country that did not fulfill ILO requirements as to workers' right to organize and other labor issues such as safety and health. With the progressive weakening of the trade unions, labor's share in national income declined. Tourism as an industry was launched and grew in this environment. The sector was given the role of earning foreign currency in order to support the new export-oriented model. The investors in tourism received state support through laws of encouragement (1982). They were provided with cheap credit and decades-long land leases in the most beautiful, naturally endowed bays

3 Erik Jan Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).

and corners of the southern coast of Turkey. The state itself not only invested in the creation of tourism centers, but also opened tourism faculties at universities and vocational schools in various cities to provide a skilled workforce for this emerging industry.

Over the last three decades, tourism work and employment became an important path for a new wave of proletarianization in a country like Turkey that was experiencing rapid de-peasantization over the same decades as a result of neoliberal restructuring of the agriculture sector.[4] Compared to smaller workplaces, seasonally-active holiday villages with their large labor forces produce and provide a variety of services to international customers in an ever-globalizing economy. As such, holiday villages become sites at which the working class is created. According to the Turkish Institute of Statistics (TÜİK), 49.4 percent of the 24 million people were employed in the service sector in 2012.[5] Within that, 1.2 million were directly employed in tourism. This is around 7 percent of total employment outside of the agricultural sector and 10 percent of employment in the service sector, even without considering indirect employment created through tourism activities. Around 30 percent of those employed were employed informally, deprived of the protection of social security. Of those directly employed, around 400,000 worked in the hospitality industry according to a report by Akdeniz Turistik Otelciler ve İşletmeciler Birliği (Mediterranean Union for Touristic Hoteliers and Managers, AKTOB).[6]

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4 For the relations between restructuring in the agricultural sector and proletarianization see Zülküf Aydın, "De-Agrarianization and De-peasantization: Dilemmas of Neo-liberal Restructuring in Turkish Agriculture," in *Turkey and the Global Economy: Neo-liberal Restructuring and Integration in Post-Crisis Era*, ed. Ziya Öniş and Fikret Şenses (London: Routledge, 2009); Çağlar Keyder and Zafer Yenal, "Agrarian Transformations, Labor Supplies, and Proletarianization Process in Turkey: A Historical Review," *Journal für Entwicklungspolitik 27*, no. 1 (2011a).

5 "Hanehalkı İşgücü İstatistikleri, 2012 (Household Labor Force Statistics)," TÜİK, accessed January 20, 2016, http://www.tuik.gov.tr/PreHaberBultenleri.do?id=13455.

6 AKTOB (Mediterranean Union for Touristic Hoteliers and Managers in Turkey) was established in 1984 and as of 2016 represents 477 member enterprises. See "Tourism Statistics,"

Earlier research found that one worker was employed for every two beds provided by the hospitality industry. Although there are different accounts regarding bed capacity, AKTOB states that there were around 716,000 beds in 2012 operated by management-licensed tourism establishments. The report by the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) puts Turkey's bed capacity at 1.4 million and points to 700,000 workers. The same report also claims that 3.3 million people were directly employed in 2010 in Turkey's tourism industry.[7] The Turkish Directorate for Investment and Management states that the total bed capacity of licensed tourism accommodation establishments amounts to around one million (706,000 for management-licensed and 274,000 for investment-licensed establishments).[8] The World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC) estimates a 531,200 strong workforce was directly employed, which is around 2 percent of total employment. Their estimate for 2013 stands at 1,980,700 workers in total with the indirectly employed also taken into consideration. This is around 7.8 percent of total employment.[9] Another report written by Ernst & Young mentions that 610,000 people were employed in the hospitality sector in 2009.[10] A recent study by the Ekin Group shows that number of workers with social security in tourism sector was 821,121 in 2012 with 283,952 of those employed in the accommodation subsector. The total number of workers with social security accounted for 6.8

AKTOB R&D, accessed February 13, 2016, http://www.aktob.org.tr/pdf/aktob.turizm.verileri.pdf.

7 OECD, "OECD Tourism Trends and Policies," accessed February 13, 2016, http://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/industry-and-services/oecd-tourism-trends-and-policies-2012_tour-2012-en.

8 For a detailed account of bed capacity see "Işletme ve Yatırım Belgeli Tesis Istatistikleri (Statistics for Licensed Tourism Accommodation Establishments) 2012," Directorate of Investment and Management, Ministry of Culture and Tourism, accessed May 26, 2015, http://www.ktbyatirimisletmeler.gov.tr/TR,9860/turizm-belgeli-tesisler.html.

9 World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC), "Benchmarking Travel and Tourism in Turkey,", accessed February 13, 2016, http://www.wttc.org/-/media/files/reports/benchmark%20reports/country%20results/turkey%20benchmarking%202013.pdf.

10 Ernst & Young, "The Hospitality Sector in Europe: An Assessment of the Economic Contribution of the Hospitality Sector Across 31 countries," accessed February 13, 2016, http://www.ey.com/Publication/vwLUAssets/The_Hospitality_Sector_in_Europe/$FILE/EY_The_Hospitality_Sector_in_Europe.pdf.

percent of all insured workers in the country.[11] The same research group reports that the number of beds per worker varies according to hotel quality. In boutique hotels and holiday villages, the average is 2.45 beds per worker. In two-star hotels it is 4.8, and in five-star hotels, 3.08.[12] Some caution is necessary about the earlier suggestion regarding a balance of two beds per worker. Similarly, direct employment multiplied by 1.5 gives the number of people indirectly employed. Accordingly, following from the official numbers, the total number of people employed in the tourism sector would be around 3 million, close to the OECD estimate with the wider impact of tourism employment on the supportive sectors included. As seen, different sources estimate tourism employment in Turkey differently. The fact is that tourism has been among the top job creators worldwide. And in Turkey, it has been a major source of employment and route of entrance into the labor market, especially in the last three decades. Despite its job creating potential, the ILO suggests and warns that working conditions in the sector are "precarious":[13] "Work [is] characterized by low wages and low levels of skill requirements, shift and night work and seasonality."

In the words of hospitality workers themselves, tourism and holiday villages become the new "factories without chimneys" in Turkey. Holiday villages are more comparable to factories despite analogies to theatre in the literature on services. The stage analogy refers to its platforms behind and in front of the curtain, the preparation and presentation of a theatre play, and the contact with the audience. It is also because of the role of what Alan Bryman calls "performative labor"[14] in producing and "acting out" frontline services, as if it is solely a cultural product prepared before and with customers. Operating

11 Türkiye Otelciler Federasyonu (Turkish Hoteliers Federation - TÜROFED), "Turizm Raporu (Tourism Report)," accessed January 10, 2016, http://www.turofed.org.tr/_files/_pdf/turizm_raporu_sayi_7.pdf.

12 Türkiye Otelciler Federasyonu, (Turkish Hoteliers Federation - TÜROFED), "Turizm Raporu (Tourism Report)," accessed January 10, 2016, http://www.turofed.org.tr/_files/_pdf/turizm_raporu_sayi_2.pdf.

13 For the term "precariousness" see R. Jamil Jonna and John Bellamy Foster, "Marx's Theory of Working-Class Precariousness: Its Relevance Today," *Monthly Review 67*, no. 11 (2016).

14 Alan Bryman, *The Disneyization of Society* (London: Sage, 2004).

under intensifying competition and profitability targets, however, these new workplaces of tourism and hospitality services increasingly resemble factories in their production relations on both the front and backstages. This is especially the case after the introduction of a new marketing strategy in 1996. In the face of intensifying competition in the tourism market, enterprises introduced this new strategy to maintain their profits.

I argue that the introduction of the "all-inclusive"[15] boarding system as a new marketing strategy was a turning point in terms of the degradation of the quality of hospitality service, as reckoned by tourism workers themselves in their narratives. This new strategy intensified competition even further in the 2000s. As the number of tourism enterprises and supply of rooms continued to increase, enterprises grew more dependent on international tour operators to secure certain levels of occupancy throughout the season. They sold the progressively cheaper all-inclusive package and its variants while tour operators gradually acquired a sound share of the surplus produced in the sector. Critically, the new system resulted in the reduction of labor costs in the labor-intensive hospitality business. It has lingering negative consequences on the work and social lives of workers and the quality of the service. The all-inclusive boarding system became a race to the bottom among holiday enterprises hosting ever more customers while reducing costs to keep enterprises competitive and profitable in the volatile tourism market. In the light of these changes, I argue that tourism service production is an epitome of flexible production in the neoliberal era. Starting with seasonality, which is taken for granted, the sector reflects ad hoc use of various features of the new era such as human resource management, teamwork, normative control, the emphasis on social competence as recruitment and hiring criterion, and customer satisfaction surveys.

Accordingly, I further argue that the all-inclusive model added an element of industrialization, standardization, and further precariousness. This marketing strategy was indeed a signal of an acceleration of production. It imposed a

15 All-inclusive represents one extreme point of a spectrum of Taylorist practices in the tourism sector. I focus on all-inclusive in this thesis while other types of hotels may display Taylorism to some extent, too.

reduction in unit labor time of holiday production resulting in prolonged hours, work intensification – "i.e. the effort that employees put into their jobs during the time that they are working"[16] –, increased exploitation of workers, and hence increased productivity. Hospitality eventually developed into a sector that was rather inhospitable to a skilled workforce. With the all-inclusive model, hospitality turned to the quick turnover of more customers through the production of more standard holiday packages with a smaller labor force. Workers were increasingly stripped of earlier guarantees, tools and structures of protection, and bargaining power, facing insecurity as to their employment, income, working-time, representation, skill reproduction, and labor market.[17] They also had problems regarding access to social security and concerns related to growing financial precariousness due to indebtedness.

Service is a particular product that is produced by workers in the presence of customers and simultaneously consumed by the latter. Much of service is intangible and perishable, and cannot be stored for future use. However, service could not be produced without the tangible tools that enable their production. These qualities differentiate it from industrial production, and the work environment also looks distinctly different than the inside of a factory. Analysts see a triangular relationship between workers, customers, and managers in service production. Although this triangular relationship may take different forms, I will discuss whether the nature of capitalist labor process changed in the service sector due to the introduction of customers and consumers into the workplace. I observe that in the holidy villages reference to customers – their presence and satisfaction – and to traditional Turkish hospitality functioned as means to extract more (physical, aesthetic, emotional) labor in order to create surplus value. The workers still sold their labor power in return for a wage. The bosses owned the means of production and designed

16 Brendan Burchell, "The Prevalence and Redistribution of Job Insecurity and Work Intensification," in *Job Insecurity and Work Intensification*, ed. Brendan Burchell, David Lapido, Frank Wilkinson (London: Routledge, 2002), 71-72.

17 Guy Standing, *Global Labor Flexibility: Seeking Distributive Justice*, (London: Macmillan, 1999).

the work through managers while investing in technical innovations and introducing new control mechanisms to extract more labor. The responses of workers to the designs of capital varied. I analyze these aspects of the service labor process in detail from the prism of core LPT developed by Paul Thompson.[18]

Over all, the contention of this thesis is that tourism and holiday enterprises are spaces of capital accumulation built on the relative strength and relations between the bourgeois and working classes rather than only spaces of consumption, fun, and cultural activities. The conditions in which many workers started and continue to work – especially after the introduction of the all-inclusive model – reveal the dark side of service with a smile and the image of the southern coast of Turkey as a relaxing, 3–S holiday paradise. State regulation neither prevented the destruction of the natural environment due to the construction of hotels and buildings nor brought entrepreneurs in line with existing (not very worker-friendly) workers' rights laws. Turkey is considered a paradise of cheap labor. As a matter of fact, Turkey has declined to sign the ILO Convention number 172 on the amelioration of working conditions, training, and career prospects in "hotels, restaurants and similar establishments" for the past twenty-four years. Recent amendments by the long-time-ruling Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi (Justice and Development Party, AKP) to laws on collective bargaining and trade unions raised new thresholds and impediments to workers' unity, solidarity, and security. Currently, membership in unions is low, and new amendments further curb the representative power of unions and their mandate to carry out collective bargaining processes in all sectors of the economy.[19]

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18 Paul Thompson, "Crawling from the Wreckage: The Labor Process and the Politics of Production," in *Labor Process Theory*, ed. David Knights and Hugh Willmott (London: Macmillan, 1990); Stephen J. Jaros, "The Core Theory: Critiques, Defences and Advances," in *Working Life: Renewing Labor Process Analysis*, ed. Paul Thompson and Chris Smith (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

19 Bağımsız Sosyal Bilimciler (Independent Social Scientists), *AKP'li Yıllarda Emeğin Durumu (Labor's Condition during JDP Years)*, (Istanbul: Yordam Kitap, 2015); Aziz Çelik, "Trade Unions and Deunionization During Ten Years of AKP Rule," *Perspectives: Political Analysis and*

I explain this degradation of hospitality service work with the growth of tourism as an industry, intensification of competition, weakening of the bargaining power of workers, and the insecurity that workers face. I believe that this change is related to the general political and economic framework in the country, foremost the tightening grip of the neoliberal model and its "destructive labor regime,"[20] which has hardened under the current government over the past fourteen years. The AKP, essentially a brainchild of the 1980 coup, has championed neoliberal populism. It has been responsible for the construction drive, rapid privatization and financialization of the economy in the 2000 and 2010s, and for the related shrinking of employment,[21] increasing income inequality, and changing structure of poverty.[22]

As Marx states, the capitalist process of production should be considered as the unity of the labor process and the process of extracting surplus value - i.e., valorization.[23] This is the starting point of relations of domination in the capitalist societal order. Burawoy notes that relations *of* production are equally relations *in* production, and it is crucial to acknowledge the importance of the point of production in the formation of the working class.[24]

§ 1.1 The Research

I carried out an ethnographic field research in two holiday villages on the southern coast of Turkey, approaching them as service workplaces. One of these workplaces was located in Antalya and the other in Muğla. When I visited the holiday villages in 2012, it was the high season in the region – the

Commentary from Turkey 3 (2013), accessed March 22, 2016, https://www.boell.de/sites/default/files/perspectives_turkey_3_eng.pdf.

20 For a discussion of neoliberalism's "destructive labor regime," see Gamze Yücesan-Özdemir, *Inatçı Köstebek: Çağrı Merkezlerinde Gençlik, Sınıf ve Direniş (The Obstinate Mole: Youth, Class and Resistance at Call Centers)* (Istanbul: Yordam Kitap, 2014).

21 Bağımsız Sosyal Bilimciler, *AKP'li Yıllarda Emeğin Durumu*, 46-54.

22 Yıldırım Koç, *AKP ve Emekçiler, 2002-2012 (AKP and Workers, 2002-2012)* (Ankara: Epos, 2012); Ayşe Buğra, *Kapitalizm, Yoksulluk ve Türkiye'de Sosyal Politika (Capitalism, Poverty and Social Policy in Turkey)* (Istanbul: İletişim, 2008).

23 Karl Marx, *Capital,* vol. I (London: Penguin Books, 1990).

24 Michael Burawoy, *The Politics of Production* (London: Verso, 1985).

summer months of June, July and August – coinciding with my summer holiday of my work as an instructor at a university. Thus, this was the only time for such fieldwork. A holiday village is a huge organization with many departments, divisions, and teams headed by managers, supervisors, and chiefs respectively. It would have been invaluable to observe service production process over the course of a whole season if I had had the chance to be at the villages from the beginning until the end of a full work season. Due to my academic work at the university, however, this was the only available time to carry out the field research for which I had no funding. When I asked for permission from top management of the holiday villages to conduct field research on their premises and interview workers, I informed them that I was doing research for my doctoral thesis.

The first holiday workplace I visited was located close to Manavgat and Side, some 90 kilometers from the center Antalya, and I spent around three weeks there as a guest. I give the name "Escape" to this enterprise, which employed around 450-500 people. During my stay, I found a second workplace in Fethiye (Muğla) – another holiday village that I name "Dreams" where I worked as a guest relations representative for two months. Dreams employed around 700 people most of who were represented on paper by a trade union. Escape was operated with an all-inclusive concept, while Dreams – which was initially a full-board system – only started to apply it in part in 2010. Both venues were a similar driving distance to airports with daily, international connections.

Interviewing workers and managers was a challenge.[25] For one, it took time to build trust with the workers who were suspicious of my identity. Although I told them that I was a scholar, teaching at a university, and conducting research for my thesis, they thought that I might be spying on behalf of the boss, the state, or a trade union. The workers were more suspicious and wary at the first workplace than the second where I became, at least partly, one of them. Beside the matter of building trust, the second challenge was to arrange times for interviews considering that the workers' intense work schedules and

25 See Appendix for a full list of the formally recorded interviewees.

service stations changed daily or weekly. They would not accept to give an interview on their weekly day off, so we had to create time either before or after their shifts. Eventually, with their permission, I recorded a total of sixty-six in-depth interviews with workers and managers from various service departments at both holiday villages. At Escape, I formally interviewed nine female and seventeen male workers, while at Dreams I interviewed fourteen female and twenty-six male workers.[26] The length of the interviews varied from fifteen minutes to two hours at Escape, and from fifty minutes to three hours at Dreams. The variation is due to various reasons, but I observed that workers at Dreams were much more expressive than those at Escape. Moreover, female workers at Dreams were much more open and relaxed during the interviews. Besides formal interviews, I realized many short and long informal chats with workers and took notes of them along with my observations. In addition, I interviewed the human resource manager and the assistant marketing manager of the Istanbul branch of a world-renown chain hotel as well as the general manager of another holiday village in Side (Antalya) in order to make comparisons. I also interviewed a few shopkeepers at both holiday villages. I will mention and quote interviewees throughout the dissertation. To maintain the confidentiality of the workers and managers I interviewed, I have changed both the names of the enterprises I visited and of the workers and managers to whom I talked. The tourism industry is large, but it is a community in which people know each other well.

Other than carrying out interviews, I was a participant observer at both holiday villages with the distinction that I was also able to formally work at Dreams as an employed worker. Participant observation gave me the greatest chance to understand the real backstage of hospitality work, of course – much more than insights built on interviews. Becoming a worker in the guest relations team, however, was the key that fully opened the door of the hidden abode of hospitality. While I was working at Dreams, I took notes of my observations of the work itself when I got the chance. I sometimes recorded my observations and daily chats with workers when I returned to my room to rest. Back in Istanbul, after finishing the field research, I transcribed all of these

26 One female and two male workers at Dreams were employed by a subcontractor.

recorded interviews, observations, and notes into separate documents according to relevant themes for the labor process analysis.

§ 1.2 Outline of Chapters

In the next sections, I introduce the conditions of service production from the perspective of workers. Based on the literature, I present what it means and what it requires to produce fun, relaxation, and a holiday for consumption by customers, as well as how value is produced in the simultaneous production and consumption of hospitality services. I point to major discussions in LPT research regarding service work, underlining its emotional and aesthetic requirements, as well.

In the second chapter, I analyze the employment relations and labor force characteristics of the two holiday villages. The chapter presents a history of Turkish tourism and changes in the seasonal tourism market on the southern coast over the last three decades when tourism service was industrialized. As a defining characteristic of global tourism work, the much-referred-to-seasonality is a factor in the emergence of a flexible labor force, affecting various worker groups differently. In a segregated labor market built on the labor requirements of holiday village jobs, highly insecure employment conditions are observable.

In the third chapter, I elaborate on the structurally antagonistic relationship between capital and labor by looking at the major themes of LPT research. This chapter elaborates on the control model employed by capital over labor. I agree with the categories developed by Edwards but complement them with the concept of hybridity that Callaghan and Thompson build on top of his theory in order to understand the extraction of additional effort from workers in a time of increasing competition among tourism entrepreneurs. Accordingly, I explore how elements of simple, structural, and normative control as well as references to customer demands act upon workers to organize, direct, and pace service work. As part of structural control, I underscore the rising importance of technical control in hospitality, as well as the continuing relevance of bureaucracy that has adapted to the new era of flexibility. It is

equipped with novel managerial devices such as teams and has extended into spheres where it did not have control before.

The fourth chapter plunges into the elusive theme of skills. First, I elaborate on the meaning of skill generally, and of service work in particular, based on Braverman's explorations of the separation on conception and execution. Then, following Spenner and Lloyd and Pane, I argue that skills should be considered and analyzed in the interplay among workers' relative power and unity, the marketing strategy of firms, and the task discretion and variety in service jobs. Developments over the last three decades explained by long-time workers help to trace changes in the skill content of tourism service jobs both on the front and backstages.

In the last chapter, I examine the ceaseless collective resistance of workers to managerial control and the imposition of managerial definitions of the collectivity, interests, and skills of workers in order to extract their effort and tacit knowledge. Importantly, workers' resistance continues not only in individual form. Collective resistance exists, enabling individual refusal of managerial impositions. Collective and individual acts of resistance by workers continue in holiday villages – not despite but because of the extension of managerial control mechanisms.

§ 1.3 Tourism and Hospitality from the Perspective of Labor

Tourism has become a major employer worldwide. According to the ILO, the tourism and travel industry accounted for 8 percent of total global employment in 2010.[27] According to the World Tourism and Travel Council, the total

27 International Labor Organization (ILO), "Employment in the Tourism Industry to Grow Significantly," *World of Work*, no. 71, April (2011), 36, accessed April 12, 2013, http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---dcomm/Documents/publication/wcms_154579.pdf.

economic contribution of travel and tourism worldwide in 2012 was 260 million jobs - that is, one in every eleven jobs.[28] Importantly, as suggested by the ILO, there are strong links between the demand for labor in the tourism sector, labor mobility, and labor migration. Joppe argues that in the face of the seasonal, cyclical character of the tourism industry, migrant workers are a solution. Bosses employ the workforce flexibly according to demand to solve the problem of skill shortages.[29] She refers to various studies and to the ILO's recent reports that claim a vital role for migrant labor in the long-term growth, competitiveness, and profitability of enterprises in the HoReCa (hotel, restaurant, cafe) sector. If not for migrant workers willing to accept lower pay and poorer working conditions than native workers and their "endur[ing] informal or casual employment services," labor costs and labor shortages in the sector would be increasing sharply.[30] Hall and Williams assert that governments encourage mobility to exploit its benefits despite its problems.[31] The workers, who come from different backgrounds, get to know each other at the tourism venues and socialize. Some find marriage partners and create families. Tourism workplace amounts to a "transient life" for some and to a real home for others.[32]

In Marxist analysis, human labor is central to the processes of value and surplus creation, and thus to capital accumulation and growth. The value is extracted from human labor power during the labor process.[33] Human beings sell their capacity to work to the capitalist in return for a wage. The capitalist buys that capacity from the market as any other commodity that he consumes in the production process. Under capitalist's control, this capacity to work is

28 World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC), "Benchmarking Travel and Tourism in Turkey," accessed February 15, 2016, http://www.wttc.org/-/media/files/reports/benchmark%20reports/country%20results/turkey%20benchmarking%202013.pdf.

29 Marion Joppe, "Migrant Workers: Challenges and Opportunities in Addressing Tourism Labor Shortages," *Tourism Management 33*, no. 3 (2012), 665.

30 Ibid.

31 Colin Michael Hall and Allan Williams, *Tourism and Migration: New Relationships between Production and Consumption* (Dordrecht: Springer Science+Business Media, 2002), 279-80.

32 Clifford quoted in ibid., 282.

33 Marx, *Capital,* vol. I.

transformed into a means of producing value. The capitalist extends the production into surplus value, which is the unpaid labor that becomes his legal property. Marx calls this the process of valorization.[34] Such fundamental characteristics of capitalist wage-work and the social relations of production have been largely missing from analyses of tourism. That tourism and hospitality facilities are equally part of spaces of production and of "the uneven geography of wage-labor"[35] has been largely neglected.[36]

Focus on sovereign customers and their consumption in the so-called new economy renders producers who produce goods and services invisible. It equally neglects the relations of the production of a holiday in a holiday village and its various experiences. Considered a facility of play, fun, and consumption, a holiday village (a resort hotel) is essentially a workplace – a site of the production of services and goods contributing to surplus creation. Surplus is created through the manufacture of play and consumption through scripted, routine, and embodied work. In the competitive global tourism sector, where enterprises' reputation and profitability largely depend on the quality with which workers perform the service product – which in turn involves workers' personalities –, control of the workforce and management of the service product take different forms. Since "the service labor process involves the manufacture of relationships and the production of feeling states in workers and customers," management of the service relationship requires strategies that control the workforce without "spoiling the service relationship."[37] It is in the interest of the employer to "specify exactly how workers look, exactly what they say, their demeanors, their gestures, their moods, even their thoughts."

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34 Paul Thompson, *The Nature of Work: An Introduction to Debates on the Labor Process* (London: Macmillan, 1989), 40-41.

35 Noel Castree, et al., *Spaces of Work: Global Capitalism and the Geographies of Labor*, (London: Sage, 2004).

36 Kristina Zampoukos and Dimitri Ioannides, "The Tourism Labor Conundrum: Agenda for New Research in the Geography of Hospitality Workers," *Hospitality and Society 1*, no.1 (2011).

37 Cameron Lynne MacDonald and Carmen Sirianni, "The Service Society and the Changing Experience of Work," in *Working in the Service Society,* ed. Cameron Lynne MacDonald and Carmen Sirianni (Philadelphia: Temple UP, 1996), 5-11.

The measures to ensure workers' compliance may include standardization, routinization, indoctrination, and empowerment. [38]

In a holiday village, workers produce the infrastructure, relations, and experience that are named services. These include various physical activities incorporating routine physical work, communication, knowledge, performance, entertainment, embodied effort, and experiences along with procurement and production of goods and materials.[39] Pettinger's insight on the materiality of retail service work suggests that holiday service production brings together both immaterial and material dimensions of work.[40] The immaterial component concerns interactive and performative customer service and the material one involves engagement with material commodities. Such a perspective on services incorporates the cultural, interactive, and material dimensions of production. The endless routine production character of holiday workplaces, which is based on physical work, resonates in the precise descriptions given by the most experienced tourism and hospitality workers at the two holiday villages I visited themselves. They characterized tourism (workplace) as a "factory without chimneys."

Human beings who produce holidays for customer consumption are "free" workers who sell their labor power to a capitalist in return for a wage in order to earn a living. The capitalist consumes the worker's labor in the production of commodities and capital, part of which is spent as the wage of the worker for the worker to buy the means of subsistence. The worker continually produces "objective wealth" along with all the compliments of a holiday within

38 Robin Leidner, *Fast Food, Fast Talk: Service Work and the Routinization of Everyday Life* (LA: University of California Press, 1993), 8-9.

39 Bryman, *Disneyization*; Philip Crang, "Performing the Tourist Product," in *Touring Cultures: Transformations of Travel and Theory*, ed. Chris Rojek and John Urry (London: Routledge, 1997); Tim Edensor, "Performing Tourism, Staging Tourism: (Re)producing Tourist Space and Practice," *Tourist Studies 1*, no. 1 (2001); Annette Pritchard, et al., "Editors' Introduction: Tourism, Gender, Embodiment and Experience," in *Tourism and Gender: Embodiment, Sensuality and Gender*, ed. Annette Pritchard (Wallingford: CABI, 2007); Carol Wolkowitz and Chris Warhurst, "Embodying Labor," in *Working Life,* ed. Thompson and Smith.

40 Lynne Pettinger, "On the Materiality of Service Work," *The Sociological Review 54*, no. 1 (2006).

the holiday facility, selling her/his labor power to the capitalist. "[T]he capitalist just as constantly produces labour-power in the form of a subjective source of wealth," depriving labour-power from its own means of objectification and realization. The worker being his "most indispensable means of production," "[t]he capitalist produces the worker as a wage-labourer."[41]

Producing fun does not mean that its process of production entails fun. Holiday work in certain settings may not preclude having fun. Activities of leisure, play, entertainment, and fun may not, however, have the same meaning and impact on their producers who are working at a facility in return for a wage rather than paying for these services. More importantly, workers are employed not to enjoy what they produce, but to make customers enjoy it. Although management may propagandize about dimensions of fun at work, they do not conceal their one and only expectation of workers: to do the work as management wants it done. Indeed, the effect of such work may be just the opposite, causing stress, pain, and discontent. My initial question - "Are you having fun doing what you are doing?" – was not well received by a majority of workers during my field study. Workers were often exhausted, busy, or fed up with intense work (or with customers) in a hot climate, especially in the high season when the holiday villages hosted customers, forcing the limists of their capacity.

The flow of time means something different for producers who execute the same tasks over and over during the hot season on a daily basis than for customers enjoying the services and goods produced for a limited timeframe in the same climate. Moods have an impact on the perception of the flow of time. Workers have to complete tasks as fast as possible in order to meet customer demands in the service of maintaining a relaxed atmosphere and joyful time for customers. Customers' holiday, which is non-work, becomes work for workers. The holiday facility represents being away from one's every day routine for consumers, but it is exactly the everyday work routine for workers, working to maintain that aura of non-work and fun.

41 Marx, *Capital*, vol I, 716, 718.

As mentioned above, in tourism studies there has been scant analysis of tourism labor[42] and neglect for tourism from the point of view of tourism workers.[43] Zampoukos and Ioannides contend that the available literature in tourism has only superficially dealt with the themes of tourism as an element of capital accumulation, hospitality work, and tourism and hospitality workers.[44] Moreover, the critical LPT perspective has not been applied to tourism labor analysis. This being said, a group of tourism geographers starting with Britton, have striven to develop a perspective built on economic geography of tourism, focusing on labor geography.[45] They have adopted a political economy approach toward tourism and, inspired by works of Herod and Tufts, have aspired to broaden geographic inquiry to include analysis of workers in tourism and hospitality from a socio-spatial labor market mobility perspective. [46] Gibson advocates the integration of tourism labor into critical geographic inquiry because of the vast inequalities produced as the sector developed. He underlines that one group enjoying the consumption of a tourism experience generates negative consequences for the quality of life of that experience's producers.[47] These crucial subjects remain to be addressed by researchers.[48]

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42 Michael Riley, Adele Ladkin, Edith Szivas, *Tourism Employment: Analysis and Planning* (Clevedon: Channel View Publications, 2002); Adele Ladkin, "Exploring Tourism Labor," *Annals of Tourism Research 38*, no. 3 (2011).

43 Soile Veijola, "Introduction: Tourism as Work," *Tourist Studies 9*, no. 2 (2009a).

44 Zampoukos and Ioannides, "Tourism Labor Conundrum."

45 Stephen G. Britton, "Tourism, Capital, and Place: Towards a Critical Geography of Tourism," *Environment and Planning D. Society and Space 9*, no. 4 (1991).

46 Andrew Herod, "From a Geography of Labor to a Labor Geography: Labor's Spatial Fix and the Geography of Capitalism," *Antipode 29*, no. 1 (1997); Steven Tufts, "'We Make It Work': The Cultural Transformation of Hotel Workers in the City," *Antipode 38*, no. 2 (2006); "Community Unionism in Canada and Labor's (Re)organization of Space," *Antipode 30*, no. 3 (1998); Zampoukos and Ioannides, "Tourism Labor Conundrum."

47 Chris Gibson, "Geographies of Tourism: Critical Research on Capitalism and Local Livelihoods," *Progress in Human Geography 33*, no. 4 (2009).

48 On tourism and hospitality as a major employer, see, for example, Brian H. Archer and John E. Fletcher, "The Economic Impact of Tourism in the Seychelles," *Annals of Tourism Research 23*, no. 1 (1996); David Parsons, "Tourism and Leisure Jobs: A Statistical Review," *The Service*

Working in the tourism industry, the majority of workers struggle with poor financial conditions and perceive the degradation of their work.[49] Nonetheless, many people migrate to be employed and have different motivations to stay in the mostly seasonal hospitality sector.[50] Workers are increasingly subject to flexible labor market conditions attuned to the cost and demand considerations of competing firms in the age of neoliberal globalization.[51] In

Industries Journal 7, no. 3 (1987). For a discussion on the interplay between class and hotel service work during a time of growing inequality, see Rachel Sherman, Class *Acts: Service and Inequality in Luxury Hotels* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008). On tourism producing unskilled and non-unionized jobs, see Gareth Shaw and Allan M. Williams "Entrepreneurship, Small Business Culture and Tourism Development," in *The Economic Geography of the Tourist Industry: A Supply-Side Analysis,* ed. Dimitri Ioannides and Keith G. Debbage (London: Routledge, 2004). On the differences between core and peripheral workers with respect to their experience of work conditions, see Yvonne Guerrier and Andrew Lockwood, "Core and Peripheral Employees in Hotel Operations," *Personnel Review 18*, no. 1 (1989a).

49 Roy Wood, *Working in Hotels and Catering* (London: International Thomson, 1997); Michael Riley and Edith Szivas, "Tourism Employment and Poverty: Revisiting the Supply Curve," *Tourism Economics 15*, no. 2 (2009).

50 Patricia A. Adler and Peter Adler, *Paradise Laborers: Hotel Work in the Global Economy* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 2004); Andrew Church and Martin Frost, "Tourism, the Global City and the Labor Market in London," *Tourism Geographies 6*, no. 2 (2004); Frances Devine, et al., "Cultural Diversity in Hospitality Work: The Northern Ireland Experience," *International Journal of Human Resource Management 18*, no. 2 (2007); Stephen Williams, *Tourism Geography: A New Synthesis*, London: Routledge, 2009); Raoul Bianchi, "The 'Critical Turn' in Tourism Studies: A Radical Critique," *Tourism Geographies 11*, no. 4 (2009); William C. Terry, "Working On the Water: On Legal Space and Seafarer Protection in the Cruise Industry," *Economic Geography 85*, no. 4 (2009); Joppe, "Migrant Workers;" Hania Janta, et al., "Employment Experiences of Polish Migrant Workers in the UK Hospitality Industry," *Tourism Management 32*, no. 5 (2011).

51 Susan Ainsworth and Alice Purss, "Same Time Next Year? Human Resource Management and Seasonal Workers," *Personnel Review 38*, no. 3 (2009); Pei-Chun Lai, Ebrahim Soltani, Tom Baum, "Distancing Flexibility in the Hotel Industry: The Role of Employment Agencies as Labor Suppliers," *The International Journal of Human Resource Management 19*, no. 1 (2008); Jeremy Head and Rosemary Lucas, "Does Individual Employment Legislation Constrain the Ability of Hospitality Employers to 'Hire and Fire'?," *Hospitality Management 23*, no. 3 (2004a); "Employment Relations in the Non-Union Hotel Industry: A Case of 'Determined Opportunism'?," *Personnel Review 33*, no. 6 (2004b); Yvonne Guerrier and Andrew Lockwood "Managing Flexible Working in Hotels," *The Service Industries Journal 9*, no. 3 (1989b).

such dire conditions, a better and more consistent public policy regarding tourism education and investment in the development of skills should be sought as part of a possible solution to the problems of workers.[52]

Like any other, tourism work is gendered,[53] and women constitute a diverse workforce in this global industry.[54] Their efforts often remain invisible, as in case of room attendants in hotels.[55] Labor flexibility in hotel and catering jobs also has a gender dimension;[56] finding immigrant women in cleaning jobs has become common in the neoliberal era.[57] Thus, as waitresses and hotel maids, women join the ranks of the "working poor" and have fewer opportunities for upward mobility, being stuck in low-level jobs that reflect traditional domestic roles.[58] Due to increasing mobility and migration, hotel work has also become a scene of gender, ethnic, and racial divisions of labor.[59]

Much of this literature on tourism work has been limited to the developed world with scant analysis of labor-related issues in developing countries.[60] In

52 Vanessa A. Amoah and Tom Baum, "Tourism Education: Policy versus Practice," *International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management 9*, no. 1 (1997); Tom Baum, "Skills and Training For the Hospitality Sector: A Review of Issues," *Journal of Vocational Education & Training 54*, no. 3 (2002).

53 Lisa Adkins, *Gendered Work. Sexuality, Family and the Labor Market*, (Bristol: Open University Press, 1995); Soile Veijola, "Gender as Work in the Tourism Industry," *Tourist Studies*, vol. 9, no. 2 (2009b).

54 Darcie Vandegrift, "'This isn't Paradise – I work Here': Global Restructuring, the Tourism Industry, and Women Workers in Caribbean Costa Rica," *Gender & Society 22*, no. 6 (2008).

55 Lars E. Onsøyen, Reidar J. Mykletun, Trygve J. Steiro, "Silenced and Invisible: The Work Experience of Room Attendants in Norwegian Hotels," *Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality & Tourism*, vol. 9, no. 1 (2009).

56 Paul Bagguley, "Gender and Flexibility in Hotel and Catering," *The Service Industries Journal 10*, no. 4 (1990).

57 Luis L. M. Aguiar and Andrew Herod, *The Dirty Work of Neoliberalism: Cleaners in the Global Economy*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006).

58 Barbara Ehrenreich, *Nickel and Dimed: On (not) Getting by in America*, (NY: Metropolitan Books, 2001); Pritchard, et al., "Editors' Introduction."

59 Linda McDowell, *Working Bodies: Interactive Service Employment and Workplace Identities*, (Oxford: Blackwell-Wiley, 2009).

60 For the widely covered matter of job satisfaction among hotel workers, see, for example Terry Lam, Hanqin Zhang, Tom Baum, "An Investigation of Employees' Job Satisfaction: The Case

relation to tourism labor in Turkey, there is a gap in the literature with no study adopting the critical approach of labor process analysis to tourism work. The literature has covered tourism's impact on the increase in inequality between regions and classes; and on problems in Turkey's tourism employment, tourism education, and training.[61] There has been special attention regarding women's employment in the sector.[62] The WTTC takes note of Turkey's exceptional position. In travel and tourism employment, women represent 60 percent of the total workforce worldwide, whereas in Turkey they are underrepresented at 27.3 percent, below even the national employment rate of 29.8 percent for women. Nevertheless, the report notes that this can change rapidly as more women become employed in the sector, and the percentage is expected to reach 36.5 percent by 2023.[63] Perceptions of tourism employees as

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of Hotels in Hong Kong," *Tourism Management 22*, no. 2 (2001). For the impact of new technologies and human resource management on tourism work, see Tom Baum, "Human Resources in Tourism: Still Waiting for a Change," *Progress in Tourism Management 8*, no. 4 (2007).

61 Pembegül Çakır, "Turizm Sektörünün İstihdam Yapısı ve Sorunları (Structure of Tourism Employment and Its Problems)," *Anadolu Üniversitesi İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Fakültesi Dergisi 18*, nos. 1-2 (2002); Özcan Yağcı, "Türkiye'de Turizm Eğitimi Ve İstihdamda Karşılaşılan Temel Sorunlar ve Çözüm Önerileri (Tourism Education and Employment Problems in Turkey and Policy Suggestions)," *Ticaret ve Turizm Eğitim Fakültesi Dergisi*, no. 4 (2001); Cevat Tosun, Dallen J. Timothy, Yüksel Öztürk, "Tourism Growth, National Development and Regional Inequality in Turkey," *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, vol. 11, nos. 2-3 (2003); Meral Korzay, "Tourism Education in Turkey," *International Journal of Hospitality Management 6*, no. 1 (1987); Özen Dallı, "Tourism Manpower and Training in Turkey," *The Tourist Review 46*, no: 3 (1991); Mehmet Yeşiltaş, Yüksel Öztürk, Nigel Hemmington, "Tourism Education in Turkey and Implications for Human Resources," *Anatolia: An International Journal of Tourism and Hospitality Research 21*, no. 1 (2010).

62 For status of women in tourism jobs, see Peter Cave and Serpil Kılıç, "The Role of Women in Tourism Employment With Special Reference to Antalya, Turkey," *Journal of Hospitality Marketing & Management 19*, no. 3 (2010). For a discussion on role of women employed in tourism in cultural transformation, see Hazel Tucker, "Undoing Shame: Tourism and Women's Work in Turkey," *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change 5*, no. 2 (2007).

63 World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC), "Gender Equality and Youth Employment: Travel & Tourism as a Key Employer of Women and Young People," accessed March 5, 2016,

to career, service quality, and job satisfaction are among the themes covered in the literature.[64] However, there is little elaboration on the themes of the problems of immigrant workers[65] and the activities of trade unions.[66]

A recent research by Aykaç elaborates on labor transformation and tourism labor, analyzing patterns of proletarianization and focusing on farmer households during the development of major tourism centers in three locations along the southern coast of Turkey. Her follow-up analysis examines the structural dynamics of the tourism labor market in Turkey.[67]

Veijola alleges that "[t]ourism is perceived as a paradigmatic sphere of the world in which people travel – for leisure, work and survival – excessively." Through a mobility and hospitality prism, she states that the whole world has become mobile and the whole world has, in parallel, started to host.[68] People

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https://www.wttc.org/-/media/files/reports/policy%20research/gender_equality_and_youth_employment_final.pdf

64 Sevgin Akış Roney and Perin Öztin, "Career Perceptions of Undergraduate Tourism Students: A Case Study in Turkey," *Journal of Hospitality, Leisure, Sport and Tourism Education 6*, no. 1 (2007); Mustafa Koyuncu et al. (2014), "Servant Leadership and Perceptions of Service Quality Provided by Front-Line Service Workers in Hotels in Turkey: Achieving Competitive Advantage," *International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management 26*, no. 7 (2014); Ahmet Bülent Öztürk, Murat Hancer, Jin Young Im, "Job Characteristics, Job Satisfaction, and Organizational Commitment for Hotel Workers in Turkey," *Journal of Hospitality Marketing & Management 23*, no. 3 (2014).

65 For one of the few examples on migrant workers in the sector, see Kuvvet Lordoğlu and Haslet Parlak, "Türkiye Turizminde Göçmenler ve Çalışma Sorunları (Migrant Workers in Turkish Tourism and Their Work-Related Problems)," *1. Ulusal Çalışma İlişkileri Kongresi Bildiriler Kitabı* (2008). On problems of migrant women including sex work, see Leyla Gülcür and Pınar Ilkkaracan "The "Natasha" Experience: Migrant Sex Workers from the Former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe in Turkey," *Women's Studies International Forum 25*, no. 4 (2002).

66 Ömer Akgün Tekin, "Sendikacılık ve Türkiye Turizm Sektörü (Trade Unionism and Turkish Tourism Industry)" *Süleyman Demirel Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi 20*, no. 2 (2014).

67 Aslıhan Aykaç, "Tourism Employment: Towards an Integrated Policy Approach," *Anatolia: An International Journal of Tourism and Hospitality Research 21*, no. 1 (2010); *Yeni İşler, Yeni İşçiler: Turizm Sektöründe Emek* (New Jobs, New Workers: Labor in the Tourism Sector) (Istanbul: İletişim, 2009).

68 Veijola, "Introduction: Tourism as Work," 84.

travel for purposes of leisure, relaxation, entertainment, and regeneration, while others travel to find work and become the producers of that leisure and relaxation. Most who travel for leisure then return and resume work as employees or workers elsewhere. She defines contemporary working life in the Westernized world as increasingly "tourist-like" because it is based on information, communication, hospitality, and experiences.[69] Mobility and tourism work have their dark side, though, in the form of transnational human trafficking with "a distinctive gender dimension," whereby women and girls are "lured, abducted or sold into 'forced prostitution'" in what is called global sex tourism.[70] Veijola claims that studies of tourism work contribute to an understanding of the changing conditions of and interplay between work and gender in a contemporary economy that is characterized as new, post-industrial, knowledge – or experience – economy. Ladkin observes that tourism work is actually a "new work" that reflects global changes in work-life such as flexibility, migration, individualization, feminization of work, and blurring the boundary between work and home.[71] However, tourism work, like all others, is gendered work. Reflecting traditional domestic roles, women are employed as receptionists, waitresses, cleaners, maids, babysitters, and travel agency sales people, but poorly represented in managerial positions. [72]

Tourism and hospitality are part of the service industry, about which there has been rising academic interest in recent years as services increasingly become detached from the household and become part of the market, transforming high numbers of women into wage-laborers. Despite the challenge of services to the supremacy of manufacturing in terms of employment, consumer services, like tourism, are not treated the same as productive services that are directly related with manufacturing. Tourism jobs are not considered "real jobs" because of its low-paid, feminine, and part-time character.[73] Real

69 Ibid., 110.

70 Hall and Williams, *Tourism and Migration*, 278.

71 Adkins, *Gendered Work*, 114-15.

72 Pritchard, et al., "Editors' Introduction," 5.

73 Keith G. Debbage and Peter Daniels, "The Tourist Industry and Economic Geography: Missed Opportunities," in *The Economic Geography of the Tourist Industry: A Supply-Side Analysis*, ed. Dimitri Ioannides and Keith G. Debbage (London: Routledge, 1998), 18.

jobs are still associated with industrial and production paradigms. However, consumer services are also produced in an economy in which service and production are inseparable. These jobs fit what Cook defines as "nonclassic work":

> …nonclassic work occurs within a web of relationships, including the client or consumer, the family, and multiple "outside" actors that influence the work process (consider the work of a street vendor). In some forms of nonclassic work, an intangible "product" is "consumed" at the moment of its creation, as in a musical performance, a play, or a professor's lecture. In these examples, the phases of production, circulation, and consumption, which in classical work occur sequentially and are carried out by distinct actors, occur all at once, in a single act.[74]

Nonclassic work exists side-by-side with manufacturing in an era of transforming workplaces and work. These [interactive service] jobs make use of "workers' looks, personalities, and emotions, as well as their physical and intellectual capacities, sometimes forcing them to manipulate their identities more self-consciously than do workers in other kinds of jobs."[75] This follows the classical account of sociologist Mills who acknowledges the emotional, interactive, and embodied features of white collar work."[76] The key to service labor process, especially on the frontline, is the attempt by employers to mold emotionality and corporeal qualities of workers through managerial intervention, harmonizing such inputs with corporate goals.[77]

In the so-called new economy characterized by the rise of services and decline of industry, the distinction between work and leisure is allegedly blurred for the new service class. The claim is that work becomes fun while the boundary between work and non-work has become indistinct. As a consequence of

74 Maria Lorena Cook, "Bringing the Worker Back In: New Studies of Work in Mexico," *Work and Occupations 39*, no. 2 (2012), 140.

75 Leidner, *Fast Food, Fast Talk*, 155.

76 C. Wright Mills quoted in McDowell, *Working Bodies*, 50-51.

77 Chris Warhurst, Paul Thompson, Dennis Nickson, "Labor Process Theory: Putting Materialism Back into the Meaning of Service Work," in *Service Work: Critical Perspectives*, ed. Marek Korczynski and Cameron Lynne Macdonald (New York: Routledge, 2009), 105.

this blurring of production and consumption and of producers and consumers in these transformed work relationships, class practices and identities have become impossible to identify.[78] Delineating a boundary between leisure and work becomes difficult, as social relations of consumption and production have merged.[79] New life-styles, consumption patterns, cultural production, and aestheticizing of life are welcomed as signals of a new age,[80] leaving the industrial epoch behind. The new capitalism is equated with the rise of services whereby production is said to have been "displaced by consumption."[81] The promise of a post-industrial society that has become true for a few, however, has not turned out to be the reality for the large majority. First, Crompton suggests that although work and non-work identities have become blurred, this does not mean that producer/consumer boundary has been erased. It is still around relations of employment that the former is socially constructed.[82] Second, despite the creation of high-paid, high-skill employment, poorly-paid, often casual, and temporary work at the bottom of the service sector – employing increasingly part-time working women – has grown well beyond the former.[83] Frenkel agrees with McDowell that in terms of skills, creativity, and knowledge, most service work remains at the low end of service employment, and poorly paid.[84]

Accordingly, in contrast with an insubstantial class, we are faced with an enlarging, visible "service proletariat"[85] working in service jobs that involve caring, cleaning, waiting, and selling – and which are mind-numbingly rou-

78 Rosemary Crompton, "Consumption and Class Analysis," in *Consumption Matters: The Production and Experience of Consumption*, ed. Stephen Edgell, Kevin Hetherington, Alan Warde (Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1996), 121-22.

79 Paul Du Gay, *Consumption and Identity at Work*, (London: Sage, 1996).

80 Linda McDowell, *Capital Culture: Gender at Work in the City*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997), 15.

81 Warhurst, Thompson, Nickson, "Putting Materialism Back," 91-92.

82 Crompton, "Consumption and Class," 122.

83 McDowell, *Capital Culture*, 16.

84 Stephen J. Frenkel, "Service Workers in Search of Decent Work," in *The Oxford Handbook of Work and Organization*, ed. Stephen Ackroyd et al. (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2005), 357, 359.

85 Harriet Bradley et al., *Myths at Work* (Cambridge: Polity, 2000).

tine and stripped of autonomy. In the new millennium, the population working for a wage to sustain their lives has increased above three billion. Dramatically, working people "labor for some 65–80 per cent of their lives if they are to satisfy their everyday needs and wants."[86] Thus, those whom the "service proletariat" actually serves are themselves mostly workers employed elsewhere to serve or produce goods. Only in certain service encounters and relationships are they customers who receive services. There has been a general decline in the social distance between service providers and receivers as interactive services and their providers and consumers expand.[87] While a decrease in social distance can be observed, Warhurst and Nickson ask whether we are also faced with a "labor aristocracy" rather than a service proletariat in certain sub-sectors of the service industry. They suggest this aristocracy is in the making through the employment of young people who – coming from middle class backgrounds – have the cultural capital and can provide the "aesthetic labor" that others do not have and cannot provide.[88] From a different angle, their suggestion could be interpreted as pointing to a new wave of proletarianization that now also extends toward the mentioned middle classes who must work at jobs for which they may be overqualified. Overall, this attests to the fact that work in all forms has expanded and intensified rather than having its boundary with non-work has blurred. Moreover, work has become precarious for a large, diverse majority in the labor market. Analyzing the growth of precarious work in the United States, Kalleberg emphasizes competition among firms and the development of new technologies, as well as deregulation and the erosion of public, fixed labor market standards, the decline of unions, and the reorganization of employment relations.[89] He attests to the fact that precarious work became more pervasive and generalized across all sectors and all strata of the workforce, whether professional, management, or low-end.[90]

86 Castree, et al., *Spaces of Work,* Preface.

87 Chris Warhurst and Dennis Nickson, "A New Labor Aristocracy? Aesthetic Labor and Routine Interactive Service," *Work, Employment and Society 21*, no. 4 (2007), 787.

88 Ibid.

89 Arne L. Kalleberg, "Precarious Work, Insecure Workers: Employment Relations in Transition," *American Sociological Review 74*, no. 1 (2009).

90 Kalleberg quoted in Steven P. Vallas (2012), *Work: A Critique*, (Cambridge: Polity, 2012), 336.

Nonclassic work may become the norm in the new era, depriving people of precious time for socialization and providing only an income barely enough if not insufficient for procuring basic human needs.

§ 1.4 Holiday Villages as Spaces of Production and Consumption

According to Turkish State Regulations on Certification and Qualities of Tourism Facilities, a "holiday village" is a touristic facility designed in a spread-out residential order of no more than three stories and surrounded by nature. The facility provides sports, entertainment, and shopping along with comfortable accommodation services with no less than eighty rooms. Apart from spatial specificities, the regulations further detail what has to be offered.[91]

First opened in 1950 in Majorca, Spain by the Club Méditerranée association in the form of "comfortable tent villages," resort hotels or holiday villages have become important facilities of the tourism, entertainment, and hospitality industries over time.[92] These are located in specific geographic areas renowned for natural, cultural, and/or historical reserves. The increasing number of commercial facilities being built around the world by various corporations - either as part of chains or as one-off hotels - commodifies these places of natural beauty. The nature and landscape in these geographies are fenced and placed out of the reach of the majority of the people. They are turned into locations where exclusive services are sold in the hospitality market. Landscape and the nature are equally transformed into an extension of these exclusive services being offered. They become a background for the services for which people pay to enjoy at that particular location. As customers, they are detached from the general public that is locked out.

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91 Resmi Gazete (Official Gazette), "Turizm Tesislerinin Belgelendirilmesine ve Niteliklerine İlişkin Yönetmelik (State Regulations on Certification and Qualities of Tourism Facilities)," Decision No.: 2005/8948, accessed January 23, 2013, http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/eskiler/2005/06/20050621-11.htm.

92 Ellen Furlough, "Club Méditerranée, 1950-2002," in *Europe at the Seaside: The Economic History of Mass Tourism in the Mediterranean,* ed. Luciano Segreto, Carles Manera, Mandfred Pohl (NY: Berghahn, 2009).

During this process what emerges is a "landscape of consumption" with its creative and manipulative "cathedrals," to borrow the words of Ritzer.[93] Although Ritzer refers to casino-hotels and cruise ships – along with McDonalds, Disneyland, shopping malls, the Las Vegas Strip, and earlier forms such as the "phantasmagoric" arcades described by Walter Benjamin and French department stores – as both effective "selling machines" and "phantasy worlds," holiday villages as facilities of tourism, hospitality, and entertainment fit well in the category.[94] What is new and different about these "new spaces of consumption," Ritzer attends, is that they fuel "hyperconsumption" of not only things but "experiences, including the experience of the cathedral and/or landscape itself."[95] The success of these cathedrals lies in controlling the increasing number of customers for continuous consumption, avoiding negative outcomes that may disenchant customers. Enchantment, reenchantment, and rationalization are the necessary conditions for the perpetuation of these facilities in the service of capital accumulation.[96] Guerrier and Adib state that "[t]he process by which the employee attempts to manage the guest in a subtle way whilst giving the impression that the guest is in control is a normal part of hotels' guest-employee encounters."[97] The crux of such encounters in the consumption process is the hidden managerial control over both workers and customers for the purposes of capital accumulation. Ritzer remains mostly silent about the nature of work in the "McDonaldized" society, but Bryman points to managerial control over behavior and the bodily expressions of employees working in Disney theme parks. Workers in these parks should always be smiling, friendly, and helpful, while making a display of an entertaining mood. Bryman confirms that "emotional labor" is a central aspect of work in Disney parks. The fun created through "emotional labor" projects the image of a non-

93 Georg Ritzer, *Enchanting a Disenchanted World: Revolutionizing the Means of Consumption*, (Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge, 2005).

94 Ibid., 48.

95 Ibid., 156.

96 Ibid., 48.

97 Guerrier and Adib quoted in Rosemary E. Lucas, *Employment Relations in the Hospitality and Tourism Industries*, (NY: Routledge, 2004), 50.

work environment where workers themselves are not working, but creating and having fun together with the customers. He suggests that the inculcated, relaxed demeanor facilitates additional spending.[98]

For outside observers, holiday villages are also Disney-like to an extent; they are places of consumption, where customers for manipulated to consume more and to return as repeat guests. The qualities holiday villages have in common with theme parks can also be observed in the exterior architectural design, particularly of those holiday villages built in the Antalya basin. On the inside, it is workers who create such a relaxed holiday environment. The fact is that creating this non-work environment is itself hard, repetitive, and routine work controlled by hotel management. As such, holiday village jobs reflect the dimensions of McDonaldization mentioned by Ritzer in his Weberian analysis of rationalized service work: efficiency, calculability, predictability, and control.[99]

With the construction of various types of hotels and new facilities of leisure and entertainment in Southern Turkey that accelerated after a law encouraging tourism was enacted in 1982, the Antalya and Fethiye basins began to turn into landscapes of consumption. The regions attracted foreign and local investment for mainly tourism and travel. Over three decades, they have become the Wal-Mart of holiday services, with a variety of choices in terms of style, quality, and price, including 3–S-based holiday villages. As such, facilities of tourism and hospitality entered into a fierce competition with the holiday facilities of other countries to increase the number and retained their customers. The process of consolidating the tourism and travel industry in Turkey in the 1990s coincided with a neoliberal transformation in Turkish agriculture that dismantled the earlier era's regulatory regime.[100] This also contributed to

98 Alan Bryman, "The Disneyization of Society," in *Service Work*, ed. Korczynski and Macdonald.

99 George Ritzer, *The Mcdonaldization of Society*, (Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge, 1993).

100 Çağlar Keyder and Zafer Yenal, "Agrarian Change under Globalization: Markets and Insecurity in Turkish Agriculture," *Journal of Agrarian Change 11*, n. 1 (2011b), 64.

a change in land use in the Mediterranean region for the purposes of urbanization, industrialization, and the development of tourism.[101]

Being among the fastest growing industries and having become a feature of mass consumption with its large scale movement of goods, services, and people, tourism and hospitality present an important avenue for the pursuit and flexible accumulation of profit.[102] A Marxist approach points to tourism's role in [uneven] capitalist development, accumulation, and ensuing inequalities, a long-neglected dimension in tourism studies.[103] Building upon the analysis of Lefebvre and Harvey, these analysts introduce a geographic-spatial dimension to the tourism debate, elaborating on the socio-spatial relations of the production of tourism products. Harvey elaborates on Marx's assumptions regarding the incessant accumulation of capital that necessitates an intensification of existing economic activities and the penetration of market relations into new activities. This is supported by another cycle of excess labor and investment in new technology that both cheapens and increases the productivity of labor, devising new high-profit products, new needs, and new wants – production of new consumption – that boost effective demand. It also necessitates new spatial organizations and geographical expansion, opening up new areas for investment through advances in communication and transportation: "The imperative to accumulate consequently implies the imperative to overcome spatial barriers."[104] This results in an increase in mobility whereby millions

101 Harun Tanrıvermiş, "Agricultural Land Use Change and Sustainable Use of Land Resources in the Mediterranean Region of Turkey," *Journal of Arid Environments 54*, no.3 (2003).

102 Britton, "Tourism, Capital, and Place."

103 Jan Mosedale, "Re-Introducing Tourism to Political Economy," in *Political Economy of Tourism: A Critical Perspective*, ed. Jan Mosedale *(*London: Routledge, 2011); Raoul Bianchi, "Tourism and Marxist Political Economy," in *Political Economy of Tourism: A Critical Perspective*, ed. Jan Mosedale; Stephen G. Britton, "The Political Economy of Tourism in the Third World," *Annals of Tourism Research 9*, no. 3 (1982); Dimitri Ioannides and Keith G. Debbage (eds.), *The Economic Geography of the Tourist Industry: A Supply-Side Analysis*, (London: Routledge, 1998); Robert Fletcher, "Sustaining Tourism, Sustaining Capitalism? The Tourism Industry's Role in Global Capitalist Expansion," *Tourism Geographies: An International Journal of Tourism, Place and Environment 13*, no. 3 (2011).

104 David Harvey, *Spaces of Capital: Towards a Critical Geography*, (NY: Routledge, 2001), 264-66.

travel long distances to work, becoming part of surplus labor. Fletcher regards the success of tourism in the last half-century as one of the vital components allowing capitalism to sustain itself, overcoming problems of overaccumulation through the creation of fixes. Tourism functions as one of those outlets for excess capital:

> In its origins as a small-scale, elite enterprise, tourism of the Grand Tour variety reflected early liberal capitalism's nascent entrepreneurial structure. The rise of mass tourism centered on collective prepackaged holidays in the post-war era, by contrast, coincided with the consolidation of an "organized," Fordist regime of accumulation emphasizing increasingly larger vertically-integrated firms. Finally, the 1970s saw the rise of new/alternative tourism offering a variety of flexible, individually-tailored trips concurrent with capitalism's shift towards a novel "disorganized," post-Fordist form centered on "flexible accumulation" (Harvey 1989) through diverse structures. This has led to the development of a myriad "niche" or "boutique" markets designed to offer an outlet for every tourist's particular taste.[105]

Fletcher considers "tourism's dramatic growth over the past half-century as a function of capitalist expansion…" Through tourism, which contributes to the emergence of a "world market," "the world capitalist system seeks to overcome inherent contradictions that may threaten its long-term survival through various spatial, temporal and environmental 'fixes.'"[106] Bianchi suggests that during the 1990s, obstacles to the cross-border mobility of capital and the liberalization of services, including tourism, in the "South" were removed by neoliberal policies that let in foreign (surplus) capital in a variety of sectors that were formerly beyond the reach of capital. This contributed to the opening of new areas and activities for investment such as travel agencies, ecotourism, and urban heritage, as well as luxury resorts.[107]

105 Fletcher, "Sustaining Tourism, Sustaining Capitalism?" 448.

106 Ibid., 449.

107 Bianchi, "Tourism and Marxist Political Economy," 23.

§ 1.5 Labor Process Theory (LPT)

Labor Process Theory (LPT) and debates about it rose around the basic themes raised by Braverman's work founded in Marx's analysis of the capitalist labor process. Marx uses the concept "labor process" to explain the historical relationship between humans and nature, whereby the human "acts upon the external nature and changes it" to create use values. In the process, humans change their own nature, developing "slumbering potentialities." "Man not only effects a change of form in the materials of nature; he also realizes [verwirklicht] his own purpose in those materials."[108] Marx notes that the elements of labor process are "(1) purposeful activity, that is labor itself, (2) the object on which that work is performed, and (3) the instruments of that work."[109] The latter two elements comprise the means of production, which he calls the "objective conditions of production," while the first element, the work itself, constitutes the subjective condition of production.[110] The labor process has two characteristics when the capitalist consumes the labor-power of the worker in exchange for a wage. First, the capitalist, under whose control the worker works, takes the necessary measures that the means of production are used according to their purpose without waste. Second, the product does not belong to the worker who produces it, but to the capitalist. "The labor process is a process between things that the capitalist has purchased, things which belong to him," including the labor-power of the worker.[111] The capitalist aims for the production of use-value that has exchange-value, on one hand, and for the creation of surplus value, on the other hand, to expand his capital. It is the labor extracted from the labor power during the labor process that creates value and surplus value.

Marx's analysis of the capitalist labor process in the first volume of *Capital* was given little attention in the sociology of work until Braverman's seminal

108 Marx, *Capital*, vol. I, 283-84.

109 Ibid., 284.

110 David Gartman, "Marx and the Labor Process: An Interpretation," *Critical Sociology 25* (1999), 383.

111 Marx, *Capital*, vol. I, 291-92.

work *Labor and Monopoly Capital*,[112] which marked the beginning of the LPT. Emerging during a turbulent economic time shaking the assumptions of Keynesianism and Fordism, he analyzes the transformation of the labor process under "monopoly capital" by reviving the critical Marxist perspective on work. Braverman elaborates on the strategies used by employers to reduce the costs of production, to minimize wages, and to increase productivity in order to maintain the profitability of their business. He finds two main strategies organize the labor process in a way to dispossess workers of production knowledge. One is what he calls the "Babbage principle," which is the attempt by employers to subdivide high-skill tasks into small sets of functions.[113] The other is the "scientific management" developed by Frederick W. Taylor, which Lenin regarded as "a combination of the refined brutality of bourgeois exploitation and a number of the greatest scientific achievements in the field of analyzing mechanical motions during work…"[114] Taylorism has three major principles: dissociation of the labor process from the skills of workers, separation of the conception from the execution, and the use of the "monopoly over knowledge to control each step of the labor process and its mode of execution."[115]

Contrary to general assumptions, Braverman maintains that these tools are applied to control not only factory workers, but also clerical and service workers. The "Babbage principle" is fundamental to the evolution of the division of labor and thus governs all forms of work in capitalist society.[116] It applies equally to manual and mental labor, as economist Babbage himself acknowledged two centuries earlier.[117] Indeed, Braverman puts forward that there is little difference among those employed in the modern corporations of

112 Harry Braverman, *Labor and Monopoly Capital: The Degradation of Work in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1974; 1998).

113 Braverman explains: "…in a society based upon the purchase and sale of labor power, dividing the craft cheapens its individual parts," 55-6. "The most common mode of cheapening labor is exemplified by the Babbage principle: break it up into its simplest elements," 57.

114 Lenin quoted in ibid., 8-9.

115 Ibid., 77-83.

116 Ibid., 57.

117 Ibid., 218-20.

the twentieth century under monopoly capitalism.[118] They are all subject to the same rationalization process characterized by a detailed division of labor and a control regime that functions to extract as much labor from the hired labor power of the workers as possible. All working people, whether factory, office, or service workers, are increasingly subject to Taylorist methods, which increase labor efficiency and pave the way eventually for labor's domination by capital.

Braverman has a clear political agenda to ignite political debate through his analysis of capitalist labor process. On one hand, he wants to point to and take a stand against the diffusion of capitalist property relations.[119] On the other, in its specific historical context, he strives to debunk the "upgrading thesis" that suggests an economic revival and industrial renewal in American capitalism through the upgrading of skills and education.[120] With such goals, he revives Marx's critique of capitalism for the new era of work. Marx's analysis of the labor process challenges and discredits "the mystifications surrounding market relations where the 'just equivalence' of exchange obscures the exploitation of labor upon which the sphere of circulation depends."[121] Focusing on relations at the point of production, Marx shows how capital produces and how capital is itself produced. During production for profit rather than production out of necessity, as capital extracts surplus value - which Marx calls valorization – the value of human labor is obscured and workers' control over the productive process of labor is progressively eroded.[122]

The conflict-ridden historical process of proletarianization starts with the dispossession of farmers which transforms them into cooperative workers in

118 Ibid., chapter 16.

119 David Spencer, "Braverman and the Contribution of Labor Process Analysis to the Critique of Capitalist Production – Twenty-Five Years On," *Work Employment Society 14*, no. 2 (2000), 224.

120 Tony Tinker, "Spectres of Marx and Braverman in the Twilight of Postmodernist Labor Process Research," *Work Employment Society 16*, no. 2 (2002), 253-54.

121 "Editorial Introduction" in *Labor Process Theory*, ed. David Knights and Hugh Willmott (London: Macmillan, 1990), 2.

122 Ibid., 3.

workshops and factories. The socially productive power of labor is thus developed. Workers find themselves stripped of the means of production and in the position of selling their labor power in order to sustain their lives and to reproduce themselves. Meanwhile capitalists accumulate capital to invest and reinvest in the economy through the consumption of labor power in production. In return, the self-expansion of capital through reinvestment in production sets free and pulls more workers ("Menschenmassen") into the production of more value and surplus value.[123] Along the way, capital has to attend to the extraction of the highest amount of labor from the labor power it hires while workers develop organized resistance to it. The crucial point in what is called the wage-effort bargain is that "what the worker sells, and what the capitalist buys, is *not an agreed amount of labor, but the power to labor over an agreed period of time*" (emphasis in original).[124] Consequently, extraction of the highest amount of labor necessitates the removal of the control of production from workers, ensuring not only that they not resist but give their consent to capital's control of it. "The work of directing, superintending, and adjusting becomes one of the functions of capital, from the moment that the labor under capital's control becomes cooperative.[125] Taylorism – separation of the head from the hand through the use of science and technology – is a twentieth-century means to build this mechanism of control supporting capitalists' aspiration to dominate workers.

Braverman analyzes the transformation of the labor process in relation to organizational change under monopoly capitalism. He focuses on the capitalist nature of work and its degradation resulting from the progressive erosion of worker control over production. The separation of conception and execution – through the detailed, technical division of labor, through the utilization of scientific method, and the concentration of conception in the hands of an ever smaller number of people in management – tightens control, as Taylor suggests. They are responsible for the degradation – reducing workers to merely interchangeable de-skilled executers. Work, a conscious and purpose-

123 Braverman, *Labor and Monopoly Capital*, 176-77.

124 Ibid., 37.

125 Marx, *Capital*, vol. I, 449.

ful activity guided by intelligence, is thus degraded. Concentration of production knowledge at the managerial level and the ensuing deskilling definitely reduce workers' autonomy, decreasing their power to resist the capitalists' imposition of the terms of work and employment. Management sets out to design more intense methods of work. The workers' loss and managers' gain of control and the separation of the head from the hand create the antagonisms inherent in the labor processes. Through the control mechanism of separating conception and execution, capitalists strive for "the displacement of labor as the subjective element of the labor process and its transformation into an object."[126] Human instruments adapted to the machinery of production supports control by capital, reduction of costs, and increases in profit - to an extent.

Dispossession, the imposition of wage work, the conception and design of work by management, and the denial of control over production degrades work. Work thus becomes an alienated activity for the humans. Dispossession and alienation come to define producers' and workers' experiences under the capitalist mode of production. Marx writes that with manufacturing and its technical division of labor, the worker is "divided up, and transformed into the automatic motor of a detailed operation" and then converted into a "crippled monstrosity… So the division of labor brands the manufacturing worker as the property of capital."[127] Following Marx, Braverman maintains that only through the abolition of capital will alienation come to an end. The emancipation of labor will come through revolutionary working class activity. For him, Marx's "theoretical and empirical analysis of the capitalist labor process as a means to an end; both only mattered to the extent that they contributed towards the emancipation of labor."[128] This emancipation will remove "the limits that capitalism imposes on the development of [our] potentiality" as human beings. Concerning the issue of class, Braverman takes detailed note of the changing nature of the objective class composition and its consequences for class struggle, stating that classes "are not fixed entities but rather ongoing

126 Braverman, *Labor and Monopoly Capital*, 124.

127 Marx, *Capital*, vol. I, 481-82.

128 Spencer, "Twenty-Five Years On," 226-27.

processes." He attributes a strong role to consciousness through which "a class becomes an actor on the historic stage."[129]

Marking the beginning of LPT, Braverman's work has been subject to various criticisms over time.[130] The matter of deskilling, at least, seems to be misunderstood. In the last chapter of his work, "A Final Note on Skill," he criticizes the vague formulations of "skill," "training," and "education" presented as proofs for the upgrading thesis. To the contrary, he suggests that the scientific and educated content of labor tend toward "*polarization*" than toward "*averaging*" (emphasis in original).[131] He reckons that the "average skill" hides the loss of craft and traditional abilities without the gain of new ones. Workers know and understand less about the work. Since more science is incorporated into the labor process, workers realize that they have to know and understand more "to remain a human being at work."[132] He suggests that: "[t]he capitalist mode of production systematically destroys all-around skills where they exist, and brings into being skills and occupations that correspond to its needs."[133]

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129 "Editorial Introduction" in *Labor Process Theory*, ed. Knights and Willmott, 9-10.

130 For a criticism of deskilling and the romanticization of craft work, see, for example, Tony Cutler, "The Romance of Labor," *Economy and Society 7*, no. 1 (1978); Tony Elger, "Braverman, Capital Accumulation and Deskilling," in *The Degradation of Work? Skill, Deskilling and the Labor Process*, ed. Stephen Wood (London: Hutchinson, 1982); Craig Littler and Graeme Salaman (1982), "Bravermania and Beyond: Recent Theories of the Labor Process," *Sociology 16*, no. 2 (1982). Braverman is also criticized for considering Taylorism as the only management strategy: Richard C. Edwards, *Contested Terrain: The Transformation of the Workplace in the Twentieth Century* (London: Heinemann, 1979); Andrew L. Friedman, *Industry and Labor: Class Struggle at Work and Monopoly Capitalism*, (London: Macmillan, 1977). There is mention of the parochialism of labor process analysis and neglect of the full circuit of industrial capital in John Kelly, "Management's Redesign of Work: Labor Process, Labor Markets and Product Markets," in *Job Redesign: Critical Perspectives on the Labor Process*, ed. David Knights, Hugh Willmott, David Collison (Aldershot: Gower, 1985). Lastly, , the ontology of class relations and the neglect of the issue of agency and subjectivity are problematized in Burawoy, *The Politics of Production*; *Manufacturing Consent* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979).

131 Braverman, *Labor and Monopoly Capital*, 294.

132 Ibid., 294-95.

133 Ibid., 57.

Corresponding to capital's "constant revolutionizing the instruments of production" and "everlasting uncertainty and agitation," Braverman argues for the continuing destruction of skills and the creation of new ones according to the needs of capital. This contrasts a simple formulation of deskilling. Nonetheless, Thompson argues that deskilling remains "the major *tendential* presence within the development of the capitalist labor process,"[134] despite admitting limits to deskilling through the use of technology due to the resistance of workers and labor market conditions (emphasis in original).

Until second wave theory started in late 1970s, arguments about deskilling dominated the field.[135] The scope of the labor process debate incorporated various other important issues as a result of the aforementioned criticisms and contributions to theory and methodology, enriching industrial sociology. This enrichment continued with the studies of Burawoy on the question of consent, conflict, and subjectivity; Edwards on forms of workplace control and especially bureaucracy; Edwards on conflict and relative autonomy; Friedman on responsible autonomy; Littler and Thompson on comparative analysis and the co-existence of various managerial strategies within a company; Edwards and Scullion on the dialectical relationship between control and resistance; Pollert on women workers; Wood on technology and deskilling; the critical exchange between Storey and Friedman on the incoherence and inconsistency of control mechanisms in organizations; and Hodson on different forms of conflict

134 Thompson, *The Nature of Work*, 118.

135 Thompson and Smith refer to Braverman's work as fundamental for redefining British "industrial sociology," not only in terms of subject and methodology, but in counteracting the tendency of fragmentation of analysis through a clear focus on objective conditions of work in the waged workplace and a clear theoretical narrative around the degradation of work under new forms of capitalist production and management. Theoretically-informed case-studies are a novelty, and scholars scrutinize new managerial strategies, skills, and trade unionization using the new method. In Britain, the labor process agenda became institutionalized with LPT conferences starting in 1990 that contributed to maintaining an important space for the critical sociology of work. Paul Thompson and Chris Smith, "Debating Labor Process Theory and the Sociology of Work," in *Working Life*, ed. Thompson and Smith, 11-13.

and resistance motivated by pride as well as by a striving for autonomy.[136] Although little credit is given to him within the LPT framework, Hyman's work is also influential in bringing together conflict and underlying features of the organization of work in capitalism.[137] Burawoy contributes to the recognition of the relations in production, showing the power of normative constructs in the workplace. In his analysis, Burawoy adopts the Gramscian concept of "culture as managerial hegemony" and finds out that workers consent to their own exploitation through the game of "making out."[138] Edwards, on the other hand, analyzes the historical development of control regimes as a result of the growing scale of production and the increasing division of labor under capitalism. He emphasizes the emergence of bureaucratic control – following simple, technical control – which combines culture and ideology in a hierarchical structure of interwoven rules, obligations, rights, and loyalties, all embedded in company policy, constraining workers' actions.[139]

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136 Michael Burawoy, *The Politics of Production*; *Manufacturing Consent*; Richard Edwards, *Contested Terrain: The Transformation of the Workplace in the Twentieth Century*; Paul K. Edwards, "Understanding Conflict in the Labor Process: The Logic and Autonomy of Struggle," in *Labor Process Theory,* ed. Knights Willmott; Andrew L. Friedman, "Responsible Autonomy versus Direct Control over the Labor Process," *Capital and Class 1*, no. 1 (1977); Craig Littler, *The Development of The Labor Process in Capitalist Societies: A Comparative Study of the Transformation of Work Organization in Britain, Japan and the USA* (Aldershot: Gower, 1982); Paul Thompson, The Nature of Work: An Introduction to Debates on the Labor Process; Paul K. Edwards and Hugh Scullion, *The Social Organization of Industrial Conflict: Control and Resistance in the Workplace*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1982); Anna Pollert, Girls, Wives, Factory Lives (London: Macmillan, 1981); Stephen Wood, "The Deskilling Debate: New Technology and Work Organization, *Acta Sociologica 30*, no. 1 (1987); John Storey, "The Means of Management Control," *Sociology 19*, no. 2 (1985); Andrew L. Friedman, "The Means of Management Control and Labor Process Theory: A Critical Note on Storey," *Sociology 21*, no. 2 (1987); Randy Hodson, "The Active Worker: Compliance and Autonomy at the Workplace," *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography 20*, no.1 (1991a); "Workplace Behaviors: Good Soldiers, Smooth Operators, and Saboteurs," *Work and Occupations 18*, no. 2 (1991b).

137 Paul K. Edwards, "Developing Labor Process Analysis: Themes from Industrial Sociology and Future Directions," in *Working Life*, ed. Thompson and Smith, 31.

138 Vallas, *Work*, 44-47.

139 Ibid., 44.

The major debate among second wave theorists was on the issue of worker agency and the roles of worker resistance and consent in changing the organization and design of work in the capitalist mode of production rather than labor's revolutionary role and the eventual overthrow of capitalism that underlie traditional Marxism. Studies of this era developed causal and sequential patterns of management control, making connections between the workplace, industrial relations, the state, and the broader social structures without losing focus on struggles at the micro level and their relation to broader management regimes.[140] Capital–labor dynamics at the point of production were connected to the larger political economy through the use of historical, cultural, and economic data in an effort to formulate a class-wide politics for the working class.[141]

The second wave and LPT were then challenged by new "paradigm break theories" from the mid-1980s onwards. These included post-Fordism and flexible specialization;[142] the end of work;[143] the centrality of identity and consumption;[144] end of class and class conflict;[145] and the emergence of a new information or knowledge economy.[146] These studies on one hand shifted the focus away from large segments of the working population whose workloads actually intensified with no gain of autonomy. On the other hand, they sug-

140 Thompson and Smith, "Debating Labor Process," 13.

141 Stephen J. Jaros, "Marxian Critiques of Thompson's (1990) 'core' Labor Process Theory: An Evaluation and Extension," *Ephemera 5*, no. 1 (2005), 5.

142 Michael J. Piore and Charles F. Sabel, *The Second Industrial Divide: Possibilities for Prosperity*, (New York: Basic Books, 1984).

143 Zygmunt Bauman, *Work, Consumerism and the New Poor* (Buckingham: Open University Press, 1998); Scott M. Lash & John Urry, *Economics of Signs and Space* (London: Sage, 1994).

144 Pakulski and Waters, *The Death of Class.*

145 Ulrich Beck, *The Brave New World of Work* (Cambridge: Polity, 2000); André Gorz, *Reclaiming Work: Beyond the Wage-Based Society* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999); *Farewell to the Working Class.*

146 Manuel Castells, *The Rise of the Network Society: The Information Age Economy, Society and Culture*, vol. 1, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996); Charles Despres and Jean-Marie Hiltrop, "Human Resource Management in the Knowledge Age: Current Practice and Perspectives on the Future," *Employee Relations 17*, no. 1 (1995).

gested a substantial transformation from command and control to high-commitment, high-trust, satisfying, and collaborative work relations.[147] In the face of such challenges and the resurgence of the upskilling thesis, labor process theorists analyzed continuities between earlier managerial practices and the novel ones associated with lean production and flexibility. They affirmed that the novel practices were new means by which capital extracted more effort from workers, increasing surplus value while establishing even more insecure employment and living conditions for workers.[148] Over time, the mean character of lean production could be detected and analyzed further in detail[149] so far as to suggest that lean production and flexibility represent the highest stage of Taylorism.[150]

A new round of debates around issues of skills and knowledge started with the rise of the service sector wherein employers attempt to commodify workers' emotions, attitudes, character traits, and corporeality in pursuit of capital accumulation. LPT introduced new concepts to analyze the change: "emotional labor,"[151] "aesthetic labor,"[152] and "embodied labor," and "corporeality"

147 Thompson and Smith, "Debating Labor Process," 14-15.

148 Ibid. 16-17.

149 Richard Anderson-Connoly, et al., "Is Lean Mean? Workplace Transformation and Employee Well-being," *Work, Employment and Society 16*, no. 3 (2002); Bennett Harrison, *Lean and Mean: The Changing Landscape of Corporate Power in the Age of Flexibility* (New York: The Guilford Press, 1994).

150 Sungur Savran, "Yalın Üretim ve Esneklik: Taylorizmin En Yüksek Aşaması (Lean Production and Flexibility: Highest Stage of Taylorism)," in *Marksizm ve Sınıflar: Dünyada ve Türkiye'de Sınıflar ve Mücadeleleri (Marxism and Classes: Classes and Class Struggle in the World and in Turkey)*, ed. Sungur Savran, Kurtar Tanyılmaz, and E. Ahmet Tonak (İstanbul: Yordam Kitap, 2015).

151 Sharon Bolton, *Emotion Management in the Workplace* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004); Paul Brook, "In Critical Defence of 'Emotional Labor': Refuting Bolton's Critique of Hochschild's Concept," *Work, Employment and Society 24*, no. 3 (2009); Arlie R. Hochschild, *The Managed Heart: The Commercialization of Human Feeling* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1983).

152 Dennis Nickson, et al., "The Importance of Being Aesthetic: Work, Employment and Service Organisation," in *Customer Service: Empowerment and Entrapment*, ed. Andrew Sturdy, Irene Grugulis, and Hugh Wilmott (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001); Chris Warhurst, et al., "Aesthetic Labor in Interactive Service Work: Some Case Study Evidence from the 'New' Glasgow," *The*

denoted employers' commodification of the emotions, bodily capacities and features of workers and the manipulation of their bodily displays.[153] Distilled from the contributions and criticisms of the 1980s, elaborations by Thompson and others on labor process analysis evolved into what is called core LPT.[154]

Core LPT has four elements: First, the labor process that involves the capital–labor relationship and the generation of the surplus is privileged – as a central part of human experience acting on the world and reproducing the economy. Second, the logic of accumulation compels capital to continually revolutionize production. The competition among capitalists and between capital and labor supports this. This logic has no resolved effects on features of the labor process but it puts limits on the willingness and capacity of capital to forgo hierarchical relations, delegate power to employees, and combine conception and execution. Third, there is a control imperative – utilizing managerial schemes – to reduce the indeterminacy gap. This is due to the insufficiency of the market mechanisms to regulate the labor process alone. Again, this imperative stipulates nothing about the nature or level of control or the effectiveness of managerial schemes. It does not prevent the influence of control mechanisms originating outside of the workplace, either. Fourth, given the dynamics of exploitation and control, the social relations between capital and labor in the workplace are of "structured antagonism."[155] Meanwhile, in order to continually revolutionize the work process, capital must seek some level of creativity and cooperation from labor. The result is a range of possible

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Service Industries Journal 20, no. 3 (2000); Anne Witz, Chris Warhurst, Dennis Nickson, "The Labor of Aesthetics and the Aesthetics of Organization," *Organization 10*, no. 1 (2003).

153 Wolkowitz and Warhurst, "Embodying Labor."

154 Jaros, "Marxian Critiques;" "The Core Theory;" Paul Thompson and Bill Harley, "HRM and the Worker: Labor Process Perspectives," in *The Oxford Handbook of Human Resource Management*, ed. Peter F. Boxell, John Purcell, Patrick M. Wright (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2007); Paul Thompson and Chris Smith, "Follow the Red Brick Road – Reflections on Pathways into and out of the Labor Process Debate," *International Studies of Management and Organization 30*, no. 1 (2000-1).

155 Paul K. Edwards, "Understanding Conflict in the Labor Process: The Logic and Autonomy of Struggle," in *Labor Process Theory*, ed. Knights and Willmott.

worker responses – from resistance, to accommodation, compliance and consent. These responses are determined by the situation and may overlap.[156]

Jaros explains that core LPT is strongly inspired by Marxist categories and emphasizes continuity in managerial control strategies. This being the fact, core LPT is not a Marxist theory since it delinks workplace conflict from social conflict, distancing the theory from class analysis. The consequence is that it is able to give "detailed descriptions of multiple facets of work in many organizational settings" but cannot bridge what happens in the workplace with the wider political economy – a major concern of researchers affiliated with core LPT.[157] He espouses that as a middle-range theory of capitalist employment relations, "core-LPT is properly bounded by a focus on capital–labor relations (its scope) at the workplace (its level)."[158] Jaros suggests, however, that LPT researchers should not abandon efforts to bridge between the workplace and the global economy.[159] Specifically, there has been an ongoing research to understand the impact of financialization on employment relations and work at the firm level.[160]

Marxist theorists criticize core LPT for its alienation from Marxist roots. They claim that it is "managerialist," attributing much discretion to managers.[161] They put forth that it weakens the links between system-wide profit pressures and the workplace control mechanisms by assuming the "relative autonomy" of the labor process. They also find the focus on profit gains through price manipulation in product markets dangerous since this implies the disappearance of the imperative to extract surplus value from labor. Core

156 Paul Thompson and Steve Vincent, "Labor Process Theory and Critical Realism," in *Working Life*, ed. Thompson and Smith.

157 Jaros, "The Core Theory," in ibid, 71.

158 Ibid., 80.

159 Ibid., 81.

160 Paul Thompson, "Disconnected Capitalism: Or Why Employers Can't Keep Their Side of the Bargain," *Work Employment Society 17*, no. 2 (2003); "Financialization and the Workplace: Extending and Applying the Disconnected Capitalism Thesis, *Work Employment Society 27*, no. 3 (2013); Jean Cushen and Paul Thompson, "Financialization and Value: Why Labor and the Labor Process Still Matter," *Work, Employment and Society 30*, no. 2 (2016).

161 Jaros, "Marxian Critiques," 8.

LPT does not incorporate the labor theory of value into the labor process. Moreover, it neglects the dialectical method and is deprived of tools to reveal the systemic dynamics of capitalist production.[162] Lastly, it takes no political position, like that of Marx and Braverman, regarding the emancipation of workers.[163] Jaros claims that the differences between LPT and Marxists theories on the issue of managerial agency stem from differing research emphases. The former focuses on the labor process while the latter concentrates on the total (capitalist) system. Likewise, the former strives to clarify differences across organizations and industries while the latter claims managerial strategies and worker behavior are universal. Regarding emancipation, Jaros argues that core LPT should retain its anti-capitalist political stance while further revealing exploitative working conditions and supporting workers' emancipation. He reiterates, however, that this is a moral claim that cannot be incorporated into core LPT, a theory of capitalist employment relations. Core researchers work to tie the workplace to the wider political economy,[164] paying attention to the criticisms of Marxists on the matter of emancipation and of post-modernists on the matters of identity and subjectivity.[165]

In my dissertation, I adhere to core LPT but do not neglect Braverman's analysis of Taylorism and deskilling. I also pay attention to Marxist theorists' criticisms of managerialism by showing the effects of market pressures on control strategies and the autonomy of managers. In the tourism workplaces I visited, the position and autonomy of managers in face of intensifying competition and work had become equally vulnerable compared to the past. Meanwhile loyalty and trust between firms and workers had become weaker. Moreover, I elaborate on the connections between the workplace and market pressures which – acting on the pricing of hospitality products – have consid-

162 Ibid.

163 Tinker, "Spectres of Marx and Braverman."

164 Thompson, "Disconnected Capitalism."

165 Damian O'Doherty and Hugh Willmott, "The Question of Subjectivity and the Labor Process," *International Studies of Management and Organization 30*, no. 4 (2001a); "Debating Labor Process Theory: The Issue of Subjectivity and the Relevance of Poststructuralism," *Sociology 35*, no. 2 (2001b).

erably weakened labor's position in the labor market. They have also contributed to an increase in the restlessness of labor, however, due to worsening financial and working conditions. This is connected in various ways to the introduction of new organizational and technological innovations. The race to the bottom necessarily introduced cost-reduction strategies that put a downward pressure on workers' wages as employers set out to extract more labor from a smaller workforce by intensifying the work, prolonging the workday, and unlawfully withholding overtime payments.

§ 1.6 LPT and Service Work

In his chapter on "Service Occupations and Retail Trade," Braverman clearly shows that he treats service labor and service workers like any other, recalling Marx's statement on the subject: "A service is nothing more than the useful effect of a use-value, be it a commodity, or be it of labor." When the useful effect of labor is not directly presented to the user by its producer, but instead sold in return for a wage to a capitalist, who in return sells it on the market as a commodity, then service production comes under capitalist control.[166] He states that capitalists remain indifferent to the particular form of labor, reflecting the principle in capitalism that "what is important is not the determinate form of labor, but its social form, its capacity to produce, as wage labor, a profit for the capitalist."[167] Services become an equally profitable activity for capitalists during monopoly capitalism. Thus, every form of human activity is transformed into a commodity. Braverman finds service work no less tangible than factory work, stating that chambermaids making beds in hotels or aids in hospitals and elsewhere form an assembly line operation.[168]

The drive for continuous self-expansion underlies the logic of capital. This expansion necessitates the intensification of economic activities and the penetration of market relations into new activities. Throughout the last century, a large segment of previously home-based services became commodities in the

166 Braverman, *Labor and Monopoly Capital*, 248.

167 Ibid., 250.

168 Ibid., 249.

market. One major change since the global economic crisis in the 1970s, however, has been the growing dominance of service employment. An increasing number of people have been thus employed and have become part of the social relations of wage work, especially in the industrialized world. In European economies, service employment accounts for between 52-74 percent and in the United States around 85 percent of the workforce.[169] There is an overall rise in the importance of tertiary industries in the world economy, even within manufacturing where the volume of services has increased over time.[170] New forms of work and new workplaces emerged as a result of this change, incorporating an increasing number of women into the workforce. Although there is significant high-end employment in production and information services (financial services, education, business services, and services requiring intense professional knowledge), the majority of jobs in services are poorly-paid, low-skill consumer services. The persistence and growth of poor work has become a lingering challenge to claims about a new, knowledge-intensive economy resulting from huge leaps in communication and information technologies, on one hand, and on the life-style, consumption, and flexible and control-free work patterns of high-status workers, on the other.[171] Most service jobs have been subject to the same routinization and rationalization observed in manufacturing,[172] as Braverman suggests. Actually, Levitt assesses that a production line mechanism is taking over service provision and thereby ushering in industrialization of services.[173] Further applying the Babbage principle, service management tries solve the problem of heterogeneity through industrializing services – introducing more automated systems and dividing service into smaller, simpler tasks that can be executed by semi- or unskilled frontline workers following a routinized, scripted service pattern in each encounter.

169 Gerhard Bosch and Steffen Lehndorff, "Introduction: Service Economies - High Road or Low Road?" in *Working in the Service Sector: A Tale from Different Worlds*, ed. Gerhard Bosch and Steffen Lehndorff (London: Routledge, 2005), 5.

170 Ibid.

171 McDowell, *Working Bodies, 31-37.*

172 Warhurst, Thompson, Nickson, "Putting Materialism Back."

173 Theodore Levitt, "Production Line Approach to Service," *Harvard Business Review*, September-October (1972); "The Industrialization of Service," *Harvard Business Review 545* (1976).

The service sector today is marked by inequality, polarization of incomes, and social divisions. Moreover, employment for the swelling ranks of generic workers has become increasingly precarious and insecure.[174] Commenting on the rise of new services in cities, McDowell asserts that

> [t]he workplace and leisure needs of the 'masters of the universe'…gave rise to growing numbers of restaurants, cafes, dry cleaners, hotels, cleaning firms, architectural salvage firms, small building contractors, nannies, cooks and domestic cleaners and so forth, all of whom were affected by the pronounced moves towards flexible, casualised and low-waged employment in these cities from the mid-1980s onwards.[175]

A major contribution of LPT to the study of service workplaces is to re-emphasize work, production, and employment under capitalism. A new capitalism is said to have replaced production and thrive on consumption. LPT challenges this through a critical analysis of service work and jobs. LPT suggests that "the employment relationship and labor process remain central to the production and reproduction of capitalism."[176] It confronts the postmodern position on meaning derived from individual identity and consumption – decentering work and collective interests. Despite valuing the importance of consumption in the full circuit of capital, LPT rejects the notion that society has become one of individualized consumers, forming a new form of capitalism:

> What LPT does seek to do is to refute the argument that (the rise) of consumption is at the expense of production of goods and services to

174 Ehrenreich, *Nickel and Dimed*; Francis Green, *Demanding Work: The Paradox of Job Quality in the Affluent Economy* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 2006); Ewart Keep and Ken Mayhew, "The Assessment: Knowledge, Skills and Competitiveness," *Oxford Review of Economic Policy 15*, no. 1 (1999); Jamie Peck and Nik Theodore, "Contingent Chicago: Restructuring the Spaces of Temporary Labor," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research 24* (2001).

175 McDowell, *Capital Culture*, 16-17.

176 Warhurst, Thompson, Nickson, "Putting Materialism Back," 94.

> develop frameworks that can explain the interface between workers and customers in the provision of services.[177]

In services, the personal attributes of workers are "strongly associated with the nature of work,"[178] and the work combines these attributes and innate qualities of workers with skills and information attained through training and motivation. In analyzing the service labor process, LPT's main additions to Braverman's original analysis are first the acknowledgment of forms of control other than Taylorism. Given the novel features introduced with service work, it takes notes of the extension of normative control.[179] Second, it elaborates on employers' attempts to transmute workers' feelings and bodies along with their knowledge. LPT incorporates the new concepts of emotional labor, aesthetic labor, and corporeality to analyze these novel aspects of service work. Finally, it recognizes the presence of consumers in the production and consumption of services, whereby customers may exert an influence over the concrete control practices. Leidner introduces the term "interactive service process" and states that the presence of customers introduces a degree of complexity due to increasing unpredictability in the labor process. Researchers affirm that, depending on the context, customers can intensify managerial control or counter managerial intentions by aligning with workers.[180] The relationship between worker and manager in manufacturing is dyadic, but services are characterized by a tripartite relationship. Relations in the simultaneous pro-

177 Ibid.

178 MacDonald and Sirianni, "Changing Experience of Work," 14-15.

179 Warhurst, Thompson, Nickson, "Putting Materialism Back."

180 Linda Fuller and Vicki Smith, "Consumer's Reports: Management by Customers in a Changing Economy," *Work Employment Society 5*, no. 1 (1991); Steven Henry Lopez, "The Politics of Service Production: Route Sales Work in the Snack-Food Industry" in ed. MacDonald and Sirianni, *Service Society*; "Workers, Managers and Customers: Triangles of Power in Work Communities," *Work and Occupations 37*, no. 3 (2010); Sharon C. Bolton and Maeve Houlihan, "Bermuda Revisited? Management Power and Powerlessness in the Worker-Manager-Customer Triangle," *Work and Occupations 38*, no. 3 (2010).

duction and consumption of a service product are prone to different "alliances" among customers, managers, and workers due to potentially conflicting or converging interests among the parties.[181]

§ 1.7 Hospitality Service Production in the Presence of Customers

In this dissertation, I analyze one of the new service workplaces that produces consumer services – leisure, pleasure, entertainment, and regeneration – as part of a holiday product. The majority of producers at this workplace worked seasonally for a few months in insecure employment conditions for low pay. A relatively lucky minority would finish out the season at the same workplace where they started and had the expectation of being re-hired in the next season. The workers who came to work at these workplaces were of different socio-economic backgrounds and were employed at different levels in the organizational hierarchy of hospitality service work. It was common to meet former farmers among the service workers.

Service providers are not the only producers. Customers who receive services can also be understood as co-producers of the service,[182] as they enter into human relations with workers. In the literature, the customer receiving services is addressed variously as the "sovereign consumer," "emotional vampire," "aggressor," "management accomplice," and "governed object."[183] Without ignoring their co-producer role, I focus on them as raw materials and end-products of the hospitality service process. Service is mostly work on people and preparation for work on people. In the service relationship, what is eventually produced is the customer herself or himself as a person who has lived through a transformative experience. It follows that successful service production should actually convince customers to return to have that or a similar

181 Leidner, *Fast Food, Fast Talk*; MacDonald and Sirianni, "Changing Experience of Work," 4-5; Sherman, *Class Acts*.

182 James Teboul, *Service is Front Stage: Positioning Services for Value Advantage* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 25.

183 Bolton and Houlihan, "Bermuda Revisited?" 685.

experience again – ie. satisfied, content repeat guests, returning for consumption, pleasure, relaxation, and fun.

Considering the holiday village as a new place of work and employment, my study elaborates on the employment and working conditions of workers engaged in this type of hospitality service manufacturing and production of consumption, integrating both material and immaterial elements into the service process and product. The workers in the holiday village were a diverse group coming from different backgrounds and performing different tasks under varying conditions and circumstances. However, the majority was subjected to long hours of physically and psychologically demanding work in Turkey's summer heat. Given the low-priced package tourism system, they worked in return for low wages and had low expectations for a career in tourism. They had little control over the design or pace of work in the seasonal organizations, which forced the limits of their capacity in the high season to compensate for idle times in the off season.

The growth of the services sector necessitates a new definition of the relations between manufacturing and services – not dissimilar from Whyte's elaboration on the restaurant service work.[184] Parallel to studies by Sayer and Walker and Pettinger,[185] Teboul challenges earlier classifications that strictly divided the two sectors. He emphasizes front stage and backstage continuity to show the unification of manufacturing and services – product and process – through what he calls the service mix, service triangle, and service intensity matrix. Teboul makes the point by differentiating between the outcomes of manufacturing and services. Whereas the former produces an object, a device, or a thing, a service is an act and a unique performance. Its outcome is an intangible experience, produced and consumed simultaneously with no possibility of storage.[186] A major difference emerges with respect to the point of interaction: "Contrary to what happens in a factory, once a service has been delivered it is difficult to improve or correct it. The performance cannot be

184 William Foote Whyte, "When Workers and Customers Meet," in *Industry and Society*, ed. William Foote Whyte (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1971).

185 R. Andrew Sayer and Richard Walker, *The New Social Economy: Reworking the Division of Labor* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992); Pettinger, "Materiality of Service Work."

186 See, the diagrams in Teboul, *Service is Front Stage*, 12-13.

measured, controlled or corrected during the delivery without the customer's being aware of it." Customers are aware of these corrections. They sometimes criticize and sometimes praise it. This exchange becomes part of the immediate, total service product if the service interaction persists at the same location, such as those at holiday villages on which my study focuses. The relational and performative dimensions of service open a whole series of new debates concerning its control – that is intensified managerial attempts to routinize tasks along with the so-called empowering of service workers as new mechanisms of control.[187]

Teboul affirms that when a service is performed or a product is manufactured, both back and front stages are involved in the process. The degree of their involvement would indicate whether the activity is production or service. Interaction and material transformation together define an [economic] activity. As also articulated by Levitt,[188] Teboul asserts that further integration of services and manufacture "means that we are all in services, more or less" and "will be more so in the future."[189] These points can be easily discerned in holiday villages where a mix of onstage and backstage activity produces what is called the holiday [experience] with its material and immaterial components. He puts forth:

> Industrializing services means simplifying the front stage and focusing on the product in the back stage to achieve productivity and economies of scale. If a chef moves from the back stage to the front, the service experience is enriched by his presence; he will cook, serve, interact and deliver a show.[190]

187 MacDonald and Sirianni, "Changing Experience of Work."

188 Levitt writes: "They feel that service is people-intensive, while the rest of the economy is capital-intensive. But these distinctions are largely spurious. There are no such things as service industries. There are only industries whose service components are greater or less than those of other industries. Everybody is in service."

189 See, the diagrams in Teboul, *Service is Front Stage*, 14-15.

190 Ibid.

This is what happens in varying degrees in the different departments in a holiday village that produce the holiday product on front and backstage. Finally, via the holiday product they manufacture repeat guests. Holiday villages transform the production of a holiday into a factory form, much like the supermarket changing the form of retail, as argued by Levitt.[191] The holiday product at a holiday village is comprised of accommodation, food, beverages, and the experience of those services being created. Through the non-stop mass production of these services and their consumption by customers who check in and out every other week, holiday village workers manufacture repeat guests under managerial control. Indeed, the production of repeat guests is a must for enterprises that want to keep their business profitable.

There is, of course, a significant role played by customers. This role, however, should be critically analyzed along the lines mentioned by Ritzer.[192] In summary, organizations producing services have to take the customer's perception of the quality of the service into account, which according to the model developed by Parasuraman, Zeithaml, and Berry, consists of reliability, responsiveness, reassurance, empathy, and tangibles.[193] According to Korczynski, these items reflect the rational and irrational dualism of customers who expect efficiency (reliability/responsiveness) from the organization, on one hand, and to be treated in a social and emotional manner (assurance/empathy), on the other.[194] Taking this into account, "the service organization… must deliver both satisfaction and pleasure" to customers in order to remain competitive.[195] In the name of both efficiency and being customer-oriented, service organizations attempt to direct customer behavior while simultaneously ensuring that customers feel that they are in charge – as sovereign consumers – of choosing and consuming the goods and services. Thus, customers

191 Levitt, "Industrialization of Service."

192 Ritzer, *Enchanting*.

193 A. Parasuraman, Valarie A. Zeithaml, Leonard L. Berry. "SERVQUAL: A Multi-item Scale for Measuring Customer Perception of Service Quality," *Journal of Retailing 64*, no. 1 (1988).

194 Marek Korczynski, *Human Resource Management in Service Work* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), 61.

195 Ibid., 64.

have both efficiency and enchantment.[196] This dual logic, bringing together efficiency and empathy, is managed by what Korczynski calls a "customer-oriented bureaucracy." It is important to note the continuing relevance of bureaucracy – rather than its demise. The form of bureaucracy, however, is debatable: to what extent these organizations operate in a customer-oriented manner must be empirically proven.

Teboul's conceptualization of services collates well with an analysis that brings together production and consumption in interactive services and that builds bridges to the labor process debate in services. The reproduction is partially taken out of home. Many tasks, formerly belonging to the domestic field, are taken to the "cathedrals of consumption" in the market.[197] Although Ritzer does not analyze the conditions of work, holiday villages are among these cathedrals where consumption meets production, where leisure meets work, and where both goods and services are produced and consumed. Beyond entertainment and consumption, Fortunati's formulation regarding immaterial labor in domestic work also applies to these places where human beings are partially produced,[198] and where their labor power is reproduced along with the labor power of the workers who serve them. I adopt Teboul's conceptualization of service production in which front and backstages are combined in the framework of the service factory, blurring the lines between manufacturing and services. As Teboul explains for pure services, the product is a customer who is satisfied with and transformed by an experience.[199] The goal of holiday service production is to transform customer into a repeat guest even if it is difficult to mark services at a holiday village as pure (since, in fact, they bring together certain production and service activities, often in a unified form). Holiday service and holiday manufacture are embedded within one another and cannot be fully detached during the process of manufacturing repeat guests. Such a manufacturing process incorporates both work with tangible goods and work on and with people.

196 Ibid.

197 Ritzer, *Enchanting.*

198 Leopoldina Fortunati, "Immaterial Labor and Its Mechanization," *Ephemera 7*, no. 1 (2007).

199 Teboul, *Service is Front Stage*, 12.

Along these lines, this study further bridges manufacturing and services, as well as materiality and immateriality of service processes and products. While immateriality puts weight on the cultural, experience-based, relational,[200] emotional, and performative dimensions of a service, materiality is the integration of work with and on tangible goods and materials that supports service work on the front and backstages, as well as, importantly, work on and with actual bodies of workers and customers, which McDowell conceptualizes as "interactive embodiment."[201] In this latter type of work, managerial control is exerted through the rules of appropriate display – that is, styling and bodily presentation – defined and enforced by the hospitality bureaucracy. Marx describes the embodied nature of labor: "Labor produces works of wonder for the rich, but nakedness for the worker... it produces beauty, but cripples the worker."[202] He mentions both the production done by embodied labor as well as the consequences of that production for the body of the laborer as one of the products of such production.[203] The fragile bodies of laborers are often injured under poor physical conditions, intense work, and weak health and safety provisions.[204] Witz, Warhurst, and Nickson affirm that what they call "aesthetic labor" complements Hochschild's emotional labor. Aesthetic labor is central to the aesthetics of an organization, foremost because of the style of the service that emerges as a necessity for market differentiation.[205] Re-interpreting the Marxist concept of alienation, Hochschild points to employers' commodification of workers' feelings to be used for corporate goals – emotional labor. She conceptualizes the separation between service workers and their emotions.

Similarly, aesthetic labor refers to the commodification of workers' embodied dispositions and appearances by corporations which turn them into

200 Franck Bailly and Alexandre Léné, "The Personification of the Service Labor Process and the Rise of Soft Skills: a French Case Study," *Employee Relations 35*, no: 1 (2012).

201 McDowell, *Working Bodies,* 10.

202 Karl Marx, "Alienated Labor," in *Karl Marx: Selected Writings*, ed. David Maclellan (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2000), 88.

203 Wolkowitz and Warhurst "Embodying Labor," 224.

204 Ibid., 237.

205 Witz, Warhurst, Nickson, "Labor of Aesthetics," 34.

part of the products and services sold. Employers not only carefully select for the right look, but also mold workers' style and bodily aesthetics so that they become part of the "hardware" of the enterprises, not unlike the exterior and interior design of the facilities. This should be understood as an effort to "tangiblize" and differentiate the services an enterprise offers in a business environment of intense competition.[206] "[M]odes of worker embodiment are corporately produced or 'made-up' (du Gay, 1996) in new and different ways in today's service economy."[207] Over all, service work, including hospitality, increases the exploitation of workers by claiming not only their physical capacity to work, but also by employing their whole personality and corporeality for profit. Attributes, demeanor, emotions, and corporeality as well as physical strength and the communicative, relational abilities of workers all become part of the service process and products offered for consumption. Nonetheless, while analyzing work in hospitality, Bianchi reiterates Braverman's warning that although its main feature is the simultaneity of production and consumption of a service, the social relations of production remain the same. Capitalist wage work and the appropriation of surplus from the labor of direct producers remain as the major mechanisms.[208]

In conclusion, my dissertation analyzes tourism as work and critically regards holiday venues as places of production in order to understand the conditions of the production of holiday services and surplus. I do this by employing the LPT framework, insights, and accumulated empirical data. Holiday jobs are mostly comprised of routine, scripted, controlled, and physically-demanding work. Such work has both material and immaterial dimensions. In addition, belonging to a service industry that increasingly employs the whole person of workers, employers in hospitality employ workers' bodily capacities as well as their emotions for profit. Accordingly, some holiday village workers – on account of their interactive work and tasks – pay particular attention to their facial expressions, style, and bodies. Shilling argues that this job-related, reproductive "body work," is mostly, but not exclusively, undertaken by

206 Dennis Nickson, et al., "Importance of Being Aesthetic," 172.

207 Witz, Warhurst, Nickson, "Labor of Aesthetics," 35-36.

208 Bianchi, "Tourism and Marxist Political Economy," 29.

women. She suggests that this is yet another case whereby "reproductive labor" is converted into "productive labor."[209] Such workers are employed for their specific "bodily habitus" that fits the enterprise's organizational aesthetics used to carry out aesthetic labor, and thus, their bodies and appearance are commodified and serve as part of the company product and brand.[210] For producing and maintaining a particular aura in the holiday village, capitalists make use of personal attributes, bodily presentations, and performances incorporating glances, gestures, positioning, posture, meaningful looks,[211] and the emotions of workers reminiscent of a theater stage.[212] Performative work, mostly by young men and women with "disciplined and sexualized" bodies, creates a place of amusement. The workers become objects of the desire and fantasies of the customers,[213] who are to be enchanted.

In these workplaces, workers are screened before being hired to see whether they have the right personality and attitude, whether they look good and sound right,[214] and whether they are good at and enthusiastic about communicating with people empathetically. These make up the necessary traits for dealing with varied and changing situations and for managing the emotions of customers, as well as their own.[215] This is what the capitalist service requires of them and the basis for capital accumulation.

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209 Shilling quoted in Wolkowitz and Warhurst "Embodying Labor," 223, 231.

210 Ibid., 230; Pettinger, "Brand Culture and Branded Workers: Service Work and Aesthetic Labor in Fashion Retail," *Consumption Markets & Culture 7*, no. 2 (2004).

211 Virginia Postrel, *The Substance of Style: How the Rise of Aesthetic Value Is Remaking Commerce, Culture, and Consciousness* (NY: HarperCollins, 2003).

212 Bryman, *Disneyization of Society*, 103.

213 McDowell, *Working Bodies,* 13-15.

214 Chris Warhurst and Dennis Nickson, "A New Labor Aristocracy? Aesthetic Labor and Routine Interactive Service;" "'Who's Got the Look?' Emotional Aesthetic and Sexualized Labor in Interactive Services," *Gender, Work & Organization 16*, no. 3 (2009); George Callaghan and Paul Thompson, "'We Recruit Attitude': The Selection and Shaping of Routine Call Centre Labor," *Journal of Management Studies 39*, no. 2 (2002).

215 Bailly and Léné, "Personification," 80-81.

2

Employment Relations in a Competitive Sector

In this chapter I explore the employment relations that developed in the background of organization of holiday village service work. This is part of an endeavor to understand the labor process of service production within the wider economic settings of tourism and society. Following Sturdy, I argue that a segregated labor force carries out the variety of tasks at the different service stations in holiday villages. This is due to the entrepreneurs who recruit and hire workers based on "stereotyped and stratified characteristics of gender, sexuality, race, class, age, and 'beauty.'"[1] Second, I claim that seasonality is a defining character of tourism work along the southern coast and its labor market. I found distinct groups that were influenced differently by seasonality, and the differences contributed to the mechanisms of flexibility.

In building my arguments, I briefly look at the development of Turkish tourism and the changes in tourism strategy in the time of de-peasantization and a rise of the service sector after 1980. I then concentrate on labor market conditions in holiday villages, which bring different types of production of services and goods carried out by a large workforce, gathered from different

1 Andrew Sturdy, "Servicing Societies? – Colonisation, Control, Contradiction and Contestation," in *Customer Service: Empowerment and Entrapment*, ed. Andrew Sturdy, Irene Grugulis, Hugh Willmott (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001); Marco Hauptheimer and Matt Vidal, "Comparative Political Economy and Labor: Toward a Synthesis," in *Comparative Political Economy of Work*, ed. Marco Hauptheimer and Matt Vidal (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

corners of the country. Holiday villages, their many services, and their sped up production, resemble a factory where holiday is manufactured. Main services in these holiday factories are comprised of restaurant, bar, room, laundry, security, technical, customer relation, and reception services, as well as services related to general hygiene and the entertainment activities at all times of the day or night. Worker profiles in these service stations varied, and I give an account of this variety.

Of course, this type of a holiday is an experience based on relations. What workers ultimately produce at the holiday villages are relations culminating in the satisfaction of customers, who are called guests. The level of satisfaction that the boss expects is such that it will bring the customers back to the holiday factory. Through loyal customers and advertisements the number of customers is expected to increase. What workers ultimately produce, for the purposes of capital accumulation, are repeat guests in a service labor process designed and monitored by management. Capital, a relation itself, extends its network into and brings under its control human services not previously controlled by it. This is not for the sake of building relationships or rapport and creating experiences, but for the sake of creating surplus and accumulating capital.

To understand the extension of capital into human services, it is important to note what kinds of services are created – that is, what kinds of jobs and positions are created and what type of workers are created in that regard. I map the labor market for the many service positions at holiday villages. Apparently not anyone can work in any positions; there are specificities and qualifications defined by the holiday village management to choose appropriate workers from the labor market. In its decision-making, management takes into consideration efficiency, aesthetics, emotional, and interactive dimensions of work. Accordingly, one sees variety with respect to gender, socio–economic background, age, ethnicity, and education level of the workers.

I then give detail about worker profiles in specific divisions of holiday village work and the wage policies of the two case study holiday villages for specific positions. For various reasons, not all information about wages could be obtained. Nevertheless, the available wage information gives a deeper insight into the employment relationship in Turkey's hospitality subsector, which can be compared with the sector as a whole.

§ 2.1 A Brief History of Turkish Tourism Development

In Turkey, tourism has gradually evolved to be one of the country's most important economic activities, especially over the past thirty years. In the following sections, I argue that mass tourism arose after 1980 in a period when labor was disorganized. In this period, regulations regarding labor did not evolve to the advantage of the working class.[2] Moreover, the social security system changed drastically.[3] Later, in the mid-1990s, the introduction of the all-inclusive marketing strategy brought about an acceleration that both intensified holiday service work and augmented flexibility, with adverse consequences for workers' security, earnings, and career expectations.

The onset of tourism activities in Turkey dates back to the late years of the Ottoman Empire. In the industrializing world of the nineteenth century that saw the birth of modern tourism, the Ottoman Empire became an important tourism destination, especially for citizens from Western Europe and America. The lure and mystic aura of the "Orient" and its products attracted tourists to different corners of the empire, especially after the proliferation of travel narratives in the 1830s. The Thomas Cook Company in Great Britain started to package guided tours in 1841, developing a network of local entrepreneurs and service workers. The scope of the tours soon went beyond local destinations. In the empire, adapting to the new economic and leisure activities took some time. Ottoman locals gradually welcomed tourists rather than despising them as "colonial agents."[4] In a time of international fairs and exhibitions, the empire opened *Sergi-i Umumî-i Osmanî* – the first international fair organized in Istanbul – that was visited by local and international visitors in 1863.

2 Ali Murat Özdemir and Gamze Yücesan-Özdemir, "Labor Law Reform in Turkey in the 2000s: The Devil is Not Just in the Detail But Also in the Legal Texts," *Economic and Industrial Democracy 27*, no. 2 (2006).

3 Simten Coşar and Metin Yeğenoğlu, "The Neoliberal Restructuring of Turkey's Social Security System," *Monthly Review 60*, no. 11 (2009), 36-49.

4 Susan Nance, "A Facilitated Access Model and Ottoman Empire Tourism," *Annals of Tourism Research 34*, no. 4 (2007).

Early policy discussions regarding tourism appeared in the journal of the Istanbul Municipality in the 1920s and 30s. The need to attract tourists to revive the economy of the city was stressed. Istanbul should become a major summer tourism destination for Westerners and wealthy Egyptians. The journal frequently published comparisons with other countries and news about the activities of the Turkish Touring Club.[5] The club was founded in 1923 under the name Türk Seyyahin Cemiyeti (Turkey Tourists' Association, TSC) at the behest of the founder of the Republic, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, and functioned for years as an arm of the government in the fields of tourism and culture, and on matters related to automobiles.[6] The TSC – the first tourism organization – was soon accompanied by Türkiye Tayyare Cemiyeti (Turkey Flight Association, TTC). The TSC evolved into the Türkiye Turing ve Otomobil Kurumu (Turkey Touring and Automobile Foundation, TURİNG) and functioned like a public organ for managing tourism activities. Various other public organs were established starting in 1934. During the rule of the free market-oriented Democrat Party (1950-1960), a law encouraging tourism enterprises was enacted in 1950 and a Ministry of Press and Tourism was established in 1960, reflecting an emerging awareness of tourism. Importantly, in 1955, a new public organ, the Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Turizm Bankası (Tourism Bank of Republic of Turkey, TURBAN), was established and functioned both as a bank and a state enterprise that operated various tourism facilities until their privatization in the late 1980s and early 90s. It provided credit to investors, established and managed model facilities, and provided technical and project support to entrepreneurs. Göymen calculates that the bank provided $450 million in credit for some 146,700 beds.[7] In 1988, banking operations were handed over to the Turkish Development Bank (as a result of a merger), while the tourism facilities continued to be managed by a newly established state enterprise: The

5 Yavuz Sezer, "Visions of Urban Development in Early 20th Century Istanbul," *unpublished paper* (2011).

6 "Tarihçe (The History)," TURING, accessed December 14, 2016, http://www.turing.org.tr/tarihce/

7 Korel Göymen, "Tourism and Governance in Turkey," *Annals of Tourism Research 27*, no. 4 (2000), 1032.

TURBAN Tourism Co. Inc. During the privatization of the latter as a result of the 1994 economic crisis, various allegations of corruption came to the attention of the public.[8] Until its privatization, TURBAN owned three hotels, four holiday villages, four marinas, three travel agencies, and two enterprises for social tourism. It served the development of Turkey's tourism not only as a model for entrepreneurs to follow, but also trained a considerable number of skilled employees who later utilized their skills in the private sector. Indeed, I interviewed managers, although few, who started their careers and gained experience in the TURBAN enterprises.

In the 1950s, the world-renown hotel chain Hilton launched its first hotel in Turkey in Istanbul. After the 1960 coup and following the 1961 constitution, Turkey started to incorporate various tourism strategies within its five-year development plans, starting in 1963.[9] Tourism began to be handled at the ministerial level when the Ministry of Tourism, which later became Ministry of Culture and Tourism in 2003, was established. The adoption of five-year development plans had a positive impact on the sector. In 1963, Turkey welcomed approximately 200,000 visitors (while the number of tourists worldwide was around 94 million) and received a 0.06 percent revenue share from global tourism revenues. Tourism became a major focus of the state and of successive governments in Turkey, especially following the coup of 12 September 1980. After this, an export-oriented economic model that aimed to liberalize the economy, privatize state enterprises, integrate with the global economy, deregulate markets, and make labor flexible was espoused. The emerging, growing, labor-intensive tourism sector was (and is still) regarded as a growth sector and an important means of accumulating foreign currency. The state began to commit to the development of tourism by providing various incentives to entrepreneurs and by planning and devising tools to diversify and improve tourism products through the launch of the Tourism Encouragement

8 Mustafa Balbay, *Turban Kime Kurban (Turban Sacrificied for Whom)* (Istanbul: Çınar Yayınları, 1997).

9 For a detailed account of Turkey's economic history, see Şevket Pamuk, *Türkiye'nin 200 Yıllık İktisadi Tarihi* (İstanbul: İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2014).

Law in 1982 (Law No. 2634)[10] and the designation of tourism investment areas. The law was one among a series of laws and by-laws, the majority of which were enacted during the 44th and 45th governments, under Prime Ministers Bülent Ulusu (20.09.1980–13.12.1983) and Turgut Özal (13.12.1983–21.12.1987) respectively.[11] It is fair to state that the main policy target from that point forward became international mass tourism.

The first plan (1963–67) focused on encouraging domestic tourism while the second (1968–72) prioritized the selection of sites for a launch of mass tourism. Meanwhile, the number of travel agents increased, and in 1972, the Türkiye Seyahat Acentaları Birliği (The Union of Travel Agents – TÜRSAB) was established to represent them. The union set the rules for commissioning and decommissioning of agents, introduced and maintained professional ethics, and protected tourists. It not only contributed to its foundation, but closely cooperated with the Ministry of Tourism to market Turkish tourism products.[12] The fourth five-year development plan (1979–1983) emphasized the development of organized tourism regions for mass tourism and encouraged foreign capital investment in the sector. This corresponded with the transformation of Turkish economy from an import-substitution to an export-led model. Turkey began to experience return on investments made in the early 1980s from 1985 onward, as a result of the increasing number of incoming tourists and revenue. Later plans in the 1990s and 2000s reflected the concerns of authorities for sustainable growth in tourism. The ninth plan, which differed from earlier ones in that it covered a period of seven instead of five years

10 For more information on regulations, legislations, and laws in Turkey's tourism sector, see, for example, Faruk Andaç, *Turizm Hukuku (Tourism Law)* (Ankara: Detay, 2009); Hüseyin Yıldırım, *Turizm Hukuku ve Mevzuatı (Tourism Law and Regulations)* (Ankara: Detay, 2011).

11 Şaban Esen, Gökhan Emir, Hande Uyar, *Cumhuriyetten Günümüze Hükümet Programlarında Turizm (Tourism in Government Programs Since the Beginning of the Republic)* (Ankara: Detay, 2012).

12 "Dünden Bugüne Seyahat Acentaları (History of Travel Agencies)," TÜRSAB, accessed August 5, 2016, http://www.tursab.org.tr/tr/seyahat-acentalari/dunden-bugune-seyahat-acentalari_501.html.

(2007–2013), aimed to diversify the tourism product overall, increase its quality, and increase Turkey's share of the global tourism revenue.[13] The latest government document – "Turkey Tourism Strategy 2023" – delineated Turkey's target to become one of the top five countries with the highest number of tourists and the highest revenue from tourism.[14] The World Travel Organization (UNWTO) did not list Turkey among the top ten countries, however, in its reflections for 2020.[15]

Korzay emphasizes three major periods in Turkey's tourism development. An awareness stage (1955–1970) was followed by an advocacy stage (1970–1982) when the state institutionalized vocational education, introduced area development plans, and applied pricing policies. The last stage started in 1982 and was characterized by intense political involvement in tourism development.[16] "Allocation of state land for large scale tourism projects, long term loans and credits with limited interest rates that cover up to 40 percent of total investment costs are primary policies that promoted large scale investments"[17] during this action stage. Göymen points to the increasing necessity of the state in terms of devising global tourism strategies in the action stage due to intensifying global competition. This included marketing, participation in international projects, partnerships in major events, and membership in global governance institutions.[18]

Starting in the 1950s, growth in the tourism sector accelerated throughout the world. Turkey made considerable advances in terms of both arrivals and revenue from 1982 onwards. In 1963, Turkey's share of world tourism revenue

13 Esen, Emir, Uyar, *Hükümet Programlarında Turizm*.

14 Cevdet Avcıkurt, Ahmet Köroğlu, Mehmet Sarıoğlan, "Türk Turizminin Dünya Turizmindeki Yeri (The Place of Turkish Tourism in World Tourism)," in *Türk Turizm Tarihi: Yapısal ve Sektörel Gelişim (History of Turkish Tourism: Structural and Sectoral Development)*, ed. Şenol Çavuş, Zehra Ege, and Osman Eralp Çolakoğlu (Ankara: Detay, 2009), 14.

15 Ebru Günlü and Z. Ceren Miral, "Sonuç (Conclusion)," in *Turizm Coğrafyası (Tourism Geography),* ed. Gürhan Aktaş (Ankara: Detay, 2008), 585-86.

16 Meral Korzay, "Turkish Tourism Development" in *Tourism: The State of the Art,* ed. A.V. Seaton et al. (New York: John Wiley, 1994).

17 Aslıhan Aykaç, "Tourism Employment," 20.

18 Göymen, "Tourism and Governance."

was around 0.06 percent of $10.8 billion. In 2007, this had increased to around 2.2 percent of $856 billion, while number of arrivals had increased to around 22 million people, or 2.45 percent of 903 million tourists worldwide. Development of tourism in Turkey should be considered together with the development of tourism in the wider Mediterranean region, which has become a major destination in terms of international and domestic tourism with an annual growth rate of 3.7 percent from 1995 to 2010. Bramwell explains that since the 1960s, southern European shores saw concentrations of tourism development as a result of capital accumulation and market expansion. The tourism development in the region featured Fordist patterns of production and consumption.[19] Mass tourism along the Mediterranean started to develop in the late 1950s – Spain was the market leader followed by the Adriatic shores of Italy. By the 1970s, mass tourism in the Mediterranean basin had spread to corners of former Yugoslavia and the Greek islands, as well as Malta and Cyprus, reaching Turkey in the 1980s. In the 1990s and 2000s, North African destinations became part of the growing mass tourism in the basin, along with other destinations in the Western Mediterranean. Tourism destinations emerging elsewhere in the world and the ensuing competition, however, caused a gradual decline in the market share of Mediterranean destinations.[20]

According to the latter development plans mentioned above, diversifying the tourism product was an imperative which policy makers could make better use of natural, cultural, and historical resources as well as mitigate the impact of seasonality by both prolonging the season and also balancing geographic and seasonal variance. As a result, Turkey effectively encouraged the establishment of enterprises in various branches of tourism, including rafting, spelunking, hunting, mountaineering, air sports, winter sports, underwater diving, golf, thermal resorts, faith, congress, and botanical. Turkey promoted tourism along the silk road, and tourism focusing on bird-watching, as well.[21]

19 Bill Bramwell, "Mass Tourism, Diversification and Sustainability in South Europe's Coastal Regions," in *Coastal Mass Tourism: Diversification and Sustainable Development in Southern Europe*, ed. Bill Bramwell (Clevedon: Channel View, 2004), 7.

20 Ibid.

21 Turkish Ministry of Tourism and Culture, accessed August 7, 2015, https://www.kultur.gov.tr.

The variety notwithstanding, the subsector that grew most within that framework was seasonal, 3–S tourism. Labor-intensive and highly-constructed 3–S tourism products are offered in hundreds of hotels of various sizes and qualities along the southern coastline, especially in Antalya basin, followed by Muğla and other locations close to natural and historical attractions. Major tour operators that bring international tourists are owned by foreign tourism groups and dominate the mass tourism that is spatially concentrated on the southern coast of Turkey. Standardized, low-cost holiday packages provided by tour operators are the typical products of this mass tourism market. This mass market features Fordism's economies of scale.

2.1.1 *Tourism Education in Turkey*

Özdoğan and Çavuş think that Turkey made considerable advances in terms of constructing the substructure and superstructure of tourism service until the 2000s. However, the physical and technical capacities of various branches of tourism are not enough on their own to reach the targets: an educated, skilled workforce and a society with an awareness of tourism are a must.[22]

The Turkish state took developing and improving tourism education into consideration, when it adopted a planned economy. The first tourism vocational school was established in 1961, and the number of vocational schools in the country stood at eight in the whole country by 1980. The focus on international mass tourism and efforts to earn a larger share of global tourism revenue brought increasing investment to tourism education after 1980. The number of tourism vocational schools reached 95 in 2007. In 2008, the number of students reached 24,311 and the number of teachers reached 2,087, from, respectively, eighty-nine and twelve in 1961.[23] The major policy concerns of the state were to promote a skilled workforce – who could bridge between theory

22 Osman N. Özdoğan and Şenol Çavuş, "Türkiye'de Turizm Eğitiminin Yapısı ve Gelişimi (Structure and Development of Tourism Education in Turkey)," in *Türk Turizm Tarihi*, ed. Çavuş, Ege, Çolakoğlu.

23 Ibid., 240; Necdet Hacıoğlu, et al, *Türkiye'de Turizm Egitimi (Tourism Education in Turkey)* (Ankara: Detay, 2008), 31.

and practice –, contribute to the development of the sector, reinforce friendship and fraternity among citizens by growing love of nature and people, improve knowledge and skills of those working in tourism enterprises, express the importance of tourism in economic development, attract citizens' attention to tourism, and create awareness.[24]

Tourism education in Turkey evolved along two lines that are still intact. One is formal education concluding with either a high school level certificate or a higher education degree. The other is vocational training certification. In the formal education, the initial stage takes place at the primary and high school levels supervised by the Ministry of Education. It is comprised of Anatolian Vocational Hotel Management and Tourism Schools, Anatolian Technical Vocational Schools, Anatolian Culinary Vocational Schools, and Anatolian Vocational Schools for Girls. This is followed by higher education supervised by the Yükseköğretim Kurulu (Council of Higher Education, YÖK), which takes place in associate degree vocational colleges (tourism and hotel management programs), university undergraduate colleges and faculties (tourism administration and hotel management), and graduate masters and doctoral degree programs at social science institutes. In the vocational training, the Ministry of Culture and Tourism offer various courses (including courses on becoming professional guides), while the Ministry of Education offer courses through the ministry-affiliated Turizm Eğitim Merkezi (Center for Tourism Education, TUREM). Other bodies and organs of mass education such as Türkiye Seyahat Acentaları Birliği (Association of Turkish Travel Agencies, TÜRSAB), Türkiye Otelciler Birliği (Hotel Association of Turkey, TÜROB), Türkiye Otelciler Federasyon (Turkish Hoteliers Federation, TÜROFED), Türk Hava Yolları (Turkish Airlines, THY), Turizm Geliştirme ve Eğitim Vakfı (Foundation for the Development of Tourism and Education, TUGEV), and Mesleki Eğitim ve Küçük Sanayi Destekleme Vakfı (Foundation to Support Vocational Training and Small Industry, MEKSA) provide certificates pertaining to various branches of tourism including travel agency and tour operations management. The EU-funded Leonardo da Vinci (LdV) programs support vocational training as well. Besides open university distance-

24 Özdoğan and Çavuş, "Türkiye'de Turizm Eğitimi," 226.

training programs that provide associate degrees,[25] there were 150 tourism-related education programs at seventy-one universities and 115 vocational high schools as of 2008.[26]

2.1.2 *Changing Competition Strategies in Turkey's Tourism Market*

In this subsection I argue that the introduction of the all-inclusive package arose as a marketing strategy in the face of increasing competition between tourism entrepreneurs; in return, it adversely affected the working and employment conditions of workers, intensified competition and compromised service quality.

In their accounts, managers and workers interviewed who had begun their careers in the tourism sector in the mid-1980s and early 1990s pointed to a radical change in the way tourism services were produced and provided to customers. They recollected certain turning points after which a new type of tourism consolidated. Although they did not mention it, the coup in 1980 and the ensuing political and legal framework directed Turkey to a neoliberal economy whereby worker organizations and trade unions were weakened. The tourism sector in Turkey grew atop a disorganized, depoliticized labor weakened by laws enacted to support private firms.

One turning point explained by interviewees was the Second Gulf War in 1991 after which some international customers shied away from Turkey, especially relatively well-to-do Germans who came to Turkey to get to know the culture and the land. Workers regarded such customers as "quality guests" since they were not stingy with their money and gave generous tips. They spent their time exploring rather than just staying in the holiday villages. Workers stated that those customers were willing to spend time with them, too as well as inviting them to restaurants or pubs for a chat in order to learn more about the culture and enjoy time with locals. Relatively well-to-do, curious customers which were then predominantly one nationality encouraged enterprises and service workers alike to concentrate on learning that one language to provide a better quality service to these quality guests. At the time,

25 Ibid., 229, 234-35.

26 Ibid., 245.

competition was not fierce, and lodging and marketing were based on a half-board system in which breakfast and dinner were catered within the package price, while everything else was sold at relatively high prices. This maintained a gentlemanly competition between these hotels and the owners of the surrounding bars, restaurants, entertainment venues, and boutique shops.

There were not so many holiday villages then, and the leading groups were mostly international brands in joint ventures with Turkish firms. Together with a couple local enterprises – small firms and publicly-owned holiday facilities – they made the tourism business flourish. Still, there were not so many rooms available. Many smaller entrepreneurs-to-be offered bed and breakfast type lodgings on the southern coast of Turkey, which had not yet become the paradise of huge building blocs covering the coast lines, into which Antalya turned some years ago and which Fethiye is on the verge of becoming nowadays. The early 1990s also coincided with the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the rapid emergence of former Soviet countries as important tourism markets. Later, Central Asian Turkic regions of the former Soviet Union would also provide workers and interns in tourism services. Meanwhile, in the second half of the 1990s, state-managed tourism enterprises were privatized, especially following the "5 April decisions" in 1994, which was a response to one of a series of crises resulting from the capital account liberalization in Turkey after 1989.

As the number of tourism schools and institutions were limited, the sector suffered from a lack of formally trained tourism personnel. In locations where a rural lifestyle predominated, women did not initially work outside of home. Those who worked were predominantly male and were trained on the job mostly by expatriate managers of the foreign firms who came and worked in Turkey from various countries of Western Europe for handsome wages. In these early years, European citizens were also employed side-by-side with locals, closing the foreign language and know-how gap to the advantage of local workers. Expatriate workers initially earned relatively higher wages on account of their language and communication advantages. State tourism enterprises, which were established in touristic regions of Turkey, trained qualified personnel while encouraging private investment from local and national en-

trepreneurs and serving as a model. Motivated entrepreneurs-to-be were provided with incentives and credit such as the ability to let tracts of public land for forty-nine years which were then transformed into tourism facilities. The state itself designated tourism centers along the shore of the Antalya basin where many such facilities were erected over the course of three decades, a development that on one hand increased Turkey's bed capacity and on the other became a factor in the intensification of competition. Both Dreams and Escape were established on public lands with a forty-nine-year lease, for example.

There was no intense tourism activity and no large-scale tourism facility in the Fethiye region in the 1990s. What could be found was simple, bungalow-type, and nature-friendly lodgings in the Ölüdeniz region with low room and service capacities. Antalya emerged as the heart of the booming Turkish tourism. Fethiye, meanwhile, was frequented mostly by tourists from the United Kingdom. Dreams was among the first four five-star holiday facilities established in the Fethiye region. It became one of the finest and luxury holiday venues in Turkey, attracting predominantly well-to-do Germans due to a deal between the German and Turkish partners of the joint venture. Right after the Gulf War in 1991, the decrease in number of German customers created disillusionment in the Antalya region, compelling entrepreneurs to search for new markets. Some foreign partners withdrew from the Turkish tourism sector altogether, leaving vacancies for Turkish entrepreneurs. Meanwhile, further developments in communication and transportation technologies changed holiday preferences. The average holiday time spent at a single location decreased. People preferred to see more and experience things at different locations rather than stay a longer time at one place.

Turkish entrepreneurs did not want to share their increasing profits with partners after learning how to run the tourism business on their own. Learning was a long process, however. A common understanding among interviewees was that Turkish entrepreneurs and managers never could manage the tourism and hospitality business the way that foreigners did. The service quality of those initial years faded and could not be revived later, they reckoned. Interviewees lamented that Turkish entrepreneurs did not care about matters

such as satisfaction and loyalty mirrors. These mirrors acknowledged the bonds between quality service and taking care of workers.

The second turning point came in 1996. Increasing numbers of entrepreneurs, increasing room numbers deepened competition – both regionally and internationally – as new marketing strategies were introduced to welcome the highest possible number of customers. Through the introduction of all-inclusive boarding packages, holiday villages targeted a large share of the foreign currency income in the tourism market.[27] Enterprises using the all-inclusive system claimed to fully satisfy customers through the services and goods provided on the premises. This change in boarding typology helped Turkey welcome more international tourists than in previous years, earning Turkey a higher rank in global tourism statistics. Many new hotels and holiday villages were constructed that utilized the same boarding system. Moreover, existing hotels enlarged their room capacities through the construction of additional floors, rooms, restaurants, and bars. Spaces on the premises were leased to independent businesses (jewelers, coiffeurs, spas, and boutiques) in return for high rents.

Within a certain tourism area, hotel owners no longer wanted to share revenues with shopkeepers in close vicinity and in downtown, which had served tourists outside of hotels and holiday villages at lower prices, especially at lunch and at night. Given the decreasing number of well-to-do tourists and the decreasing average times of stay, the introduction of the all-inclusive boarding system was intended to attract more tourists and to keep the increasing number of visitors in the hotel and away from nearby venues such as restaurants, bars, cafes, night clubs, and garment shops. Rather, entrepreneurs

27 Ahmet Aktaş, et al. (2002), "Türkiye Genelinde "Herşey Dahil" (All Inclusive) Uygulamasının Turistler, İşletme Yöneticileri ve Yöre Esnafı Açısından Değerlendirilmesine Yönelik Bir Araştırma (Evaluation of All-Inclusive System from the Perspectives of Tourists, Enterprise Managers and Local Merchants in Turkey)," *First Tourism Congress Of Mediterranean Countries* (April 17-21, Antalya, Turkey, 2002); Aydın Çevirgen and Engin Üngüren, "Yöre Esnafının Her Şey Dahil Sistemine Yönelik Tutumları (Attitude of Local Merchants On All-Inclusive Pension System)," *Ege Akademik Bakış 9* (2009); M. Mithat Üner, Alptekin Sökmen, Ibrahim Birkan, "Türkiye'de Her Şey Dahil Uygulamasının Konaklama Işletmeleri Üzerindeki Etkisi: Antalya Örneği (Influence of All Inclusive System in the Turkish Hospitality Industry: The Case of Antalya)," *Anatolia: Turizm Araştırmaları Dergisi 17*, no. 1 (2006).

supported all-inclusive holiday packages to have customers spend most of their time and money in the hotel or holiday village. Entrepreneurs tried to keep visitors in the hotel by increasing number of gratis services and offers available within the hotels – such as lunches, coffee breaks, ice cream, desserts, certain drinks, local and traditional foods, and fruit. Prices were readjusted to reflect this change, which came as a blow to shopkeepers in the region. Over time, intensifying competition suppressed holiday package prices, however, except those of highest quality hotels and holiday villages concentrated in the Belek region, forty kilometers away from the center of Antalya. Pressure over package prices, in turn, was reflected in a drive to reduce overall costs.

As a labor-intensive sector in which workers were part of the service products, cost-reduction erroneously concentrated on labor, which was perceived as a cost rather than as the major factor of customer satisfaction through quality service. Tourism and holiday service are based on labor-intensive work, not only physically, but mentally and emotionally intensive. It is a "high touch" industry.[28] This circumstance notwithstanding, labor was calculated to be the major cost for a tourism service organization along with the energy used to run service machinery. What followed after 1996 was gradual reduction of labor costs to maintain competitiveness. This brought about a reduction in the overall number of workers in large holiday villages along with an increasing number of visitors (work intensification) and real decreases in wages and career prospects. These developments paralleled an overall neoliberal transformation of the Turkish economy characterized by increasing financialization. The working population was negatively affected by financialization and the ensuing economic crises. They were faced with employment and financial insecurity, with the disappearance of earlier protective mechanisms, and a decrease in their rights in the workplace.

28 McDowell, *Working Bodies.*

Table 2.1 International Tourist Arrivals and Receipts[29]

International Tourist Arrivals (Millions of People)			International Tourism Receipts (Billions of Dollars)		
	2011	2012		2011	2012
France	81.6	83	United States	115.6	126.2
United States	62.7	67	Spain	59.9	55.9
Spain	56.2	57.7	France	54.5	53.7
China	57.6	57.7	China	48.5	50
Italy	46.1	46.4	Macao (China)	38.5	43.7
Turkey	34.7	35.7	Italy	43	41.2
United Kingdom	29.2	29.3	Germany	38.9	38.1
Germany	28.4	30.4	United Kingdom	35.1	36.4
Malaysia	24.7	25.0	Hong Kong (China)	27.7	32.1
Russian Federation	22.7	25.7	Australia	31.5	31.5

Table 2.2 International Tourist Arrivals and Receipts[30]

International Tourist Arrivals (Millions of People)			International Tourism Receipts (Billions of Dollars)		
	2014	2015		2014	2015
France	83.7	84.5	United States	191.3	204.5
United States	75	77.5	China	105.4	114.1
Spain	64.9	68.2	Spain	65.1	56.5
China	55.6	56.9	France	58.1	45.9
Italy	48.6	50.7	United Kingdom	46.5	45.5
Turkey	39.8	39.5	Thailand	38.4	44.6
Germany	33.0	35.0	Italy	45.5	39.4
United Kingdom	32.6	34.4	Germany	43.3	36.9
Mexico	29.3	32.1	Hong Kong (China)	38.4	36.2
Russian Federation	29.8	31.3	Macao (China)	42.6	31.3

29 The World Tourism Organization (UNWTO), "Tourism Highlights, 2013 Edition," accessed January 15, 2016, http://www.e-unwto.org/doi/pdf/10.18111/9789284415427, 6.

30 The World Tourism Organization (UNWTO), "Tourism Highlights, 2016 Edition," accessed May 28, 2017, http://www.e-unwto.org/doi/pdf/10.18111/9789284418145, 6.

In such an atmosphere, Turkey's income from tourism did not increase in comparison. Turkey ranks lower in terms of international tourism receipts – maintaining the twelfth position – than its rank in the number of international tourist arrivals.[31] In recent years, Turkey jumped to sixth position in terms of international tourist arrivals but did not appear among the top ten countries in international tourism receipts (see Table 2.1 and Table 2.2), despite the recent increase in supply of rooms. Indeed, Turkey has a higher number of five-star hotels compared to many countries in the European region. The TÜROFED states that Turkey's tourism income has been decreasing and the reasons behind this should be questioned.[32]

Fierce competition in Turkey is a major factor, however, placing a downward pressure on prices that forced cost-cutting mechanisms concentrated on labor and on the quality of gratis beverages and food offered in all-inclusive packages. Wages decreased, working hours were prolonged, and work accelerated and intensified in light of the endless conveyor belt of customers demanding endless services, as promised in their all-inclusive contracts. Managements attempted to keep customers on hotel premises rather than let them visit surrounding venues for shopping or activities. More add-ons were included within the all-inclusive packages. Competitors copied the strategy and then went even further in their offerings. This vicious cycle resulted in later introduction of ultra all-inclusive and exclusive all-inclusive packages.[33] Meanwhile construction and supply of additional rooms continued. Damaging to customer satisfaction and choice in the long run, these enlargements and construction activities caused environmental pollution and damage. By the mid-2000s already, tourism regions along the southern coast looked more urban than village-like. Turkey started to be associated with cheap package

31 The World Tourism Organization (UNWTO), "International Tourism Receipts," accessed May 30, 2017, http://unwto-ap.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/130624-2.pdf.

32 "Turizm Raporu (Tourism Report)," Türkiye Otelciler Federasyonu (Turkish Hoteliers Federation - TÜROFED), accessed January 10, 2016, http://www.turofed.org.tr/_files/_pdf/turizm_raporu_sayi_4.pdf, 2011, 18.

33 For the variations on all-inclusive packages and their impact, see M. Mithat Üner, Alptekin Sökmen, Deniz Güler, "Her Şey Dahil Sisteminde Farklı Uygulamalar ve Antalya Ölçeğinde Bir Araştırma (*Different Applications in All Inclusive System and a Research in Antalya), Anatolia: Turizm Araştırmaları Dergisi 18*, no. 1 (2007).

tours the market of which was mostly under the influence of international tour operators.

§ 2.2 Seasonality in Turkey's 3–S Tourism

Seasonality is a documented fact, problem, and occasionally boon for various tourism regions around the world. On the southern coast of Turkey, it is a major factor in the emergence of a flexible labor force and thus a definitive feature of the segregated labor market.

In an earlier study on seasonality, Bar-On assesses that countries that experience rapid growth in tourism prioritize the expansion of their main season through aggressive marketing and thus do not extend the season to less popular months.[34] This points to a clear choice. According to Bull, elasticity, seasonality, and volatility are the major characteristics of leisure tourism. While tourism mobility increases in certain specific months, price changes and fashion trends highly influence demand and thus tourist flows to certain destinations.[35] Butler defines seasonality as "a temporal imbalance in the phenomena of tourism, which may be expressed in terms of dimensions of such elements as number of visitors, expenditure of visitors, traffic on highway and other forms of transportation, employment and admission to attractions." Related difficulties include "gaining access to capital, trouble obtaining and holding full-time staff, low returns on investment and subsequent high risk in operations," as well as problems of over and underuse of resources and facilities.[36]

Adler and Adler define two forms of seasonality – one natural and the other "commercial or institutional."[37] Butler and Mao claim that conditions of seasonality change with changing institutional and natural conditions as well

34 R.V. Bar-On, *Seasonality in Tourism. A Guide to the Analysis of Seasonality and Trends for Policy Making* (London: The Economist Intelligence Unit Ltd., 1975).

35 Bull quoted in Joan C. Henderson, *Managing Tourism Crises*, (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2007), 7.

36 R.W. Butler, "Seasonality in Tourism: Issues and Implications" in *Seasonality in Tourism*, ed. Tom Baum and Svend Lundtorp (Oxford: Elsevier, 2001), 5.

37 Patricia A. Adler and Peter Adler, "Seasonality and Flexible Labor in Resorts: Organizations, Employees, and Local Labor Markets," *Sociological Spectrum 23*, no. 1 (2013), 60.

as through the actions of public and private sectors.[38] Government action can encourage off season tourism and "stretch the season" for purposes of "de-seasonalization," and reducing seasonal employment. Seasonality is discussed as a major problem for countries, regions, and enterprises that cannot diversify their tourism products so as to prolong their tourism season over a twelve-month period.[39] The problem remains complex even for twelve-month enterprises: as demand fluctuates, so does corporate demand for labor, especially in coastal areas. For workers, the problem of seasonality translates to uncertainty, insecurity, and irregular employment, as well as indeterminate working hours during the season.[40] Enterprises make employment decisions according to the risks that seasonality poses in terms of cost-effectiveness and profitability. According to Adler and Adler, this structure brings about a "combination of contingent workers and seasonally adaptive full-time employees" that together can be "considered a temporally 'flexible' labor force."[41]

In my research, the problem of seasonality combined with extant labor laws, the inexistence of active, efficient worker organization, and low levels of unionization fed mechanisms of worker exploitation in the hands of competing enterprises. Not only contingent laborers but also those considered to be core staff were affected by seasonality. In the name of cost-effectiveness and profitability, enterprises catering to 3–S tourism products employed a year-round paid, socially insured core staff who were assisted by a contingent workforce the length of employment over a season of which varied. The number of workers peaked in the high season months of June, July, and August (sometimes prolonged to mid-September) when occupancy levels matched bosses' expectations. As occupancy was lower at the beginning and end of the season – April and September-October, respectively – so was the count of workers. The presence of the union at Dreams did not change this fact, but its effect was felt in relatively better wages and working conditions.

38 Butler and Mao quoted in Butler, "Seasonality in Tourism," 8.

39 R.M. Ball, "Some Aspects of Tourism, Seasonality, and Local Markets" *Area 21*, no. 1 (1989).

40 Adler and Adler, "Seasonality and Flexible Labor," 60-61.

41 Ibid.

There have been ongoing discussions as to seasonality's impact on unemployment. According to some scholars, seasonal employment in tourism offers a refuge in times of economic transition and functions as a safety valve in the face of rising urban and rural unemployment, while others claim tourism as an employer that competes with other sectors such as agriculture.[42] Either way, workers await the off season, a de facto holiday for many, with mixed feelings due to expected economic hardships and the possibility of remaining unemployed. While workers may feel the relief of the end of an intense work season, they remain concerned about financial matters ahead. Over time, a pattern emerges: six-seven months of hard work followed by five or six months of relaxation, unemployment, and financial uncertainty. Some workers seek alternative income strategies both during and after the season, mostly working informally at a second job. In an economy with structural shortcomings, however, such a strategy proves difficult for the majority.

The tourism service industry is characterized by seasonality globally. Nevertheless, national legal structures can mitigate certain aspects and difficulties of seasonality. In Turkey, however, this was not the case during the time of this research. According to the social security law, social insurance covers the health expenses of workers during their time of employment. Once unemployed, social insurance coverage would continue for another ninety days before being terminated. Assuming that a seasonal worker worked the six months from April to October, there would be a period of three months with no insurance until the worker was reemployed. Once workers resumed working, the insurance would become reactivated only after thirty days. Similarly, unemployment benefits were difficult to obtain for many seasonal workers who worked irregularly with periods of unemployment in between.

42 Butler, "Seasonality in Tourism;" Lee Jolliffe and Regena Farnsworth, "Seasonality in Tourism Employment: Human Resource Challenges," *International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management 15*, no. 6 (2003); Bianchi, "Tourism and Marxist Political Economy;" Edith Szivas, Michael Riley, and David Airey. "Mobility into Tourism: Attraction and Satisfaction" *Annals of Tourism Research 30*, no. 1 (2003); R.M. Ball, "Seasonality: A Problem for Workers in the Tourism Labor Market?" *The Service Industries Journal 8*, no. 4 (1988).

There were six groups of workers who were differently affected by seasonality, the major variable being the length of employment in the season. Enterprises commonly employed people for twelve, seven, and four months, or for even shorter periods. Workers were assigned to different but all full-time jobs. I did not take note of any part-time workers at the two holiday villages.

The first group was comprised of permanent workers who were entitled to a twelve-month salary and social insurance. This group had a one-month, paid holiday, usually in January. It was a small and relatively privileged group in terms of wages, benefits, job security, and insurance, but not necessarily in terms of work hours. Moreover, their insurance premiums were not paid according to their actual wages, meaning that they were also subject to what is called the double pay roll,[43] a widespread problem in the sector. At both Escape and Dreams, this group was comprised of top management, department managers, division supervisors, top-level chefs, and few technical and security personnel whose status was designated as permanent on the employee list of the firms. At Dreams, certain assistant division supervisors were part of the group, as well. This quasi-permanent group included some seventy-seven members out of a total of 785 workers – barely 10 percent of the workforce.

The second group consisted of lower-level managers, chiefs and their assistants on the teams of entertainment, housekeeping, and maintenance; chefs; restaurant waiters and bar captains, as well as those few who were considered exceptionally diligent employees by management. The employees in this category would work for almost seven months with their status designated as temporary by the office of human resources. Their contracts were suspended at the season's end and they were recalled at the beginning of the new tourism season. If the recall came then workers continued with the same workplace, but if not, they demanded a leave through formal resignation. Firms could also terminate contracts unilaterally through legally recognized reasons mentioned in labor law. Workers could also decide to sign on with a competitor.

43 The double pay roll is when an employer declares to public authorities a lower wage paid to an employee than what is actually paid to that employee. The gap is not recorded in official accounts but is still paid to the employee informally. The official amount declared becomes thus the basis for the contribution of the employer to the insurance premiums.

At the beginning and end of a season, the interplay of seniority and hotel occupancy would determine who would be suspended or recalled relatively earlier or later. Workers in this group might serve at a particular workplace for many years but still lack employment security. Some employees in the second group had some bargaining power because of their experience and skills. Firms preferred to keep them rather than discover that they had signed on with a competitor. No official numbers were provided, but I was told that twenty to twenty-five people – mostly from kitchen and technical divisions – received a half wage during the off season, or that the employer continued to pay their social insurance premiums, or a combination of both, depending on their bargain. This prevented these precious workers from making deals with other firms to an extent. As such, this small group of twenty to twenty-five people was closer to being permanently than contingently employed.

There was a third group, which – together with the second – made up what Adler and Adler define as contingent laborers.[44] It was majority of the workforce at the two holiday villages I visited. The work period of the third group generally lasted for two to four months during times of peak occupancy. There were many who even came and went for couple weeks. The level of occupancy (profitability) and the workers' general efficiency defined their duration of stay. A balance between profitability and the corresponding number of workers working in a particular week or month was monitored and maintained by top management through preparation of daily, weekly, and monthly reports and diagrams that translated service operations into numbers and statistics. Management thereupon updated performance criteria against which newcomers would be evaluated. When profitability fell due to low occupancy and/or customer expenditure or when overall labor exploitation (efficiency) increased, some workers would be laid off. As the most mobile group among the workers, they would then search for employment at other firms. They would work in many firms temporarily, trying to obtain more secure employment. Prospects for their reemployment in following seasons depended both on the enterprises' needs and the workers' own expectations, as well as on alternative employment opportunities in this or other sectors.

44 Adler and Adler, *Paradise Laborers*.

Within the third group were those who were employed then dismissed or left on their own within the legal probation time of two months (Labor Law, Clause 15). The period between employment and dismissal might be as short as a day or two in certain cases. In cases of either dismissal or quitting, there was a legal period within which parties had to inform one other of their decisions, but as far as I could observe, this rule was not strictly followed in holiday villages. Such an informal arrangement introduced both advantages and disadvantages to both parties.

The fourth group was university students, who were a cheap, vulnerable labor source. The high season in Turkey corresponds with the summer holiday of students. Provided that the firms wanted to work with them again, some students preferred to work at the same workplace each summer during their studies for a period of three or four months to earn some money and work experience. Although they were not necessarily tourism majors, they could pursue careers in tourism if they established the necessary network. For many students, this money was crucial. Some sustained their families directly with the money or did it indirectly by paying for their tuition and dorm fees, buying text-books, and paying expenses.

Not directly influenced by seasonality, the fifth group was comprised of those students obliged to fulfill a compulsory internship as part of their education. These were from tourism vocational schools, two-year tourism vocational schools, and four-year tourism degree programs at universities. They were among the most exploited, least paid (below legal minimum wage), and most vulnerable. Employers were entrusted with approving their work during the internship, which gave them a strong leverage to exploit the labor of the interns. No numbers or statistics could be provided. As top and mid-level managers acknowledged, however, the number of such intern students and students within the workforce was on the rise. This situation compromised the quality of the service but reduced operation costs. Some managers told that if an enterprise employed a high number of interns, it surely compromised the quality and standard of service.

Workers in the second, third, fourth and fifth groups made up the flexible workforce of the two seasonal holiday villages visited. Workers in these cate-

gories were further divided according to their tasks on the front and backstages. They had varying degrees of contact with and visibility to customers according to which they were entitled to certain rights because of the nature of their tasks.

The sixth group was comprised of workers in subcontracted service units – the other dimension of flexibility that has graver consequences for the working class. At Dreams, laundry and gardening work were almost completely subcontracted, except division supervisors who were employees. Technical and security divisions were partially subcontracted. As such, unionized workers worked side-by-side with subcontracted workers, carrying out the same tasks but earning different wages.

Apart from these categories were self-employed shopkeepers that rented spaces for their small businesses from the holiday village administration on the premises. These shopkeepers hired one or two people for the summer season, as well, but these were not hotel workers. Among these, spas, for example, employed foreigners, especially female Balinese masseuses.

As stated, some whose contracts were suspended rather than terminated would be recalled the following year earlier than others. Seniority aside, this depended on the firm's needs as well as on a worker's ability to network in the workplace – foremost their relationship with chiefs and division supervisors – and of course on their diligence at work. Division supervisors generally expressed their opinions to top management about whom to recall earliest in the following season. From the workers' perspective, it would be easier to handle the debt burden – from borrowed credit or credit cards – that grew during the off season when the season started earlier. Provided that their contracts were suspended later than earlier, it meant also a higher total income gained at the season's end. Of course, in terms of income levels, other factors such as the tips were at play, but this was another matter. Generally speaking, those who worked longer had better a chance to save up more tip money.

The relative influence of division supervisors with respect to the recall of workers and thus on the relative length of a worker's work season introduced additional acts of deference and respect on the part of some workers toward these supervisors. Not all such acts were heartfelt. They were arguably artificial and undisposed, but served the worker's purpose of being reemployed in the

next tourism season, with the prospect of securing a longer term of employment, or even a promotion. According to some interviewees' accounts, such deference was instrumental for those who had not received any former education in tourism. This networking and deference could serve to move them from the third to the second group. Division supervisors were not in a position to guarantee such mobility, but the mere prospect of it earned them workers' respect. Even if not a guarantee of employment, such networking could secure one a more relaxed position with less strenuous tasks. This could be exemplary for other workers, motivating them to show similar diligence at work and deference toward supervisors.

I briefly touch on the relation between efficiency and productivity in service work and the number of workers employed by the firms. Increasing efficiency and productivity in the holiday villages had an adverse impact on the number of workers employed. In order to hold onto a position within a season and secure one for the next, a worker had to convince supervisors about her or his contribution and effectiveness. Managers wanted to convince workers to execute their tasks with devotion – practically, this meant working hours beyond legal, weekly limits. However, a rise in collective efficiency actually reduced the overall need for both short- and long-term workers.

How does efficiency impact the number of workers? I learned about the case of a baklava chef dismissed mid-season, from a critical, mid-ranking chef. Management had asked him to prepare as many trays of baklava as possible. They would then flash freeze the baklava and serve from this stock until the season's end. He prepared enough for the rest of the season, so his services were no longer required. Management was saved his wage, insurance, and on campus expenses by having worked him efficiently and through the use of new technologies that were not available ten or twenty years earlier. The baklava chef was a seasonal worker belonging to the third group. Management dismissed him without having to pay legal compensation. It was relatively easy to dismiss him after extracting the necessary effort. Of course, there were not many such goods or services that could be produced, preserved, and stocked for use at a later time.

The baklava chef did not have much control over the amount or quality of his production. He himself had earlier told me that he did not enjoy preparing

the baklava there since he lacked the necessary equipment for the art – foremost dough rollers of different sizes and thickness. Apparently, his real skill did not really matter beyond what he could do for the immediate purposes of the firm. As an artisan, he could find employment in another workplace more easily than others trying to earn their lives in tourism without a specific profession or trade. However, the primary matter was the ease with which firms could hire and fire people, stripping them of their rights and denying them a secure working environment where they could develop a community, improve their skills, and execute their professions with dignity.

There is a long-term version of the relation between efficiency and number of workers employed. This version was likely to occur over a few seasons. Although the practice of reducing the number of workers was profitable for the hotel management, the load of the remaining personnel increased to a level that the quality of service suffered as the work itself ceased to be bearable. Many of the problems I encountered relating to workers had to do with work intensity shouldered by a workforce that was in part experienced and in part less qualified – the latter being mostly short-term, temporary workers. The effort demanded from the remaining workers increased accordingly. Even if there was a search for replacements, finding them and getting them to work harmoniously in the middle of a season was a difficult, if not impossible, task, especially for kitchen and technical support. Another result was that in the face of a dwindling workforce and work intensity, dissenters frequently emerged, causing high worker turnover rates.[45]

Dissenters could be from any of the three groups. They might decide to change workplaces due to work intensity, workplace mobbing, low pay, and unpaid overtime work, only to find similar if not worse working and living conditions elsewhere given that was the middle of the season. With each workplace the two-month trial period restarted, decreasing overall employment security. Latecomers to an enterprise always had to shoulder more work than established workers. There was an implicit code that latecomers would do most of the work, which was accepted by latecomers themselves. This was part

45 Dream On was sold out to another entrepreneur in late 2012. The new owner plans to change the board system into an "ultra all-inclusive" system starting in the 2014 summer season. The workplace was immediately de-unionized after its purchase.

of their probation during when management evaluated whether the worker was docile and hard-working. Latecomers themselves were also initially willing to shoulder more work, depending on their estimation of the working conditions, wages, benefits, and social environment. Moreover, they felt pressure to prove themselves and earn a re-call opportunity for the following season. If not, they would move on to another workplace, losing time and money and possibly not covered with social insurance. While looking for a better job, the tourism season might come to an end. The workforce could dwindle and high turnover rates could persist, but the work would not get lighter anytime soon – just the opposite – especially mid-season. However, this was an observable, structural problem that persisted over seasons, explicitly recognized in the complaints of various division supervisors of but not limited to the restaurant and housekeeping divisions.

In one interview, the human resources manager of the Istanbul branch of a world-renown chain hotel mentioned a similar point as a "natural development of work" brought about by the increasing collective efficiency of the workforce. Talking about the housekeeping department, she asserted that once employees became experienced at a task, they finished it in a shorter amount of time. This would eventually make some employees redundant since through efficiency fewer people could execute more tasks and accordingly "unnecessary costs" could be reduced. She made this point bluntly from an efficiency and cost-benefit perspective at a luxury, urban hotel. I encountered this at both Escape and Dreams, but more so at Escape with its dwindling workforce, high turnover, and larger number of customers to serve. While the two housekeeping managers whom I interviewed regretted the dwindling teams, for top management it was not a problem as long as the number of workers and efficiency matched in the periodical reports on productivity.

There were few off season employment opportunities that offered fair conditions in terms of wages and social security. The reasons workers could not find decent jobs in the off season differed, of course, but mostly related to structural problems of the Turkish economy. Emel who was a member of the security team at Escape and who lived with her family, said that she could work part time at a garment shop in downtown Manavgat in the off season,

but they would give her only around 400 TL net a month,[46] half of which she would pay for her commute by public transportation. The work would not be worthwhile for just 200 TL. She could use the time to prepare for her examinations at Anadolu Open University, instead.

The majority of the interviewees were not content with seasonal work characterized by low wages, bad management, and a lack of career opportunities. They would prefer a decent, year-round job in either the public or private sector. It was not unusual that young workers got ready for Kamu Personeli Seçme Sınavı (Public Employee Selection Exam, KPSS) in order to become public employees with job security and regular income. Success on the first try was unusual, though, so people continued studying for the next sitting of the exam and also continued to work in tourism seasonally. Some tried for years and some gave up hope. Gizem, a female cook in Dream's kitchen, wanted to sign on with another firm after receiving a call from her former chef. She was disillusioned with Dreams because of late payments and the promotion of a male colleague with equal credentials over her. At the other firm, she would be promoted two ranks and her wage would increase. Eventually, she decided to stay rather than change workplaces, observing that there were no female chefs in the other hotel's kitchen and the accommodations were far worse. Despite making further plans, she felt stuck where she was for the time being.

Some workers in the second and third groups, whom the firm wanted to retain, were offered work opportunities in the off seasons to do maintenance and renovating construction work. These were almost exclusively males. One lower-level chef I interviewed wanted to continue working at Escape if only he was offered an income in the off season, too, whatever the work and whereever the workplace so long as it belonged to the entrepreneur family. He eventually left at the season's end having received no such offer. Similarly, those hired to do construction work in the off season often continued to work in the high season, generally in restaurant service, technical support, or housekeeping.

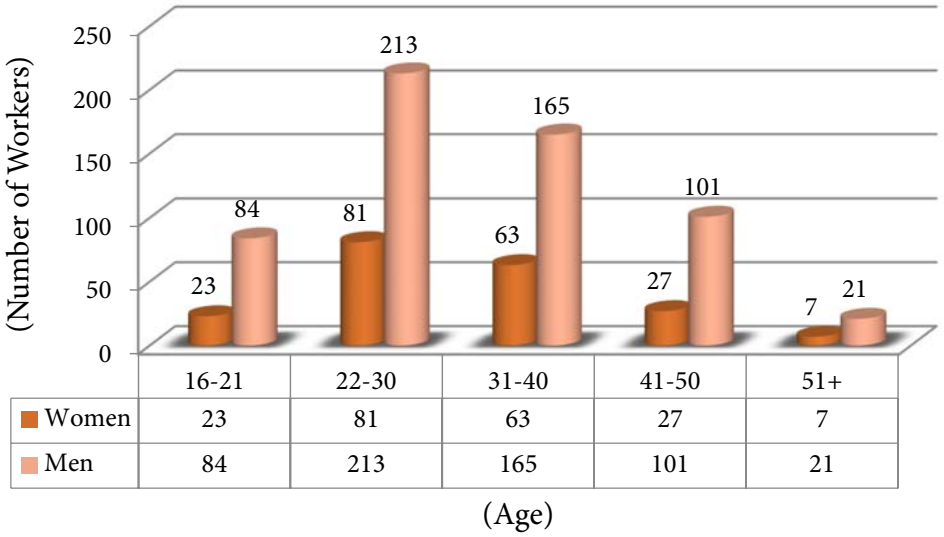
46 This was in 2012 summer season.

§ 2.3 Labor Market for Service Jobs in the Two Holiday Villages

During my research at the workplaces I closely observed the work flow of certain divisions, especially guest relations (GR), entertainment, food and beverage (F&B), front office, housekeeping, and security. I will describe characteristics of the workforce at these different service stations. Dreams was more cooperative, organized, and professional with respect to providing statistics. One of the assistants in the human resources office provided me with statistics and charts about employees. No such data and statistics were available from Escape.

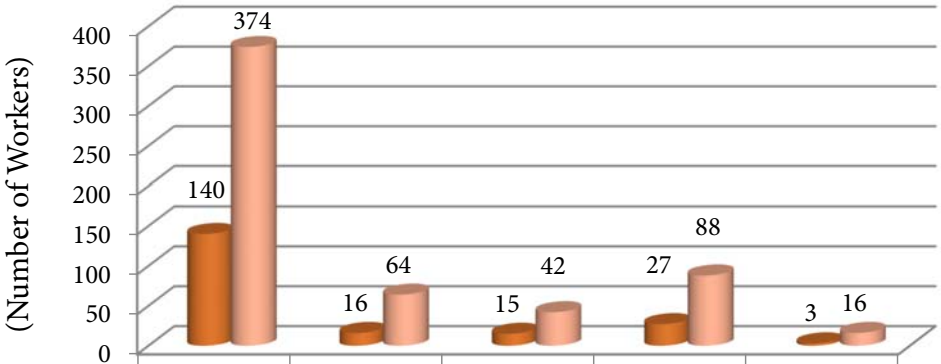
Workers working in close proximity in front and backstage positions in the holiday village hierarchy were from different social, occupational, and educational backgrounds. At Dreams, 785 workers were employed during the whole of the 2012 season, and the gender and age distribution shows that the tourism workforce is made up of workers mostly in their 20s and 30s (see Graph 2.1). This age group makes 70 percent of the workforce. As also mentioned by managers, the number of women working in tourism has increased over the years, but not at global levels. At Dreams, there were 584 men employees (74 percent) as opposed to 201 women (26 percent). Arguably, more men than women start working in tourism, they start at a younger age, and they seem to remain longer in tourism for various reasons.

Graph 2.1 Gender and age distribution at Dreams



Nevertheless, the workers did not think that tourism could offer a life-long employment. Graph 2.2 suggests that remaining in the sector was once an option, because of the opportunities it offered. Many of those entering the sector do not remain as opportunities wither, leading to high turnover rates. Five hundred fourteen workers (65 percent) had less than 6 years of experience, 80 workers (10 percent) had six to ten years of experience, and 191 workers (25 percent) had more than ten years of experience.

Graph 2.2 Gender and years employed at Dreams

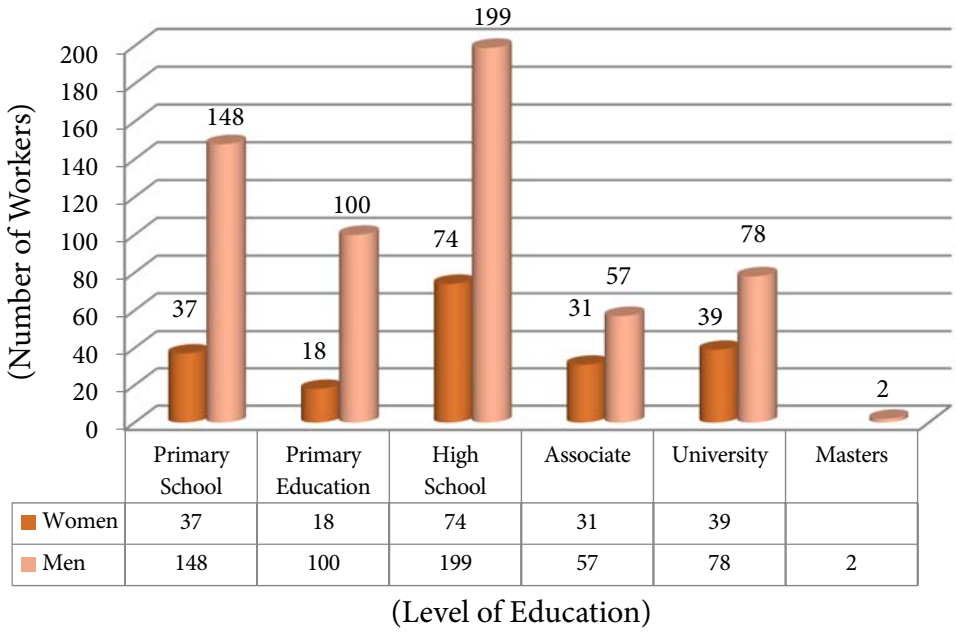


	0-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21+
Women	140	16	15	27	3
Men	374	64	42	88	16

(Number of Years Employed)

Five hundred workers came from Muğla (63 percent) while the rest came from other regions in Turkey. A comparison of data in 2008 and 2012 suggests that the percentage of the total workforce coming from outside Muğla rose, albeit slowly, from 32 percent to 36 percent, and it is arguably expected to rise further. This local feature of Dreams is one explanation for a low labor turnover rate, which did not exceed 2 percent monthly and averaged 13 percent yearly between 2009–2012, whereas in the Antalya basin overall the number is as high as 40 percent yearly. Four hundred thirty one single (55 percent) and 354 (45 percent) married people were listed in the statistics of Dreams for summer 2012.

Graph 2.3 Gender and educational levels



As to education, 27 percent of the women employed had not finished high school. 37 percent of women employed had a high school diploma, 15 percent had associate's degree, and 19 percent had university degrees. Comparatively, 34 percent of men had a high school diploma, 10 percent had associate's degree, and 13 percent had university degrees. Seventy-one percent of all women and 67 percent of all men employed had high school diploma (see Graph 2.3). The data does neither specify the details of their degrees and nor any vocational school details. If these degrees are mostly related to tourism, then the state's investment in tourism education has paid off. An educated workforce is available in the labor market despite the decreasing skill content of the jobs, a fact which contributes to my discussion on service skills in chapter 4. Besides the issue of skills in general, it is apparent that education empowers women and creates possibilities in the labor market and social life despite the structural problems of the Turkish economy.

As of July 2012, 257 workers at Escape were between the ages of 20–30 (52 percent) and 117 were between the ages of 31–40 (23 percent) – altogether 374 of 493 people. The rest were either younger or older, but precise statistics were not available. Three hundred thirteen people were single (63 percent) and 180

married (37 percent). Three hundred fifty had high school diploma (70 percent), and 124 had received a primary education (25 percent), but only 19 had university degrees of either two or four years (3.8 percent). The numbers unfortunately are not broken down by gender.

As suggested in these graphs and from these statistics, workplaces employed a young labor force who mostly had a high school diploma. Singles outnumbered those who were married, and more so at Escape. Other differences were noticeable between Dreams and Escape, foremost that Dreams mostly drew its labor force from sources in the vicinity. Education level was higher at Dreams, which was also my personal observation. Statistics at Dreams suggest that percentage of women with education above high school (34 percent) is higher than that of men (23 percent). Women were employed in far less numbers despite increase in the last decade and they also remained for a shorter period also compared to men. Some workers with university degrees at Dreams did reach managerial levels over time. University students and personnel with degrees could be found in the guest relations (GR), entertainment, front office, and food and beverage (F&B) divisions. Whether with a degree or not, the majority was part of the contingent workforce in a sector with high turnover rates - higher at Escape than at Dreams. The white collar of the hospitality worked in guest relations, the front office, and some in entertainment. Women occupied fewer senior positions at both firms, but a woman occupied the second position in the hierarchy of Dreams, heading the rooms division. Located within the rooms division, the front office, the GR, and housekeeping supervisors were all women, as well. At Escape, the GR, the housekeeping, and human resource managers were women, but women were not represented in top management.

There were few migrant workers in Turkey's 3S tourism apart from Kurdish migrants, who were Turkish citizens forced from their villages, mostly in the 1990s. This was carried out by state security forces on the pretext of fighting against terrorism. Around 2 million Kurdish citizens had to migrate

to cities starting in the 1990s, swelling the ranks of the urban poor and becoming dispossessed laborers.[47] I did not do much observation on this subject, but Kurdish workers were employed far backstage as low skill, low wage personnel. One of my interviewees, a low-ranking F&B assistant manager told me that employers preferred low skill, low wage, and hard-working Kurdish workers for purposes of productivity, but such an employment model would eventually compromise quality. He added that service quality was not a concern for the firms any more.

The number of foreign workers cannot exceed 10 percent of the total workforce in a tourism workplace by law. They were employed mostly in front stage work, foremost in the entertainment and GR, and less so in the front office. There were a few Asian and Turkic workers on the kitchen teams as chefs, assistant chefs, and service personnel employed to serve in what the management called special restaurants, which offered world cuisines. It was not officially admitted, but there were also workers of foreign origin who worked illegally. These workers acted as if they were customers during official inspections, not revealing their worker status.

There was a trade union at Dreams that represented around 80 percent of the workforce and managed a collective bargaining process every two years. Among the 20 percent not represented were core, frontline workers in the entertainment department and GR division. Differences and variety in the backgrounds of workers, their status in the workplace, and the corresponding lengths of their employment (exposure to seasonality) marked stratified social relations in the production of the various services. Nonetheless, a majority of workers worked in insecure, low-paid, labor-intensive tasks with few career opportunities. A sound career supported by a year-round good pay and social security was a privilege for the very few. Except these, work was low pay and low skill, and workers were interchangeable and dispensable despite the fact that workforce had an increasing level of education.

47 Keyder and Yenal, "Agrarian Transformations;" Deniz Yükseker, "Neoliberal Restructuring and Social Exclusion in Turkey," in *Turkey and the Global Economy: Neo-Liberal Restructuring and Integration in the Post-Crisis Era*, ed. Ziya Öniş and Fikret Şenses (London: Routledge, 2009).

§ 2.4 Human Resources

Finding and selecting people for work positions was a task mostly entrusted to the human resources offices of the tourism workplaces I visited. They were quasi-strategic because they held many secrets of the enterprises with respect to the conditions of employment and payment of wages, such as the matter of double pay roll. In general, contribution of the human resources departments to finding and training the appropriate employee for the matching service position is essential. Responding to a question about why she chose management in tourism as a career path, the human resources manager of a world-renown, five-star chain hotel in Istanbul stated:

> Considering human resources in tourism, the human factor should be emphasized since what is produced is service. In a factory, it is the product produced that matters, but in a hotel what is produced is the intangible service. Guests are sold services and experiences. Within these experiences, the decisive factor that will enhance guests' satisfaction and loyalty and convince them to return is the human resources [management]. Thus, the human factor is at the forefront of all human resources processes such as selection, training, orientation, and communication.

At this twelve-month, luxury hotel, building loyalty and retaining the carefully recruited and hired workers was crucial. Strong employee loyalty was key to strong customer or guest loyalty, "because only certain employees can *create* certain guests," she stated (my emphasis).

> That is our major approach in our employee training programs: customized service. We provide customized service because expectations vary among guests. We aim to create incredibly nice, unforgettable moments – experiences – for our guests. So, we intuit those expectations and serve [the guests] accordingly.

Online assessment, assessment standards and criteria, as well as other human resources processes were defined and imposed from the chain's international

headquarters. If an applicant was regarded as acceptable after submitting information for the online assessment, she or he was called for an interview with the human resources and the corresponding department's manager.

> We have a credo – that is, a promise of superior service. We regard our employees as ladies and gentlemen who serve lady and gentleman guests. This means that we respect our employees; we pay attention to them as much as we respect and pay attention to our guests. How do we do this? Through our selection methods we choose people with such characteristics.

Character and personality assessments played an important role in the recruitment process and hiring decisions. Apart from professional knowledge and qualifications, personal traits, attitudes, and behavioral patterns weighed heavily in the selection process according to the human resources manager. Accordingly, there was what is called a "star interview" in this Istanbul hotel – a job-talk design and sort of a psychological test – whereby management asked applicants to think up real life situations and how they woud react to those situations. Management then evaluated certain traits such as problem-solving, guest relations, and manners through the answers provided for a particular scenario.

> We come across widely varying education levels and personal profiles because of the many different services offered at the hotel. Qualifications for technical service and reception differ. Yet, what we look for beyond these qualifications is the approach of the person toward the job, a certain character and personality features. We want to see whether this person is suitable for working here.

These were the recruitment and hiring standards of a five-star, luxury city hotel serving international customers. With this as a reference, the human resources processes at the two holiday villages, which were connected to the labor market conditions, will be explained in the next section. I explain these while also underscoring the particular workplace politics that they created.

2.4.1 *Human Resources Processes at the Two Holiday Villages: Selection and Hiring of Workers at Escape and Dreams*

The holiday villages in Turkey receive international customers for over two decades, which leads to the expectation that their HR processes would also adapt to international standards in Turkey's holiday villages. That is not the case. The structures of international standardization similar to those of the luxury, urban hotel, were not observed in these five-star holiday villages. Standardization of human resources processes was a necessity and a set goal.

In these two seasonal enterprises, human resources processes took their own particular course. A luxury city hotel is what tourism managers call a small operation, serving a couple of hundred customers in the middle of a city like Istanbul with many historical and social attractions beyond the hotel's premises. The operation at a holiday village is, rather, a "big operation," with around 1,000–1,200 people being served daily in the low season while over 2,000 people in the peak season. Unlike the half-board systems of city hotels, there has been a dominant all-inclusive system in Antalya and Muğla, since the late 1990s, which was fully applied at Escape and mixed with a full-board plus model at Dreams. Regarding human resources processes, there were degrees of efficiency between Escape and Dreams in terms of finding and retaining qualified, suitable, or acceptable workers for the various departments and tasks. Success and efficiency arguably resulted in a lower employee turnover rate since human resources would be creating and maintaining employee loyalty schemes. The turnover rate for Dreams averaged 13 percent on a seasonal basis, with a higher rate in 2012 (27 percent) due to wage payment problems. It stood at around 40 percent for Escape.

There were three ways by which workers were selected and hired depending on the qualities sought for positions on the front or backstage of the tourism service. One way was to recruit and hire students of vocational high schools, two-year tourism vocational schools, and four-year tourism departments at universities. At all levels of vocational education, students are expected to fulfill compulsory internships at tourism enterprises with a minimum of three stars to graduate – guided by university's or school's internship

commission. These tourism enterprises prepare internship reports – describing work performance and skill advances – that are evaluated then by the commissions, contributing to the grading of the students.

Regulated by the Council of Higher Education in Turkey, this system introduces a certain number of students into Turkey's seasonal tourism workforce for a brief period every year – a first step into the labor market. Upon completing their education, a skilled, experienced workforce is expected to serve the sector.[48] As to the length of the internship, students at two-year vocational schools undertake a 60-day internship period, while the duration is 90 days for four-year university students. Four-year tourism high schools dictate two six-month internships to follow the second and third years. School boards decide on a case-by-case basis whether interns can work in 3–S tourism firms or not. Universities and schools regulate these periods autonomously. Tourism university students and tourism vocational high school students, who complete their compulsory internships, are sometimes later employed at the tourism firms.

Accordingly, the human resources managers of firms accompanied by some division supervisors would visit universities' tourism departments in the off season and open a desk on career days – along with representatives from travel agencies – mostly to recruit and hire for accommodation and F&B services. The relationship between the specific enterprise and specific university and tourism vocational school may vary. The firm may visit a university campus, open a desk, and register students after a short interview on the campus; or it may accept students for internships from universities without visiting them.

Informal personal relations between general managers, division supervisors, department managers, university presidents, deans, or academic personnel provided communication channels for recruitment and hiring. Once hired, these students were placed at the bottom of the workplace hierarchy. An experienced GR employee at Dreams emphasized that interns were among the most exploited by 3–S firms on the southern coast of Turkey. They were not only overloaded with tasks, but paid less than the minimum wage, if at all.

48 Aykaç, "Tourism Employment."

Moreover, hotel management restricted their movements in and out of the holiday village and leisure time during their internship. This was the case for interns at Escape, as suggested by an F&B worker: "This what they do to students here. In terms of work, it has nothing to do with an internship." Their conditions were only relatively better at Dreams. Although I saw no interns from abroad and working at Escape, there were few at Dreams, which had a partnership with Manas University in Kyrgyzistan. Every year, a certain number of their students would complete their internships at Dreams. I came across such Central Asian interns in GR and in the F&B division's kitchen unit as well as among hostesses. Interns in GR and hostessing had relatively comfortable work conditions compared to others.

The second way was to review individual applicants applying personally for jobs. These people came to the holiday villages and met the human resources manager. Each workplace had its own work application form which would be accompanied by legally required supporting documents. After presenting all the documents and filling out the application forms, the human resources manager would evaluate them. The high turnover rate in the Antalya basin was observable in the daily workload of the human resources office at Escape, overwhelmed by registrations of hired and quitting workers. The office at Dreams was less troubled by the routine paper work of applicants given its lower turnover rate. Computerization made the registration process much easier, but there was still a difference if the office had to deal with it a couple of times in a day, a week, or a month.

At Escape, applicants were directed to vacant positions after the approval of the general manager. Hired applicants met with the corresponding supervisor and chief who would introduce them to the team. A person in charge of workers' dormitory would then show them their rooms, if employees were to stay on the campus. Interestingly, I was not the only one who did not sit for an interview during the hiring process at Escape.[49] Few workers mentioned being interviewed before being assigned to their current positions. The new human resources manager (as the team also changed frequently), who herself came to

49 My initial plan was to work at Escape. Since this did not work out I stayed there as a guest and searched and found out the job at Dreams.

the position without a formal interview, mentioned that she preferred to conduct interviews for her own division. She received the position at Escape through the reference of a colleague who was also employed by Escape's owners, but at another hotel. "Thirty minutes is necessary and enough to understand the character of a person," she stated. She said: "Human resources personnel should be able to keep *secrets*. By secrets, I mean, they have to be trustworthy" (my emphasis). F&B supervisor at Escape for example stated that his personnel went through a probation of one month. If in that first month they did the job well, they stayed. The GR supervisor at Escape, however, went through an interview when she first came and started as a GR employee. Likewise, the front office manager said that he asked his personnel certain questions at a job talk, if not in a thorough interview

Interviews, if there were any, were reserved for front line workers, especially in GR, the front office, entertainment department, and security as well as for managerial positions. My interviewees at Dreams contended that in the 1990s there were even interviews for those applying to be employed as maids in the housekeeping. This was no longer the case. The legal probation period was a maximum two months, during which workplaces could hire, observe, and dismiss personnel without legal obligations and or high transaction costs. The actual probation period to discern the aptitude of an employee lasted between fifteen days and a month for many divisions. Apart from probation, the kitchen teams in many hotels are formed according to the preferences of the executive chefs, who, when changing hotel, generally try to take trustworthy assistants with them, as well. The expectations to be promoted and make higher earnings for the kitchen personnel rise at the point when an executive chef changes. Some of the assistants follow their chefs to the next workplaces while some others stay and seek ways to move up the ladder.

Along with local workers selected by or suggested to firms, entertainment teams in the holiday villages consisted of groups of what some called mercenaries, foreign workers from Georgia, Russia, Ukraine, the United Kingdom, North Africa, Africa, and Eastern Europe. They came to the work through agencies that provided their resumes to the tourism firms in return for commission. As additional channels of hiring, hunting in the recruitment websites

abroad as well as accepting direct applications through the tourism firms' websites were also mentioned.

A major difference between Dreams and Escape was the role of the general manager and the human resources supervisor in the recruitment and hiring processes. The general manager, who during my stay in the summer 2012 was a German expatriate, knew almost nothing about and did not intervene in the human resources processes – neither for line workers and nor for managerial positions. Moreover, the human resources manager at Dreams, a Turkish national, did not get involved in the selection of other divisions' personnel, either. He interviewed only potential managers to understand their character, whether they would be easy to work and get along with, and whether they were domineering and put immense pressure on workers. He underscored that the latter quality was unacceptable in a workplace like Dreams, where workers knew their rights well, knew what to do, and had become used to carrying out their tasks in a relaxed environment. A yelling, domineering, and rude manager would not fit. The human resources manager thus screened out such candidates. A former security chief avoided detection in the screening process, for example, but the security team did not welcome his domineering attitude and so his contract was terminated.

Many applicants for front line and managerial positions went through an interview process at Dreams. The assistant human resources manager and his two female mentees shared the task. Applicants came directly to the human resources office or were recommended by divisions themselves. In many of the latter cases, a second interview was redundant as the divisions were convinced about the candidate, but still an interview, albeit short, was carried out by the human resources office to screen for the applicant's personality. Sometimes the human resource team alone carried out interviews to decide on the aptitude of a candidate:

> So we tell them that they can go and that we would call them, but we do not. We can clearly see which people are apt and whether or not their trial would be a waste of time or not. This way we alleviate the workload on the shoulders of the departments. These applicants might be accepted by the departments had they spoken directly to the departments, but this would not be beneficial in the end. But when we

> accept applicants, we fully support them before the corresponding department that they would be apt. At times, we even dissuade the chiefs regarding certain applicants. In such cases, we claim that the person may be experienced in terms of the trade, but not in terms of personality.

The front office and entertainment departments and the GR division conducted their own interviews and then asked for the approval of the human resources office. The entertainment department recruited from various resources among which were references by current workers, direct online applications, and international firms abroad. The latter was a means to recruit for entertainment since the Kid's club generally recruited locally.[50] To be employed as a GR representative, I had to be particularly approved by the human resources manager himself since I would do a research on the campus. After talking to me for about fifteen minutes and asking about my research, he defined my case as a win-win situation since an additional worker was being sought. GR candidates, whom the GR claimed to scrutinize carefully for manners and attitudes, were almost always approved by the human resources office. Upon receiving his approval, I started my work and research. Apart from the GR and entertainment department, the bar division, which is under the F&B department, conducted interviews for certain positions that required contact with customers. In the entertainment department, the manager did the interviewing assisted by corresponding team leaders.

One of my interviewees, a bar captain, claimed that matters such as the tidiness of applicants' outfits, their level of seriousness, physical appearance, and general physical attractiveness influenced the selection process. According to him, the tidiness of the outfit was a sign of respectability while excessive tattoos pointed to a psychological problem. Attractiveness was as important as professional qualifications, he asserted, since the service included the work-

50 I use the word entertainment to refer to activities, sport events, and games designed for grown up customers on campus. Those activities designed for children were executed by the Kid's club, which the holiday villages referred to as "mini club."

ers' appearance, appealing to the customers' gaze. Underscoring the importance of the body language and the arbitrariness entailed in the selection process, the assistant human resources manager stated:

> Sometimes it is hard to explain to an applicant why he is being turned down. We cannot tell them it is because of a sixth sense. I am actually a tourism teacher and received pedagogical training, so I can tell from body language. But after a point, it is really my sixth sense that comes into the picture… Movement of the hands and arms, the style of the outfit, strong eye contact or the lack of it when answering questions, the interval between my question and their answer – the longer the interval the lesser their integrity – are all important. It may sound grim, but this is the case.

The GR supervisor had four long-time, experienced workers on her team (themselves shift leaders) present while interviewing and selecting newcomers. She thought it was their right to be involved in the process since they would be working with the new employees. It was important for team harmony. While others asked questions, the GR supervisor intervened – almost shouting – to ask questions or make a statement. It sounds strange, she conceded. She used the yelling question to observe the reactions of applicants in such an unusual situation that might also potentially arise during their work with customers. Workers might have to respond to tense and irate customers at times. How well one got along in such a situation defined a good GR representative for her. Yağız, the most experienced among the four, said that GR personnel were indeed carefully chosen. They paid special attention to team harmony and hired people that would not cause authority problems. People who did not seem or act friendly would not last long in such a workplace, the GR team contended. So being able to handle the unexpected and remain amicable were the desired traits for a representative.

The third way to select and hire actually did not much concern selection, but rather employing tractable workers in times of need. The difficulty of finding trustworthy workers who could work through a season on one hand and difficulty of finding personnel to replace those who left on short notice in the

high season, on the other, encouraged managers to pay attention to recommendations and references of their current workers for further employment, despite risks. Recommendations, expectedly, focused on relatives, friends, and those who shared a hometown. They might also be the kin of top managers.

As to the risks, firms were generally wary of resistance against rules, work design, and order; of those distracted from working; and of collective action in the case of confrontation between the employer and workers. This was thought to be more likely in the case of relatives and friends – especially first-degree relatives. I heard one such case on my second day at Escape. Although not first-degree relatives, ten young male workers from the kitchen unit, who were all friends and relatives from a particular village of Konya, left the workplace together in late June on short notice. The reason for their quitting was that one of these young workers was subject to electric shock while working and was hospitalized. The workers decided that the continuing negligence of workplace safety caused such peril to workers' lives. The reason for quitting might equally be a dispute between workers and chefs, heavy workload, belated payments, or non-paid overtime. Referring to the quitting of the young workers from Konya, the assistant general manager stated that such "massacres" [collective protests] should be avoided in the future since it was difficult, if not impossible, to find ten replacements mid-season for the kitchen. The ungovernable mobility of the workers among workplaces compromised the ability of the firms to be flexible on their own terms. During my stay at Escape, I heard about other cases of workers receiving shocks in the kitchen. Workers solicitous about their health would leave if the problem lingered.

Such past and present experiences made management wary of a breach in worker loyalty to the enterprises. The general manager of Escape put it bluntly: the enterprise could not afford to let close relatives build a power base and higher bargaining power or cause authority problems. The general manager of another holiday village in Side stated that first-degree relatives were not normally accepted, but things had recently changed. They now decided about this on a case-by-case basis. Yet normally it was not preferred at all. The relaxation of the strict principle was due to tight labor market conditions, especially in the high season. This was an apparent contradiction in terms of policy and principles, but not so in terms of capital's needs.

Scores of tourism enterprises compete with one another in order to sell more rooms to international tourists. To give efficient service, they need to attract and maintain a relatively stable labor force, meaning that these enterprises should be deciding when workers leave. On the other hand, they want to reduce their costs and keep wages low, because of the same competitive pressures. Smaller, controllable groups of friends and relatives are a temporary solution to this tightness. Friends and kin offer a pool of relatively reliable labor source that can be an asset so long as the workers coming from this pool can be controlled. Control is partially the task of the already-employed relatives (insiders) who give the references.

At Escape, supervisors and top managers had their kin working at the holiday village. For example, kitchen management was parceled between two half-brothers, one the executive and the other a sous chef. In our interview, the sous chef stated that his task was to assist his younger brother – that is "to watch his back" so that he did his job in a comfortable environment. This was secured partially by the sous chef's control over the kitchen teams and partially by fellow townsmen and kin assigned to various positions lower down the hierarchy. Those who were assigned literally spied on dissenting personnel on behalf of management. Relatives or fellow townsmen of these chefs were placed on teams in other departments as well, such as among the stewards or in restaurant service. Having such strong, relatively stable positions created a power base with its allies (and foes) among the other workers. Other non-kin workers might feel the need for a protective network to do their work in relative comfort, securing a position for the next season, and receiving good references for future work. I happened to disturb and was threatened by this power bloc at Escape, a reason why I had to leave earlier than I had actually planned.

More strikingly, certain managers were relatives or fellow townsmen of the entrepreneur family, some of whom had come directly from their local village in the Black Sea region. Managers of entertainment department and technical services as well as purchasing and supplies were close relatives. There were more relatives or fellow townsmen in the kitchen, in security, and in the scullery. There were smaller groups of two to four friends or relatives (first-degree or otherwise) found in various divisions that were apparently not considered

a menace by management. For example, I came across two sisters, originally from Şanlıurfa working as stewardesses whose nephew also worked in the kitchen of Escape's seafood restaurant. For the purposes of top management, the mechanism of finding workers through a pool of current worker's relatives and friends was an attempt to guarantee a stable workforce for certain positions in a tight labor market. Managers, especially in F&B, the kitchen, and housekeeping, favored such networks to secure their positions from challengers in the hierarchy who might bide their time to oust and replace these managers.

At Dreams, managers were mostly non-locals, except the housekeeping and front office supervisors, so there were no extensive kinship relations compared like the ones at Escape, at least not between managers and workers. The housekeeping and front office supervisors did not have any relatives working in the firm, either. There were no kinship relations between the entrepreneur family and managers and supervisors. Among the workforce, though, one could find close friends, relatives, and fellow townsmen since a majority originated from Fethiye and its surrounding villages. Dreams seldom relaxed the rule of not accepting first-degree relatives. The restaurants supervisor, the headwaiter of one of the main restaurants, and a cook were brothers, originally from Malatya. The assistant F&B manager and another cook were another example of brothers. One of the housekeeping floor chiefs married to one of the bar captains was an exceptional couple working at Dreams. For many years, the enterprise turned down first-degree relatives, though then and in summer 2012 there were exceptions.

The general manager and supervisors, at both hotels, who evaluated applications, did often call to ask for a reference from applicants' previous workplaces, as in any other sector. Surprisingly, supervisors from Manavgat, Kemer, and Fethiye, knew each other's working styles well. Thus, information they provided about applicants could be decisive. In the İNKAY, an association of human resources professionals in Antalya and its local branch in Manavgat, MİNKAY, human resources managers exchanged information on various matters – including thoughts on personnel – at monthly meetings. As a result of these deliberations, if applicants were not deemed stable and easygoing, but

as people who had problems with chiefs, then they might not be hired easily in the Antalya basin unless there was a dire need.

Despite the principled rhetoric, many people working at Escape were family, kin, or fellow townsmen. This was an important change that occurred over time and came with increasing competition. It was unavoidable at Dreams, where a large part of the workforce originated from greater Fethiye. There, couples and first-degree relatives were only recently employed together. A female entertainer was surprised when her application was finally accepted in 2008 after successive rejections:

> Their continuing excuse was my surname since my father also worked here. The rule was nonsense, anyway, and finally it was relaxed when they badly needed a local female entertainer, which was difficult to find back then. If it was really a principle, then it should have remained sound.

The necessities at hand and the situation of the labor market for various positions at a given point can bend the principles. Moreover, as stated, in certain circumstances there were other priorities, as in case of relatives of managers and entrepreneur families. In short, kin networks were exploited as long as management could control them for its purposes.

During the process of de-agrarianizing and urbanization due to changing government policies since 1980, farmers came to see holiday enterprises and tourism as outlets of social security through formal employment and the public insurance attached to it. With the decline of tobacco cultivation as the main economic activity in Fethiye, for example, people started to look for alternative sources of income.[51] They found it in the newly constructed holiday villages and hotels that employed considerable numbers of people. During the interviews that I carried out for a week in summer 2011 in Fethiye's mountain villages, the remaining villagers confirmed that their villages had been vacated as young people went to work in tourism. They said that the tobacco cultivation had died and with its death their status as agricultural producers had

51 Sinem Kavak, *Struggling for Survival in the Village after the Disturbance of Tobaccoland: Tracing New Rurality Behind the Footprints of Tobacco Farmers*, Unpublished MA Thesis, Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History (Boğaziçi University, Istanbul, Turkey, 2010).

changed. They had become consumers. Apart from government policy, they claimed that remaining lands were insufficient for sustaining growing families (with reference to Turkish inheritance laws that divide land among children). Younger generations found it increasingly difficult to sustain a life and found it dull juxtaposed to the vivacious urban centers touched and transformed by tourism and entertainment. One family I interviewed sustained itself through the husband working in tourism as a bus driver and the wife offering bungalow type accommodations and food for trekkers – a developing form of nature tourism along the Lycian Way.

Local inhabitants, who were farmers turned into service workers, not only worked in the construction of the hotels when they were first erected, but served as the backbone of the workforce in the holiday villages once in operation. At Dreams, there were a considerable number of people who had been employed since 1991. Statistics were not provided for all years since 1991, but the numbers provided by the human resources office for the last four years suggested that the labor turnover rate had not surpassed 13 percent annually. Dreams did not face the level of competition observed in the Antalya basin. This began to change due to the construction of new hotels in Fethiye in the second half of the 2000s. Besides, the owners of Dreams had decided to invest in a new holiday village in Antalya in 2007. The one in Antalya later suffered losses, which in turn adversely affected Dreams and put it in a financially risky situation. Earnings from Dreams in Fethiye were used to cover the losses in Antalya, and much needed renovations in Fethiye had to be postponed. The losses in Antalya culminated and created difficulties in making the payments of workers' wages, as well.

Formerly, Dreams competed with only three other luxury five-star holiday villages in the region, among others, to attract a skilled workforce. This resulted in the transfer of qualified personnel among these four enterprises over the previous twenty years. Thus, in order to retain the workforce that it attracted, Dreams allowed a trade union and offered relatively higher wages and better working conditions – actually better than the other three in the region in which it operated, according to my interviewees. Of course, these interviewees were longtime workers and asserted that things were better in the past

in terms of wages, working conditions, attention and training given to workers, and the general customer profile. Established as a joint venture in 1991, Dreams ranked among the best tourism venues of Turkey in the 1990s. Workers considered working there a privilege. "Not everybody could work here," they stated, proud that they were among the privileged. This fact started to change in the last couple of years with the difficulty in the payment of wages and the deterioration of working conditions.

Over all, the aforementioned ways of finding and hiring workers pointed to a bureaucratic structure that adapted to the new circumstances of a volatile and competitive market. The circumstances unfortunately did not create a secure employment environment for workers. It did not offer most favorable wages or promising career paths, either. As indicated, in most cases, the workload increased due to market conditions and organizational demand.

§ 2.5 Worker Profiles and Wage Policy

After having sketched out the human resources process, I now describe the worker profiles of certain departments and the wages[52] for certain positions within the departments to take a closer look at the labor market. These descriptions support my main argument about the segregation of holiday service. Through the descriptions, I point to the segregated character of the labor force. The departments and units mentioned are ones with whose workers and managers I had the chance to talk and observe first hand. There were foreign workers at both workplaces, but the workforce was predominantly made up of Turkish nationals, as regulated by law.

The arrangement of divisions and departments differed somewhat at Escape and Dreams, but their organizational hierarchies had similar pyramidal structures, under the top management headed by a general manager who responded to the board of trustees.[53] In this section, I note the divisions without

52 As of July 2012, the monthly gross income for a worker amounted to 940.5 TL, which was the minimum wage for the period between 1.07.2012 and 31.12.2012. On July 2, 2012, one US dollar equaled to 1.8152 TL. In terms of dollars, the minimum wage was around $518.

53 For the organizational structures of different types of hotels, see, for example, S. Medlik and Hadyn Ingram, *The Business of Hotels* (Oxford: Butterworth Heinemann, 2000).

paying attention to their place in the organizational structure. There was an important aesthetic dimension to the service labor – what the literature frames as "aesthetic labor" and as "looking good and sounding right" for the purposes of capital accumulation. I elaborate on this aesthetic dimension in the section about skills in chapter 4. Still, as a dimension of segregation, I briefly mention my general observations about the appearance of workers at the holiday villages. In general, all workers wore uniforms of colors that were representative of their divisions, but there were differences as to style and bodily display. Equally important was the matter of status. Regardless of pay and position, certain workers had higher status among the workforce. I note some such cases.

2.5.1 *The Front Office*

Workers in the front office division of the enterprises differed in terms of gender, age, background, and style. Almost all front office workers had an associate's or university degree, but not all were necessarily from tourism programs. Many spoke English well, some even spoke a second foreign language, and some improved their language skills at work. All front office personnel looked presentable and were well-groomed. At Dreams, there was a hotel and a village section and, accordingly, two somewhat separate reception and bellhop teams, managed by the same supervisor.

The front office division employed receptionists, operators, bellhops, and few reservationists. Escape's daytime reception team was ethnically more mixed than that at Dreams, speaking a corresponding variety of languages. The reception at Dreams was more populous, but English was the sole foreign language spoken. At Dreams, occasionally help from GR was sought for German, Italian, Russian, and French guests. Half the workforce of eight receptionists and seven telephone operators was women of an average age of 27. There was also a night auditor who was a young man in his mid 20s.

Bellhop team at Dreams employed ten men in their early 20s, mostly university students, led by a captain at the age of 37, originally from Tunceli. Bellboys had to be fit to carry heavy bags, although they drove golf carts on the premises during check in and check out. They did not particularly train muscles and were not particularly athletic. Two were even chubby. An experienced

bellboy from Aydın at the age of 30 came second to the bellhop captain, but was highly respected by the team members. The team cared about what he told more than the captain himself, who entrusted him with the scheduling of weekly work and off days.

There were two women and a man who were shift leaders at the reception – all locals – who were headed by a female reception chief who was not a local. All three reservationists, including the chief, were women. The repeat guest program employed three male workers headed by a female chief. Two interns helped in the front office, and were monitored by a female supervisor and her male assistant, 39 and 35 years old, respectively, both originally from Fethiye. The male assistant had a working-class family that worked and lived in Germany. Similar to the GR and the entertainment department, fewer of the front office team members were originally from Fethiye and came from different urban backgrounds, instead.

At Escape, four female and two male receptionists as well as one male reservationist welcomed customers at the main entrance. There were six bellboys, again mostly university students, nineteen to twenty years old. They looked younger, and feebler than those at Dreams. There were three foreign employees at reception, including a young female university student from Central Asia, who was studying in Ankara. A reserved person, she spoke English, Russian, and Turkish and had worked there for the last four summers. The other two – one male and one female employee – were of Eastern European origin and were in their mid-20s. A male Turkish receptionist generally did the night shift.

Female receptionists at the desk were well-groomed at both holiday villages. Light makeup as well as occasional variability in their haircuts and colors (especially after salaries were paid) were evident. Male personnel at Escape were fit and more chic than those at Dreams. At the latter, the hotel's face was represented at reception by female personnel who were relatively tall and thin. The front office female workers were not particularly sexualized in their appearance. Generally speaking, in the village section of the front office at Dreams it was mostly the speed of work that was appreciated, while the mood

was calmer in the hotel section. Such calm work at the hotel's reception created a professional appearance that ran with little interference from supervisors. This earned workers there a higher status.

All workers wore uniforms specific to their divisions, generally with no distinction as to their rank. What chiefs, division supervisors, and department managers wore differed slightly. Interestingly, there were no standards with respect to shoes, and workers were left to make their own choices, which were mostly for comfortable sport shoes – typically unseen by customers – because they stood for long hours behind the reception desk. Female shift leaders at Dreams occasionally preferred high but thick heeled shoes, but this was not usual, though there were no regulations against it. There was little distinction regarding the physical appearance of front office workers or what they wore as accessories. One exception was at night. The male night auditor, originally from Fethiye, wore stylish eyeglasses, a large white watch, and a distinct perfume. He had a particular hairstyle similar to those of barmen, but more mature, as if taken from an aftershave ad. Another male receptionist tried to look cool and charismatic, stating that he had finished two university programs and that a long, successful career awaited him. However, he was not among those high-status young workers at Dreams.

Salary information for Escape's front office was not available. At Dreams, a receptionist earned between 1050 and 1150 TL, a telephone operator earned 970 TL and a shift leader and night auditor earned equally 1500 TL, while the reception chief earned 2100 TL. Bellhops earned 970 TL. The front office supervisor earned 4000 TL and her assistant received 3250 TL. One of the receptionists stated that tips were earned at the reception, as well, albeit not high. She claimed that all the tips received during a season amounted to at most one month's salary. Bellhops had it better since the amount of tips they earned was close to 1500 TL per month in the high season, according to one bellboy. Another one suggested that, in exceptional cases, the amount could rise as high as 4000 TL in July or August when and if the hotel was full of well-to-do customers. Earning such an exceptional amount, however, depended on the communication skills of the bellhops. Thus, those with better knowledge of foreign

languages who "spilled" some "key sentences" could earn more. The pool system at Dreams appeared to make tip earning more egalitarian for the bellhops, but worked to the advantage of the bellhop captain, the bellboys contended.

2.5.1.1 Guest Relations (GR)

GR was a division located generally within the front office. At Escape there were only three female representatives while at Dreams there were five women of a fourteen-strong workforce, myself included.[54] All GR representatives were university graduates except for one female college intern from Kyrgyzistan and a male student from Turkey. The average age was again 27. Similarly, not all graduates were tourism majors. Among the faculties from which they had graduated, literature and language came second to tourism, with business administration among them. The division supervisor at Escape majored in English language and translation, while the one at Dreams had majored in hotel management. Both female supervisors, who were in their early 30s, were from Russia. The rest of the team was in its 20s except for three male workers: myself (35), one male shift leader (31), and another experienced worker (41). At Escape, the supervisor and one of her assistants, an Ahıska Turk, spoke English, Russian, and Turkish, while the other spoke only Russian. Nothing distinguished the supervisor in appearance from her assistants. Representatives at Dreams wore pink shirts while the supervisor wore a white one. The supervisor at Escape had an established position with no challengers. She was hardworking and had the respect of other workers, as well. Her work continued in winter when she would give presentations about the holiday village throughout Russia. The supervisor at Dreams was a former representative, who had risen to her position from the ranks. While ambitious, she had yet to prove herself and be accepted, especially in the eyes of experienced representatives.

Except for one male and two female workers from Turkey, GR representatives at Dreams spoke at least two foreign languages. There was a combination of English, German, and Russian, and one of the workers spoke also French (which he had studied at the university) in addition to English. Besides the

54 In summer 2013, after the sale and changes in the workforce, only two men and two women remained from the summer 2012 cadre. The new female workers were mostly foreigners. The supervisor was also laid off before realizing her plans.

supervisor who was married to a Turkish national, one of the two other foreign female workers was from Ukraine and the other from Kyrgyzistan. All foreigners spoke both Russian and English and worked hard to improve their spoken Turkish.

Female workers took care of themselves but were not particularly stylish, except one. They did not wear makeup every day except for applying pastel lipstick and occasional rouge. Different colors of nail polish were more frequently observable. Hairstyles remained the same throughout the period I worked there, except that of the supervisor and the Ukrainian worker. The Ukrainian woman's vivid hair was very remarkable as her intern colleague from Kyrgyzistan braided her hair in different styles almost every day at a certain break from work. Then her long shining, healthy castagne hair looked like a piece of art for all to appreciate. The supervisor wore an austere necklace, bracelet, and earrings that accompanied her light makeup. Jewelry and accessories were not common among GR representatives. The single most important item was their mobile phones, of different brands, models, and colors. Lastly, although the team wanted to wear sunglasses to work, it was not allowed.

In terms of style, the only exception among female GR representatives was a young female worker from Ankara who had a flirty, relaxed attitude. Esra had purple-black dyed hair and a visible tattoo on her arm. Staying at the holiday village's dormitory, she spent her leisure time at the bar drinking, socializing, and dancing with fellow workers and occasionally customers. Such interactions between customers and workers in certain divisions were allowed at Dreams. Management was relaxed about this dimension of customer service, part of the corporate culture. Through such socialization, workers became internal guests. Esra wore makeup, décolleté garments, and high-heeled shoes on some nights after her shift, which made her exceptional in terms of her particular, chic style.

Men were shaved and handsome, but they did not try to appear particularly stylish or charismatic while working. None had a flirty attitude, except two who were pretentious. One of the eight male workers was a bright young man making witty quips that were unfortunately not appreciated by his colleagues. Originally from a Zaza-speaking Kurdish family, he lived in Istanbul.

Another representative, a 41 year-old male worker, was an exception in terms of artfulness. Actually, he was an exception among the 700-odd workers. Liked and respected by all, he had a high status because of his manners, educational background, knowledge of procedures, and meticulousness. Born and raised in Germany, he spoke German as well as Turkish and had worked for many years as a guide in the Fethiye region. In his fifth year in the enterprise, he was a source of knowledge and experience from which newcomers learned. He was entrusted with the initial training of new GR personnel. A distinct taste for food and especially coffee brought him at the same hour each day to the holiday village's cafes where he invited colleagues for short or long chats. He was promoted to shift leader at the launch of the season, but the title was later withdrawn because management found him tardy with office work. Over time, one of his apprentices, who was also raised in Germany, became a rival. There was an ongoing hidden status war in the GR office between the two. The apprentice wanted to oust him and take his place, which he eventually did through various machinations.

Information on the wages of GR representatives at Escape is not available, but a new beginner earned 950 TL at Dreams. More experienced employees earned 1200 TL. When the aforementioned apprentice talked about plans to quit, he was convinced to stay with a 150 TL raise. The 41-year-old worker earned 1400 TL. While the female intern earned a mere 546 TL, the GR supervisor earned 3000 TL. In addition to the wage, all GR personnel except the intern were entitled to a credit of 100 euros – 150 euros for the supervisor - provided by the hotel as an electronic card to be used within holiday village. This card was generally used in bars and cafes to buy drinks.

The representatives did not earn much in tips from customers. During my two-month stay, I and a colleague shared fifty euros. No particular effort on part of representatives to earn tips was discerned except for those of one of the aforementioned male workers with flirty attitude. He drove the golf carts of the bellhop team without permission and against the rules, giving rides to customers around the hilly premises in order to earn tips. Besides that, all my colleagues considered their income to be much less than what they deserved. That said, according to human resources at Dreams, it was not difficult to find students and graduates to employ in GR. It was a fun summer job preferred

by young, educated workers. It was harder to find talented, experienced cooks or mechanics.

GR team was not stable according to what I heard from my interviewees and from what I observed during my brief revisit in summer 2013. The faces in GR changed to a great extent. A demographic report provided by Dreams stated that five people (including myself) had resigned from work in late August and early September 2012, while the contracts of the others were suspended, which meant they would be recalled the next season. They might chose to work at Dreams or not, but this was the legal procedure. In the report, all workers were designated as seasonal and temporary except the supervisor who was permanent and entitled to year-round wages and social insurance. Others were neither paid nor had they social security in the off season. Although no report was provided by Escape, the supervisor there was also a permanent employee. The supervisor at Dreams did not make tours in Russia or elsewhere in an effort to find customers for upcoming seasons.

GR personnel at Escape worked from 9 in the morning until 10 in the evening, as they also worked as hostesses at the special restaurants in the evenings. Representatives at Dreams worked main and intermediary shifts lasting eight and a half hours each with coffee breaks whose lengths varied according to the workload and the tolerance of the supervisor.

2.5.2 *Entertainment*

The entertainment department had two main divisions: an adult and a children's section – the latter of which was called the Kid's club. Each had its own subdivisions. The majority of workers in the Kid's club were young women and they were headed by a female chief who reported to the entertainment manager. At Escape, the Kid's club chief was assisted by four foreign female workers, most of whom were from Russia and Eastern Europe. The chief herself could communicate in four languages: Russian, German, English, and Turkish. The Kid's club chief at Dreams could speak Turkish and English.

Subdivisions of the Kid's club were arranged according to age groups. At Dreams, three women who were over 30 years old took care of the infant section, while the rest, who were in their 20s, played and did activities with children and teenagers of various ages. Among the entertainers of the Kid's club

at Dreams, there were fifteen females – six of whom were foreigners – and eight males. The average age was 26. According to the demographic report of Dreams, the Kid's club – along with the bar and front office – had the highest number of workers with connections to universities or colleges; that is, the workers were either students working for the summer or graduates of universities. In the Kid's club of Dreams there was a local entertainer from Samsun, who could have worked in the adult section, but worked in the club because of her love of and devotion to children. More so than because of the club chief herself, it was on account of her versatility, energy, and diligence that all club activities ran smoothly. This earned her fans of all ages and among the workers. She had higher status than the chief.

Entertainment at Escape was twenty-eight-people strong, half of which were women. The manager – a kin of the boss – was a self-trained entertainer in his mid-30s who had worked in the sector since he was seventeen. He had no formal education, but made the program introductions in the evenings in four languages (English, German, French, Russian), although he did not speak all these languages. The majority of entertainers were foreigners from Georgia. The team also included workers from Turkey, Russia, two from North Africa, and one from Sub-Saharan Africa. Again, the majority was in their mid-20s and early 30s, and male workers were generally a couple years older than female ones. Turkish workers generally worked in semi-background services: sound and lighting design and DJing.

The manager at Dreams was a well-educated man at 41 with a major in Italian language and literature over a tourism high school diploma. He was also the child of a Turkish working-class family from Germany. He had been working in the entertainment business at holiday villages since he was fifteen. According to him, the lifestyle, the devotion to work as part of that lifestyle, and the love of establishing guest contact with and serving guests were the distinguishing features of a good entertainer. He stated that it was not the education or the four foreign languages that one spoke, but the specific character of the entertainment worker that mattered most. Thus, at both Escape and Dreams, there were self-trained entertainers with no formal education, although few. They could communicate with, inspire, and entertain customers, turning them into repeat guests. And as such, they were indispensable for the

team. Nonetheless, they also worked devoid of employment security similar to the majority of the workforce.

There were thirteen entertainers, seven female and six male, in the adult section at Dreams. All the female and two of the male workers were foreigners. Two scenographers, three musicians, five sound and lighting technicians, four costumiers, and a female aerobics specialist accompanied the team. Together with the team leaders, a total of sixty-three people served on the entertainment departments' front and backstage, the Kid's club and adult divisions included. The average age for entertainers in the adult sections was 27. Stenographers and costumiers were above 35 years of age.

One British interviewee informed me about an illegal female worker in the entertainment department at Dreams: another citizen of the United Kingdom who performed as a singer. A beautiful woman in her early 30s with her long, wavy castagne hair and remarkable makeup and attire, her appearance was particularly sexualized in the stage shows. This worker was not an immigrant and would return home at season's end. Apart from the in-house entertainment personnel, there was also a dance team, whose services were hired for various night shows twice a week. The dance team was managed by the entertainment manager, but a private firm conducted their lodging and payroll, and carried out the hiring arrangements. This subcontract arrangement was valid for extra shows, sparing the enterprise of the need to hire a permanent dance team. The dance team became part of the evening shows, rehearsing and socializing with the entertainers.

The entertainment teams were similar to that of GR in terms of educational background, but different in terms of the style of the workers. Interaction of front line entertainers with customers followed certain aesthetic rules that also involved sexuality in manners. Many of these workers possessed pseudonyms, like the stage names of artists, by which customers and colleagues called them. Besides other work to remain physically presentable, both women and men spent hours at gym or doing exercise on a daily basis to keep fit. Management expected this of them and some of the workers internalized it as part of their lifestyle. During the day, they were together with customers organizing sports and beach and pool activities. As expected they were the most scantily clad worker group in the holiday village – exposed to the sun,

heat, and gazes for long hours. Entertainers performed the outcome of their fitness activities – that is, their fit and disciplined bodies. The entertainers were asked to perform the feeling of fun, relaxed atmosphere desired by the customers, and that aura was provided through their well-cared-for and sexualized bodies. In the evening, they participated in the shows and after parties as part of their work. They enchanted the customers with their panache, and through dialogue and dancing. To do that, they wore remarkable, often shiny clothes and accessories, distinguishing themselves from the others. For women, this also meant heavy makeup. Being multilingual was expected, but it was not a strict rule for individual workers as far as the entertainers knew how to involve the customers in the activities and please them.

At Dreams, a beginning, university student Kid's club worker earned 950 TL per month. For entertainers of the Kid's club, wages might be as high as 1400 TL depending on their experience, additional training they had received or simply being good at the work for a certain period of time. The Kid's club chief had a special contract that gave her wage plus perks amounting to 2250 TL monthly. The details as to her contract were not disclosed. The entertainment manager earned 2600 TL, while subdivision chiefs earned between 2100 TL and 2300 TL. An entertainer who was a citizen earned 1200–1300 TL, while foreigners in the same position earned 1500 TL and received their salary in euros rather than lire. Although not registered as dancers, foreigners were usually both entertainers and dancers, which is why the tourism firms preferred to employ them. Registering them legally as entertainers rather than as dancers reduced employment costs. The two musicians, also foreigners, earned 1300 TL. The DJs earned between 1050 and 1200, the difference resulting from their degree of proficiency. Scenographers earned 1200 TL while costumiers earned between 970 and 1015 TL. Entertainers were entitled to electronic debit cards like the GR personnel but were given 150 euros worth of credit. The manager and team leaders received higher amounts. Apart from wages, the travel expenses of foreign workers at the beginning and end of the season were covered by the firm, as well.

One entertainer, originally from Istanbul, at Escape earned 1250 TL and was angry about his wage which was an insufficient compensation for what he had been doing for the previous four years. In his early 30s with no formal

education, he had learned the profession on the job which he had held since he was seventeen. He had a great talent in guest contact and an unending positive energy, I observed. Without exception, workers and customers loved and respected him, and to an extent he was the reason why so many customers returned to Escape, he claimed. A body builder, he not only played a variety of games during day with customers like other front line entertainers but would also prepare original, theatrical sketches with a few colleagues for night shows on the premises. He boasted of becoming a world citizen through his work at holiday villages – meeting and befriending people from all over the world. He could communicate in four foreign languages – English, French, German, and Russian – but admitted that he could not maintain a long conversation on, say, politics.

The entertainers at both workplaces worked with entr'acte (which is an extended break in the middle of the workday), from 9:30 in the morning until half past midnight with a break of three hours in the afternoon, generally from 6 until 9. This rest time in entr'acte was still occasionally spent at work. At Escape, workers were obliged to spend some of this time at work and at Dreams the customers took their time for a chat. Importantly, unlike other workers, the front line entertainment team had the opportunity to build a vast, international social network over the years if they were good at guest contact. This might turn some customers into real, long term friends (and maybe also lovers). One direct effect was that beloved entertainers had homes-away-from-home in various countries due to their expanding networks. They visited these friends in the off season whenever they could afford the plane ticket.

2.5.3 *Food and Beverage (F & B)*

The F&B department was the most populous at both Dreams and Escape, and included restaurant service, the bar, and the kitchen. The kitchen division aside, workers in the department were generally in their 20s, and a majority were single men with high school degrees. Few had a university or associate's degree. Captains and chiefs were generally men in their 30s and 40s. At Dreams, of a total of 105 workers in the restaurant service, there were twenty-five women. Out of eighty workers in the bar service, there were twelve. At Escape, the whole department employed ninety-eight people fifteen of whom

were women, including interns. There was no woman captain or chief at either holiday village.

Knowledge of a language was low for the majority, but they understood basic customer demands related to their tasks. Except a handful in the upper ranks, they could not carry on a dialogue in a foreign language. These few were either born abroad or had lived for sometime there. Such workers could communicate in one foreign language, generally German or English at Dreams and Russian or English at Escape. At Escape, waiters tried especially hard to improve their Russian, partly because of their enthusiasm to communicate with female customers. A few captains at Escape spoke a foreign language better, while this was also true for G1 (Garçon One) positions at Dreams.[55] Workers at Dreams were mostly from the Fethiye region; those at Escape came from various corners in Turkey.

There were levels of seniority among the workers at Dreams, but seniority was seldom reflected in wages in the bar and restaurant services. Wage differences generally reflected one's positions in the hierarchy and proficiency at the work vis-à-vis those of the same rank. Communication with customers, even if brief, was praised but not rewarded. Prolonged conversations were not encouraged among the lower ranks. Earnings varied from 900 to 1200 TL. By contrast, in the kitchen division seniority and proficiency translated into higher wages.

2.5.3.1 Restaurant Service

At Escape, according to the daily presence report of 29 June 2012 (the composition of personnel changed from one day to another), there were sixteen commis (the lowest in the service hierarchy there), twenty-one waiters, five captains, one VIP section's chief, one headwaiter, and one assistant manager led by the maître d'hôtel (MdH). Of these, thirteen commis, sixteen waiters, and

55 From the lower to the higher ranks, the F&B service hierarchy in the restaurant service at Dreams included commis, waiters – G1 was the higher and was followed by G2 and G3 – captains, headwaiters, and restaurant supervisor. They were supervised by an F&B manager. At Escape, there was a maître d'hôtel instead of an F&B manager and waiters did not have ranks.

two captains served at the main restaurant of the holiday village led by a headwaiter. The rest of the personnel shared the work of running the VIP section, three special restaurants, and two snack units. The latter group filled the vacant positions according to personnel necessities at these stations since the enterprise did not fill all of these stations with the necessary number of personnel. In addition, eight interns – three of who were from two-year tourism vocational schools – assisted work in the main restaurant. There were no female captains, but three female commis and three interns worked in the service. For hostessing at the special restaurants, assistance of GR was sought in the evenings. The MdH was originally from Trabzon and in his early 50s. He received his training at a special tourism-training center in Ankara and had previously worked in public tourism enterprises in the 1980s and 90s. He came to work in the private sector after the privatizations of the 1990s. He was an educator but could not find the chance to train new personnel in the hectic workflow of the all-inclusive enterprise, a fact that he considered a pity and a loss.

According to Dreams' year-end demographic report, there had been ninety-five waiters and eight captains along with four hostesses. Additionally thirteen interns from tourism high schools had served. The management cadre was comprised of an assistant restaurant manager, a restaurant manager, an F&B office assistant, a management trainee, an F&B assistant manager, and an F&B manager at the top. The unionized personnel at Dreams ran three main and four special restaurants. The F&B manager, a man in his mid-30s from Istanbul, had a master's degree in hotel management from an American university. Among the twenty-eight G3s, there were nine women and nineteen men. Thirty-two G2s included eight women and twenty-four men. Among the thirty-five G1s, there were three women and thirty-two men, while among the eight captains there was only one woman. Men dominated the managerial level in both workplaces.

There was no report indicating the educational backgrounds of workers in specific divisions. Nevertheless, from daily talk with some of the workers, I gathered that the majority in F&B were high school graduates and few were graduates with an associate degree. Among them, some had attended Anadolu University's distance education programs, either after high school or upon

completion of a two-year associate's degree. Interns aside, a few university students worked during their summer breaks. At both Escape and at Dreams, many workers were originally from small towns. In Dreams' case, they were predominantly from the villages of Fethiye while workers at Escape had more varied origins in Escape. I met people from Manavgat and from a village in Serik, both of which are towns of the province of Antalya. However, I also met people from Isparta, Adana, Antakya, Mersin, Manisa, Erzincan, İzmit, Balıkesir, and Trabzon. Restaurant workers at Escape worked with entr'acte, from 8 o'clock in the morning until 11:30 at night, with a three-hours break in the middle of the day, generally from 3 to 6. When there were special, themed evenings or shows – which was often – the workday was prolonged until midnight but with no overtime pay. By contrast, personnel at Dreams worked in two shifts, each of around eight and a half hours. F&B management cadres also worked with entr'acte at both workplaces.

At Dreams, a G3 waiter earned 970 TL while a G2 earned 1,010 TL and a G1 between 1,120 and 1,200 TL. A hostess earned 1100 TL. Captains earned 1410 TL while the 50-year-old restaurant supervisor earned 2000 TL. Average ages for G3, G2, G1, and captain positions were 23, 26, 31, and 41.5, respectively. At Escape, MdH earned 2800 TL while headwaiter earned 1950 TL, followed by captains who earned 1350 TL. Waiters earned 1080 TL while commi waiters earned 960 TL. Besides wages, workers earned tips that were more handsome for higher-ranking personnel with relatively better foreign language and communication skills. A higher rank also afforded them relatively more time to create meaningful dialogues besides beer salutations. The lower ranking personnel were busy with the routine and heavy work. As such, G1s and captains at Dreams generally earned more because of their knowledge of language and the relatively more time available to them. Tips in the restaurant service were a matter of motivation for lower ranking workers but also caused conflicts at times that management could not regulate. In general, tips earned through guest contact were also a matter of status. However, among those with higher rank, amicable workers who equally shared the workload without making work stressful for the lower ranking personnel were more liked and respected by the personnel. All workers had to wear uniforms. While rank was apparent

in the uniforms at Escape, one's status at Dreams was written on the name tags.

2.5.3.2 Bar Service

The bar division employed both young women and men mostly in their 20s. There was some variety in terms of socioeconomic and educational background and age, but not of ethnicity.

Along with a bar supervisor, there were three bar captains (all men), eight barmen, five bar waiters (all men), ten barboys, and eight bargirls that served at eight different bars at Escape. Among the eight bargirls, one was a student intern, two were high school students and two were university students. Among the barboys there was also an intern and a young couple working during their summer holidays. At Escape, there were four barboys and a captain responsible for minibars in the rooms. The housekeeping managed the minibar matters at Dreams instead of the bar division. The bar chief at Escape earned 1750 TL. Bargirls and barboys earned 900 TL. A bar waiter earned 950 TL, while a barman earned 1000 TL. The difference stemmed from knowledge of foreign language, according to the MdH. The bar division hierarchy at Dreams followed the same structure as the restaurant service with almost identical wages for similar positions. A G3 at restaurant service corresponded to a B3, for instance. Bar captains (altogether six men) earned between 1400 and 1500 TL. The bar supervisor, a man in his early 40s, earned 2300 TL. No information was disclosed as to the tips earned by bar personnel.

Among forty B3s were seven females. Their average age was twenty-two. Fourteen B2s consisted of one woman and thirteen men and the average age was twenty-three. Sixteen B1s included four women and twelve men, and the average age was thirty. Altogether eighty workers (including a bar waiter and two stewards) and four interns served at the six bar stations scattered across the premises.

Young barmen at Dreams felt relatively comfortable wearing various hairstyles, which was not the case at Escape. Beards and mustaches were not allowed for male workers. Remarkable for Fethiye, the young barmen combed and waxed their hair such that it was spiked upwards. This was not the case with captains. The bar supervisor at Dreams had a different style with long,

curly hair that he tied with a hair clip, defying the norm of shorthair. The bar personnel looked to him as an example, but many doubted that they would have the opportunities he had. Besides the supervisor, there was a barman in his late 40s, who worked only in the morning shift at the hotel section of Dreams. This bartender was a textbook case of bar service. He not only served drinks, but established prolonged communication with customers, which he adorned with stories and jokes. Unsurprisingly, he had a background in Germany where he had lived and worked for years. He appeared to be a confident, qualified worker whom I would think to be indispensable. Yet he also had concerns about his employment security, a stress that was not evident in those entertaining talks at the bar.

Women in bar service wore neither anything remarkable nor makeup. Most of the time they looked bored, tired, and they were not particularly well-groomed – in contrast with female personnel in GR, the front office, and the entertainment department – even though they were front line service workers as well. A common notion among bar workers was that young, foreign female customers were fond of the barmen, who prepared and shook drinks and communicated with people in a relaxed manner and a lasting smile. This myth about the interest of foreign women was arguably what made many barmen look after and groom themselves. However, the barmen and barmaid jobs at such workplaces were no longer based on skill, knowledge, and a smile, but consisted of toil and serving the demands of a growing mass of customers. This allowed them less time to establish the kind of contact with customers that they wished to have and had in the past.

On paper, they worked in shifts at the bar for around eight and a half hours, but they actually worked much longer at Escape. I noted bar workers returning to the dormitories from their workstations after 2 o'clock in the morning, especially on so-called theme nights. Their white shirts had turned into grey and soaked with sweat. They had worked over ten hours given that they began work at 4 o'clock, but again, with no overtime pay.

2.5.3.3 Kitchen

The kitchen is a populous, strategic division in holiday enterprises, one dominated by men. It was hierarchical and headed by a male executive chef and

generally assisted by two male executive sous chefs. At Escape, the kitchen was a separate department headed by an executive chef. At Dreams, the kitchen was a division within the F&B department headed by an executive chef, but formally subordinate to the F&B manager. There were various subdivisions under the main kitchen division, such as warm meals, cold meals, breakfast, the bakery, and the meat section. In each of these subdivisions, moving up the hierarchy necessitated an accumulation of expertise and knowledge over a long period of time, as well as, of course, good connections and luck within the internal politics of the enterprise. In terms of management, an executive chef supervised all kitchen work, but there physically were many kitchens. The largest ones were those that belonged to the main restaurants, but smaller kitchens operated in special restaurants, as well, which were run by chefs subordinate to the executive chef.

Statistics from Dreams suggested that seniority combined with proficiency was rewarded in kitchen division. The kitchen was overall one of the most populous divisions and had relatively higher wages. However, the commis (the lowest in the kitchen hierarchy) and demi-chefs comprised the majority on the kitchen teams and did not earn as much. Their prospects to move up the ladder were not strong, either. Women were at a disadvantage within this male dominated hierarchy, the traditional association of women with kitchen work notwithstanding. Their prospects for promotion were much lower.

Seventy-nine kitchen commis at Dreams consisted of eighteen women and sixty-one men with an average age of twenty-four. They earned 960 TL. Following the commis were forty-three demi-chefs consisting of four women and thirty-nine men with an average age of thirty-two. Demi-chefs earned between 1120 TL and 1600 TL, seniority and proficiency accounting for the wage difference. Thirty station chefs included only one woman (a 67-year-old) and twenty-nine men with an average age of thirty-five. They earned between 1200 TL and 2500 TL, the higher end of the range belonging to the four head chefs of the four special restaurants. All five sous-chefs were men and their average age was thirty-seven. Except one that earned 3600 TL, sous-chefs earned 2700 TL. The executive chef was one of the most important, indispensable employees at a holiday village and he earned 6800 TL at Dreams, while his assistants

earned 3800 TL. Apart from these, eighteen interns and three apprentices assisted with the kitchen work in the three main and four special restaurant kitchens.

Similar information from Escape was unavailable, except what I learned from two interviewees. One was a demi-chef who earned 1300 TL, while the other was a "snacks" chef who earned 1600 TL. The latter suggested that a kitchen commi earned around 850 TL, a demi-chef earned 1200 TL, and warm and cold meal chefs earned 2000 TL. The kitchen department at Escape also included stewards and stewardesses, and altogether there were 101 workers serving at one main kitchen, two snack stations, and three special restaurant kitchens. In terms of the backgrounds of the workers, the kitchen at Escape housed more variety. Workers from Antalya and Isparta were favored over others as the executive chef came from this region. A demi-chef interviewee from Antakya said that he felt discriminated against, for example. The Black Sea region was also well represented, with distant relatives of the entrepreneur family also working there. Finally, there were few workers of Kurdish origin employed with better conditions at Escape than at Dreams.

I did not have a chance to observe all kitchen workers, but contrary to expectations, kitchen personnel – at least the ones who were occasionally on-stage – were not chubby, except those at the high echelons of the hierarchy. The executive chefs were charismatic figures with the rest of the kitchen teams remaining in their shadows. I heard both fascinating and tragic life stories from the kitchen workers I encountered, especially at Escape. One was of a very famous butcher in his mid-50s from the town of Reyhanlı in the province of Hatay. He had lost his fortune, his butcher shop, and his middle-class status because of accumulating debts. He finally had to migrate and start working at the holiday village in the butchery section as a worker. The case of a young man in his early 30s from Ankara, whose family had to spend all savings due to the lingering illness and subsequent death of his father, was similar. Apart from the general trend of farmers becoming service workers in tourism enterprises, such tragic stories of proletarianization were not unheard of in tourism.

2.5.3.4 Stewarding

At Dreams, stewarding was organizationally located in the F&B department. It was an invisible team, far backstage of holiday service. I met few people from among the scullery workers. It was hard even to arrange to talk with them, as they did not want to talk to strangers. According to my colleagues, they were anyway not very expressive. But, they were more talkative at Escape. Despite the difficulty, I made interviews with stewards, as well.

The stewards were headed by male chiefs. Fifty-three stewards worked at Dreams with an average age of thirty-eight. Except five workers who earned 1200 TL, stewards there earned 970 TL. The chief earned 2800 TL and his male assistant earned 1300 TL. The department employed mostly local men, who had only primary school degrees. Having no contact with customers, they did not learn any foreign languages. A steward interviewee at Dreams was a 32-year-old secondary school graduate from a village in Fethiye. This thin, blonde man introduced me a younger, 19-year-old worker – a high school student from Şanlıurfa. He was at Dreams for the summer and wanted to keep working there rather than return to school despite my interviewee's advice that he complete a degree lest he remain a steward all his life.

At Escape, stewardesses worked together with stewards. Although there were no exact statistics available, young stewardesses were not few in number. One of two stewardess interviewees from Escape was a 37-year-old whose elder sister worked in the same department. The other stewardess interviewee was a 41-year-old local. The former were from Şanlıurfa, while the latter was from the nearby village of Manavgat. The sisters from Şanlıurfa had several nephews also working in Escape's kitchens.

2.5.4 *Housekeeping*

In contrast with the kitchen, housekeeping was a female-dominated division headed by female supervisors, both tourism majors. At Dreams, housekeeping was located within the Rooms Division and had four subdivisions, including laundry. At Escape, it was its own department and had only two subdivisions. Laundry was a separate unit there. The major two divisions of housekeeping at any holiday village are room cleaning and area sweeping.

At Escape, there were forty-seven maids, thirty-five sweepers (all men), seven floor chiefs (all women), and a male sweeping chief. At Dreams, fifty-seven maids, twenty-seven sweepers (all men), five room chiefs (three women and two men), and a male sweeping chief did the routine cleaning work. The latter's housekeeping division also included twelve men who took care of minibars and five employees who handled towels (two women and three men). There were two assistant managers at Dreams and only one at Escape.

Room cleaners were all women in both workplaces, except one man at Dreams. The average age at Dreams was thirty-six. The majority of room cleaning staff were married with children. At Dreams, average age for sweepers was thirty-seven, and the average age for chiefs was thirty-five and a half. Personnel who handled towels and minibar were younger: more than half were students employed for summer. Their average age was twenty-three and a half. Maids and sweepers had a primary education while chiefs were expected to have an associate's degrees, but this was not always the case. Maids at Escape were around the same age, but sweepers were far younger. Both groups had a similarly low education. One interviewee at Escape was a 22-year-old man with a secondary school education, from a village near Adana. He had worked four successive summers at Escape. The firm had also employed some of his friends from his village to be sweepers, and he did not feel lonely. He found it hard working in tourism and getting used to the nakedness of the customers.

The majority of the workers – especially maids – in the housekeeping department were from the region. People from other regions did not come to work at its tasks. At Escape, the manager said that these tasks were once carried out mostly by men, but over time women came to fill the positions. At Dreams, women were preferred from the beginning.

Although housekeeping staff had some contact with customers, foreign language knowledge was limited, and generally comprised of a couple words of salutation. Longtime personnel understood basic customer demands and did not always need to seek the assistance of GR. Those high school and university students working in the summer in housekeeping had a certain level of English, but the nature of their tasks at the towel stations or minibars did not

allow its use or improvement. At Escape, it was forbidden for sweepers to talk to customers, even greeting unless they did so first.

At Dreams, a new maid earned 970 TL, while those with years of experience (some as many as twenty years) earned 1200 TL. Sweepers earned between 1000 and 1200 TL according to seniority. Floor chiefs earned 1400-1600 TL, while the sweeping chief earned 2000 TL. The assistant supervisor – there were two – earned 2900 TL and the supervisor herself, a woman in her early 40s from Fethiye, earned 3500 TL. Except two unionized workers and the laundry chief himself, eighteen laundry workers worked for a subcontractor that paid minimum wage. The two exceptional, unionized personnel earned 1100 TL. The manager at Escape, a retired woman at her 46, earned 1600 TL while her floor chiefs earned 1000 TL, and the sweeping chief earned 950 TL. Maids and sweepers earned 870 TL. The maids earned small tips, much less than before, they claimed. Sometimes a dollar or euro or two would be left on the bed with a thank you note. The manager claimed to teach maids how to earn tips through certain tricks reflected in the aura of the room, attractive to the tourist gaze, but tips remained at poor levels.

The work in the housekeeping and tasks were among the heaviest at the holiday villages, causing physical problems for workers who had been employed a long time. Such work also involved continuous use of chemicals that left their effects on their bodies. Skeletal and dermatological problems and hernias were common. The workers did not look fit or well-groomed, except a few young floor chiefs. Such troubling problems were also the case in the technical, gardening, and stewarding divisions. One interviewee at Dreams was a former maid who had to quit after she had hernia. For a newcomer with no prior knowledge, it was a heavy, demanding job. The work demanded strength, quickness, and deftness as well as elegance to clean and tidy up a room to an acceptable, presentable level. Many newcomers could not cope with the heavy workload and left shortly after they started because of these demanding aspects and the poor remuneration. With competition among firms and subsequent reductions of the workforce, the original eight and a half hours work was prolonged beyond legal limits and thus became unbearable for many – even the experienced employees thought that the limits had been surpassed.

2.5.5 *Security*

Security personnel guarded the premises both during and after the season. Contrary to the case at many city hotels, security would welcome customers at the gates even before reception did. It was their faces that customers first saw when entering the premises.

Security was another male dominated division. Among the twelve personnel at Escape only one was a woman, while none were among Dreams' twenty-one strong staff.[56] The female worker, who was twenty-one years old, worked at the main gate and did not patrol or work at nights. The security patrols had access to all areas, but had to remain as invisible as possible to customers. Management did not want customers to feel uncomfortable seeing staff uniforms resembling those of the police. At Dreams, unionized workers worked side-by-side with subcontracted workers, but they were entitled to different wages. Personnel was mixed in terms of age, background, and experience. At Escape, one again found distant relatives of the entrepreneur family, who had worked there from the beginning. Surprisingly, almost all security personnel were from the Black Sea region. There were other checkpoints at Escape besides the main gates. Younger personnel asserted that they were more relaxed and could work more effectively if employed by a subcontractor rather than the hotel itself since the hotel imposed additional tasks unrelated to security. They complained about these imposed tasks.

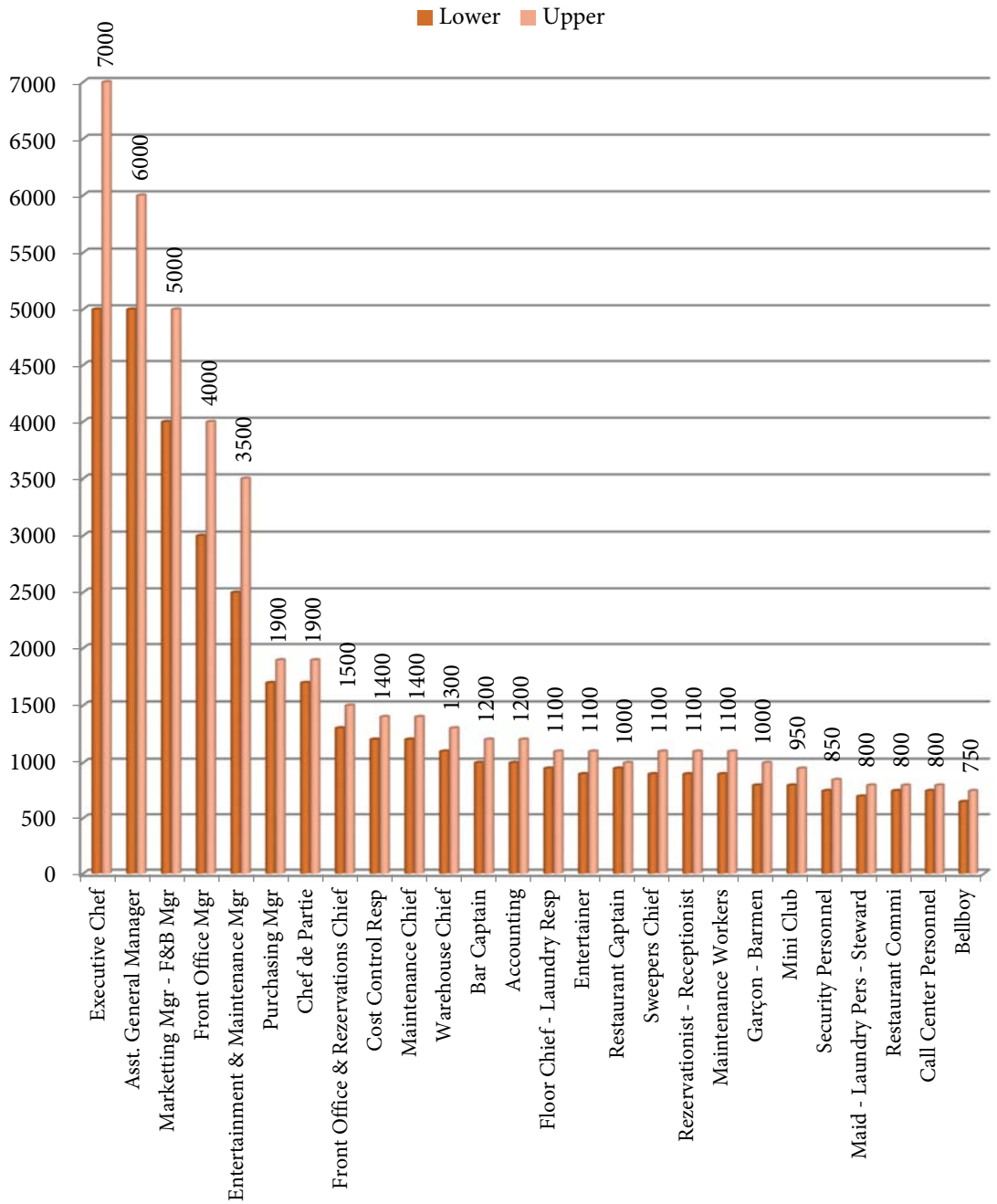
The difficulty of the security work was the night shifts carried out on a rotational basis. Since Dreams was situated on a hilly location, patrols there were done every two hours on motorbikes. There were no checkpoints at Dreams other than the main gate, nor were security cameras in use. Additionally, one team member had to watch over people swimming in the sea at night when there were no lifeguards present. At Dreams, there were eight personnel employed directly by the enterprise. Among the thirteen subcontracted workers, six were security guards while seven were lifeguards. This was a mixed group of men from Fethiye aged around twenty-six. Subcontracted security and lifeguard personnel were relatively younger and more fit. The lifeguards were fit men between twenty-two to twenty-seven years of age, while guards

56 As of August 2013, there was one female worker in the division.

were relatively older, settled, married with children, and not particularly fit. One interviewee at Dreams was a former convict from Adıyaman aged thirty-eight, who started working in the tourism business through an uncle. After quarrelling, he left his uncle to work at Dreams for a lower salary. He was a beloved figure among the workers because of his fatherly and joking manner. At Escape, I interviewed a young man at the age of twenty-six from the Black Sea region who had worked as a security guard for some years in various firms. He did not plan to stay in tourism for long as he was troubled by the exploitation of the security team through the imposition of other types of tasks. Although as a guard he complained about imposition of tasks unrelated to security, the security personnel at Dreams earned additional tips through providing valet service for customers who arrived with their own vehicles. No amount was disclosed. In the previous seasons, they had protested, the interviewee told me, against management's plan to outsource valet service to a subcontractor. Security personnel thus protected this additional income while no such service was provided at Escape.

At Escape a new security personnel earned 880 TL. At Dreams, subcontracted security personnel earned around 850 TL, while lifeguards earned around 1100 TL. Security personnel earned between 1000 and 1200 and those with ten to twelve years' experience earned 100 to 200 TL more. The security manager received 3000 TL and the personnel complained about this. Workers' discontent about the discrepancy between the wages of managers and their own was mentioned by the expressive guard, who underscored the theme in the interview.

Graph 2.4 Average wages in Turkish Lira in 2010 at five-star seaside hotels in the Antalya basin[57]



§ 2.6 Chapter Summary

In this chapter I explained the characteristics of the labor force in holiday villages and the labor demands of various work positions. After briefly looking at the history and explaining changes in market strategy, I analyzed labor market conditions for two enterprises. Changes in labor law, the introduction of the all-inclusive system, intensifying competition with new players and additional room capacity, and increasing educational opportunities in various branches tourism as well as waves of migration from rural areas were characteristic of the period that shaped the labor market for hospitality service. A definitive feature of holiday service work – seasonality – does not affect all workers in the workplace hierarchy the same way. I could distinguish six groups that experienced it differently. Among them, the managerial layer was the most privileged whereas student interns were the most disadvantaged. The majority of the workers in holiday service were single young men in 20s or early 30s with a high school education. The number of women in the sector has increased over the years, not only backstage but also on front stage positions. The white collar workers of tourism service were to be found in GR division, the front office, and the entertainment department. The tasks of the teams in these departments also demanded aesthetic and emotional labor. Workers had higher education levels and knowledge of one or more foreign languages. And some were foreigners.

GR, reception, housekeeping, entertainment were comprised of teams where high numbers of women were employed. Indeed, women dominated housekeeping, GR, and the Kid's club. The reception at Dreams was similar and had a female supervisor. Women employed in these divisions reflected – according to some authors – their traditional tasks at home. In sum, the developing tourism labor market in Turkey is a gendered one in which women

57 "Turizm Raporu (Tourism Report)," Türkiye Otelciler Federasyonu (Turkish Hoteliers Federation - TÜROFED), accessed January 10, 2016, http://www.turofed.org.tr/_files/_pdf/turizm_raporu_sayi_4.pdf, 2011.

are mostly employed in traditional, part-time, and poorly paid activities.[58] Urry asserts that "operative positions" that have the least diversity are reserved for women, whereas men work at jobs with "functional flexibility."[59] In the workplaces I visited, gender undoubtedly played a role in the design of work and distribution of tasks within departments. Nonetheless, the matters the afore-mentioned authors discuss cannot be neatly framed in terms of gender. Part-time work and operative positions affected women and men alike. Moreover, the rate of employment of women in Turkish tourism lags far behind the world average. Migrant labor, mostly Kurdish citizens of Turkey, was employed at the low ends of the hierarchy, a few exceptions notwithstanding. There is need for more research in this area which my research could not cover considering the limited timeframe of the research. In short, I would argue that despite claims by top management about neutrality with respect to ethnicity, Kurdish workers remained largely invisible in the workplace, working far backstage of service. Except one GR representative of Alevi Kurdish origin who was born and raised in Istanbul, I did not meet front line personnel of Kurdish origin.

According to data provided by workers and by the human resources office at Dreams, holiday service work at 3–S holiday enterprises was low-wage and insecure with few prospects for upward mobility for the majority of workers. Upward mobility and establishing a career were even harder for women who were in competition with men. Fixed-term contracts were offered to workers, which turned into contracts of an indefinite period only if the employer renewed the contract over successive seasons. Given the high labor turnover that characterizes the tourism sector, this became a legal asset for workers who worked for longer periods in a single enterprise. Working at a single firm for longer periods, however, was exceptional. Sturdy states that a segregated labor market emerges in the service sector due to employers' advertising to, recruiting, and hiring employees based on "stereotyped and stratified characteristics

58 M. Thea Sinclair (ed), *Gender, Work and Tourism* (London: Routledge, 1997); Fiona Jordan, "An Occupational Hazard? Sex Segregation in Tourism Employment," *Tourism Management 18*, no. 8 (1997).

59 John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze* (London: Sage, 2005), 71-72.

of gender, sexuality, race, class, age and 'beauty.'"[60] This segregated labor market analysis complements Edwards' analysis of the structure of current industry and economy. My research in these two holiday workplaces points to such a segregated labor market with the various characteristics detailed above.

60 Sturdy, "Servicing Societies?"

3

Workplace Relations: Labor Control in Hospitality

> *The driving motive and determining purpose of capitalist production is the self-valorization of capital to the greatest possible extent, i.e. the greatest possible production of surplus value, hence the greatest possible exploitation of labor-power by the capitalist. As the number of the co-operating workers increases, so too does their resistance to the domination of capital, and, necessarily, the pressure put on by capital to overcome this resistance.*
>
> – Karl Marx, *Capital, vol. I*

In the first chapter I explain the labor force characteristics of holiday villages competing in a volatile, competitive market. The enterprises in Turkey's 3–S mass tourism market compete for customers through a low-pricing strategy that has ramifications for the number of workers, their wages, and skills, and the quality of service.

In this chapter, adhering to Edwards' work,[1] I analyze the complementary elements of labor control at holiday service work. Building on the concept of hybridity introduced by Callaghan and Thompson,[2] I argue that holiday villages employ a hybrid control model that incorporates simple control, structural control with its technical and bureaucratic dimensions, normative control, and control through customers. I first claim that simple control exits. Second, in contrast with the existing literature I argue that technical control gradually becomes a reality in interactive service settings such as those in hospitality service. Third, I disagree with suggestions of the death of bureaucracy since they do not reflect the reality on the ground as holiday workplaces are bureaucratic organizations that apply bureaucratic control. Fourth, moving beyond Edwards' suggestion in the 1970s, I argue that bureaucratic control is extended into the private domain through display and feeling rules aimed at workers' feelings and attitudes. Fifth, I add that strengthening normative targets while curbing the excesses of bureaucracy in this hybrid model is achieved through incorporating teams. Teams are top-down, managerial initiatives and operate as tools of normative control reproducing managerial ideology to extract additional labor, loyalty, and commitment. As a more hidden form of labor control, management entrust teams especially with realigning workers' interests with those of the enterprises. Management aims to redefine the workers' collectivity in a way to prevent bottom-up unionism in exploitative workplaces. The normative element of labor control also includes strong managerial references to customer expectations of high quality service and satisfaction – not for the sake of quality but for efficiency.

This hybrid control model, which is a factor of the increasing competition in the tourism market, is employed to extract the maximum labor from workers during the production of services. Observing these different structures coming together at holiday work, I assert that holiday villages as workplaces are epitomes of a blending of bureaucracy and flexibility that not only increase

1 Richard C. Edwards, *Contested Terrain: The Transformation of the Workplace in the Twentieth Century*, (London: Heinemann, 1979).

2 George Callaghan and Paul Thompson, "Edwards Revisited: Technical Control and Call Centers," *Economic and Industrial Democracy 22*, no. 1 (2001b).

workload but introduce new criteria into work and worker selection, eventually eroding employment security. I further assert that holiday villages (with an all-inclusive system) represent a transition to a Fordist assembly-line type of service production, serving thousands of multinational customers on a daily basis with an endless conveyor of mass services.

Although it appears different from manufacturing at first glance – under the guise of holiday, relaxation, and fun – the holiday village is actually another factory-like workplace. Workers and managers commonly called tourism an industry or factory "without chimneys," and the holiday village is one among those factories in the industry. It is easy to understand why they are called such after spending time in and observing them from within. The service in the holiday village is yet another assembly line with its toil and relentless routines over the course of a seven-month long holiday work season with an enforced unpaid vacation for the majority of workers in fall and winter – until the next season rolled around. The two holiday workplaces I observed brought together elements of production that resemble an assembly line with a Taylorist division of labor. This incorporated teams as a novel managerial control mechanism claimed to empower workers. Teams existed, but their existence was not necessarily based on an anti-Taylorist teamwork principle.[3] These teams are reminiscent of Ford's system of "a hierarchical form of teamwork."[4] Thus, they do not obliterate the organizational bureaucracy.

These hospitality work places with mass and mass customized services can be counted among the new workplaces that employ new forms of work, combining routine, scripted job tasks with those that require a degree of worker discretion and customization, with former outweighing the latter.[5] Importantly, discretion is allowed only within limits, as "responsible autonomy,"[6]

3 Hans Pruijt (2003), "Teams Between Neo-Taylorism and Anti-Taylorism," *Economic and Industrial Democracy 24,* no. 1 (2003).

4 Frank Müller, "Teams Between Hierarchy and Commitment: Change Strategies and the Internal Environment," *Journal of Management Studies 31*, no. 3 (1994), 391.

5 Stephen J. Frenkel, "Service Workers in Search of Decent Work," in *The Oxford Handbook of Work and Organization*, ed. Stephen Ackroyd et al. (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2005).

6 Friedman, "Responsible Autonomy."

and surely serves the interests of capital as capital attempts to prevent any occasions whereby customers can be hijacked by workers.

Despite the strong rhetoric of a post-industrial society and the new economy in the face of the global rise of services, work, including service work, remains organized within the capitalist framework. As such, control of work and workers remain central to the capitalists' purposes of productivity, surplus generation, and profitmaking. Service work builds on a mix of features from manufacturing and services.[7] I argue that the Marxist critical view regarding capital's endeavor to subordinate labor to its interests through the control of work is not shaken in service production. Data from the field suggest that capital experiments with and employs more intricate tools to extract more labor from service workers. Managerial emphasis of social competence and the attitudes, appearances, and feelings of workers from the point of recruitment and hiring as well as normative discourses of customer- oriented work culture and teamwork are among these newer tools. Rather than replacing them, these new managerial tools co-exist and operate together with older ones, extracting the highest amount of labor from the workers producing holiday services.

§ 3.1 Labor Control in Holiday Workplaces

Control over the labor process is a diverse, complex process comprised of formal and informal elements. Control is a major theme in both Marxist analyses of the relations of production and surplus generation and in organizational theory since Weber posited bureaucracy as the dominant form of control in modern organizations. Management tries to extract the highest amount of effort through the design of work, on one hand, and the determination and direction of tasks to be completed by workers, on the other hand. How, when, and with how much effort work tasks are completed becomes a terrain of struggle between capital and labor whereby capital attempts to thwart resistance, while maintaining the level of creativity and commitment from labor necessary for productivity. This can create inconsistencies in policy as well as open up space for criticism.

7 Teboul, *Service is Front Stage.*

Managers redirect worker performances in order to overcome restrictions emanating from workers' autonomy to ensure unrestricted production for capital. The scientific method with its design of technology and tools, divides work tasks into simple, mind-numbing fragments, increasingly concentrating the knowledge of the work and the initiative to design it at the managerial level. Edwards' paradigm contributes to Braverman's analysis of social relations, arguing for a taxonomy of control, building on a crucial theme not covered by Braverman – i.e., workers' responses to managerial designs and their resistance to managerial control. Edwards depicts the workplace as a "contested terrain" where a battle continues between workers and employers about "how work shall be organized, what work pace shall be established, what conditions producers must labor under, what 'rights' workers shall enjoy, how the various employees of the enterprise shall relate to each other." [8] He explains:

> Labor power is useful to capitalists only to the extent to which capitalists can translate labor power into labor. This translation depends on such factors as the workers' motivation, diligence, discipline, "loyalty," and work habits; on their informal organization to restrict output, punish "rate-busters," and resist speedups; on their collective organization, militance, and class consciousness; and on the capitalists' ability to erect organizational structures, establish rewards and punishments, and provide proper supervision to carry out production and counter workers' efforts.[9]

He notes that any system of control rests on three pillars: the direction of tasks, the evaluation of the work done, and the reward and discipline of workers. He analyzes the extent of control emerging during various stages of industrial capital accumulation and how, at each stage, one form of control leads to worker resistance, bringing its replacement in a different form of control to

8 Richard Edwards, "Social Relations of Production at the Point of Production," *Critical Sociology 8*, nos. 2&3 (1978), 111.

9 Richard Edwards, "Individual Traits and Organizational Incentives: What Makes a 'Good' Worker," *The Journal of Human Resources 11*, no. 1 (1976), 55.

hold back resistance and enable further accumulation. Edwards claims a historical evolution in the administration of Western capitalist firms from simple to structural control, the latter of which has technical and bureaucratic elements. Nevertheless, he admits that a "shift toward relatively greater dependence on institutionalized power, and bureaucratic control comes to exist alongside and be reinforced by elements of simple control."[10]

Callaghan and Thompson adapt his taxonomy for the service work environment. In their discussion of technical control in call centers, they affirm that elements of structural control mentioned by Edwards do not remain separate, but are rather utilized by management in a complementary way. In the process of institutionalizing control, they suggest, management uses such a hybrid mechanism to contain confrontation and conflict by making control a product of the system.[11] As Edwards explains, what capitalists want to achieve is an organization of production that ultimately thwarts worker opposition, by changing workers' perceptions regarding the desirability of such opposition.[12] Callaghan and Thompson discuss a hybrid control model that integrates bureaucratic, technical, and normative elements of controlling call center work.[13] This combines objective statistical information, bureaucratic value and behavioral standards, and normative measures to raise worker commitment.[14]

Additionally, Barker points to the rise of "concertive control" in organizations where the site of authority changes from a hierarchy to self-managing teams. Barker suggests that peer scrutiny based on a group's own rational rules increases control through the willingness of members to yield to these norms and impose them on one another. Team members rationalize and intensify the work on their own. He calls this the "tutelary eye of the norm." As such, he states, it is less apparent and more insidious than a supervisor's scrutiny and

10 Edwards, "Social Relations of Production," 120.

11 Callaghan and Thompson, "Edwards Revisited."

12 Edwards, "Social Relations of Production," 112.

13 Callaghan and Thompson, "Edwards Revisited."

14 Warhurst, Thompson, Nickson, "Putting Materialism Back," 103.

hence strengthens Weber's "iron cage."[15] Based on the Foucauldian idea of panoptical power, Sewell's notion of "chimerical control" advances the theme of peer scrutiny in teams, which, combined with electronic surveillance technology, gives management "total" control, creating a "'frictionless' workplace regime… in which direct supervisory power is redundant."[16] He concedes that his account is an extension of Edwards' technical control, but he goes beyond it since the new mechanisms are more intense and unobtrusive, dropping the coercive, personalized, and irrational elements of the former.[17] Taylor and Bain criticize such a total control mechanism based on Foucauldian surveillance due to their simplistic formulation and neglect for worker resistance.[18] In a similar vein, Sewell's analysis is challenged by Ellway's research at call centers. Ellway claims that electronic peer surveillance is weakened as peer performance and the evaluation of the monitoring process become contested, creating various forms of resistance among workers.[19]

There has been a strong normative dimension apparent in the bureaucratic element of control. A normative managerial discourse, however, is accentuated especially with the introduction and discussion of teams in manufacturing and services as part of a managerial design to break the "alienating excesses of Taylorism" through a rhetoric of trust, empowerment, commitment, and autonomy at the expense of efficiency and control. [20] Teams, with or without substantive teamwork, are thought to be the edifices housing such a normative discourse with the purpose of extracting more labor, commitment, and

15 James R. Barker, "Tightening the Iron Cage: Concertive Control in Self-Managing Teams," *Administrative Science Quarterly 38*, no. 3 (1993).

16 Graham Sewell, "The Discipline of Teams: The Control of Team-Based Industrial Work through Electronic and Peer Surveillance," *Administrative Science Quarterly 43,* no. 2 (Special Issue: Critical Perspectives on Organizational Control, 1998).

17 Sewell quoted in Callaghan and Thompson, "Edwards Revisited," 14-15.

18 Phil Taylor and Peter Bain, "'An Assembly Line in the Head' Work and Employee Relations in the Call Centre," *Industrial Relations Journal 30*, no. 2 (1999).

19 Benjamin P.W. Ellway, "Making it Personal in a Call Centre: Electronic Peer Surveillance," *New Technology, Work & Employment*, vol. 28, no. 1 (2013).

20 Sewell, "Discipline of Teams," 400.

loyalty but in a different guise through a process called "continuous improvement."[21] In this design, individuals working on a team are more committed because they work for a team with which they potentially identify and in whose decision-making they participate. This method of allying the interests of the individual worker with that of capital through the mediation of the team, which allegedly provides a fulfilling, satisfying job in a workplace where alienation is ended because of an illusory power-sharing and supposed contributions to decisions regarding job design.

What it is, however, is another mechanism serving efficiency and control. The change in technology allows for a redesign of work around teams whose members are closely monitored through information technology-augmented communication, coordination, and integration of information.[22] Teams at the holiday villages also served the managerial interests of redefining the collective in a way that would prevent any substantial, bottom-up workplace unionism among workers. Teams are offered up as another type of collective, designed and controlled by management in a top-down fashion, in an effort to align workers' interests with that of management and thus capitalists. Through such novel devices, capitalists reach the workers directly, getting rid of the unions that protect workers' interests and rights.[23]

This is Taylorism reinvigorated by novel means in a time of flexible production. Crowley, et al. claim that team-based production rests heavily on normative control.[24] Enterprises' recruitment and hiring methods evolve to screen for the right types of individuals with the right attitudes. These methods include multiple interviews, team scenario exercises, and psychological profiling. They assert that these novel, "lean," flexible practices – with their worker involvement schemes, layoffs, outsourcing, employment insecurity, work intensification, introduction of new competence among hiring criteria, and the

21 Pruijt, "Neo-Taylorism and Anti-Taylorism."

22 Sewell, "Discipline of Teams," 401.

23 Gamze Yücesan-Özdemir, "The Exigency of Active Forms of Workplace Unionism in Turkey," *SEER: Journal for Labor and Social Affairs in Eastern Europe*, vol. 4, no. 4 (2002).

24 Martha Crowley et al., "Neo-Taylorism at Work: Occupational Change in the Post-Fordist Era," *Social Problems*, vol. 57, no. 3 (2010).

remolding of workers into the normative culture in both manual and professional jobs actually – point to a new era of scientific management. This is better conceptualized as "neo-Taylorism" rather than post-Fordism, they reckon.[25] Crowley, et al. quote from Collins regarding Taylor's suggestions for "good-to-great companies." Collins proposes finding "the right people," and paying attention to dimensions like "character, work ethic… and values [which] are more ingrained," rather than relying on "initiative and incentive," which is a strategy of less successful firms.[26]

Regarding the introduction of new competence as new hiring criteria in this expanded version of neo-Taylorist scientific management, there is a growing literature on firms that screen for workers who "look good and sound right,"[27] firms that "recruit attitude,"[28] firms that remold their workers to turn them into the hardware of the organization's brand and culture,[29] and workers responses to these new practices and increasing workload. In a service firm such as a holiday village where workers are employed to serve customers in order to meet their expectations for efficiency, empathy, and aesthetics, manufacturing the repeat guest is equally a process of manufacturing the compliant and appropriate worker through these control strategies. Customers, who are co-producers of services, are thus also co-producers, creating the good workers who produce for private enterprises. Notwithstanding the fact of their becoming suitable for service work, these workers still have no job security, still experience a heavy workload, low pay, and low trust, still have no protection against unemployment during the off season, and still suffer a lingering ambiguity regarding their employment in upcoming seasons. This is an expected outcome in the face of the fact workers remain unorganized, unable to collectively bargain the terms of their employment contracts and exert control over the service labor process after being hired.

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25 Ibid., 421.

26 Ibid.

27 George Callaghan and Paul Thompson, "Looking Good, Sounding Right, Style Counseling in the New Economy," (London: The Industrial Society, 2001a); Warhurst and Nickson, "'Who's Got the Look?'"

28 Callaghan and Thompson, "'We Recruit Attitude.'"

29 Nickson, et al., "Importance of Being Aesthetic."

In the following section I elaborate on the elements of control introduced above as manifest in the two holiday villages visited. I explain simple control and then structural control with its technical and bureaucratic elements, complementing them with normative control, paying particular attention to the influence of teams and customers. I focus on teams in terms of normative control, elaborating on the discrepancy between the managerial rhetoric of empowerment, trust, and autonomy and the reality of teams at the holiday workplace. Teams are tools of control, increasing workload, and extraction of creativity and information from workers, who respond variously.

Following Edwards and Callaghan and Thompson, I claim that elements of control complement one another at the holiday villages struggling to remain profitable in a competitive market. As such, structural and normative controls do not replace simple control. Cases of petty tyranny can still be observed. However, structural elements of control embed control within the social relations of the workplaces and are thus relatively indiscernible and harder to resist.

In this labor-intensive sector, customer-orientation is the other name for management by referring to customers' demands. However, use of the rhetoric of customer-orientation changed with the intensification of competition, the turning point being the introduction of the all-inclusive system on southern coast of Turkey. The change shifted the focus from quality to quantity – i.e., serving more customers efficiently. Customer-orientation formerly meant the friendly interaction between customers and workers parcel to high-end service, providing workers a level of autonomy in these interactions. By summer 2012, it meant completing all tasks in a race against time on both the front and backstages.

Management focused on extracting of more labor from the labor force within budget constraints and profit targets that did not allow for the employment of additional workers corresponding to the increase in demand. Given the constrained budgets, mid- and lower level managers were squeezed between the complaints of the workers in their teams regarding the workload and the demands of top management for speed and efficiency with available workers. While top management dictated the division budgets and rules, mid- and lower level managers had the dilemma of having to keep workers under

control, motivated, and working efficiently for the whole season, as well as to keep things running in light of dissenters. Interestingly, beyond the rhetoric, mid- and top-level managers knew about the earlier years of tourism in Turkey and were aware of the general decrease in the overall quality of hospitality services in Turkey. Accepting their own role, they also pointed a finger to other reasons and directions (i.e., the all-inclusive model and greedy bosses). Aware of this deterioration in quality, they reckoned that they still had to do their best for the business.

In two decades time, an organizational blending that incorporated various control systems emerged, contributing to work intensification and decreasing the autonomy, job security, and income of the workforce. The decrease in autonomy took place despite a strong discourse of the importance of autonomy for responding to various immediate customer demands through workers taking initiative and acting decisively. As mentioned, autonomy and the empowering of well-trained and initiative taking front line service workers, however, can be yet another form of control, as managerial expectations regarding worker commitment and loyalty to corporate rules and targets do not subside.[30]

At Dreams, whether with junior or senior workers, they often emphasized that workers knew exactly what to do and did not ask for direction. "Managers are redundant here," was a recurring sentence from workers in different divisions, pointing to their desire for autonomy. However, managers were present and powerful, as explained below. From another perspective, workers knowing and doing what they should do points to their internalization of company rules regarding customer service – arguably to their partial robotization. This is of course part of the system of control. My research took place at a crucial time for the enterprise (which I did not know beforehand) when many disagreements regarding the established rules were revealed. At Escape, the high rate of labor turnover and the lack of a union were among factors that weakened workers' bargaining power but also made it difficult for the firm to resolve the problem of labor indeterminacy. At both workplaces, hemşehrilik

30 Franck Bailly and Alexandre Léné, "What Makes a Good Worker? Richard Edwards Is Still Relevant," *Review of Radical Political Economics 47*, no. 2 (2014).

networks, based on originating from the same town, offered some protection and bargaining power to workers, but again, this was stronger in the relatively tight labor market environment of Fethiye since the majority of the workforce at Dreams was from the surrounding villages. Indeed, it was more effective in cases when a hemşehri in the network was an already established manager at the workplace.

3.1.1 *Elements of Simple Control: Continuing or Resurgent?*

I analyze various facets of managerial control at the holiday workplaces from simple to structural, following the framework developed by Edwards. I claim that simple control continues as an important tool for obtaining (numerical) flexibility, on one hand, and for consolidating organizational bureaucracy on the other. I observe that close monitoring, arbitrary task assignments, rewards, punishment, registration of overtime, promotion decisions, and creating cliques within the workforce were major elements of this type of control.

Edwards associates simple control with emergent, small businesses of the nineteenth century during a transition from skilled craft to routinized factory work with a single entrepreneur supported by a handful of foremen and managers. Power was not institutionalized and was generally exercised arbitrarily. Workers were subject to the "direct and immediate tyranny" of the capitalist, who acted as the head workman and relied on continuous supervision, personal relations, direction of tasks, punishment, and rewards.[31] This arbitrary and unconstrained power of the capitalist turned into the "petty tyranny" of foremen by the end of the nineteenth century as firms grow overcrowded, complicated, and distanced from the capitalist's direct control – handed over to hired bosses. Controlled by hired bosses, what Edwards calls the "foremen's empire" intensified workplace conflicts. Without sufficient incentives for fore-

31 Edwards, "Social Relations of Production."

men or workers alike, a "brutal, severe punishment [and] abusive supervision..."[32] emerged. He underscores the increasing competition among manufacturers that pushed them to extract more labor from workers who were threatened with the "reserve army" if they did not comply or rebelled.[33]

At Escape, the venue grew steadily since its launch in 1993 with the construction of new buildings, rooms, and facilities. In the 2000s, the number of rooms increased from 450 to 650, and a waterpark was built to serve families with children. Such a waterpark was also constructed at Dreams in recent years, replacing a petting zoo. Families became the focus in the search for customers. At Dreams, capacity has not changed since 1994 (it is around 650 rooms, as well) and its market share remained stable until 2007. The division of labor, integration of technology, and increasing number of customers characterized the increasing complexity. This complexity, however, did not abolish simple control.

Simple control was either never replaced – and existed in the new model of holiday workplaces since their launch – or it was reintroduced in a time of increasing competition to extract more labor from workers. The former makes sense because of the capital structure of many tourism firms in Turkey, which are mostly local and family-owned. Both Escape and Dreams were family-owned and family members were present on their boards of trustees. Formerly active in other sectors, both families entered tourism business in the early 1990s when it was profitable due to a lack of supply. The younger generation of these families grew up engaged in the management of the tourism business established by their parents rather than just leaving the matters to a general manager alone. The second possibility makes sense because of increasing competition in a market of fluctuating customer demand, labor market conditions, wage levels, and changing skill composition of the tasks. As such, it points to an organizational transition. As wages and tips decreased, it became harder to find skilled labor, and the owners did not want to employ such labor given the routinization of many tasks that had formerly been customized for relatively limited number of well-to-do customers. The managerial perception

32 Ibid., 113.

33 Ibid.

of the decrease in tasks' skill composition and workers' skills translated into a decrease in managerial trust of the workforce. This means that the managers felt the need of closely monitoring the workers and intervening in work processes. Indeed, such mechanisms of simple control make control apparent and open the path for arbitrariness and conflict as workers become less committed to the work and workplace since they find little satisfaction at work. They may leave in the end. This scenario may be preferable to the capitalist in the short run for purposes of numerical flexibility and control of labor costs, but it creates contradictions of accumulation in the long run.

At Escape, workers and mid-level managers regarded the general manager as too harsh – acting arbitrarily and rudely. Additionally, workers complained about chiefs and supervisors, who did not treat them well and squeezed them with a heavy workload. The younger generation of the entrepreneur family at Escape intervened with respect to the distribution of work tasks and remunerations on a frequent, if not daily basis. In my interview with this harsh general manager, who had kept his position the previous eight years, he stated that he maintained a delicate balance in a time when the owners of the enterprise were intervening more than before. However, he did not detail the compromises and bargains between himself and the entrepreneur family. I did not have the chance to interview the general manager at Dreams, who was an expatriate, to ask about this delicate balance. Escape's ex-MdH who was disturbed when he saw entrepreneur family members often advising the general manager on how to distribute tasks among the workforce in his division without knowing facts on the shop floor. He stated that such interventions made matters worse in the race against time. Work was barely completed by the reduced workforce that matched the entrepreneur family's expectations. Present in the board of trustees, they decided the limits of hotel's budget as a whole and who would head certain departments. Thus, more personnel would not be forthcoming despite the need. This need could not even be spoken of. I personally witnessed one of the younger members of the entrepreneur family asking the human resources office for the wage reports of the entertainment workers.

The general manager at Escape often yelled at and rebuked the workers and managers. He closely monitored many operations himself, including the main meals and even the cleaning of certain zones in the premises. Interviews

with veteran mid-level managers revealed that they had differing opinions about how work should be carried out, silently disagreeing with one another and with the general manager. But they all agreed that this was not the tourism of earlier times, which had transformed after the introduction of all-inclusive packages. The sous-chef complained, for example, that the general manager sometimes intervened in the preparation of food. The restaurant service chief was troubled about worn-out dishes and glasses being broken. However, the general manager did not acknowledge the excuse and held him responsible for the losses. The dinnerware was not restocked that summer and the chief shouldered continuing rebukes.

The general manager himself was busy and stressed with occupancy and sales levels, which were reported to him instantly on his office computer. Meanwhile, in order to realize preseason expectations and prepare for the next season, he met with tour operators and local agents. This was how his performance was evaluated by the board of trustees: getting the numbers right. He explained that the harsh attitude was necessary to break workers' habits about the way they carried out tasks, impose standards and make workers internalize them. This was done in the name of reducing task discretion. But besides him, arbitrariness continued down the hierarchy in certain departments as well. I heard from many workers about hard working conditions in the kitchen, which had become a sort of "foremen's empire," coordinated by two brothers: the executive chef and the master sous-chef. I learned that they had created an informal clique of personnel both in the kitchen and other divisions, made up mostly of people from their towns of origin. Clique members were favored with respect to the distribution of tasks, meaning that they worked less strenuous tasks compared to others and hoped for some sort of employment security. In return, they were loyal, committed, and spied on behalf of the manager or supervisor in question, gathering vital information on what was said, discussed, and planned among the workforce.

Nevertheless, increasing workload was inevitable for the clique members, too. One female interviewee in the scullery, Handan, claimed that over the past couple years the workload had increased tremendously; the other day she had felt terrible, uneasy, and panicked because she feared that the work would not be finished on time. When I offered the word "stress," she said yes, she felt

stress. At Dreams, Sevinç, an experienced former housekeeping worker, stated that those favored by chiefs were given less tiring tasks, sent to clean rooms and areas that were close to the office, and thus had longer breaks. In her own case, she fell out of favor when she refused to do an unrelated task for the boss' wife. There were other similar cliques competing to remove and replace existing supervisors through coups. Espace's ex-MdH explained that after the replacement of a supervisor, the new supervisor would be offered a reduced wage. The discretion enjoyed at the position would also be lower. He said it was likely that this new supervisor would also be replaced after sometime and that would be the end of the person's career. This former MdH actually complained about a general loss of skills on part of workers, who were employed on a "battlefield" without having being properly trained since there was no time to provide on-the-job training. The managers, however, claimed they could not trust personnel who did not have the necessary qualifications to provide customer service. This was another dimension of the resurgence of simple control, paving the way for the close monitoring of personnel by supervisors who did not trust these workers.

What mattered was that this mechanism ran on close personal monitoring and the arbitrary rule of department managers side-by-side with the bureaucracy of hotel management. Adversely, this included bullying, swearing, and in the case of the kitchen division at Escape, even physical violence by chefs against lower-ranking personnel. Metin, a demi-chef, gave details of such physical insults to him and to other pages that were slapped for the flimsiest excuse of, for example, fetching the wrong type of spoon or pan, making too much noise, having fun at work, or quarrelling with colleagues. He said that such harsh treatment was confusing and could eventually drive people to seriously harm one another with the sharp tools available in the kitchen. "I don't know what to think and how to feel. One moment they are very friendly and the other they behave as if I am their enemy." This alarmed me. Yelling and rebukes existed also in other divisions, but not direct physical violence – that is, if one does not count the heavy workload as physical violence.

The restaurant service chiefs were mobile in the dining hall and frequently visited the posts of the service workers. Muharrem, headwaiter in the main restaurant at Escape, explained frankly that his personal method of control

was to get close to workers, holding them under his tutelary eye during the operations. He also attempted at establishing friendship with them, arguably intending to expand his control beyond work time. He trained captains, whom he also inspected during the operation, in a similar fashion, though less frequently. Through this, he even tried to scrutinize discussions and talks among young personnel during their times off. I was interrupted and prevented from chatting with these personnel through such a mode of control. Those workers, with whom I could not talk, among them some females, were disturbed by the slang and swearing used by the headwaiter in meetings and the exploitative workflow. They were willing to talk about these, but were prevented from doing so. Cliques close to managers created fear among workers, as well, giving them the sense that they were being listened to and watched all the time.

Close monitoring was also the case at the reception, where a more educated labor force was employed. The employees were generally computer-literate students or graduates. The front office manager at Escape, Hakan, said that he had his eyes on the team all the time given the advantageous location of his office across from the reception desk. He observed the service closely: whether workers were committed to and passionate about their job and tasks and whether they smiled at customers and behaved properly. When he sensed that there was a complicated situation that a particular reception worker could not handle, he could intervene immediately before the issue became troubling. He also mentioned that he treated workers in the reception as if they were friends and played the role of an elder brother at times. Close monitoring and showing a degree of friendship or brotherliness were forms of simple control at Escape. At Dreams, the front office supervisor observed the workflow from a back office that was separated from the front by a glass door. Division supervisors at Dreams admitted to monitoring personnel closely. They refrained from building friendships and preferred to keep their distance from workers, however, but maintained a relaxed communication. This being the case, restaurant service workers were still rebuked at times for slack service, their supervisors admitted.

Arbitrariness was not confined to verbal harassment and physical punishments, but was institutionalized. As mentioned in chapter 2, workers were expected to have good personal relations with their chiefs and supervisors if they

hoped to prolong their employment through the low season. In a bureaucratic structure, managers would decide on such matters. But workers suggested that the decisions were not based on objective criteria, but personal relations. Overtime payments were another issue dealt with arbitrarily, causing confrontations between workers and the human resources office. The human resources manager said that responsibility for recording and reporting overtime belonged to chiefs and supervisors. Workers themselves did not carefully note their daily overtime work. The limits of overtime work were vague, primarily because workers were neither sufficiently organized to track such matters nor to raise their voices in the face of violations of their rights for fear of losing their employment. A few managers, such as Emine, the housekeeping manager at Escape, did record overtime while others were not concerned with the matter. Emine did not have cordial relations with the general manager and overtime pay was a factor since he did not favor its regular payment, as both Emine and ex-MdH explained in interviews. Not paying overtime helped the general manager to stay within his budget while exploiting labor, being able to report profits to the board of trustees.

Promotion decisions were subject to managerial arbitrariness and were used as a loyalty building measure. Managers made the decisions which were eventually approved by the general manager. Few promotions took place during my visit. Nonetheless, the promise and dream of promotion was important for keeping certain personnel on hand or for inviting transfer workers from other enterprises. Arda was made such a promise by the supervisor of the special restaurants at Escape. He explained that in his third month he was given the new title, but he would not remain with this firm the next season because of the low quality of service he encountered. Promotion decisions were once structured through written and oral exams, that is, through preset rules. At Dreams, this was a crucial means for retaining enthusiastic personnel. This practice died out in recent years, however, and receiving a promotion became difficult for the majority of workers. Gizem, a low ranking chef, stated that there was a gender dimension to the issue, as well. Given the same level of skills, effort, learning curve, and enthusiasm, a male rival would be promoted ahead of her. Özgür, the assistant human resources manager at Dreams, pointed to the need to develop clear rules and procedures for the recruitment,

hiring, and promotion of personnel. Without these, he added, everything would continue to look unorganized, and as such, it was hard for the human resources department to justify differing wages. Indeed, the department had recently started to intervene in the recruitment and hiring of workers by conducting its own interviews, which caused tension with other departments. This pointed to the centralization of management in contrast to earlier devolution.

Finally, the references of managers were vitally important for personnel left and searched for a position in another hotel. In this small community of hotel industry, owners and managers knew each other and relied on each other's references about workers, as well. Elaborating on the issue of labor indeterminacy, Smith scrutinizes worker mobility and worker's freedom to choose the workplace to which they sell their labor power. He concludes that this is a second dimension of labor indeterminacy.[34] I consider, managerial coordination in tourism across firms regarding wages, evaluations of workers' attitude in recruitment and hiring, and the aforementioned managerial references are strategies of capital to control the mobility of the labor. In sum, these matters help managers maintain a power base within the holiday villages and in the hospitality subsector.

At Dreams, simple control was not aggressive but still powerful. It existed despite a strong corporate culture and other structural elements of control that had been established. For example, division supervisors and department managers continually monitored workers whether in their divisions or not. This monitoring was not so open compared to that at Escape. Workers knew or thought that managers shared views and observations about them, especially regarding their manners during both work and off hours. For example, the GR supervisor shared her observations on her team. Observing, selecting, and eliminating workers was necessary to form a more harmonious group the following season. She was not pleased by the composition of the team in summer 2012. She occasionally took advice from the experienced department manager who made her own observations of the team. While these managers did not

34 Chris Smith, "The Double Indeterminacy of Labor Power: Labor Effort and Labor Mobility," *Work, Employment and Society 20*, no. 2 (2006).

seem to sit around watching over people, they made detailed observations about the efficiency of the work done and about workers' manners during their service, though they did not intervene in the actual work directly. Yağız, the experienced GR representative, helped me understand early on that there were unwritten rules in the workplace and that workers were monitored all the time, especially those in direct contact with customers. Thinking that they were being monitored compelled workers to be careful about their manners. In this mode of simple control, the management did not directly distribute the tasks, but influenced the pacing and styling of the work as it was screening out workers, who did not perform as expected after being hired. Some workers thus might not be recalled for the next season, or in the presence of a more suitable candidate, they could be laid-off mid-season. This type of close monitoring at both Escape and Dreams benefits low trust service work environments. Korczynski, et al., claims that the attitude of low trust contradicts managerial aspirations for service quality and the image of customer as sovereign.[35] I claim, however, that service quality ceases to be the target and that lip service paid to sovereign customers functions as further means of labor control.

Another problem persists. The personalized, arbitrary, and coercive rule has the potential to cause conflict between management and labor. As suggested by Edwards, simple control under hired bosses opens the way for the petty tyranny of division chiefs and managers – hence, workplace conflict. Although such conflict and related developments are hardly in capital's interest, in the short run they contribute to numerical flexibility. Workers quit the job in the face of such tyranny without compensation or incentives to stay. Occasionally, personnel in holiday villages left or were laid-off on the pretext that they violated workplace harmony or defied orders. Of course, for those who left on their own, the firm had no legal financial responsibility to them. Those who were laid-off after their two-month probation were convinced by chiefs or supervisors not to bring the case to court. The compensation was the good references of their managers that laid-off workers would need in their searches for work in other firms. If the workers insisted, they would have only negative

35 Marek Korczynski, et al., "Service Work in Consumer Capitalism: Customers, Control and Contradictions," *Work Employment & Society 14*, no. 4 (2000), 671.

commentary. That is, firms dissuaded workers from bringing the issue to court with threat of unemployment, at least for a time. This is an extension of the mechanism of worker discipline beyond workplace.

Numerical flexibility benefits firms competing in volatile markets with fluctuating customer demand. Being able to reduce and increase the number of workers according to that demand is crucial for these firms. Although not public, I was shown (that is I saw but could not get a copy of) weekly and monthly charts, comparing the number of workers and labor costs with the level of occupancy. This suggests that a just-in-time labor regime is employed for a just-in-time service production at these holiday villages. At times when flexible labor contracts are not flexible enough, temporary employment agencies are inefficient from capital's perspective, and the normative practices of human resource management fail to create worker commitment,[36] the arbitrary, personalized, and sometimes coercive rule of the general manger and division managers reemerge (or continued to function) as a tool to provide labor flexibility. In the case of these holiday villages, flexibility through simple control was a device to reduce labor costs – adjusting the number of workers and labor efficiency according to demand.

In this section I discuss that simple control continues in the hospitality workplaces. It is used as a tool for obtaining numerical flexibility on one hand, and as Edwards suggests, for consolidating the bureaucratic control in the long term, on the other. I observe that close monitoring, arbitrariness in task assignments, rewarding and punishment, recording of overtime, promotion decisions, and cliques within the workforce are the major elements of this type of control. However, simple control is not the only means adopted to control the workforce, which is a far more complex task than what initial observations in a holiday village can suggest. I now turn to the structural means of labor control that function alongside simple control.

36 Paul Thompson, "The Trouble with HRM," *Human Resource Management Journal 21*, no. 4 (2011).

3.1.2 *Development of Technical Control at Holiday Service*

After delineating the features of simple control at the holiday villages, I explain the various dimensions of structural control, starting with the emergent technical control of holiday service work. As suggested, structural control refers to the decentered, hidden mechanisms in the social relations of production, making them hard to detect and challenge.

My main argument – in disagreement with the existing literature – is that the managerial repertoire of control also includes strong technical elements for controlling labor in the all-inclusive holiday villages, where performance and relational aspects play an important role in the production and delivery of services. I argue that the emerging technical dimension of labor control in holiday service rests on three major components. One is the assembly-line-like flow of mass services and production of goods that brings about routinization and even attempts to mechanize the manners and emotions of workers. Second is the integration of information and communication technologies into labor-intensive holiday work. And third is the installation of digital cameras for the purposes of surveilling labor.

Technical control is argued by Edwards to be one of the two elements of structural control – along with bureaucratic control – that starts to replace the abusive simple control. It launched at the end of the nineteenth century as factories and work became more complicated. Edwards assesses that this type of embedded labor control "involves designing machinery and planning of work to minimize the labor/labor-power problem."[37] Unlike mechanization and simple pacing of the machinery in the factories, he states that technical control emerges "when the entire production process of the plant, or large segments of the plant, are based on a technology which paces and directs the labor process." This is structural "in the sense that is embedded in the technological structure or organization of production."[38] The Fordist assembly line is the epitome of this mode of control. It eliminates obtrusive control and the

37 Edwards, "Social Relations of Production." 115.

38 Ibid.

foremen's responsibility to closely supervise production and inspect and approve work.[39] Henry Ford himself acknowledged: "Real leadership is unobtrusive, and our aim is always to arrange the material and machinery to simplify the operations so that practically no orders are necessary."[40]

As mentioned, there is a growing literature on the development of hybrid models of control in the service sector in general, and in call centers in particular. The integration of technology and the ensuing closer monitoring through information technologies augment communication, coordination, and the integration of information at call centers. In call centers, there is single-unit production and continuous completion of one task after another. Technology is used not only to direct the pace of work to maximize production, but also to improve the monitoring and evaluation of workers' performances while limiting their autonomy. Callaghan and Thompson allege that these mechanisms make the structural nature of technical control more powerful, but less visible since workflow is organized by technology and not by the boss.[41] Calls are queued and allocated to workers automatically by the software. The number of calls, response time, and even actual dialogues are all digitally recorded. This ensures worker commitment to a combination of demands and rules pertaining to efficiency, quality, emotions, and aesthetics.[42] Accordingly, in an already demanding setting, volume, speed, and the intensity of work increase. In their analysis of the call center labor process, Taylor and Bain liken this to "an assembly line in the head." Individual workers (operators) constantly feel the pressures to answer and satisfactorily terminate the inquiries and then pass on to the next call in queue.[43] That the assembly line is in the head means that operators internalize this work norm with little or no control over its design and pace.

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39 Ibid., 117.

40 Henry Ford quoted in James M. Wilson, "Henry Ford's Just-In-Time System," *International Journal of Operations & Production Management* 15, no. 12 (1995).

41 Callaghan and Thompson, "Edwards Revisited."

42 Ibid.

43 Taylor and Bain, "'Assembly Line in the Head,'" 107-09.

Bailly and Léné claim that in retailing, hotel, and restaurant industries technical control à la Edwards tends to be rather "lax." This is unlike the call centers. They reiterate the "unconducive relational component" of service work that cannot be brought under technical control and instead focus on managerial attempts to inculcate corporate values and behavioral norms in the design of a controllable service operation.[44] Technical control was not yet complete at the holiday villages with respect to dictating the pace of work, monitoring worker performance, and evaluation of workers, especially not for the high touch work of the entertainment department where many workers had close, often intimate relationships with customers.

Hospitality work at the two holiday villages was labor intensive, but technology was gradually integrated coming to direct and dictate the pace of various aspects of work, starting with the front office. More so than devices such as printers, mobile phones, deep freezers, electronic ovens and dishwashers, pool cleaning robots, electronic children's toys, electric drive vacuum cleaners introduced into various service divisions over the course of two decades to save time and increase productivity. Holiday village technology recently brought about a change in the way hospitality service production came to be organized. Worker and manager accounts of hospitality work in the past and present attest to the substantial changes taking place.

The front office supervisor at Escape, Hakan, explained that formerly forecasts for the hotel were charted on huge sheets of paper hung from wall to wall and written on with pencils of various colors. Sales and accounting were also partially, manually done by reception in the early 1990s. Computers were introduced in 1991-92, but initially accounts and data were kept both manually and on the computers due to a lack of managerial trust in the machines. As such technology became integrated, a division of labor took place in the front office which had formerly been under the control of receptionists. Over time, functions such as sales of things on the premises, auditing of guest ledgers, preparing forecasts, and guest relations were separated out from reception. Reception work became relatively easier and required fewer skills and smaller labor force. These tasks were divided among night auditors, reservationists,

44 Bailly and Léné, "What Makes a Good Worker?"

and GR representatives. Data began to be stored on computers and electronic devices connected to a central system, making it easier to access, manage, inspect, and correct. In return, hospitality service work became quantifiable, and management produced detailed statistics of service. Daily, weekly, monthly, and seasonal reports based on those statistics enabled instant documentation and evaluation of efficiency and productivity. Accruing data also provided a long-term view on these matters. Quantification and computer-based work opened the gates for performance criteria and facilitated inspection. This had consequences for budget planning, the allocation of resources to departments, energy use, the purchase of goods, sale strategies, and employing and dismissing personnel according to the dictates of demand and productivity.

The assembly-line-like flow of mass services and production of goods – the first component of technical control – emerged in its complete form with all-inclusive packages. With their introduction in 1996 and their adoption by large and small actors in the market, supply and demand in Turkey's holiday tourism increased. At the two holiday villages, increasing customer demand maintained almost an automated mass service production, while space for customization shrank. Automation did not result from machinery producing the holiday experience and workers attending to the machinery, but rather from workers endlessly producing mass services like machines in a work design characterized by high task interdependence. I am not suggesting that people were becoming "human robots," as in Ritzer's McDonaldization thesis,[45] but that a high level of synchronization was observable through assembly-line-like design of hospitality service production, bringing various formerly-detached services under one roof. And all was under managerial coordination and control. The holiday village as such represents an intensification of the multiservice operations mentioned by Boas wherein services and goods are provided to customers in an either sequential or simultaneous manner.[46]

In this Fordist assembly-line-type of service production, many products and services became standardized, with little room for customization despite lip service to customer choice and sovereignty. This standardization reduced

45 Ritzer, *McDonaldization.*

46 Shamir Boas, "Between Bureaucracy and Hospitality – Some Organizational Characteristics of Hotels," *Journal of Management Studies 15*, no. 3 (1978), 289.

the uncertainty of task processes for management. The emerging all-inclusive packages contributed to the process of standardization and routinization with clear, predefined services, goods, and conditions customers would find on the site. The holiday village works differently from a hotel, restaurant, bar, or entertainment venue. It brings these services and facilities under one roof, becoming factories that producu mass and mass customized services and goods for thousands of customers with similar demands (since these demands are largely agreed upon in advance through the holiday package). This assembly-line-like system running on repeating service encounters and relations is a new organizational technology for holiday service production. This delivers and controls work within a schedule – the weekly activities program – that explains to customers where and when they can do what on the premises at any hour of any day. Workers do repetitive tasks at their stations producing the same services and goods again and again to satisfy customers in a race against time. This satisfaction is promised to customers by the firms in the package.

Holiday village workers are equally expected to meet the irrational demands of customers with respect to empathy[47] and demands that they feel unique, as if this particular service is specially designed for their visit. That is, routine work should not be performed as routine, but as a novel, fun experience for the customers. Moreover, it should be presented as unique to each customer. Thus, management attempts to run the workplace as an experience and a "smile factory,"[48] commanding additional emotional and aesthetic labor from workers with the justification that it would satisfy and please customers. In practice, the holiday village bureaucracy distinguished in dividing emotional and aesthetic labor from other types of hospitality service labor, as well. It was the entertainment department that shouldered the bulk of the emotional and aesthetic labor, often offering a "service relationship" beyond a "service encounter." GR and reception followed entertainment.

47 Korczynski, *Human Resource Management.*

48 John Van Maanen, "The Smile Factory: Work at Disneyland," in *Reframing Organisational Culture*, ed. Peter J. Frost et al. (London: Sage, 1991).

The distinctive characteristic of the service relationship is that "a customer can identify a particular person as his or her service provider" whereas in service encounters, providers often remain nameless. In their research, Gutek et al. find that customers are more satisfied when they receive service through a service relationship.[49] So the holiday villages distinguished work requiring service relationships from work for which encounters were sufficient, the former of which fell on shoulders of the aforementioned divisions. I observed that there was often intense communication and even direct bodily contact between customers and workers in such service relationships. This direct touch took place at the holiday village between customers and entertainment workers in both the adult and children's divisions (while indirect touch took place between customers and housekeeping maids, for example). I was told that although customers remembered the names of exceptional waiters, housekeeping, GR, and bellhop personnel, entertainment workers were the stars in terms of turning visits into experiences and convincing guests to return to the facility in the next holiday season.

The services in a service relationship, however, were no less mass-produced than other services in the holiday village. In fact, the majority of tasks were routine in almost all divisions; entertainment was no exception. One interviewee at Dreams, Elif, likened the work she observed every day to a windup toy. Every day the same tasks and movements were repeated by the same personnel in the same fashion, but for different customers who changed out every week or two. Even the smiles, fun, and greetings were clockwork. Smiles, body movements such as nodding or bowing the head during service, that moment of attention given to the children of customers were scripted and routine. Elif essentially described Ritzer's workers at McDonald's. Nonetheless, dialogues differed with different customers, but that only partially broke the routine. The themes of these dialogues were repetitive. Alim, captain of the bellhops at Dreams, claimed that he was a bit excited as each season began, but that the excitement was over within the first couple weeks. It was all the same words and talk and he was fed up with it. GR representative Yağız added

49 Barbara E. Gutek et al., "Features of Service Relationships and Encounter," *Work & Occupations 27*, no. 3 (2000), 321-22.

unusually that the surrounding nature and beautiful scenery themselves were routinized that people, workers and customers alike, were not mindful of them or of living in the moment.

Apart from their own daily routines back at home, customers enjoyed services and the emotions and aesthetics attached to them at the different service stations within the holiday village in the form of various activities and pleasure coproduced with workers. This added up to a complete holiday experience for the former and to the repetitive tasks of completing holiday work for the latter. Each service station offered another taste of the whole experience to customers who came out of the service assembly line satisfied – or so the workers, management, and the entrepreneurs hoped. If successful, this holiday service assembly line produced repeat guests. Holiday service labor process was such that failure at one station adversely affected others and the customer might be disillusioned. They might even end their stay and demand full refund that could cause a loss of income from that customer and the potential loss of income from their unrealized future stays. Moreover, such cases could spread a bad reputation for the firm and the facility. Negative commentary in social media and on travel related websites could be damaging about which management is wary.

More offers on the premises meant more service work for more customers. Thus the all-inclusive model accelerated the assembly, increasing the workload. Due to the cost considerations, operating in an increasingly competitive market, more work was done with fewer employees, which is the major reason for the accelerated, increased productivity. This brought about further rationalization. Intensifying competition, more customers, cost considerations, fewer employees, acceleration and overload point to a sharp decrease in the quality of services and goods offered. For example, workers at the bars and main restaurants no longer had the chance to chat with customers and the open buffet system in main restaurants reduced communication and interaction among workers and customers, as it was a self-service model. Workers were left with only the tasks of carrying empty plates and glasses and replacing them with clean ones on the tables, as well as with cleaning and arranging foodstuffs on the tables. Second, there were so many customers awaiting service that little time could be spent on a specific customer. Thus workers had to

attend to the "disembodied customer," even if they wanted to perform services for the embodied customer.[50] Third, with the change in the system and in skill requirements, the majority of workers did not speak a foreign language other than basic words of salutations. This was the same for bars where scores of customers were served standard products defined by their package. The case for the housekeeping was similar. Room preparation and cleaning had previously taken around forty-five minutes according to Sevinç, former maid who worked for years at Dreams. In summer 2012 maids had only twenty minutes to dress the rooms. Floor chiefs had equally many rooms to inspect and approve in a short amount of time. Filiz, the housekeeping supervisor, stated that getting everything done on time was a daily miracle. Both Filiz and the restaurants-coordinator at Dreams, Erhan, recalled time-motion studies being carried out by former supervisors to achieve higher efficiency. This was the method of Taylorist scientific management being applied to the service sector. What I witnessed were its fruits – detrimental for workers but efficient for capital.

Tolga, a G1 waiter in the main restaurant of the hotel section at Dreams, described his colleagues at the main restaurant as "amele" (unskilled laborers) while he boasted of being a real waiter because of his communication skills that he could employ to serve customers an after-meal dessert or coffee if time allowed him on a less busy evening. Tolga pointed to status differences in the workplace, but the point was that there were more amele colleagues working at the holiday villages than real waiters like himself due to those changes in holiday service over the years. There was much work to be done, and a worker chatting with customers in name of quality service was neither tolerated by restaurant chiefs nor by fellow workers who ran around. Korhan was angry with Doruk who he claimed was trying to avoid work by chatting with customers, while Doruk thought of himself as a skilled waiter with knowledge of a foreign language who deserved promotion. He was not promoted to the next rank during my stay at Dreams.

Cheaper, lower-quality products were preferred to control the consumption costs of customers offered limitless drink, food, and glittering, customer-

50 Korczynski et al., "Consumer Capitalism," 671.

oriented rhetoric. The same was true for hygiene products offered in the rooms and cleaning products used for dishes, pans, personnel uniforms, rooms, bedding, surfaces, and common areas. And the same for furniture, tools, and appliances. To differentiate between the two holiday villages, Escape used cheap substitutes to effectively control costs, and workers themselves ridiculed the quality of the drinks on offer. Dreams was a ship sinking under the waves of competition, still trying to offer relatively higher-quality products. In the words of one F&B mid-level manager: "Dreams is still struggling in the face of financial troubles to offer quality food – to offer shrimp at the meals, for example." This proved increasingly impossible. Workers gossiped about the difficulties the enterprise had procuring products because of their increasing debt in the market. Escape was not struggling in the same sense that Dreams did.

For workers, the change to all-inclusive model meant heavier workload, routine work (and thus less autonomy), acceleration, reduced income, and less hope for promotion along with a decline in employment security. Cost cutting and work intensity were among the main reasons for the injuries, accidents, illnesses, psychological stress, and burn out to which workers were subject. These problems were also the reason many workers said that they would not return to the same workplace the following season or would leave tourism altogether. Standardization, routinization, and further division of labor simplified the tasks, making workers increasingly interchangeable, as observed by the high turnover rates in the tourism sector. Globally, the service sector demands low skill and creates low pay jobs, resulting in lower worker satisfaction and high turnover rates. This global picture overlaps with the local level in the complaints of workers. Workers at both holiday villages complained that they were not valued as human beings. They underscored that in order to satisfy customers, workers should first be satisfied, referring to the satisfaction and trust mirrors, mentioned in the literature. This suggests that the workers were mostly unsatisfied, and although I did not conduct a formal survey, it was apparent. Smiling faces were the exception at both workplaces, indicating that workers were not fulfilling managerial expectations of empathy for customers. Imposed feeling rules did not receive positive responses from workers, who

sometimes flashed hollow smiles, no smiles, or grimaces. This was part of the "emotional effort bargain" between capital and labor on the shop floor.[51]

In sum, the holiday villages gradually evolved into experience factories with invisible assembly lines manufacturing repeat guests. Work became routinized and standardized, while workers became interchangeable, eroding cogs in overused machinery.

The integration of information and communication technologies into the design of labor-intensive holiday work is the second component of emerging technical control. Promoting further standardization, information and data processing systems, servers, clients computers, software packages were introduced in hospitality service. Although no numbers are available for previous periods, interviewees mentioned the use of three or four computers at the beginning, a number that reached over 120 in early 2010s. This was accompanied by an enlarging communication highway through emails, both within the organization and with customers. Ibrahim, the information technology specialist at Dreams, said that his work with the new information technology system included the tasks of maintaining, updating, storing, and compressing data, and creating backups for system and user data. This went hand-in-hand with the trivial tasks of fixing printers, and internet and intranet problems on the premises. He said there were around 130 computers and over 150 users at Dreams. Computer users at Dreams received warnings, procedures, and daily notifications of alterations to the weekly and daily flow of service by email. They were asked to inform colleagues in their relevant divisions of any pending matter, customer demand, inquiry, or problem. In summer 2012, holiday service could no longer be produced and provided without the use of technology, computers, software programs, and databases. Dramatically, they became more of a necessity than any skilled worker or team in terms of accumulating, storing, and recalling information about an increasing number of customers, reservations, purchases, and sales. Management used computers for inventory control and task follow up, as well.

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51 Sharon Bolton, "Old Ambiguities and New Developments: Exploring the Emotional Labor Process," in *Renewing Labor Process*, ed. Thompson and Smith; Callaghan and Thompson, "'We Recruit Attitude;'" Steve Taylor, "Emotional Labor and the New Workplace," in *Workplaces of the Future*, ed. Paul Thompson and Chris Warhurst (London: Macmillan, 1998).

Technology not only creates its own pack of services necessary to create customer service, but keeps track of all the services produced and provided on the premises. In a time of increasing competition and volatility, information technology also helps firms reach new markets, enabling them to diversify their markets and be flexible in the case of a problem with a specific consumer market. For Turkish tourism firms the major markets are in the Euro-Asia region, especially in Germany, Russia, and the United Kingdom. The dependence on tour operators aside, problems in any of those markets spell big losses and even bankruptcy for many tourism firms.

There were four software programs primarily used in the two holiday villages. The first concerned the front office and used for check-in, checkout, billing, and room reservation tasks. In the front office software, each customer – past and future – had a profile with notes about her or his preferences. Details could be added and edited. At both workplaces, reception issued in-house electronic cards that gave access to guest rooms with electronic door handles, enabling management to monitor when the rooms were entered and who entered rooms during the day. At Dreams, these same cards were additionally used as credit cards to make payments on the premises since it was not yet a completely all-inclusive hotel. Moreover, promotional, in-house discount cards were an option. Customers could add credits to them; 100 euros bought one the purchasing power of 125 euros. The in-house spending of part of the workforce – managers as well as workers in the GR and entertainment department – could thus also be monitored via these cards. The second software was the reservation system for the special restaurants that offered from selected world cuisines. At Escape, customers could us this software themselves at a computer in the reception area, while restaurant hostesses and GR representatives would do it for customers at Dreams. The third software was for reporting and fixing malfunctioning devices, broken furniture, and tools in the rooms and at common areas. It was also used to report missing items in the rooms or materials that were not in the proper condition or placed in the proper way. And the final software was used to digitize and store customer comments, complaints, problems, suggestions, and evaluations of particular divisions and personnel. Customer evaluations were designed to yield numerical conclusions about the performance of particular divisions along with a

space at the end that allowed customers to write additional comments about their stay and experience. This software on customer relations management (CRM), mostly integrated the data from customer satisfaction surveys (CSS) and comment cards, which were manually filled out by customers during or at the end of their stays. GR typed these into the system for closer managerial scrutiny. It was a detailed, boring task, from which all GR representatives tried to escape, but they were compelled to do it on a regular basis by the supervisor.

There were other programs used by managers and the general manager to which workers did not have access. For example, one was used in the human resources office to oversee registrations of workers starting work and quitting, social security, and payroll, making it easy to keep track of workers' records. It could also produce statistics about the workforce in a short amount of time. The human resources manager at Escape mentioned that computers and new software had made the work much easier, and she could not think doing it without them. Technology helped reduce the data processing and wait time for the bureaucratic procedures of employee related registrations, especially helpful in a region and sector with high turnover during the high season. However, human resources personnel changed very often at Escape, which was one reason the office could not provide me with detailed statistical data on the workforce. This was not the case at Dreams. Thus, hospitality firms began using software for strategic ends such as task follow-up, service recovery, customer retention, and worker productivity. Kallinikos assesses that "software packages punctuate experience and impose uniformity through the standardization of definition of problems; the specification of the tasks that the problem thus defined involves; and the delineation of the procedural steps necessary to enact the logic of the software package."[52] He adds: "Software packages embody human experience, inviting particular modes of understanding and action that involve both the *framing of the reality* to be addressed, *the determination of particular tasks* and their *sequential patterning*" (emphasis in original). He points to a "deep standardization in cognition and action" with the use of such packages.[53]

52 Jannis Kallinikos, "The Social Foundations of the Bureaucratic Order," *Organization 11*, no. 1 (2004)

53 Ibid., 18-19.

Data gathering, storage, management, and monitoring are now counted among the core tasks of the holiday village. Ibrahim emphasized that data loss was destructive and unacceptable for the firms. All data regarding purchasing, payments, and revenues (accounting); goods storage; customer reservations; forecasts; and other reports about energy use, level of occupancy, and productivity; communication with partners and customers; customer preferences and evaluations; invoicing; billing were stored in digital files managed by the software packages.

Equally important for the technical aspects of control is the quantification of the performance of workers and of service production using the same data and software. Information and communication technologies offer accurate information gathering, storage and management of the various functions of the organization, necessary data on customers over several seasons enabling longitudinal statistical analysis, and the standardization and rationalization of service work for upcoming seasons. Such uses of technology and statistics increase predictability of demand in the volatile tourism market and reduce uncertainty about task processes. Use of technology introduces a thinking framework for employees regarding the execution of tasks and problem solving that is to be a standard for all employees to internalize. Computers and software enable quick access, entry, and update of data as well as the ability to communicate that data among divisions.

An in-house telephone network enabled speedy communication among divisions and between customers and divisions within the holiday villages. Some workers at reception, and in entertainment department, the bellhop team, and all mid-level and top managers as well as most GR representatives carried mobile phones that made these employees easily reachable and thus able to carry out multiple verbal and physical tasks at a time. The work design around new technologies introduced acceleration and completion of many tasks at once. Technology more and more controlled the pace of work.

Accumulating data is crucial for current and future service. Perishability – referring to services that cannot be stored for future use – counts among the general features of some service. However, with the development of information technology this is changing. With the technology, information about service was stored along with evaluations of customers attached to service.

Data included complaints by customers during their stay, solutions offered to them, and their positive feedback about good service. This was valuable data used to improve service for the future, but also as evidence to protect the tourism firm in case of a customer lawsuit. Since 2008, the GR team had been assigned to gather and store data regarding complaints or problems that customers encountered and reported to management during their stay. These were filed on the computers as "response letters" and "action reports." All departments were compelled to report problems and complaints raised by customers to GR immediately, and it would then intervene and document the issue.

Such data was digitized and stored along with the responses of workers who were the subject of some of the complaints and actions taken to resolve the matter at the level of GR or higher. These action reports followed a certain scripted format and were corrected by more experienced employees to fit into the holiday village "concept." New GR representatives thus learned how to write them in a format that shed the enterprise in a favorable light as much as possible. Workers internalized ways of paying attention to customers in order to gather information from them as well as learn how to respond to them in times of crisis. Each new case of serious customer complaint that had created a confrontation became part of the growing data about customers and their attitudes, contributing to an improved repertoire of responses by the firm. Workers who remained with the firm adopted this growing repertoire with its scripted responses. Workers did not respond to customers in any way but in a particular way that helped them gather and store crucial information from a particular case in a certain format that could be useful for the firm in various ways at a later date. In other words, the format suitable for storing information in the computer influenced workers' responses to customers while accomplishing service tasks.

As this repertoire was expanded, the workers were informed about new entries and new procedures of service conduct. All workers were expected to respond in essentially identical ways to customer complaints, whether they were about the old-fashioned television set, worn-out furniture, or the slow internet, or about an injury, managerial or worker negligence, misinformation, or misconduct. Wrongs as well as complaints that may seem trivial

could cause a demand for refund on part of customers; hence revenue loss for the enterprise. They also contributed to an update to the system vis-à-vis service standardization and the ways that workers could be directed and managed. The motto among workers at Dreams was that problems should be solved immediately while at a low level of seriousness when still manageable through little action. So they all learned to handle problems through the standard procedures when they were still small.

Gathering specific information on customers is part of the service labor process. This was once part of the expertise of service workers who acquired it over long periods of work. Insider knowledge – such as knowing the names, details about the lives, and the tastes and preferences of customers – gave especially front line workers a level of discretion. Now much of that information is gathered on computers and devices, which are available to all managers and workers. Using a front office software program, they can be summoned on a computer screen through a touch of the keyboard in seconds. As both the number of customers and the pace of customer turnover increased, relying on the memories of workers reached a practical limit. The system gradually evolved with a digitized memory of service, under control of management rather than workers – one which grew independent of individuals. Warhurst, Thompson, and Nickson assert that the same technology and management system used to manage workers is also used to manage customers. The "software streaming technologies" like the ones found at these holiday villages enable the identification of customers with a specific customer profile stored in the database of the firms.[54] Younger receptionists, some of whom had anyway just started, did not even know the names of longtime customers, but could *know* who these people were, how many times they had visited the facility, in what types of rooms they stayed, and what were their specific preferences just by looking at their monitors. This gave workers an idea of how to welcome such customers. Despite the rhetoric of empathy to all customers, some customers received a warmer welcome than others because their profiles told workers to do so even without management intervening. Still, workers were notified twice about VIP customers.

54 Warhurst, Thompson, Nickson, "Putting Materialism Back," 104.

The Information gathered and digitized is employed for various ends. Data on customers is highly valuable for standardizing service, and reducing unpredictability. It is useful for developing customer loyalty programs and additional offers for frequent customers, as well as to encourage others to become part of such programs in order to increase the percentage of repeat guests. Loyalty programs develop over the principle that "loyal customers contribute disproportionately to a firm's profitability."[55] This is part of the same system used to manage customers. The technology-supported system keeps track of the history and future with respect to customer service, and keeps records of employee performance. Emailing customers after their departure as part of the after-service and keeping a database of emails contribute to development of a relationship of loyalty between firms and customers as an aspect of customer management. For example, the GR supervisor at Escape would call and email all customers to ask about their visit to the holiday village some time after they left. She would also send them messages for special occasions like their birthdays and wedding anniversaries. These were crucial for developing loyalty mechanisms. Beckett argues that "knowing" is central to such "marketing technologies," which are a means to exercise control over "unruly and highly mobile customers" who could be then turned into "docile objects."[56]

Since information on room reservations was included in the software, workers could see throughout the season who would be coming next, how many people would be at the hotel in a given week, whether the people coming had small children, and how long they would be staying. At Dreams, GR representatives and our colleagues at reception frequently pondered our future service workload and the stress that it would bring in certain weeks by looking at the reservation data. A workload and stress that was anticipated could be better dealt with than surprises. We predicted the workload and possible problems and exchanged ideas among colleagues and chiefs with respect to some of these in advance. Similarly, special restaurant workers at Dreams visited the GR information desk after midday to ask how many customers had reserved

55 Riechheld and Teal quoted in Antony Beckett, "Governing the Consumer: Technologies of Consumption," *Consumption Markets & Culture 15*, no. 1 (2012), 2.

56 Ibid., 11.

tables for that evening or the following day. Their chiefs did not want us to provide workers with such information, but defiantly, we did so anyway.

Information on room reservations enables an overview of occupancy levels over the long run – that is, more accurate forecasts. Accordingly, holiday village management would decide when to employ additional contingent workers and when to dismiss them, based on calculations of demand that could fluctuate. In the face of market volatility, holiday villages became more dependent on national, but especially international tour operators over time. These promised a certain level of occupancy in return for discounts, making it more predictable in terms of demand during the season. In the process, tour operators grew more powerful, dictating the terms of trade as competition among hotels intensified and the supply of rooms grew every year. The general manager at Escape was representative of top tourism managers, spending a considerable time in front of the computer. He worriedly hoped that red bars on his computer screen (representing the level of occupancy) would increase. He stated that every day his mood fluctuated from relaxed to stressed according to the balance of red and green bars on the computer screen.

The difference between holiday villages and call centers is mainly the heightened level of technical control of the latter, which is not possible at holiday villages due to the embodied presence of customers and the intense level of contact with them. In the holiday villages visited, I observed a labor process wherein workers organized in various teams in different divisions worked as if on an assembly line, albeit an invisible one. On this assembly line, they added components to the product moving down the line: the customer.

Due to competition and the need to sell more rooms to more customers, holiday work accelerated in time, reducing idle time for workers and increasing efficiency and productivity. Within this general circuit of service production partially controlled by information technology, one concrete example of the growing technical control directing and pacing the work was service recovery. This entailed responding to customer complaints and problems that arose during their stay at the holiday village. This was a fundamental aspect of work because it fulfilled the promise of an entertaining, relaxing, and satisfying without problems. It was half of the work of customer satisfaction and an

important tool for gathering information for upgrading future service. Problems generally concerned technical matters: malfunctions in the rooms or common areas or old and worn appliances that needed repair or replacement. Others concerned missing items in rooms and beddings and towels not washed properly. In a circuit that integrated computers, an intranet, certain software, digital data, and mobile phones, customer demands as well as the way they were handled were digitally recorded.

When facilities were new, they did not serve so many customers. Numbers barely reached a thousand a day in the early years. Serving more customers with a higher customer turnover rate in comparison to serving longer-staying customers accelerated the deterioration. In summer 2012, both facilities were twenty years old and aging, with appliances and infrastructure that could not be replaced due to financial constraints becoming worn out. As the primary income for a hotel is generated through the sale of rooms, entrepreneurs tried to stay in business by increasing the number of occupied rooms as much as possible, being intolerant of vacancies. Acceleration of customer turnover rate also meant that the contact between customers and workers was turned into encounters abandoning the earlier relationship model. Holiday package offers were slightly diversified through deals with various tour operators (especially in terms of price), that promised a certain number of customers throughout the season in return. Of course, this corresponded with changes in customer leisure choices, customer profiles, and the number of flights arriving in Antalya and Fethiye and other factors. In the past, international flights arrived to Dalaman-Fethiye on a particular day of the week, for example, but as of summer 2012, customers arriving on daily flights joined those arriving by private vehicle. The same was true for Antalya, which had no international airport before 1998.

Vehbi, one of the long-time GR representatives at Dreams, stated that the facility had become old and a renovation was due for both the rooms and common areas. "We defend the company against the customer as much as possible, do our best to hide the defects, but there is a limit. Old stuff hinders quality service or quality service cannot be appreciated due to the worn out materials. Customer complaints increased, and this means additional work." As mentioned, complaints concerned slow running internet, improperly working air-

conditioning units, improperly washed or unwashed towels and sheets, toilet flushing malfunction, ants invading balconies, and problems with faucets, as well as problems in common areas: broken tiles in the pools or slippery patches that could cause injury.

Problems arising during customer's stay were once handled by the reception which wrote them on a piece of paper along with the customer room number and informed the relevant division about the matter. Using an internal telephone line, division supervisors communicated with one another about problems and their solutions. The supervisors and chiefs then distributed tasks related to that problem or customer demand to workers. By contrast, the system encountered at Dreams was based on technology and direct communication between corresponding teams. Managers did not have to intervene. The GR was the key team as it kept track of problems and responded to customers about the outcomes. Occasionally, customers may request to the reception, but the matter was then handed over to GR. Inquiries came directly from customers to the GR desks or to the help line which was also answered by the GR personnel. They took note of the problems and room number entering them into the software along with their own names. The software provided an internal communications mechanism. There were specific codes for specific problems that were entered along with a general description of the issue. This code and the description enabled the distribution of the task to the relevant division which would be informed about their next task on their own computer. The divisions then took note of problems and started working on them.

The GR followed work in progress via the same software while responding to customers. The GR also called the divisions in question when there were delays, which happened frequently in the high season. Through the intranet, it was easy to discern at which stage the work in progress was and who was dealing with it. This reduced anonymity in the carrying out of certain tasks but increased the responsibility of individual workers because the failure to make repair or procure items would be recorded on their names. A task queue emerged every day, and more tasks meant more services to be provided in a

shorter amount of time. As the system of service recovery was based on technology, work accelerated and the response time to customers was accordingly shorter, without management dictating it.

Customers expected a speedy reply to their inquiries since they were entitled to have a holiday without problems. If a customer asked about an issue twice and no positive response was given, tensions were expected. From that point on workers would be dealing with a potentially irate customer who was gradually becoming disenchanted. If he or she was disillusioned by service then additional mechanisms were introduced to make them pleased again. However, these mechanisms were generally at the discretion of supervisors and chiefs. A level of initiative and autonomy existed on part of workers engaged in service recovery since they had to deal with unexpected demands. But management oversaw this process by making clear procedures about how to handle and solve complaints with the help of the software. The software was designed to standardize the work of service recovery whereby management expected to increase the consistency and predictability of such a large operation.

Yağız explained the necessity for the software by referring to the increasing number of customers and the high customer turnover. "In an operation with two thousand customers daily, it is not possible to personally follow up on the inquiries and complaints of customers. We detect the problem and delegate it to corresponding divisions while typing it into the system. The system will then follow it." He agreed that personal follow-up would be the ideal for high quality service and that the customer would appreciate it, as well (resulting in customer satisfaction) but this was not practically possible anymore. The system also recorded customer feedback regarding service and service recovery. Despite his explanation, Yağız and a few experienced others with his experience used their initiative to deal with customer complaints, at times defying the procedures and the bureaucratic order. Nevertheless, their use of initiative and defiance of the procedures were not without the tacit approval of management. These were cases of responsible autonomy.

In a facility that was already worn out, more customers meant an acceleration of that wear and more work for GR. Information-laden computer screens concerning the handling of issues were crucial for communicating

with and reassuring customers that issues were being resolved in a way that they would continue to have a comfortable holiday. When problems could not be easily resolved, a room change or an update might be necessary. In such cases, the responsibility of line workers was to inform managers about this necessity.

Despite this self-running mechanism using these new devices, foremen were still involved in another sense. Tamer, the head of the mechanical division of technical support, underscored that a technician should appear proper when going to a customer room to fix a problem. Tamer would see to it. Not only the technical knowledge of employees and the timeframe within which they solved problems, but also their appearance mattered in service. The workers should appear proper, clean, and not dusty upon entering a customer's room and dealing with a task. Thus, Tamer protected the aesthetic standards and corporate culture of the organization through inculcating a norm. Second, Tamer stated that when customers asked for an explanation the technician should seek the services of GR to translate since technical workers did not speak a foreign language. That was the task-processing procedure that followed the aesthetic norm.

The last component of technical control is the digital surveillance cameras. They were installed in various locations throughout the holiday villages, but not very prevalent at Dreams. There was mention of their increasing necessity, however, by some security personnel in the face of charges of burglary against hotel employees on the part of customers. They claimed that a few cameras installed in certain locations could make their work easier and reduce stress on workers facing such charges. At the entrance of both holiday villages there were security cameras. Except for one in the corridor of general managers' office, I saw no other at Dreams, nor was I told that there were others. At Escape a talk with a light technician revealed, however, that there were surveillance cameras, some of which were hidden. The technician told me about two main cameras – one at the top of the main hotel building and another atop of the DJ booth beside the main pool – through which management could monitor any move. He explicitly referred to the surveillance of personnel while explaining their use. These devices had been installed generally to monitor

worker behavior and movements. He also noted that there were hidden cameras in the customer-only hallways of the two-story residential blocks. According to him, workers did not know about these cameras, only the one at the main gate. They gave management an additional tool to monitor the workforce across the large premises.

In short, technical control – which was once thought to be of no use in a service setting with strong relational aspects – is gradually integrated into hospitality service. The emerging technical control has three major components: the assembly-line-like flow of mass services and production of goods, the integration of information and communication technologies, and the introduction of digital cameras for the purposes of surveilling labor. Observing these changes in the two hospitality service settings, I argue that technical control, as part of the hybridity of labor control, makes sense for capital's purposes of controlling workers and customers. Next I turn to one of the most crucial elements in running a modern organization, defined rules and criteria in a clear hierarchical order.

3.1.3 *Adaptive Bureaucracy and Bureaucratic Control*

Bureaucracy is a sine qua non in modern organizations without which they could not run properly and would collapse. In this section, I explain the form that bureaucracy took in a holiday organization competing in a volatile market and trying to respond to myriad customer demands so as to make them feel unique and sovereign – while still maintaining control.

Contradicting suppositions of bureaucracy's death, I argue that it is alive in holiday service workplaces. Holiday workplaces epitomize of a blending between bureaucracy and flexibility. As a result of augmented competition, flexibility can be discerned in work intensification, disappearing internal labor markets, withdrawal of investment in on-the-job training, high labor turnover, and eventually in destabilized promotion procedures, all of which impact employment insecurity. Second, I argue that in holiday villages with accelerated interactive service production, bureaucratic control is indispensable. I observe that major components of this control are to standardize values, rules, and performance through scripts and other tools, on one hand, and to enforce proper behaviors and attitude through display and feeling rules, on the other.

These are defined according to an overarching holiday village-specific concept delineated by top management. Workers had to comply with the concept – that is, with managerial expectations with respect to efficiency, rules, values, and the emotional and aesthetic content of the work tasks – to maintain their status and serve customers. Beyond these, I observe that management introduced criteria for the selection and hiring of the workforce, screening for social competence that fit the holiday village concept.

In a recent article titled "Roads to Resistance," Courpasson points to the circumstances of resistance in the workplace and contestation around issues of legitimate authority from which bureaucracy arises. Echoing Edwards, Courpasson states that "…theoretically, the Weberian definition of authority in organizations is founded on specific systems of power legitimation, and this despite resistance. Bureaucracy itself is established through the necessity of controlling, even avoiding resistance."[57] Equally important in the emergence of bureaucracy were concerns about the technical efficiency of the organization of production. He continues: "The process of bureaucratization appears therefore as a means of 'attaining the highest degree of efficiency… the most rational means of exercising authority over human beings'."[58] "Bureaucracy, as an ideal type, is intended to reduce the politics of discussion, deliberation, and decision among members of an organization by giving great power to the top through control over the use and production of knowledge."[59] In short, the primary characteristics of Weber's model of bureaucratic control consist of differentiation, standardization, decentralization, and formalization.[60]

Kallinikos affirms that the "bureaucratic standardization of behavior described the entire organizational landscape of modernity."[61] A fixed division

57 David Courpasson, "Part I 'Roads to Resistance' The Growing Critique from Managerial Ranks in Organization," *M@ n@ gement 14*, no. 1 (2011).

58 Ibid., 10.

59 Ibid., 9.

60 Eric J. Walton, "The Persistence of Bureaucracy: A Meta-analysis of Weber's Model of Bureaucratic Control," *Organization Studies*, vol. 26, no. 4 (2005), 572-74.

61 Kallinikos, "Bureaucratic Order," 17.

of labor, a hierarchy of positions and authority, administration based on written documents and adherence to general rules, thorough and expert training of personnel, and full-time commitment to official activities count among the basic features of bureaucracy.[62] For Weber, the modern organization is distinct because it rationalizes the authority and legality that structure its hierarchy. It separates rules from the people governing them and binds people to govern according to the rules. Hierarchical authority supported by rationalization, rule-governed behavior, and mechanisms of coordination and control remain the key concepts and defining features of bureaucracy at work.[63] Edwards defines bureaucratic control as the institutionalization of hierarchical power and the replacement of the "rule of supervisor command" with the "rule of law" through written procedures, work criteria, and formalized job descriptions. Hales adds that within the hierarchy, a "ranked authority" communicates the rules and ensures that they are observed within super- and subordinate, vertical reporting relationships. Hierarchy functions "as both a vertical division of labor and a 'chain of command.'"[64] Scrutinizing capital's flexibility in applying labor control systems, Christopher Gunn states:

> Bureaucratic control is impersonal; it gives the impression of treating people fairly (even though they may have no choice in establishing the rules), and it encourages the individual attention to working one's way up the organizational ladder.[65]

However, caution is warranted. Edwards adds that this change toward greater dependence on institutionalized power – what he calls a "constitutional monarchy" – is relative and that "bureaucratic control [comes] to exist alongside

62 Weber quoted in Walton, "Persistence of Bureaucracy," 569.

63 Paul Thompson and Mats Alvesson, "Bureaucracy at Work: Misunderstandings and Mixed Blessings," in *The Values of Bureaucracy,* ed. Paul du Gay (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2005), 96; Colin Hales, "'Bureaucracy-lite' and Continuities in Managerial Work," *British Journal of Management 13*, no. 1 (2002).

64 Ibid., 53.

65 Christopher Gunn, "Workers' Participation in Management: Capital's Flexible System of Control," *Review of Radical Political Economics 26*, no. 3 (1994), 121-22.

and be reinforced by simple control."[66] Edwards asserts that since the specification of work activities can never be thorough in advance, supervisors are not satisfied with their role as evaluators and continue to intervene in the face of situations and problems that need to be dealt with in a particularistic, ad hoc manner. Thus, the "rule of command" cannot be completely replaced by the "rule of law." As I mention, in the holiday villages, interventions of bosses and the arbitrary command of managers existed alongside the structural control during the workflow.

Individual autonomy suffers within a bureaucratic organization as it produces "degrees of… dehumanization and ritualism."[67] Weber anticipates that as the process of rationalization requires bureaucratization, freedom, initiative, and individual power are curtailed. People can be expected to become "machine-like obedient objects," trapped in an "iron cage."[68] The metaphor suggests the transformation of human relations in the hands of this rational, efficient mechanism into dreadful, automated routines deprived of sensuality, spirit, and culture. LPT, however, suggests that such control is never complete and strongly emphasizes worker resistance against capitalist control.

Thompson and Alvesson explain that LPT combines Marxist and radical Weberian approaches that emphasize the links between capitalism and bureaucratic organization, of which Edwards' bureaucratic control – considered as "inherently precarious and contested" according to LPT framework – is a prominent contribution. They note earlier contributions to labor process debate that acknowledge that "internal labor markets" and career structures are beneficial for male workers, who support them. Feminist perspectives later criticize these contributions.[69] Bureaucracy restrains various freedoms. Nevertheless, Choi, Leiter and Tomaskovic-Devey reiterate that bureaucracy – with its hierarchy, division of labor, formalized rules, procedures, and job descriptions – constrains but also surprisingly empowers workers in various

66 Edwards, "Individual Traits," 56; Edwards, "Social Relations of Production," 56.

67 Thompson and Alvesson, "Bureaucracy at Work," 90.

68 David Courpasson and Stewart Clegg, "Dissolving the Iron Cages? Tocqueville, Michels, Bureaucracy and the Perpetuation of Elite Power," *Organization 13*, no. 3 (2006).

69 Thompson and Alvesson, "Bureaucracy at Work," 92.

ways.[70] In partial agreement, Alvesson and Thompson stress that bureaucracy at has mixed consequences for workers. It can possibly act as a measure against arbitrariness and managerial power. They quote Yvonne Due Billing who states that the benefit to workers of organizational rules is that they stand in the way of managers' abuses of power and whims.[71]

The importance of Weberian analysis notwithstanding, there is an ongoing debate since the 1980s – about the demise of bureaucracy, changes in the forms of organizations, and the role of managerial work therein – as a result of transformations in the global economy. According to those who claim bureaucracy is dead, new forms of organizations are emerging with flatter hierarchies, temporary structures, flexible work systems, and networked activities that focus on empowerment, flexibility, trust, and self-managed teams.[72] Central to these models are the ideas of fluidity and flexibility which imply post-bureaucratic organizations.[73]

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70 Seunghee Choi, Jeffrey Leiter, Donald Tomaskovic-Devey, "Contingent Autonomy: Technology, Bureaucracy, and Relative Power in the Labor Process," *Work & Occupations 35*, no. 4 (2008), 425.

71 Mats Alvesson and Paul Thompson, "Post-Bureaucracy?" in *The Oxford Handbook of Work and Organization*, ed. Stephen Ackroyd et al. (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2005) 502.

72 Such new organizations are called by various names. For "flexible organization," see NUTEK, *Flexibility Matters: Flexible enterprises in the Nordic Countries* (Stockholm: Swedish National Board for Industrial and Technical Development, 1999). For "flexible firm," see John Atkinson, "Manpower Strategies for Flexible Organizations," *Personnel Management*, August (1984); Henk W. Volberda, *Building the Flexible Firm: How to Remain Competitive*, (New York: Oxford UP, 1998). For "post-bureaucracy," see Charles Heckscher and Anne Donnellon, *The Post-Bureaucratic Organization: New Perspectives on Organizational Change* (London: Sage, 1994); Christian Maravelias, "Post-Bureaucracy - Control Through Professional Freedom," *Journal of Organizational Change Management 16*, no. 5 (2003); Helen Peterson, *Gender, Power and Post-Bureaucracy: Work Ideals in IT Consulting*, Dissertation (Uppsala: Department of Sociology, Uppsala University, 2005). For "network enterprise," see Manuel Castells, "Toward a Sociology of the Network Society," *Contemporary Sociology 29*, no. 5 (2000). For "postmodern organization," see Stewart Clegg, "The End of Bureaucracy?" in *Reinventing Hierarchy and Bureaucracy - From the Bureau to Network Organizations*, ed. Thomas Diefenbach and Rune Todnem (Bingley: Emerald Group Publishing, 2012).

73 Rosabeth Moss Kanter, "The New Managerial Work," *Harvard Business Review 67*, no. 6 (1989).

Other scholars find assertions about the demise of bureaucracy misleading and unsupported empirically. Alvesson and Thompson claim that post-bureaucracy theories act more as a "means of legitimating change and marketing new ideas than as a solid empirical indicator of changing forms of organization."[74] Maravelias argues that post-bureaucracy is indeed an extension of bureaucracy.[75] Scholars emphasize the adaptability of bureaucracy and its persistence, stating that organizational innovations do not replace bureaucracy but co-exist with it, furthering bureaucracy's adaptability.[76] Hales says that organizations frequently carry out changes but retain hierarchical forms of control, centrally imposed rules, and individual managerial responsibility and accountability.[77] Quoting Hecksher, he reiterates that these changes do not amount to post-bureaucracy or "de-bureaucratization," but to a more efficient, cleaned-up version of bureaucracy he calls "bureaucracy-lite."[78]

Other scholars, who focus on the rejuvenation of bureaucracy, claim that bureaucracy persists in new, hybrid forms.[79] Courpasson mentions "soft bureaucracy"[80] that centralizes decision-making but decentralizes responsibilities, while Alvesson and Thompson elaborates on "selective bureaucratization"[81] in knowledge-intensive firms. Korczynski theorizes a "customer-oriented bureaucracy" in frontline service work.[82] Both adaptability to change and hybridity imply "neo-bureaucracy" that maintains the main features of

74 Alvesson and Thompson, "Post-Bureaucracy?" 502.

75 Maravelias *quoted* in Malin Bolin and Annika Härenstam, "An Empirical Study of Bureaucratic and Post-Bureaucratic Characteristics in 90 Workplaces," *Economic & Industrial Democracy 29*, no. 4 (2008), 542.

76 Anna Pollert, "The `Flexible Firm': Fixation or Fact?" *Work, Employment, Society 2*, no. 3 (1988); Walton, "Persistence of Bureaucracy," 588.

77 Hales, "'Bureaucracy-lite,'" 52.

78 Ibid., 53.

79 Stefan Tengblad, "Is there a 'New Managerial Work'? A Comparison with Henry Mintzberg's Classic Study 30 Years Later," *Journal of Management Studies 43*, no. 7 (2006).

80 David Courpasson, "Managerial Strategies of Domination: Power in Soft Bureaucracies," *Organization Studies 21*, no. 1 (2000).

81 Alvesson and Thompson, "Post-Bureaucracy?"

82 Korczynski, *Human Resource Management in Service Work.*

bureaucracy while incorporating certain innovations.[83] In light of such changes, Alvesson and Thompson reiterate that it would be "better to see contemporary organizational forms as a series of hybrids, within which bureaucratic mechanisms normally remain dominant."[84] Courpasson assesses that the new hybrid organizations retain "the iron fist of strong and centralized control mechanisms, wrapped up in the velvet glove of consent."[85]

Holiday workplaces were sites where such organizational changes could be clearly observed. In this section, I follow Alvesson and Thompson's categories of work, employment, and decision and coordination practices to trace adaptable bureaucracy and bureaucratic control in holiday workplaces.[86] I argue that these workplaces retained central decision-making and hierarchical control despite employing teams and using other mechanisms of flexibility for organizing holiday service-related activities. Although degrees of autonomy or empowerment were provided to a certain few employees – among them were certain entertainers, GR representatives, receptionists, and mid-level managers – both workplaces focused on the standardization of the service encounter. The autonomy and empowerment were also part of the control mechanism and the general trend was toward the industrialization of holiday village services rather than toward empowerment and autonomy. Labor control, however, was not exhaustive due to the intricacy of the service relationship. The service relationship was difficult to control on the front line of entertainment and GR services, the standardization of many service products and work tasks in those divisions notwithstanding. The extant autonomy remained fragile, however, given the increases in bureaucratization and rationalization. In holiday service

83 Stewart Clegg, "End of Bureaucracy?;" Catherine Farrell and Jonathan Morris, "Managing the Neo-Bureaucratic Organisation: Lessons from the UK's Prosaic Sector," *The International Journal of Human Resource Management 24,* no. 7 (2013); Andrew Sturdy, Christopher Wright, Nick Wylie, "Managers as Consultants: The Hybridity and Tensions of Neo-Bureaucratic Management," *Organization 23*, no. 2 (2014).

84 Alvesson and Thompson, "Post-Bureaucracy?" 501.

85 Courpasson quoted in Hannele Seeck and Anu Cantola, "Organizational Control: Restrictive or Productive?," *Journal of Management & Organization 15*, no. 2 (2009), 251.

86 Alvesson and Thompson, "Post-Bureaucracy?"

work, Taylorism and bureaucracy continued and incorporated certain features associated with flexibility.

In terms of formal structure, the organization of the two holiday villages fit well into what Shamir describes as "mechanistic" organization. Similar to the Weberian bureaucratic model, this organization is characterized by "a high degree of specialization and division of labor, by a strict hierarchical structure of control, authority and communication, by vertical communication, by precise formal definition of rights, obligations and technical methods, and by a low degree of autonomy in most organizational levels."[87] At Escape there were fifteen departments, while Dreams was comprised of ten departments. The organization of the kitchen was generally detailed with pastry, warm dish, side dish, meat, pita, breakfast, and vegetable branches with their corresponding chefs, assistant chefs, and commis. There were scores of titles used within the permanent hierarchy. For example, in the kitchen at Dreams, there were eight levels between a trainee and the executive chef, who reported to the F&B manager, who in turn reported to the assistant general manager and the general manager. In the Rooms Division of Dreams – that was comprised of front office, GR, and the housekeeping – there were five levels between a trainee and the front office manager, who reported to the rooms division manager. However, there were only two levels between an entertainer and the entertainment manager. The case for the housekeeping and technical support was similar. The flatter hierarchy in some departments of capitalist service production was offset by a high degree hierarchy in others.

Control and coordination in the villages were maintained through oral and written internal regulations, vertical directives and reporting, and vertical and horizontal communication through intense email and telephonic traffic – especially via mobile phones through which remarks and warnings very rapidly conveyed – along with daily and weekly meetings held at both holiday villages. Major decisions were made in formal and informal talks between top management and members of board of trustees, and they were then put into practice by top management. The general manager summoned all department managers on a weekly basis for a general meeting to give directives on various

87 Shamir, "Organizational Characteristics of Hotels," 291.

matters to discuss the results of customer satisfaction surveys (CSS) that were registered in the system on a weekly basis, and to remind the department heads of the satisfaction quotas that they had to meet. These satisfaction quotas were determined by top management and differed among departments. According to top management, the scores on CSS ultimately indicated the efficiency of service production in the corresponding departments, divisions, and teams.

As part of bureaucratic control, routine meetings were a means of standardizing rules and values, and harmonizing performance among departments and divisions according to the holiday village concept. The general manager's addresses to managers contained a code of conduct to be delivered to the workers further down the hierarchy. In return, managers gathered supervisors, chiefs, and workers to convey these directives, warnings, and the CSS scores, specifying managerial expectations of efficiency and standardization. The workday generally started with meetings between division supervisors and personnel. Each day, these rules, values, and performance expectations were repeated so that they became internalized, preventing the defiance of standards. The appearance of the personnel was also scrutinized and necessary warnings on the subject were made during these meetings. Given the importance attached to the meetings by management, absences were not tolerated.

At Dreams, division supervisors conveyed the messages received from department managers to the members of teams. At Escape, restaurant service workers complained that meetings were held at the early hour of 8 a.m. while their long shifts sometimes stretched into the middle of the night. At Dreams, complaints were more diverse and early meetings were less of a concern. In GR, morning shift workers came to the office, greeted the supervisor and each other, took their mobile phones, listened to and read the latest messages and warnings, and then headed out to their service stations. In the afternoon when the change of shift occurred around 4:30, a division meeting called the "handover" would be held. At handovers, the supervisor discussed various delicate matters regarding GR service. Information about certain customers, customer problems, and ways to solve them were exchanged lest responses of GR representatives to customers and their solutions to problems neither contradict one

another nor the firm's concept. The afternoon shift would then take their mobile phones and head out to the service stations.

At both holiday villages, room cleaners, sweepers, and their chiefs received task lists (room reports) from the housekeeping supervisors or their assistants during morning meetings. The floor and sweeper chiefs on the ground stayed in contact with the office by mobile phones. The floor chiefs not only moved around the multi-story accommodations and floors to check rooms readied by the maids, but also oversaw the actual cleaning process, entering rooms while they were being cleaned. There were around 650 rooms per day to be inspected – not all cleaned everyday – by some six to seven chiefs, while thirty-five to thirty-eight maids cleaned them. The housekeeping supervisors could thus be everywhere at once through telephonic communication with their chiefs while they themselves remained in the office for organizational work. Office work was comprised of responding to email, preparing the daily and weekly work flow upon receiving reports of check-ins and outs from the front office (with special attention paid to VIP and honeymoon customers), arranging the work and off day schedules of workers, taking print outs of these schedules to share with the workers, arranging overtime pay schedules to be approved by top management, checking the computer for demands from customers or other offices, keeping track of the progress of the work online, checking inventory and reporting diminished and worn-out provisions, preparing the departmental budget, attending meetings, and preparing reports and charts. All of the housekeeping activities were filed and reported to top management. The housekeeping supervisors themselves remained accessible to top management for extra tasks outside the scope of the daily program. They also patrolled the campus twice a day to oversee its general cleanliness. If technical defect or broken materials were discovered, they reported them to the holiday village call centers which conveyed the matter to the department of technical support. This was the procedure. Since customers did not know the direct numbers to the offices of housekeeping and technical support, they solved problems via GR and reception.

At Escape, the main restaurant workers worked with entr'acte and were summoned for meetings by the main restaurant headwaiter twice a day – and were frequently rebuked by him on a variety of pretexts. Special restaurant

workers met once, but an assistant manager would sometimes meet with them informally to tell them about mistakes and to give advice on the code of conduct. As such, informal verbal conveyance of directives and values to subordinates during and after work was common. There were also scripts hanging on the backstage walls of the divisions and on the threshold separating the back from onstage. These scripts, which were not visible to customers, reminded workers of the work ethic, of value of devotion, of customer orientation, of proper communication with colleagues and managers, and that this was a decent workplace with rules. Of course, it reminded them to smile, especially in the presence of customers.

Cost control, quality control, and employee evaluation mechanisms are other means along with directives and performance criteria to control workers and work. The accounting department was responsible for cost control. An auditor generally checks all the front office transaction overnight and corrected mistakes in the system to prevent financial loses. There was a quality control division present at both holiday villages. Its personnel periodically paid visit to divisions in order to detect problems, especially related to hygiene. Both workplaces were meticulous about hygiene on account of such visits, as well. The enterprises had their own hygiene inspection units and devices. Moreover, holiday villages were also periodically inspected by private agencies that, for example, visited the village pools and beach. They were checked in light of national and international quality standards. The tourism firms aspire to obtain quality certificates by reaching such standards, meaning that there is continuous cleaning work within the premises. There were several swimming pools and a related housekeeping unit checking water quality and temperature three times a day, recording the measures in the computer. Many routine tasks were inspected through checklists that workers initialed after having completed each task. Finally, on the matter of employee evaluations, department managers personally met with lower-level managers and workers after gathering information on their efficiency and attitudes while serving customers. There were different styles of carrying out these evaluations. Filiz, the housekeeping supervisor, stated: "We try to do these talks without stressing our employees. When stressed they may forget what they know well. That's why we've changed the evaluation system in housekeeping and do them more casually as

a part of a chat while continuing to observe their work." Stress was part of a maid's strenuous, frazzling, and backbreaking routine work and was a major reason for the high turnover of new maids who had no experience handling heavy work and thus did not last long. The housekeeping management did not burden its current personnel with additional stress so that they would not leave.

With respect to rules and standards, all workers wore uniforms and nametags so that customers, other workers, and managers could identify them while they were at work. There were distinctions among units, however. Uniform colors and forms differed from division to division but also from occasion to occasion. There were special culinary nights or entertainment occasions which were actually so frequent that there was nothing special about them except for the additional workload. But of course, it was a different matter for customers who stayed only a week or two. Uniform colors changed during these special events. In general, the entertainers at Dreams wore white and blue, GR wore pink and beige, reception wore brown, and the restaurant staff wore white shirts and black trousers. At Escape, different colors were used, but except that white and blue was again for the entertainment department whose workers, along with lifeguards, were allowed to wear shorts and swimsuits. At Dreams, pool boys from the technical division were also among the exceptions. Female restaurant service workers at Escape wore skirts.

Internal regulations held workers responsible for the cleanliness of their uniforms and body parts that could be seen by customers. They had to make use of the laundry services that were open at certain hours of the day. The laundry collected dirty uniforms and material and gave workers clean ones back. There was a queue at the laundry office windows early in the morning and at midday. Missing laundry's operating hours meant that one's uniforms would remain dirty, which was unacceptable. There was generally a long walk from the divisions to the laundry station, and this was a matter of contention since workers used from their break times and energy to go there. Regulations about appearance and aesthetic rules concerning tidiness of one's hair, the tone of makeup, and the wearing of jewelry and ornaments were strict. Male workers were not allowed to grow beards, which meant daily shaves. Too many

tattoos or piercings were not welcome. These regulations revealed how much the enterprises perceived the appearance of the workers as part of their brand.

Beyond inspecting for proper appearance, management also regulated where the workers could be visible to customers. At Escape, the majority of workers were not allowed to use the hallways used by customers. Management was strict about workers keeping out of designated customer-only areas. Other than for the entertainers, swimming pools were off limits to workers at both holiday villages. The entertainers used them to entertain customers, not for personal use. Only a few workers at Escape had access to the beach and could go into the sea on the premises. The entertainers were privileged with respect to such matters becasuse of the nature of the service they provided. At Dreams, the entertainment department, GR, and reception had relatively better access to those areas, but the latter were to use the far end of the bay, far from customers. Other workers at Dreams had to obtain permission from chiefs and supervisors to use those areas on their days off. It was relatively easy for front office personnel to be on the beach any day during off hours. At Escape, management was stricter with respect to the use of such areas by workers.

At both holiday villages there were separate restaurants for workers, but at Escape the entertainers and at Dreams both the entertainers and GR representatives could dine with customers in the main restaurants. At Dreams, it was a rule that GR dine with customers, chat with them about their holiday, and listen to their comments. At Escape, banning an entertainer from dining at the main customer restaurant was a common punishment for defiance of rules. GR representatives at Dreams were warned by the supervisor and department manager against sitting together at a table as a team and ignoring customers. Alcohol consumption during work was forbidden. The entertainers at Dreams drank with customers during work as part of service in the evening and night at the bars and in the disco zone, but this was the only exception to the rule. At Escape, entertainers were not allowed to consume alcohol even while socializing in common areas in the evening. The security personnel monitored workers to be sure they did not break the rules, while managers present at the site of work also observed workers' behavior. Still, experienced entertainers drank alcohol using friendship networks in the bar team. Rules about beach use and alcohol consumption became stricter over time at Escape.

On their days off, workers except for those in the front office and entertainment department used a public beach nearby. At both workplaces, workers were not allowed to invite people from outside for lunch or dinner. A few employees at the managerial level were the exceptions. The security checked all workers' bags upon their entering and leaving the workplace.

Breaks and coffee or tea times were preset, and if the work was not intense on a particular day, they could be prolonged a couple minutes on the initiative of the supervisors and chiefs. Although reception and the bellhops also had similar length of breaks, it was somewhat more relaxed for GR and entertainers. This being the case, entertainers risked being caught by customers during their breaks, as well. Division supervisors arranged weekly work schedules and days off as well as the service stations where workers would work on a particular day. Being assigned to certain stations for a particular shift and the day off were seen as rewards or punishments by workers. Gizem, the demi-chef mentioned earlier, lost contact with a majority of her friends after management transferred her to the breakfast section, forcing her to go to bed early and spend her after work time sleeping or resting. In other cases, workers wanted to spend their days off with work friends and colleagues, but if the days off did not correspond, it meant a lonely, long, boring day off. Of course personal relations were important in arranging days off, too. Sometimes supervisors arranged these favorable to workers. Given the arbitrariness, all shift arrangements could be altered on short notice due to increases in demand and workload.

As suggested, enforcing what management considered proper behaviors and attitudes through rewards and punishments was part of the bureaucratic control in the holiday villages. The case of Escapes' ex-MdH is explanatory in this regard. The reason for his being laid off was that he did not follow the established rules of protecting the enterprise rather than a coworker in the case of a conflict between the two, even if this might entail telling lies on behalf of the enterprise. According to management, he was not loyal to the firm at a crucial moment, but sided instead with the worker. The official pretext for firing him was three warnings issued by the general managers' office over trivial matters. His defense of the worker rather than telling a lie on behalf of the enterprise cost him his job, after which both he and the other worker – for

their separate reasons – sued the enterprise. His case reveals that in bureaucratic organizations, not only cost consideration and efficiency but also adherence to corporate rules and loyalty matter, just as Edwards suggests. Management prefers people whom it considers good workers in the sense Edwards uses the term. Good workers are those who abide by the rules, are loyal, and behave properly according to established criteria. Management rewards good workers more than those who are not, even if the latter may be productive. Management prefers whom it deems good workers with proper behavior, but flexibility creates disposable workers at all levels without differentiating between good workers and managers.[88] Accordingly, core–periphery distinctions become obsolete in the era of flexibility.

Recruiting and hiring those whom management considered as people with proper behavior was a concern in the holiday villages. As mentioned earlier, the production process of manufacturing repeat guests is also a process of manufacturing good service workers. Edwards maintains that enterprises search for and reward employees with the proper behavioral traits. He mentions three distinct types of compliance. One is rules orientation which is commitment to follow rules. The second is carrying out tasks in a predictable and dependable manner which he calls habits of predictability and dependability. And third is the internalization of enterprises' goals and values which Edwards deems to be the most sophisticated form of control. This creates self-controlled and self-directed loyal employees.[89] Proper behavioral traits are crucial for managerial control:

> Just as technical skills make possible the operation of the firm's physical technology, so these behavior traits maintain (or do not jeopardize) the integrity of the firm's control system, permitting the firm effectively to direct the work process through mechanisms of bureaucratic control. What is at issue here are the characteristics consonant with the form of control, not with the actual content of the work criteria.

88 Richard Sennett, *The Corrosion of Character - The Personal Consequences of Work in the New Capitalism* (London: W. W. Norton, 1998).

89 Edwards, "Individual Traits," 58.

> Whether the worker has the capacity to perform the required work tasks depends on his or her technical and cognitive skills – that is, on the existence and development of his or her labor power. The extent to which he or she actually carries out those tasks of which he or she is capable – that is, contributes labor – shows up in the behavior traits.[90]

Collins reminds of Taylor's suggestions for "good-to-great companies" which first find "the right people." These pay attention to dimensions like "character, work ethic… and values [which] are more ingrained," rather than relying on "initiative and incentive," which is a strategy of less successful firms.[91] The production process is also a process of producing good workers – which suggests that enterprises attempt to mold their employees. But enterprises try to select good workers in the first place. It is these workers that enterprises consider able to be molded into the normative culture. Managers at both holiday villages emphasized the character of workers they hired rather than their technical skills or knowledge. People who would not cause authority problems and would work devotedly were preferred so that the service would be provided to customers as it was designed by management. Crowley et al. assess that "hiring frequently involves elaborate, multi-stage testing and orientation procedures including psychological profiling, multiple interviews, and team scenario exercises aimed at excluding applicants deemed unlikely to conform."[92] Barker adds another dimension to the issue of hiring. He claims that management wants to hire people who are likely to make peer surveillance possible for management.[93]

On-the-job training was initially an important dimension of service work at holiday villages. It was a tool to make workers fully internalize the concept. But it was part of a long-term investment that did not fit well with flexibility approaches. As of summer 2012, a lack of enthusiasm and resources prevented the continuation of this type of training once offered by the firms. Instead, they tried to hunt for talented people with social competence. Some restaurant

90 Ibid., 57.

91 Collins quoted in Crowley et al., "Neo-Taylorism at Work."

92 Ibid., 424.

93 Barker, "Tightening the Iron Cage," 432.

service workers at Dreams participating in the training were informed suddenly that the program had been terminated. In absence of such training, some tried to learn a foreign language or improve other skills on their own during the offseason without the support of the enterprises. Needless to say, they had to pay for such services on the market. The housekeeping manager at Escape said that when she started her career at a holiday village in the Antalya region in the late 1980s, the enterprise was owned by a foreign company which provided all types of training to all the workers for free, both at work and on their days off. For example, she said that housekeeping personnel could receive training in front office management if they wished. Language learning was among many such programs. These were the provisions of a bureaucracy of a by-gone era that offered cross training, to create and benefit from future functional flexibility.

This is not to suggest that training was completely inexistent, but it was not as pervasive compared to the previous era, which managers admitted. Orientation used to begin at least a month before the season's start, and training would continue throughout the season. At Dreams, many training sessions were canceled due to time constraints and the unwillingness of demoralized personnel, who had not received their pay on time to attend these sessions. The training of new workers in GR, for example, was entrusted to an experienced few and took about fifteen days during which newcomers learned things "as if on a holiday," in the words of one colleague. It was not management but experienced workers on one's team that taught conduct and communication. One learned most through interaction with customers in a collective service work environment and also through trial and error. The dissolution of training practices as well as labor turnover challenged bureaucratic goals for standardization but was in line with the operation of flexible firms. As discussed, adaptive bureaucracies enforced standardization by other means.

Apart from on-the-job training, a once functioning internal labor market was in disarray and not available to workers at the bottom end of the hierarchy. Managers suggested that young workers had to work much harder and devotedly in order to get promoted and build their careers. One could work hard and with devotion, which meant that more labor would be extracted by the

enterprise, but the actual gains in return appeared few in terms of career opportunities, better income, and employment security. That was the reason many workers considered their work in tourism as temporary rather than as the beginning of a future profession. Some worked to save money to fend for their families, epitomized in the words of one worker – "Terimizi sildik, kenara koyduk" – meaning that saved money is the result of sweat shed. Others worked to be entitled to social security or to generate income for various ends.

Promotion procedures, once rule, and criteria-bound, changed radically. Workers at Dreams who felt ready took a written and oral examination, the passing of which granted them the next title in the hierarchy. The human resources office at Dreams itself complained that promotions relied on informal procedures and needed to be formalized to increase the efficiency and institutionalism of the enterprise and to better define pay levels. The human resources assistant manager admitted having a hard time explaining promotion criteria to personnel. This fits with the earlier explanation of simple control, wherein arbitrariness regarding promotions arose again. As such, it provided a tool for building loyalty. During my stays, I witnessed only one promotion – at Escape – which took take place through an earlier promise based on personal relations. I heard of the case of a demotion in GR due to the employee's inefficient office work. The worker in question thought that it was unjust and that he deserved better. A last case was a low-ranking waiter who asked for promotion because he possessed the necessary skills, but they were not acknowledged as such by management. Promotion was once a signal of the enterprises' recognition of an individual worker's developing skills and their due reward. Increasing competition and financial stresses changed its function.

As to work practices, a fixed division of labor on the organizational chart coexisted with the functional flexibility of actual work. This was mentioned in some contracts signed by workers, including mine. I was hired as a GR representative, but the employer retained the right to have me do other types of tasks should the need arise. The employer did not use this right excessively in the case of the GR team, but I observed daily cases where workers were transferred from one division to another as needed. The GR representatives at Dreams took customer reservations for the special restaurants more than the

hostesses who were officially entrusted with the task. The GR also carried customer luggage as necessary. On rare occasions, I also observed bellhops – most were university students – going behind the reception counter and performing a check-in. Kitchen personnel helped with their colleagues' tasks when they finished their own. At Escape, during inspections by local public authorities – the timing of which the enterprise was informed in advance –management had housekeeping personnel man lifeguarding positions at the water slides. Much to their dislike, entertainers at Escape carried their costumes and the heavy set pieces to prepare the stage for evening shows. Moreover, they attended to the children's park on the premises near the beach during breaks in the late afternoon instead of having their rest.

Flexibility precludes idle time. In the holiday villages, more workers were needed for the many tasks at hand, but the enterprise imposed them on available workers. One special case I observed with respect to functional flexibility was that of a particular lifeguard at Escape. This man in his mid-thirties, who was a real joker, did all types of housekeeping work in the main areas and worked more on such tasks than acting as a lifeguard. I actually never saw him at the beach, and by the pools he attended to cleaning, sweeping, collecting, and fetching stuff rather than watching over swimming customers. He was the most obvious case, but there were others. I was never sure whether he could actually help if someone was drowning.

In terms of division of labor, service relationship was the task of the entertainment department. One still noted further division within it. First, there was the divide between adult and children's sections. Second, children's section was further divided according to age groups. For the former, there were various divisions such as entertainment, sound and light, scenography, costume making, sports (fitness, step, and aerobics), dance, and events management. So not all entertainment workers did guest-contact – the core of entertainment work and service relationship – but some were solely engaged in backstage activities. At Dreams, these entertainment divisions were clearer compared to Escape where a few core workers did almost everything (except children's entertainment) from playing games with customers in morning sessions by the pools and beach to preparing stage shows in the evenings and then moving on to further guest-contact work at the bars and in the disco

zones. Actually, all work concerning entertainment was guest-contact work apart from scenography, lighting, and costume making. This entailed one-to-one intense, customized dialogue employing emotional labor to establish rapport, and at times, exchanges of touch. Not all entertainment workers were equally effective. For example, for those who were inexperienced or working in the sports branch, there was a limited version of guest-contact around standardized activities. Nonetheless, these necessitated emotional labor. Also, male entertainers were more active in establishing guest contact than female colleagues. Moreover, there was a cultural difference: foreign female entertainers were more open to establishing guest-contact than Turkish locals.

Flexibility notwithstanding, a strict division of labor was maintained between backstage and onstage tasks at both workplaces. Tamer, the head of the mechanical division at Dreams, said that in the past he even worked at bar during the high season when work was intense. Later, such help from the back to the front stage was forbidden. One veteran gardener at Dreams explained how he carried customer luggage when the front office asked for help, but this was no longer the case. More so at Escape, backstage workers had gradually become invisible to customers over the years.

As part of the rules of conduct, the majority of hospitality workers at these two holiday villages were kept from socializing with customers. Rules in that regard were stricter at Escape because of the lack of managerial trust of workers. This was because of the high staff turnover rate and the managerial perception that the majority of workers lacked service skills. A sweeper told me that they were not allowed to greet customers unless customers did so first. Many such cleaning workers walked around with bowed heads gazing at the ground. These were the rules of conduct for the majority of the workforce at Escape. Management regarded many jobs as unskilled, so the workers who were hired for these jobs were automatically considered to have few skills and were not entrusted with establishing relationships with customers. This was not ideal for the development of a sound corporate culture; Escape had a hard time establishing such norms despite its bureaucratic control. Dreams had a sounder corporate culture and slightly higher wages, a mechanism maintained through the existence of a trade union, albeit not representing all workers.

Far from implying post-bureaucracy with the rise of services, work practices at the two holiday villages pointed to efforts to standardize tasks and routinize service through scripts and other tools. Management attempted to standardize service encounters and relationships through the scripting of language and behaviors to guarantee consistent, quality of service.[94] Dialogues that we as GR representatives had with customers at GR stations were mostly scripted. However, there were exceptional cases where we talked more freely with customers, but still within certain limits. Personally, I felt pressure since I was not talking as myself to customers, however relaxed I tried to be and however much the customer encouraged me to be free of the strictures of the enterprise. The emails written by GR to the customers in response were also scripted, following a certain pattern that focused on the value of the customer feedback that the enterprise held so dear. Surprisingly, Vehbi at Dreams, writing such emails to customers articulated that valuing customer feedback at Dreams was actually a deceit. Even so, he and others wrote in line with the rules of the firm, communicating with customers within the expected, formal pattern which underscored that their feedback was valued.

The level of standardization even of face-to-face service relationships was noteworthy. The GR representatives sat with customers while having their meals to obtain feedback about their vacations. This was not the case at Escape. Those dialogues often started with scripts from which they moved away according to the curiosity of customers in the person sitting with them. Still, workers were not allowed to discuss themes such as politics, sports, or religion. This was also true for entertainers, showing the level of routinization. For GR work, being able to manipulate conservations to evade certain themes during talks, politely breaking conversations without insulting or disillusioning customers, and apologizing to others for having them wait a bit longer needed polite scripts. These communication and conduct rules were set by the enterprise. But, there was also a need for creative sentences in between which nobody wrote down or taught in a training session, meaning that there existed, albeit narrow, a margin with which to bargain on the scripts. The responses and actions of certain colleagues with respect to conduct, problem resolution,

94 Alvesson and Thompson, "Post-Bureaucracy?" 492.

and defending the enterprise were examples for other workers, expanding the response repertoire and becoming part of the body of scripts over time. As mentioned earlier, action reports also followed a scripted format. Reports written by newcomers were corrected by more experienced personnel to fit the concept, or the deceit.

Similar to standardization, firms achieved much in terms of routinization. Workers often said that their work was highly routine. With its preparation standardized, even fun became routine. The weekly or fortnightly special nights were special for customers, but meant more intense work for workers, extending their routine into the night. In the case of entertainers, their work concerned preparing and maintaining a fun atmosphere both through activities and their own moods. Most of those activities were also routine, performed again and again. The entertainers' fun moods which coaxed customers to have fun became a routine; no other conduct in the relationship was allowed. A female entertainer mentioned the impossibility of having a smiling face all the time, but entertainers had to serve customers in that mood because it was expected of them. How did she create this fun mood when she was not in the mood but she had to? She said that she drank alcohol to artificially create that particular mood which was her work routine.

In my two months at Dreams, I observed that even the frequent change of customers did not break the routine since there were few occasions that GR representatives exchanged ideas and feelings with customers on a given matter for longer than the average service. There were exceptions when both the service provider and customer acted in a manner that broke the formality of capitalist service. But, since its limits were not clear for inexperienced representatives like myself, it could be risky eventually. Better stay on the safe side and follow the routine.

3.1.3.1 Extended Bureaucratic Control

For experienced, and long-time workers, these routines were the reasons for emotional burnout. Not all workers stayed on the safe side. On rare occasions (due to work intensification and time constraints), a few experienced workers on the front line had dialogues with some customers out of the routine, which in turn served the interests of the enterprise in the sense that these customers

received some customized service and left positive feedback on their surveys. But, the management's focus was on all customers, not a few. Other exceptional cases were flirtations and love affairs between customers and employees on the premises, which was strictly forbidden and cause for employee dismissal at Escape. At Dreams, management was more relaxed, but still regulated such affairs informally with gossip from a conservative worldview – especially but not only about young female workers. Gossip was its own attraction even partaken by young female workers who themselves were subject to it.

This was a minor part of the managerial focus on the attitude that continued after hiring. Management aimed to extend the rules of work into the private domain of feelings, attitudes, and deportment, thereby bringing workers' feelings and demeanor under control despite the lack of formal training on the matter. Dialogues were mostly scripted and workers were expected to behave in a proper way in front of customers, managing their emotions, moods, facial expressions, body language, and body movements in ways appropriate for customer service. These were the display and feeling rules[95] to be followed in the name of congruency, customer satisfaction, and corporate interests. Everybody underscored the necessity of serving customers with a smiling face. This was no ordinary request, but a must. It was the soul and ghost of the service encounter, omnipresent on the premises. No less crucial was the deportment style which differed according to one's service station but was also dictated by management.

Smiling faces did not always serve customer service well. While asked to produce routine smiling faces by management, workers understood that other expressions needed to be adopted to manage and protect themselves from problematic customers. Due to a lack of training on the matter, management did not teach these other expressions to new onstage workers but fellow experienced workers did so. For example, an irate customer – especially one yelling angrily – would not be pacified with words, counter-arguments, and smiling. This required another type of emotional labor, which is to not take the matter personally and let go. This particular expression was not the company rule per

95 Leidner, *Fast Food, Fast Talk*.

se, but it served the company best given an irate customer – better than a smile at times – due to workers being able to manage their emotions for the firm.

Shifting between demeanors in front of different types of customers is also part of this intense work for onstage workers. They have to be ready to smile for another customer just after being yelled at. In the two holiday villages, GR representatives were also responsible for isolating irate customers to keep other customers content and prevent the spread of a message that things went wrong for some customers at the holiday village. In a service firm, one is taught and learns how to evoke, manipulate, and suppress one's emotions to serve customers in an efficient way that is profitable for the enterprise. Most of that knowledge comes from colleagues rather than from management the latter of which generally reminds workers about the need to smile and to be customer-oriented in one's thinking and actions. Real details about proper conduct in front of different types of customers come from other workers' tacit knowledge of actual operations.

In terms of display rules, there was a further division between those workers with and without a sexualized appearance. As mentioned, there were limits placed on makeup and jewelry, especially for female workers. Apart from the entertainers, a sexualized appearance was not encouraged at work. There was a particular understanding of masculinity and femininity that depended on the division in which one worked. At Escape, this desexualized appearance was maintained even after work for workers who stayed on campus. At Dreams, onstage workers of GR, reception, and the entertainment department could socialize with customers, trying to evade managerial scrutiny and colleagues' gossip. The managers from the front office, F&B, and entertainment department were present during that socialization process, had their own drinks and chatting partners, but were still on the lookout for what management considered as improper behavior, and excessive drinking, and being too flirty. These were noted for worker evaluations. There were some display rules unknown to workers but according to which they were judged. This suggests that management was extending bureaucratic control beyond behavior into spheres not previously reached before. Explicit and implicit mechanisms brought workers' values and emotions under corporate control. As explained below, along with bureaucratic control teams are among the managerial tools

used to align individual worker's values with those of the corporation and inculcate the proper values in workers. At Escape, it was forbidden for workers to have an affair or stay in the same room as their partners unless they were married. This rule was also part of de-sexualizing the setting.

Particularly for the entertainers, management tried to define sexualized appearance – or what is called "employee sexuality" – for a particular customer experience. This was a "sexualized labor" that management tried to extract from certain entertainers.[96] Sexualized labor and its emotions and aesthetics are part of what Bryman calls performative labor, utilized in routine, embodied interactions.[97] Entertainers' bodies were sexualized during their daytime performances, on stage in the evenings, and at night as they socialized with customers. At night, they wore their personal, chic, stylized at times quasi-erotic clothes, wore perfume and makeup, and joined customers at the bars and in the disco zones.

Despite differences among divisions, display rules were valid for all workers appearing before customers, and all bodies were commodified in a way. Workers not only delivered a service, but actually also displayed and performed it on the service theater. As such, their bodies were part of the service product and the corporate brand – i.e. part of the hardware of the company that management tried to bring under control and mold.[98] Entertainers were the stars of the service show at the holiday villages whose bodies carried more responsibilities than others.'

Such responsibilities enabled corporate rules to permeate the private lives of these workers. For example, most male entertainers developed upper body muscles. Shilling, Wolkowitz and Warhurst discuss different types of "body work" that are job-related; workers perform these in the workplace to manage their bodies according to workplace rules. Others include cultural work on one's body to make it presentable and acceptable in everyday life.[99] In entertainment work, the boundary between the two is blurred. Listening to the entertainers' talk about their offseason holidays, one discerned that their body

96 Wolkowitz and Warhurst "Embodying Labor," 229.

97 Bryman, *Disneyization.*

98 Nickson, et al., "Importance of Being Aesthetic."

99 Wolkowitz and Warhurst "Embodying Labor," 231.

work would continue, as they had to stay fit for the next season. Not only had this become part of their lifestyle, but also part of their chance to remain employed. Mahmut, for example, visited fitness studios in Istanbul to work on his body-building, while Kate did the same back in Birmingham. Both paid attention to their nutrition and food intake. Their muscled bodies were their work. A particular evening stage show focused on the display of the muscles, masculinity, and power of the male entertainers. These muscles were also routinely on display throughout the day during games and sport activities since entertainers were clad scantily compared to other workers. The same was true for the sexualized appearance of the female entertainers when they played games at the pools with customers, danced onstage, or socialized with customers in the evening at the bars and discos. At special events or on special nights, the employee sexuality of the entertainers was emphasized. The ultimate use of sexualized labor at Escape was a fortnightly "foam party" on the beach where female entertainers danced semi-erotic dances in shifts for hours in bikinis.

The sexualized labor performed by certain workers notwithstanding, sexuality was a problematic matter in the holiday villages. This was the case more so in the restrictive atmosphere of Escape than the permissive one of Dreams, where the attitudes of female workers were freer. What they had in common was that except for entertainers, majority of the staff worked, walked around, and behaved as if stripped of their masculinity and femininity – as if their rights to sexuality were suspended while at work. They did not feel free to express it. I assess that what this brought about was nasty jokes among some male workers about international female customers, as if loss of masculinity in the workplace was compensated for by exaggerated expressions of their sexuality oriented toward foreign women with whom they could have no intimate contact according to the rules of the enterprise. I could not learn the views of female workers, but I frequently heard such statements among the male workers at Escape:

> Customers and workers are separate. If you cannot maintain this [separation] you cannot provide balanced service. There is a clear, hierarchical distinction. Similar to the workplace relations of factory workers, similar to the relationship between employees and customers in a

> market… that should be the limit here as well. What is happening outside the premises do not concern us, but [in the place] where we provide service, such relationships cannot take place… Actually, I pay the salaries here and the worker has only one job definition: serving the guest. A [sexual] relationship with the guest should not take place here. That is different. It can (belongs to) outside.

This was the response and view of the general manager at Escape vis-à-vis flirting between workers and customers. Upon questioning what was the real concern, he added:

> Well, he won't continue to work if he is in a relationship with a customer.[100] His performance will completely fall. He will lose all [motivation and respect]; he will behave very informally. We do not want or approve of such relations. We are all here to provide service. A cook is here to make food, not to flirt with the customer. He has to complete his tasks well. First of all, if there is that freedom, personnel will spare time for such relationships from then on. Seeing that there is no sanction or penalty against it, they will be directed towards it. Second, it is a bad example for other workers. Third, customers would be disturbed by the scene. They would not want this. Fourth, some families, especially Turkish ones, leave their children at the holiday village during the week and return on the weekends. They would be very disturbed if they heard about this.

Such flirting was banned outside of work hours if it took place within the holiday village, the site of service production. Life outside and inside of the workplace were separate, yet rules on certain matters continued to regulate the lives of workers even if the matter took place outside of their working hours. They could not have access to customer areas outside of work hours. With certain

100 When this question about sexuality was answered, the reference was almost always to heterosexual male workers who would establish such a relationship with heterosexual female customers. And generally the word "customer" was used in place of "guest" when answering the question. Nothing was mentioned about homo-/bi-/trans-sexuality – neither by management nor by workers.

exceptions, they were unable to drink or chat with customers, either. For the majority of workers, no common area existed for socializing with customers.

Regulations about sexual relations are an extension of managerial efforts to discipline the attitudes and manners of workers. This is related to the aforementioned emotion, display, and aesthetic rules. Since the nineteenth century, industrial capital has not only regulated the workplace and augmented worker performance, but also considered the lives of workers outside of work extensions of work because of its concern for the reproduction of labor. Life outside work itself became a domain to be regulated as an extension of workplace.

Related to this, management thought that the expression of sexual identities threatened the "fragile social order" of service workplaces where the pseudo-relationships of "subservient" service workers serving "sovereign customers" are established and maintained through symbols, as noted by Korczynski.[101] Expressions of sexuality, establishing a sexual relationship, and flirting – which are matters essentially concerning one's private life – allowed both sides to cross the line in the workplace. Management oversaw that this line was not crossed. Moreover, it was obvious that managers obviously had grave concerns about pace of the work since service production for two thousand customers was a race against time given workers whose numbers were insufficient due to budget constraints. So, there was no time to lose for such relationships on the service stage. Finally, management was wary of revenue loss due to formal complaints and demands for a refund that might arise as a result of customer dissatisfaction related to expressions of sexuality or as a result of possible slack service in the workplace. One long-time entertainer interviewee explained that in the Antalya basin, such flirting was integrated as part of a tourism service product only in exceptional, high-end hotels and only with carefully selected personnel serving such products on the premises.

A partial success of extended bureaucratic control was that this fragile social order established by management was internalized by some of the workforce. These workers joined management to oversee that the aforementioned line was not crossed. My interview with a maid in her early 40s, for example,

101 Marek Korczynski, "Understanding the Contradictory Lived Experience of Service Work: The Customer Oriented Bureaucracy," in *Service Work*, ed. Korczynski and Macdonald.

caused her trouble – as if she had crossed the line. Her colleagues started gossip that she was "talking to a man" (myself) on the premises. She was disturbed by the gossip since she wished to maintain a peaceful, problem-free work environment for herself. Such gossip could also force her resignation because of her jealous husband, she said. This reflected lingering, conservative views in Turkey about appropriate relations between women and men. Young women I interviewed at Escape were not at all comfortable during interviews. There were many factors with respect to my or their status at Escape, but by contrast, women I interviewed at Dreams were relatively more comfortable. So corporate culture and the composition of workforce were equally influential, not to downplay palpable (and increasing) conservatism in the country.

Given Turkey's unequal gender relations, it is needless to say that it was generally male workers who built relationships with female customers and not the other way around. Two female workers at Dreams, one a low-ranking chef and the other a receptionist, explained that if they flirted with other workers or customers, male workers spoke about them in derogatory terms. They also felt the pressure of their colleagues' gazes and gossip. The female workers, who had broken with their boyfriends and started new relationships, were subject to such pressure from both male and female colleagues. The young female workers at Dreams felt disturbed by the "macho gazes" from male workers at the workers' canteen. They did not feel thoroughly comfortable there. At Escape, female workers in GR and reception were cautious about their relations with the rest of the staff and rarely socialized after work with other workers at the canteen. When asked, however, GR manager at Escape, Alya, stated that relations among workers were as if they were members of a big family.

The permissive attitude toward flirting among workers and between the workers and customers at Dreams was due to the now dissolving corporate culture of the enterprise, the legacy of the joint venture that it once was. It was also due to resistance on the part of workers against constraining rules. Warm, cordial relations were encouraged, but due to workload, there was little time left for such relationships. There was still a basic, striking difference. I met no young couples at Escape who shared a room. Unmarried partners could not even admit that they were partners; they could not show acts of public affec-

tion during work and stayed in different rooms. At Dreams, I witnessed flirting and met many couples. Unmarried partners stayed in different rooms on paper, but actually lived together as they pleased. Although risky, there was no ban on flirting with customers, either, provided that no one, especially not customers, complained about it. Although there were occasional complaints from local customers with respect to entertainers flirting with foreign customers, I did not hear about any restrictions because of that. Of course, entertainment department worked to prevent such a perception from taking hold. There were numerous examples to both male and female workers flirting with each other and with customers. However, these workers were mostly from the adult section of entertainment, GR, and reception. But I did not stay long enough at Dreams to learn the limits of the firm. In the meantime, gossip was an ongoing, disturbing fact of the work life. There was even gossip about me, I later found out, when my wife came to Dreams to visit me for a week. People thought that I had begun a love affair – which was usual in tourism environment – but did not approve since I was a university researcher who needed to concentrate on work and research rather than flirting.

The changing customer profile also influenced managerial decisions to intervene in sexuality, love affairs, and flirting within at the workplaces. Both Escape and Dreams promoted their image as family hotels in the 2000s. This, however, had been not their initial image in the early 1990s. Increasing competition in the tourism market forced changes to their customer profile. There were fewer single male and female visitors, and more Russian, British, German, and Turkish families coming with their children for a week or two. There were occasionally single foreign mothers or fathers with their children and divorced couples that came together for the sake of their children. This was a minority that sought at times the possibility of a love affair.

The image of 3–S tourism as an environment of relative freedom, relaxation, nudity, and sex contrasted with the reality of hospitality work for the workers. The headwaiter at Escape stated that tourism was advertised to the young male population in Turkey as an environment of sexual freedom, attracting many to work in the sector. He worked with many young male workers who were seeing women in bikinis for the first time in their lives at the

hotel and who were enthusiastic about getting to know such women. This enthusiasm encouraged them to learn the basics of a foreign language quickly and to perform their jobs well to show off to women whose attention they wanted to attract. After the enthusiasm of the first weeks and months, the reality was revealing. The social order in the workplaces was one established on unequal relations between customers and workers. Escape, as mentioned, was also restrictive about relations between female and male workers. Not following the enterprise's rules in this regard was cause for dismissal, after which workers would have a hard time finding employment because of the negative references they would receive.

In sum, the bureaucracies governing holiday service organizations stand in stark contrast to the assumptions about their demise in the era of flexibility. The central decision-making and hierarchical control and coordination practices that exist side by side with novel managerial tools such as teams help discern a bureaucracy adaptable to the era of flexibility that extensively brings work rules into previously untouched domains. I argue that in holiday villages with an accelerated interactive service production, bureaucratic control is indispensable. I discuss the major components of bureaucratic control in the holiday villages, which are standardizing values, rules, and performances through scripts and other tools, on one hand, and enforcing what management considers proper behavior and attitudes through display and feeling rules, on the other. The holiday village-specific concept – defined by top management – is the umbrella under which all these aspects are neatly brought together.

Workers who complied with the concept were deemed good workers, who served customers well. Management defined new criteria for selection and hiring, aiming to employ good workers for efficient and problem-free hospitality service. Contemporary discussions of the good worker, proper behavior, work criteria, and rules in the service workplaces which pervade the private domains of workers are reminiscent of the "Sociological Department" established by Henry Ford in early twentieth century, which visited the homes of Ford workers to inspect their behavior. Bellamy Foster, elaborating on the $5 "profit-sharing arrangement," states that it was not received automatically, but was conditioned:

> These included, in addition to being a satisfactory worker on the production line, such requirements as thrift; having a home that was worthy of a Ford worker; not letting out rooms in one's house to boarders; not having an outside business of any kind; not associating or allowing one's children to associate with the wrong people; not occupying or intruding upon sleeping rooms while others are asleep; cleanliness; "good manhood;" good citizenship; demonstrating proof of marriage; not drinking or smoking excessively; prohibiting one's wife (in the case of a male worker) from working outside the home; demonstrating progress in learning English etc.[102]

The introduction of display and feeling rules as an extension of bureaucratic control represents a change in social relations of production from those of Ford's factories to the service workplaces with flexible organizations. From one perspective, there does not seem to be much of a change. From another, the change exists in the direction of a deepening bureaucratization and control through new management tools that control more aspects of workers' work lives. During my research, there was no explicit Sociological Department inspecting worker behavior on behalf of the enterprises. Bureaucratic control over the workforce was exercised through the standardization of rules and values, display and feeling rules, and workers' self-discipline tuned according to the concept to ensure their continuing employment.

Importantly, workers had to attain certain skills to remain employable. They had to pay for such services on the market since on-the-job training was subject to cost-cutting decisions. However, a career or secure employment were still not guaranteed. Given such conditions, loyalty and commitment to the firms, the work, and the profession were expected to be low. This brings us to the teams and normative control which are designed as novel managerial tools to bridge this gap – that is, to obtain and maintain they loyalty and commitment of the workforce in face of insecurity and declining wages.

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102 John Bellamy Foster, "The Fetish of Fordism," in *The Fordism of Ford and Modern Management: Fordism and Post-Fordism*, vol. 1, ed. Huw Beynon and Theo Nichols (Cheltenham: Elgar Publishing, 1988), 18.

3.1.4 *Teams and Normative Control*

Teams are a novelty in managerial control schemes in that they fill gaps left open by bureaucratic, technical, and simple mechanisms of control. My argument is that – as a more hidden form of labor control – management particularly entrusts teams with realigning workers interests in line with those of the enterprise, thereby redefining the workers' collectivity in a way that can prevent bottom-up unionism.

I argue that normative control operates through various managerial discourses underscoring a feeling of unity and shared interests between managers and workers, as if a family: devotion to work, service quality worthy of customers regarded as venerable guests, and a feeling of loyalty and gratitude to the entrepreneurs and managers. Accordingly, teams are top-down managerial initiatives, embodying normative control and reproducing managerial ideology.

Teams are novel, bureaucratic tools for extracting the commitment and devotion of the workers. They also soften the hard edges of the bureaucracies: regulation, hierarchy, and the division of labor, dehumanizing routines, and the repression of individual autonomy. But, they fall short of anti-Taylorist teamwork and actually contribute to the adaptable bureaucracy. I observe that in these holiday villages, teams were introduced to create a work environment of both cooperation and competition, serving managerial purposes of building loyalty and commitment. They were important for further value filtering after the hiring of personnel through peer surveillance within the teams. Importantly, they operated as an additional communication channel through which management sought the tacit knowledge of the workers, as well as for their closer scrutiny – following workers' moods or finding out what they are up to. And lastly, they were good for releasing the excess stress of work, which bureaucracies cannot handle effectively.

"We should work like a team while serving. Like the Barcelona football team: a collective defense and offense." This was the first reference to teams I heard in the service workplace while talking to the main restaurant headwaiter at Escape. He was pointing to the interdependence of the units within the holiday village as well as the necessity for harmony, which was not strong due to a lack of training and high staff turnover. There were many other references.

Entertainer Mahmut complained about unskilled workers on the entertainment team, which according to him was the core of holiday service – i.e. the reason why thousands of people came again to Escape: to meet, watch, and have fun with them. He complained that he was an indispensable worker for the enterprise but earned less than those on the team whom he considered unskilled personnel. If only he could be the team leader, the quality of the entertainment service would have been higher. On the first days after my arrival at Dreams, I heard comments from colleagues on value of being a team player. They occasionally emphasized the fact that one would not last long at Dreams if one did not get along well with colleagues on one's team. Later, Tamer, mechanical chief, explained how difficult it was to maintain team spirit among the workers because of differences in pay and status. Those hired by a subcontractor were paid much less than those hired by the enterprise itself, the latter of which were members in the union. Nonetheless, they all worked the same arduous tasks. How could one convince them they were all members of a team and turn them into committed workers? The GR supervisor (read team leader) lamented after our interview that she could not devote time to the training of newcomers like myself because of the circumstances in which the enterprise found itself in summer 2012.

I observe that the teams in the holiday villages were fertile ground for competition and power struggles. There was an ongoing, hidden fight for leadership status between two male shift leaders in GR at Dreams. Vehbi, a former apprentice was trying to oust his mentor Yağız from the unofficial leadership position he maintained on the team and the respect he commanded on the premises. Vehbi was advancing in the competition, having being nominated as the previous year's most beloved employee. Yağız had just been demoted and was demoralized. For the former, status-building entailed establishing (informal) good relations with the workers in other divisions. His core sympathizers, however, were in GR, reception, and among the bellhops, especially among men younger than him. His connections enabled him to offer delicious snacks from special restaurants to his loyal followers and friends. He was a Turkish politician in the making, with his romanticism and private talks laced with religious overtones. He privately gathered the telephone numbers of some local customers and texted them on Fridays and religious holidays.

Informal networks served both Yağız and Vehbi as they helped customers, sometimes making their own service work easier, gaining them time and saving them effort. Their help was returned in the form of tips (not common for GR) and in the form of positive commentary from customers (which was more likely) that top management would pay attention. The fixer image, self-esteem (especially in relations with female personnel and customers), and being an employee whom everybody looked to for advice, information, and solutions were deemed charismatic, attracting younger personnel who wanted to know the secrets of leadership and service. The difference between Yağız and Vehbi was that the latter was a politician while the former was a mentor who was deprived of a power base. At Escape, Mahmut, an experienced entertainer, commanded that image and status. He was neither a mentor nor a politician, but a trustworthy pleasure-lover. Thanks to these individuals, it was relatively easy to reach and interview other workers. Thanks to Yağız, I learned in a short time the important details of the workplace, workforce, and customer service and grasped the norms of the firm – the concept.

There was better service when teams worked in harmony. This happened when workers knew each other well and were befriended. The support and tacit knowledge of the actual operation provided by colleagues were important. Capitalism makes use of worker creativity and these informal bonds and networks for efficient production of services. For workers may ignore the boss, customers, and managers. But, they still complete tasks for their friends, colleagues, and teams whose support they need. In this regard, Thompson and McHugh distinguish between "task or command groups" and "sentient groups."[103] In the holiday villages, the boundaries of these groups were often conflated. In their research on individualistic call center work, van den Broek, Callaghan, and Thompson claim that, apart from attempted performance goals, small work groups (teams) serve normative managerial objectives such

103 Paul Thompson and David McHugh, *Work Organizations: A Critical Approach*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002).

as a shared identity and sociability, targeting higher commitment and "discretionary effort" from workers.[104] Management attempts to transfer the "emotional closeness" emerging within "informal/sentient groups" to the formal, task environment.[105] Actually, this is similar in a non-individualistic work environment such as a holiday village. The normative managerial objectives mentioned by the authors balance the dominant features of bureaucratic organization – such as hierarchy and division of labor – serving to hide its excesses by managing the boundary between sentient and task groups. At other times, however, the same emotional bonds can be activated by workers to defy rules, control, and managerial objectives.

Groupings were not confined to the people mentioned. Many workers mentioned cliques within the departments and divisions centered around chiefs, supervisors, and managers that provided their protégés with certain opportunities such as relatively lighter tasks at comfortable work stations, the possibility of promotion, but most importantly, the promise of being employed for the next season (provided that these chiefs and managers themselves continued to work there). My interviewees mentioned such cases in restaurant service, housekeeping, and the kitchen. Backbiting, gossip, and acts of friendship and solidarity coexisted, often serving but sometimes defying managerial goals. In GR at Dreams, some workers did not hide their dislike for others, but this did not develop into open fighting. There was also tension between certain reception workers and GR. At Escape, (especially male) workers were jealous of the entertainment teams because of their intimate contact with customers, especially beautiful women.

In short, the competition and inter-personal, inter-team tension went hand in hand with cooperation in the holiday villages. On one hand, accompanying the rhetoric of customer satisfaction, there were satisfaction quotas that had to be met by the divisions. A general sense of competition was maintained by sports and games – in tournaments organized among workers on the premises – that management expected to translate into competing teams

104 Diane van den Broek, George Callaghan, Paul Thompson, "Teams Without Teamwork? Explaining the Call Centre Paradox," *Economic and Industrial Democracy 25*, no. 2, (2004), 199.

105 Ibid.

to obtain higher levels of customer satisfaction. Such tournaments also emphasized individual commitment to the team by fostering friendships among workers. In the past, personnel nights had been arranged on a monthly basis. Filiz said that these "served to bring workers from various departments who do not see each other frequently together. It was fun, but under the pretext of fun it was having the personnel *socialized*" (my emphasis). These did not take place anymore, though some team leaders took their teams out for a meal or similar activity – say, going to a bar or disco or on an excursion – though not regularly. At Escape's reception, team members were compelled by the supervisor to take the whole team out for a breakfast as a punishment for mistakes at work. These recreational activities served for the relaxation and re-motivation of personnel away from the stressful work atmosphere, but also tightened bonds among workers and "persuaded employees to identify with the company and its brand."[106] My colleagues explained in August 2012 that once in April they went to dinner together with the supervisor, but more such dinners did not follow. The use of such events to realign GR representatives' interests with that of the enterprise had been left aside for the time being, but the team still served its purposes well in that regard.

These were a selection of the many ongoing problems and issues not discernable to the customers since they occurred backstage. At times accounts and issues between competing divisions were subtly settled onstage; revenge could be taken subtly before customers. This generally took the form of escaping from one's responsibility and loading it on other workers or divisions. The tensions were real, but the game-like bickering also broke the routine. At Dreams, such tensions took place among established workers. Any newcomers would not dare participate without the support of others since without team support they would be dismissed right away. At Escape, there was no open fighting or bickering observable to customers during my short stay of three weeks. Despite problems, the teams at both holiday villages were useful for the organizational goals mentioned above. From a LPT perspective, these goals

106 Chris Baldry et al., *The Meaning of Work in the New Economy* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

concern new managerial means of labor control in the effort bargain that increase worker commitment and prevent worker dissidence once workers become team players, perceiving the enterprises' goals as their own. Of course, workers respond differently to teams and there is a discrepancy between what management wishes to achieve and what takes place wit respect to actual work.

Teams are discussed in the literature as a means to humanize work through job enrichment and encourage worker participation, bringing together the conception and execution of work and thus empowering workers, restoring worker autonomy through the delegation of responsibilities and use of human skills rather than reliance on information systems, and creating lean organizations in the name of productivity improvements and process efficiencies.[107] The many positive aspects loaded onto teams in such rhetoric notwithstanding, Thompson and Wallace assess the actual degree of control that teams have over the governance and technical and normative aspects of work, which are so limited to make any mention of "anti-Taylorism" significant. Governance refers to the limits of entrusted power over task distribution and the "allocation of team members, [and] the selection and function of team leaders." Technical matters concern transferred responsibilities "for resourcing, scheduling and discipline, expanded competencies and continuous improvement processes." Finally, the normative aspect relates to "the changes of attitudes and behavior necessary to make teamworking more effective."[108] Rather than empowering workers, Müller suggests that teamworking is a novel managerial attempt to realign individual motivations with organizational rationality. Müller groups the considerations underlying the use of teams into three categories. Economic aims include a "reduction in absenteeism and labor turnover because of more satisfying work… an improvement in quality and a reduction in scrap… better use of labor through flexibility… [and an] intra-group learning effect." Socially, "…more solidarity among workers; people thinking in a

107 Müller, "Teams;" Stephen Procter and Frank Mueller (eds), *Teamworking* (Basingstoke: MacMillan, 2000); Prujit, "Neo-Taylorism and Anti-Taylorism."

108 Thompson and Wallace quoted in Keith Townsend, "Who Has Control in Teams without Teamwork?" *Industrial and Economic Democracy 28*, no. 4 (2007), 625.

more socially responsible way; less isolation; a better chance to acquire more skills…job enrichment; better motivation" are the focus.[109] Culturally, "a better company culture" is the aim. Müller, quoting Wickens, underscores the creation of a "climate of trust and commitment, where employees identify with the objectives of the company."[110] In his fieldwork, Townsend focuses on teams and discovers that teams exist without actual teamwork in the sense of having control and being empowered. This lack is due to the nonexistence of aforementioned "anti-Taylorist" features. He asserts that all teams are not created equal and they do not evolve equally – workers have different experiences in them. Moreover, despite providing management with a level of control over the governance and technical and normative aspects of the work, there are differences among workplaces in terms of status and role of teams, as well as differences among teams within a workplace.[111]

After my inauguration into the team at Dreams came through colleagues in GR and reception who explained the subtleties and inculcated norms of customer service, intra- and inter-team communication, and how rules could be bent. More so than the supervisor (read team leader) these colleagues at Dreams acted as the models of the corporate culture. Having internalized some corporate values, they displayed the appropriate behavior. Yağız, for example, took newcomers on frequent coffee breaks chatting with them over issues ranging from their hobbies to their goals in life to the problems they encountered in their work life. A sort of friendship developed in such relaxed friendly chats. It was through these chats that the norms of the workplace and the social network of the holiday village were learned. Relatedly, such chats prolonged one's time at the office beyond work hours. One wanted to join Yağız in the office even after one's shift. Time flew quickly and substantial office work was executed. This additional work, which was innocently attached to an entertaining chat, was never recorded as overtime work, neither for the mentor nor for the mentees.

This was also the case at Escape, and interviewees mentioned their frustration over unrecorded overtime, but that they stayed and did overtime work

109 Müller, "Teams," 389.

110 Ibid.

111 Townsend, "Teams without Teamwork?" 645.

beyond their shifts because it would be unacceptable to leave when all other workers were still working. I grasped better once I was myself a worker at Dreams. It was not appreciated, as part of an internalized culture, to leave one's tasks when work hours officially finished. Mutual help, emanating from real or pseudo friendships within a team, became crucial for finishing the work in the face of high demand and lack of workers corresponding to it. This mechanism of mutual help among workers helped managers to extract discretionary effort from the workforce, of course. If one did not stay to help, there would be backbiting that could extend as far as not accepting the individual worker into the friendship circles. Not being accepted by one's team or division made it difficult to be accepted by other workers in the holiday village. Newcomers remained under a spotlight until value filtering – a process that began during selection by management and continued on another level by colleagues - was complete. Once it was complete, one had access to crucial information about people, social relations, and colleagues' evaluations of their working conditions, managers, and the workplace.

After a month, having earned people's trust, it was unsurprising that the restaurant hostesses complained in my presence about female student interns who left work by the clock while others finished out the daily work. Leaving while others continued working created an awkward situation wherein one started to feel guilty, being stared at and remaining on the fringes of friendships and teams. Gossip of an in-group or team was a form of peer pressure consolidating the practice of not leaving one's job by the clock. This norm was established over time and was difficult to defy because it came from colleagues – the people with whom one worked and from whom one asked favors and support in the face of problems with managers, customers, or other colleagues. As such, teams were a deep, hidden type of labor control by the enterprises. They balanced more apparent control tools, turning the workplace into a place where one invested feelings through building friendships. Remaining at work after the work hours translated into friendship and caring for one another. Workers did not immediately calculate this in terms of effort bargain and profit, yet those extra fifteen minutes or half hour accumulated over time into hours of unpaid work, accruing to the profit of the firms. In GR at Dreams, the first morning shift had a clear limit because of the fixed time of the hand-

over at 4:30 in the afternoon, but for midday and evening shifts the boundary was indistinct; work finished when it was finished, especially at the main station of the village section.

The more one cared, the more it was appreciated and more one was liked and trusted by the colleagues. In return, this meant good performance, sociability, realigned interests, and more labor to be extracted. Arguably, it also rendered the execution of certain tasks relatively lighter in the long run as one received support from friends and colleagues. Quick, clean work pleased customers, so this was beneficial for the firm as long as the teams worked the way management intended them to. Whether one did it consciously or unconsciously, such emotional investment in the form of establishing good relations with workers in other divisions, becoming a team player and being a helpful colleague who lent a hand even after work was over could return later as a time saving boon. Occasionally, such relations transcended workplace bureaucracy and accelerated the delivery of service to customers, jumping the queue of other tasks and their tedious online registration. This may not always be in the interest of management which wished to see tasks executed within the formal hierarchical bureaucratic framework due to considerations of standardization and congruence, but it still served (some) customers well. Those customers received the customized, accelerated service because of these networks of friendship and mutual help. Why particular customers and not other and why their particular demands were fulfilled at a quicker pace were never easy questions to answer. Sometimes, this was just an on-the-job exercise, a sort of a self-training of workers that they could perform as part of their sense of craft: serving a customer in a fast, customized, and professional way while defying the bureaucracy. Likewise, some customers knew how to approach workers, sensing a shortcut to customized service by building rapport with them.

The supervisor in GR took care to dissolve problems by letting team members work things out themselves rather than referring to her as a referee, arbiter, or judge. That was why she said she wanted to have her shift leaders present during interviews with potential workers. The shift leaders faced their future colleagues in these interviews. Learning the value of being a team member was an early instance of a type of control. This control functioned also through norms, forming one's attitudes and displaying behaviors in a way suitable for

the flow of service work in the holiday villages. A team player was one who acted in harmony with colleagues, who worked hard for the team and who shared crucial information with the team, but not one who posed authority problems by defying rules. The rival for my GR position was not preferred because of authority problems he could potentially create, as one shift leader later explained. The entertainers and GR representatives at both Escape and Dreams were relatively more carefully selected and hired because they would be establishing service relationships. These workers were entrusted with a degree of responsible autonomy. The nature of those responsibilities were learned from colleagues and shift leaders and – for many workers at Dreams' GR – from the aforementioned mentor, Yağız. But, as stated earlier, close scrutiny continued, if in a more hidden form, at least in Dreams.

Teams provide management a level of peer surveillance and control,[112] recalling Barker's suggestion that management aims to hire people who are likely to make a level of peer surveillance possible for management.[113] Peer surveillance is used in a certain sense in this literature, but in the holiday villages, there was another dimension to it. This was the literal surveillance of workers by security personnel, another team at work. The security personnel operated as the mobile cameras of management, observing worker compliance with the rules. If the workers did not abide by them, security personnel noted it, and this became the basis for a warning or punishment. The security personnel were thus official spies, but social networks penetrated them, too, and they were not deprived of agency. They did not remain aloof from the wider network of social relations in the workplace, and their integration into friendship networks often caused a conflict of interest with their duties as guardians of order on behalf of management. Their work as a team concerned surveillance of the workforce more than providing security of customers. For example, at Escape they enforced one of the most awkward and despotic rules: the prohibition of workers' drinking water from the bar division. The workers of other divisions, heavily sweating while at work, were denied water outside of their regular meal times. The security team looked to it that no bottles of water

112 Sewell, "Discipline of Teams;" Hugh Willmott, "Strength Is Ignorance, Slavery Is Freedom: Managing Culture in Modern Organizations," *Journal of Management Studies 30*, no. 4 (1993).

113 Barker, "Tightening the Iron Cage," 432.

were provided by the bar team to colleagues in other divisions. Peer surveillance in this regard could be cruel. Teams, as suggested here, neither replaced structural forms of control nor the hierarchy and division of labor, but complemented them, contributing to the growth of the adaptable bureaucracy.

With the basic features of the bureaucracy remaining intact, teams and their members are not fully autonomous. They operate within the hierarchical structure of the enterprises, reminiscent of Ford's system of "a hierarchical form of teamwork."[114] As mentioned, there were differences among teams in the holiday villages. The housekeeping or restaurant service teams were not equal to the entertainment or GR teams. But no teams had been created by the workers themselves. They were top-down, managerial initiatives at both holiday villages. And all were subject to intense work conditions, low pay, mostly unrecognized skills, and employment insecurity, demonstrating that task-based workplace inequities were artificial. Edwards comments on two divergent tendencies of twentieth-century capitalism that continue in the twenty-first:

> The 20th century has witnessed the emergence of two divergent tendencies: (1) the development of production technology has tended to abolish old craft skills and obliterated distinctions among work tasks, and thereby also reducing skills distinctions among workers; but (2) the development of the social relations of the workplace has tended to create new divisions (and institutionalize pre-existing ones) based on the social organization of the workplace. As a result, the working class has become both more homogeneous as a mass of machine operatives and re-divided by the social organization of production…the capitalist firm is a social system, one embodying technical and social relations of production.[115]

Some teams and some workers within those teams at Dreams had more autonomy than others. Teams had a more transitory structure at Escape due to

114 Müller, "Teams," 391.

115 Edwards, "Social Relations of Production," 110.

high staff turnover. Yet in neither workplace did teams decide on the distribution and pace of work or on the service concept. The relative autonomy of those in Dreams stemmed from the experience of a declining number of longtime workers and a corporate culture that had largely dissolved but still entrusted departments and divisions with certain decisions on the field. Still, all decisions were taken within the overarching framework of the concept of the holiday village, which was defined by top management. On the other hand, decision-making was much more centralized at Escape, leaving little room for autonomy. Escape lacked longtime workers, save a few who performed backstage tasks.

Team members were not able to choose their team leaders (supervisors or chiefs) and leadership did not rotate. The difference at Dreams was that on certain teams former line workers came to occupy leadership positions over time, while at Escape, team leaders mostly came from outside. At both villages, managers acted as managers rather than as coaches despite managerial attempts to have managers perceived as counselors or advisors – not as "monsters," as suggestively appeared at the start up of GR computers. At Dreams, supervisors decided on task distribution and the allocation of team members for daily tasks, not top management. These supervisors generally shared an office with workers on the backstage of the respective divisions, but there was no uniformity in this respect. At both Dreams and Escape, for example, GR supervisors shared an office with team members the while entertainment managers had separate offices from their staffs.

Communication is the core of service work in the holiday villages, whether on the back or front stage. It is important to transfer the tacit knowledge of workers to management. This concerns not only knowledge regarding work but also information gathered on the customers through informal means such as chatting or observation. Teams are useful for gathering and sharing that information and for submitting part of their tacit knowledge before managerial scrutiny. GR shared such information at the daily hand-overs, in emails, and in chats with the team and shift leaders. Apart from information on customers, management was also concerned about what was going on among workers, their interpersonal relations, how they related to work, and how they perceived the managers. Moreover, they wanted to know whether there were

any plots against them, plans to slow down or sabotage the work, or plans to assault customers that could sink the enterprise. Teams were designed to help managers keep communication and information channels on such vital issues concerning labor and management.

Smaller groups also enable supervisors to screen the moods of workers that if they felt down this could have adverse impact on their performance. Filiz explained:

> I try to be close to and care for my maids because their performance is important to me. If their face is turned down to a problem in their private life, this will adversely affect the work. That's why I find a way to talk to them about the problem and eventually to solve it.

Of course, "to me" refers to the enterprise – not to her personally but to her as a supervisor who will be evaluated on her workers' overall performance over the season. Purposefully maintaining a common office with her assistants, Filiz, the supervisor, was together with her workers from 7:30 in the morning until 6 o'clock in the evening. People only went home to sleep, she said. Spending almost all their time at the workplace in such close proximity made them a "big family." She could observe and sense the workers' moods in the morning when they picked up their task lists from the office. She intervened and talked with maids if she sensed a problem, coached them and sidelined the problem lest it be adversely reflected in their performance and productivity. A big family shared problems and tried to solve them, she said. Via such interactions, workers were expected to adopt a shared identity appropriate for the enterprise, showing more commitment to the firm. The supervisor was there for them when they had a problem and needed to share the burden.

Smaller groups work as a valve for stress accumulating due to various problems. For example, one bar chief at Dreams explained the limits of motivating bar workers who were fed up with the workload, canceled breaks, and late pay. He felt the same and stated that it was a general mood among all the workers. But, service cannot wait. Workers' troubles should not be reflected to customers – another important norm of holiday village socialization. This par-

ticular bar chief felt the stress of hiding his negative emotions from both workers and customers, on one hand, and of working to maintain the workers' and thus also indirectly the customers' good mood. He canceled a training on eye contact in which workers were not interested and instead gathered them together and told jokes in order to relax them. A big family – which was comprised of these smaller groups – was one that survived problems together by showing more rather than less solidarity in hard times which according to managers would soon be over. But they were not over anytime soon.

As suggested, at both holiday villages normative control operated through managerial rhetoric such as "we are a big family" and "we are all in the same boat." Needless to say, workers reacted variously to those rhetorical devices. However, these devices were there and were advocated through teams. In a family made up of teams, the interests of family members were expected to be the same. There was no room for polarization and conflict of interests in a family. Despite its temporariness, workers on a team could think that this was a fun place to be – a warm nest on a wonderful shoreline with people who felt likewise. They served international customers from various cultural backgrounds, while friends and managers gave great support. They exchanged thoughts, memories, and feelings. This was a place where they could be part of a priceless new family – something for which one would actually pay rather than get paid for. And this family served many guest families from all over the world, visiting the household and returning to their homes satisfied, with pleasant memories. The arduous hospitality work was rearticulated in such familiar terms. The customers were guests coming to our homes and we should serve them accordingly. This was how management wanted the work to be perceived by workers. Thus, bureaucratic control was somewhat balanced by teams and such rhetoric, despite the absence of substantive teamwork and the absence of real family connections and considerations.

From another perspective, managerial efforts to create a mood wherein workers would be devoted to their family, teams, and thus work were instrumental in turning this space of consumption into a real place. Korczynski realizes that frontline workers are entrusted with being empathetic towards and establishing "pseudo relationships" with customers, convincing them of the

"myth of customer sovereignty" in a fantasy world of consumption.[116] However, in the social system of the holiday villages, this could not be accomplished only through the relations of customers and frontline workers. Rather a system was created that incorporated all workers: managers, and line workers, backstage and onstage alike. As underscored by Zukin, the service work at such a "cathedral of consumption" involves creating the "feeling of a sense of a place that such landscapes of consumption lack."[117] Management tried to realize that real place by increasing worker commitment, loyalty, and devotion to the family that was comprised of teams. In return, management expected the development of a shared identity.

"We are a big family" was a catch phrase heard more frequently at Escape than at Dreams. As part of the ideological design, it could not embrace all the personnel at Escape, where turnover rates were high. Because of that very turnover and the lack of a union, however, those not embraced were not able to or did not develop a counter-ideology, either. The catch phrase had a resonance among some for sure, but few interviewees spoke about their work and their relations with the enterprise in terms of family. Those few were not homogeneous, comprised of personnel from not only the entertainment department and GR, but also the kitchen and scullery. But, managers put matters in these terms. Korczynski states that such attempts by management make up the rhetorical dimension of human resource management, which creates a language of common interests between management and workers. Teamwork and family were concepts that pointed to a common goal, which was to serve customers and represented the firm well. Customers were never called as such: management always referred to them as "our guests." Such rhetoric, if successful, delegitimizes "a shared sphere of separate workforce interests," Korczynski claims.[118] Operating through teams, the family concept serves to convince both customers and workers about the authenticity of the relationships established in the workplace, hiding its features as a workplace and emphasizing its quality as a fantasy world. Korczynski claims that this is a "fragile order" built

116 Korczynski, "Customer Oriented Bureaucracy."

117 Zukin quoted in Ritzer, *Enchanting,* 148-56.

118 Korczynski, "Customer Oriented Bureaucracy," 86.

upon a myth of "customer sovereignty" whereby customers demand services and workers fulfill those demands as subordinates.[119] Through the family concept, management intended to make workers forget about this unequal exchange and the corporate structures and wage relations that put them into contact with international customers in the first place. References to family and common interests were a means "to obscure and secure profit," part of the politics of the production as argued by Burawoy.[120]

"We are a big family," was one among many such legitimizing discourses at the holiday villages, serving capitalists' efforts to ensure commitment and extract more labor. Another such rhetoric commonly mentioned was that workers should be thankful to the bosses for building such a workplace, creating jobs, and helping people "earn their bread." Thus, one should not be engaging in disloyal, and treacherous activities against the employers – such as leaving work in the middle of the season or talking badly about the workplace in front of customers – no matter how difficult one's personal situation was in terms of the work and pay.[121] The enterprise, on the other hand, could lay off part of the workforce according to its own cost and efficiency considerations. The workers who did not share these views nevertheless did not openly or strongly challenge them. There were exceptions, though, as I explain in chapter 5.

Another rhetoric revolved around a common fear – well utilized by the mid-level managers – which was that if no customers took their holidays at this particular enterprise (say due to a decrease in quality and efficiency of service) then managers and workers alike would not have a job the next season. Hard work meant the return of satisfied customers – that is, repeat guests – and thus continued employment in ensuing seasons. This propaganda echoed managerial pressure for efficiency. It assumed that customer loyalty depended on satisfaction which in turn could only be accomplished by efficient, quality service work performed by the workers. Quality service meant customers would keep coming back.

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119 Ibid.

120 Burawoy, *Manufacturing Consent.*

121 "Yemek yediğimiz kaba pislemeyiz" was a commonly used phrase meaning "we won't contaminate the plate from which we're eating."

A similar rhetoric concerned work ethic and probably stemmed from the workers themselves. Some mentioned hard work as part of their work ethic to deserve what they earned monetarily. Otherwise, they said, this would not have been earned honestly and justly. Earning money without due hard work troubled their consciences. They talked about it as a matter of honor. It was hard to grasp that people who worked hard just to earn minimum wage would still mention that they had to "deserve" it. This group did not complain that they were paid unjustly. I sense that such remarks were expressions of a yearning for acknowledgement for one's work. They suggested that it was futile to search for traces of justice within a system of exploitation and injustice. It was still rewarding to hear that they worked hard to finish the tasks. Service work at a holiday village was arduous and carried out by workers unknown and partially invisible to customers.

The last catch phrase was specific to Dreams and due to the financial difficulties and ambiguity of its future. Such difficulties were reflected in late wage payments and a rising uneasiness among workers that started in 2009, and became acute in summer 2012. Some workers thought of protesting worsening conditions with various actions. Team leaders (supervisors and chiefs) repeatedly talked to their teams to assure and reassure them that the situation of late payments was temporary and that such a well-established firm would never default on ("steal") their well-deserved wages. The entrepreneur family was trustworthy, had been in business for decades, and had never let the workers down. Thus, the workers should show patience. The managers counseled on a daily basis though they themselves did not know the developments concerning financial matters for the upcoming weeks and months. Yet these managers explained that it would be unwise to make protests that could be observed by customers, which would in turn ruin the enterprise and the workers in turn. During the lingering crisis, managers were careful to adopt a language of unity that they repeated in interviews:

> We tell them we're all in the same boat, that we feel their reactions are just, but explain that our situation as managers is no different. We offer financial help to very needy so that they can pay their credit card debts, but suggest to them refrain from protesting, which will not yield positive results. Just the opposite.

The rhetoric of common interests was adopted for mending differences of perception of the crisis between mid- and top-level managers and the workers, discouraging the latter from actions that management thought could influence customers and then the firm. Some mid-level managers were literally in the same situation as line workers and would probably have joined an action had one been initiated by them. The creation and maintenance of the desired, common interests through the use of such a harmonizing language was not without problems and contradictions, especially given the deepening financial difficulties and the issues of motivating the workforce and reproducing commitment to the firm.

In conclusion, I argue that as a more hidden form of labor control, teams are entrusted with inculcating feelings of loyalty, commitment, and devotion in workers. They are mechanisms designed to realign workers' interests with those of the employers who sought to redefine the workers' collectivity redefined to serve corporate interests.

The normative control embodied in teams operated through various managerial discourses that underscore a feeling of unity and shared interests among managers and workers, hard work, quality service for venerable guests, and feelings of loyalty and gratitude to bosses and managers. As such, teams embodied the managerial ideology.

Teams are novel, bureaucratic tools for extracting commitment and devoted work. They soften the excesses of bureaucracies with respect to regulation, hierarchy, and the division of labor, dehumanizing routines, and the suppression of individual autonomy whereby they contribute to the adaptable bureaucracy. But this falls short of anti-Taylorist teamwork. Teams are also critical for value-filtering and peer surveillance, and operate as additional communication channels through which management can more extensively scrutinize workers and acquire their tacit knowledge. And lastly, they are good for releasing the accumulating stress of heavy workload, which bureaucracy cannot handle effectively.

Referring to the role of customers in the tripartite service relationship is another element of normative control. How about the customers themselves? Do they have a direct role in managing the workforce? I now turn to the customers in whose name efficient and quality work is sought.

3.1.5 *Management by Customers?*

In this last section on service labor control, I argue that within the tripartite service relationship in holiday villages, customers are not direct controllers of labor. They are rather a reference, another subject of managerial rhetoric for extracting devoted work and for inculcating managerial values regarding service order and style. Customer satisfaction surveys (CSS) are a design to convince customers that the holiday village is customer-oriented, that it cares about the opinions and feelings of customers, and that customers are sovereign. It is foremost a form of labor control, however, designed to quantify worker effort, put it in statistical form, and render service labor calculable. This in turn renders quantifiable, comparable performance criteria against which workers are evaluated. Management pressures workers to achieve higher scores on surveys in contrast to downward pressures on costs, prices, and, wages in a competitive tourism market. It is a further step in the rationalization of hospitality service labor.

A customer-oriented service firm is supposed to integrate ideas, responses, complaints, suggestions, commentaries, and feedback from customers into its endeavors to improve its service processes, inputs, and outputs. A firm should pay attention to these, at least in rhetoric, to remain competitive. Customers seek pleasure, efficiency, and empathy. They want to be listened to and taken into consideration. They can ask for a refund if they are not pleased and they can decide not to return to the same venue. They can comment negatively about their experience in a given venue in various media. CSSs are an important tool by which workplaces demonstrate their real or pretended willingness to improve service based on the suggestions, comments, and complaints of customers. This suggests that the service firm is not run as a strict bureaucracy but according to the principles of customer sovereignty and enchantment. Customer orientation is a dear principle that earns customer trust and conceals the bars of the iron cage. CSSs are also important from another perspective in that they function as additional control mechanisms in the effort bargain between management and workers. Fuller and Smith claim that

customer feedback is a significant device to manage both employees and managers.[122] For one thing, it quantifies the service produced by the workers. It provides management with statistics and comparable hard data about performance, efficiency, and productivity from one week, month, and season to the next.

Based on a corporate ideology of quality and managerial assumptions that customer satisfaction and loyalty depended on worker commitment, CSSs were developed and gradually refined to evaluate the performance of the teams, divisions, and departments within the holiday villages. CSSs were analyzed on weekly basis vis-à-vis quotas determined by top managers. Satisfaction quotas (with a top score of 100%) differed slightly for various divisions and departments, but were generally high. CSS scores were a means to evaluate, praise, and criticize the performance of divisions and departments on the basis that they represented what customers thought about the service. It turned service worker performance across divisions into comparable numbers and statistics. This system primarily evaluated the group and not individual workers, but the scores of a division gave management an additional reference upon which to base their closer observations of workers. Thus, it was not enough for individual workers to receive good comments from customers. They had to demonstrate how good a team player they had been. There was a section on the CSSs that allowed customers to write comments after having provided numerical scores on issues regarding the performance of various divisions. In this section certain workers appeared in a sentence praising or criticizing them, and management took note of what they did well or poorly, and eventually placed their notes in the workers' evaluation files. CSSs thus partially integrated individual commitment and team performance, especially for instances when customers were willing to mention an individual worker's performance. If no names from a certain division or team appeared on the surveys, this was also an important indicator for evaluating the individuals in that division or team. They were claimed not to be working particularly hard to satisfy customers, who, in turn, did not appreciate their work or consider it sufficiently worthy to write the service providers' names.

122 Fuller and Smith, "Consumer's Reports."

By pointing to customer satisfaction, management increased the pressure on workers to work harder and be more committed. The main restaurant chief at Escape frequently warned his team that hard, committed work yielded satisfied customers which would reduce the pressure from top management. This was the case for all divisions. In order to avoid this stress and pressure, workers had to work hard, which created its own normative mechanism. In a CSS system, there was also an upward pressure in the sense that hard work brought satisfaction, which would raise the quotas. The workers actually worked hard to please top management that was insatiable in its demand for further, even harder work. This was in contrast to the downward pressure on costs and prices in the tourism market. Harder work was sought from the available number of workers – which was gradually being reduced – to retain the current customer base and attract more customers. This is an unsustainable system in the long run because of the workload put on workers without offering them a decent income, good working conditions, career opportunities, employment security, or workplace democracy. Moreover, it compromises service quality.

With respect to its normative role, the threat of unsatisfied customers exposed in low CSS scores functioned as a sword of Damocles hanging over the sweating, aching bodies of the workers. That was why managerial expectations and directives for hard work and devotion were frequently heard. Not making the quota was a failure in the system that was followed by corrections, which might include more control over certain tasks, improvement of the service process, changes in personnel, chiefs, or managers, and changes in materials used in the rooms and common areas – from television sets to internet connections, to the furniture and sunbeds, and even music genres played at the disco. This meant only more work for the workers and for the mid-level managers to examples for their teams but also to better organize the daily work flow, and better motivate workers for the efficient production of service. But they did not plan to give workers better on-the-job training to have them interact with customers in their own languages for a higher quality service relationship (other than short, scripted encounters), or to provide them with employment security so that they would be less stressed while they worked on their tasks, or to pay them better and properly, to record and remunerate over

time, and to give them more say in the design of their service work and in the decision-making process – in short, to provide better working conditions and real teamwork. These topics did not appear in the CSSs. Customers might complain about the grimaces, lack of decorum, or lack of tidiness and hygiene on part of certain workers, but they were not asked to assign scores on topics related to the working conditions of the workers. These did not appear on CSSs.

Pleasing customers and convincing them to visit the venue again the next season pleased top management and the board of trustees, who rejoiced at flowing profits. In that sense, CSSs operated as a device to evaluate top management, as well. How profitable the general managers and their assistants ran the business could be observed in the same numbers which were open to the scrutiny of the board of trustees in digital form. Because of the possibility of scrutiny by the bosses, the CSSs were subject to manipulation by whomever had a stake in them. Manipulation of CSS scores and customer commentary was an issue I learned about during a short visit to these two holiday villages in summer 2013. Dreams had already been sold to another entrepreneur and changed its name, had lost many of its former workers due to various structural changes, and was completing its transformation from a full-board to an all-inclusive system. Escape remained the same but for some decorative changes to certain lodges and rooms.

At Escape, the experienced entertainer Mahmut explained that top management occasionally approached him to right the CSS scores with respect to certain irate customers, who might comment otherwise. Mahmut then employed the intimacy and friendship he had with those particular guests, softening them on certain issues, and then filled out the CSS with them together. Apparently, the general manager was wary about the board of trustees' evaluation of him. Another example was manipulating customer comments about the holiday villages on travel websites. Escape's ex-MdH and a GR representative from Dreams explained that management opened fake accounts to write positive comments counterbalancing negative commentary left previous visitors. It is not possible to have more details about the manipulation of customer evaluation except these explanations from workers or former workers of the holiday villages. But, these are among the criticisms.

At Dreams, the GR representatives distributed surveys to customers, though the surveys were available at reception, as well. They collected them and entered the scores and comments into the system each week. The supervisor often insisted that the team distribute these surveys regularly and without disturbing customers. She frequently asked workers to enter the data into the system since the GR representatives were rather unwilling with respect to this particularly boring task. CSSs were important for management. Workers could also make use of CSSs for their own purposes, however, if they established cordial relations with customers. Nevertheless, at the end of the day this did not prevent the quantification of service labor. Workers trying to make personal use of a managerial tool eventually served the purposes of the managers and capital.

At Escape, the CSSs were available at reception and were returned to reception. The quality assurance department entered the scores into the system with translation from the GR supervisor, who was a Russian expatriate. At Escape, apart from in-house CSSs, the GR supervisor would email and call Russian customers after they returned home and during the offseason to get their feedback. The results of these email and telephone surveys were entered into the system as information on performance.

At Dreams, there was another mechanism of comment cards on which customers wrote complaints that should be dealt with immediately during their stay. It evaluated service based on specific problematic issues and offered customers the possibility of having their criticisms conveyed immediately. No matter who the subject of the comment card was – an employee, team, division or department – comment cards were first sent to the GR supervisor and then conveyed to the corresponding departments and divisions. The comments could be about food, the quality of the service of any unit, relations with a particular worker, or a mismanaged procedure. Possible responses were discussed in coordination with other departments, but the departments did not always share the same views with respect to the source of a problem and how to resolve it. This opened the way for further deliberations and disputes at times. But, customers were not left unanswered. Generally, a vague formulation about the value of the comment and the enterprise's willingness and effort to immediately solve the problem were the scripted response. Sometimes it

accompanied compensation – such as an invitation for a special restaurant – as well.

Similar comments arrived at GR through emails, too. Indeed, much of guest relations work backstage concerned with pre- and post-services for the actual service in the holiday villages. People who wanted to become customers asked for information, favors, and arrangements, and these were dealt with in coordination with the reception and reservation teams. Customers who returned home sent comments about their stay and the overall quality of their holiday, either praising the service or suggesting improvement on certain issues, or even demanding partial or full refund since they were unhappy with their stay or troubled for various reasons. As mentioned, there was a script for responding to emails and comments on the websites, too. If there was a more serious issue that turned into a legal confrontation, all the gathered information including the action reports were scanned to provide a good defense for the enterprise in court.

Apart from such customer feedback, enterprises made use of pseudo customers, people – hired by the enterprise to stay in the holiday village to evaluate service. These visits were, of course, unannounced. Since it could be anybody visiting at any time, workers were expected to always be wary of the service quality. This was another type of spying activity on part of management. At Escape and Dreams, although the workers mentioned such customers, there was little information on the topic because they could not be identified. Still, long-time receptionists at Dreams sensed that certain customers might be pseudo customers by looking at the organizations through which they made their reservations. These receptionists did not say whether they shared their suspicion with other colleagues.

Customer feedback is an important dimension of managing both the workers and managers. On one hand, the focus on customer orientation and customer satisfaction, and on the other, the rhetoric of we are a big family of service-providing teams for service-receiving families, are part of this control. The normative aspect contributes to managerial efforts to increase worker commitment and hard work through identification with the firm and behaving within established, accepted norms for the purposes of standard, congruent service. The aforementioned control devices are to extract more effort

from workers and remove dissent from the shop floor. For the two holiday villages, customer orientation did not necessarily mean quality customer service, but it did mean more work and more control in the name of quality service. Workers actually wished to provide higher quality service that would in turn mean more autonomy, employment security, better pay, and having a say in the decision-making. Their skills would then be acknowledged and appreciated. Work overload in the service assembly line, managerial control, problems concerning pay and career planning, and insecurity due to competition in the market were reasons preventing quality service despite the strong rhetoric of its provision.

With respect to customer orientation, capitalist firms exist not to please customers, but to make profits. Pleasing the customer through exploiting labor is what capitalist firms do to remain in business and make profits through surplus creation. My fieldwork at the holiday villages reveals that these capitalist service organizations controlled their customers for the purposes of profit with similar devices to those that controlled the workforce. A fixed package tour was realized through daily and weekly programs that defined the range of customer choices in the holiday villages. Such arrangements and weekly programs were the result of a bureaucracy aiming to achieve mass, efficient production with available resources. The holiday villages – under the influence of the dynamics of rationalization and bureaucratization through rules, scripts, routines, patterns, and other control devices, on one hand, and the provision of efficient and cheap services performed with empathy, on the other – were venues to observe Ritzer's assessments of the interplay between disenchantment and fantasy in the cathedrals of consumption.[123]

As to customers' role in labor control, there was a very strong emphasis on customer orientation in the effort to control worker performance. It was not that customers were directly allied with management to control workers. Besides being party to service production and consumption, they were indirectly involved in managerial attempts to extract more effort by standing in as references for normative devices. Of course, some customers warned workers

123 Ritzer, *Enchanting*.

about proper conduct and communication, made complaints, and wrote critical comments. However, management wanted customers more as references under managerial control. Generally, management tried to manage both workers and customers for its purposes of labor extraction and surplus creation. For these purposes, normative devices were utilized in both directions. Customer orientation and customer satisfaction were powerful rhetoric in this respect to convince both customers and workers. Customer warnings and complaints were subsidiary means to improve future service.

I argue that within the tripartite service relationship in the holiday villages, customers are not direct controllers of labor. They stand as references for normative, managerial devices to extract effort from workers and to inculcate managerial values with respect to service order and style. Besides emphasizing customers' (pseudo) sovereign status, CSSs are foremost a labor control design to quantify worker effort – that is, to render service labor calculable. This in turn creates quantifiable, comparable performance criteria against which workers are evaluated. They feel the pressure to work hard and earn high scores on surveys, and the downward pressure on costs, prices, and wages in the tourism market.

§ 3.2 Chapter Summary

The cases of the two holiday villages visited on the southern coast of Turkey reveal certain tendencies in the control of service labor. First, I argue that a holiday village with an all-inclusive system represents a transition to a Fordist, assembly-line-type of service production – and endless conveyor of mass services. Although it appears to differ from manufacturing at first glance – given the guise of a holiday, relaxation, and fun – the holiday village is actually another factory-like workplace.

Second, a hybrid labor control model exists that is a function of the intensification of competition in the tourism market that drives prices and wages to the bottom. This hybrid model includes structural and normative elements. This hybridity notwithstanding, I argue that a continuing or re-emerging form of simple control endures within it, providing management with a tool for numerical flexibility and contributing to bureaucratization in the long run. Its

existence makes direct confrontation between management and workers unavoidable at times. In the holiday villages, mid-level managers experienced these real confrontations with workers since workers turned to them first. These two groups were actually partners and allies in accomplishing the intensifying tasks, both daily and seasonally, but were confronted with each other when it came to representing the wishes of top management. This is a way capital turns a vertical conflict into a horizontal: mid-level managers were also workers whose employment security had eroded. They also started to have confrontational relations with top management, seeing a gradual convergence of their interests with those of other workers.

Third, contrary to the existing literature, I argue that technical control has been integrated into interactive service settings such as hospitality service. It gradually becomes a reality. As I argue, this feature of the holiday village is based on both the mass production character of the services, on one hand, and the integration of various devices that design and pace the tasks, on the other. Fourth, I assess that suggestions of the death of bureaucracy are not borne out by the reality on the ground of holiday workplaces as bureaucratic organizations. Bureaucracy survives. Besides, these hospitality organizations applied bureaucratic control as an indispensable element of labor control. Innovations in name of flexibility do not obliterate hierarchical rule, the division of labor, the rule of law, the standardization of behavior, the concerns for attaining efficiency by the most rational means. Indeed, they complement each other in adaptable bureaucracies.

Fifth, with respect to novelties within bureaucratic control in the new era beyond those suggested by Edwards in the 1970s, I argue that control extends into the private domain through display and feeling rules directed toward service workers' feelings and attitudes. This reveals that workers in the holiday villages did not have a post-bureaucratic or post-Fordist work-life, but were subject to new criteria of recruitment and hiring as well as practices that enhanced standardization, routinization, intensified work, but reduced job autonomy and employment security.

Sixth, strengthening the normative targets of the bureaucracy while curbing its excesses is achieved in this hybrid control model through the incorporation of teams, which are novelties within flexibility. Teams are top-down,

managerial initiatives and operate as tools of normative control reproducing managerial ideology – extracting more effort, tacit work knowledge, commitment, and loyalty. Importantly, by introducing teams management also attempts to redefine collective in a way to shut trade unions out from and prevent bottom-up unionism in these exploitative workplaces. Escape did not allow a trade union at all, while the one at Dreams was an initiative of the employer rather than the workers themselves. Even as such, it did only partially organize the workforce, not representing the GR and entertainment workers – the core of onstage service – at all. Moreover, certain units at Dreams were subcontracted. The fact that unionized workers worked side by side with subcontracted and non-unionized workers at Dreams nullified most of the managerially propagated benefits of teams, except of course to reveal their role in neo-Taylorist designs.

Last, managerial reference to customer orientation and customer satisfaction is an important dimension of normative control for extracting additional labor. Managerial focus is on work efficiency, quantity, and on maintaining the profitable business rather than on quality, and in the circumstances, service quality duly suffered. Devices such as CSSs function to quantify service labor and make it measurable and comparable, helping management pretend that the opinions of customers matter, making the latter feel like sovereigns. Observing these structures coming together in holiday work, I argue that holiday villages as workplaces epitomize a blend of bureaucracy and flexibility that not only intensifies work for workers, but also introduces new criteria into work and worker selection and eventually erodes employment security.

In the next chapter, I elaborate on skills in service work while analyzing the impact of the rationalization, intensification, and industrialization of hospitality service on workers' skills in the existing circumstances.

4

Service Skills on the Shore: New, Unrecognized, and Unrewarded

> *I don't like work – no man does – but I like what is in the work, the chance to find yourself. Your own reality – for yourself not for others – what no other man can ever know. They can only see the mere show, and never can tell what it really means.*
>
> – Joseph Conrad, *Heart of Darkness*

In the previous chapter, I explain the various dimensions of control in the workplace that are part of the relations of production. The employers and management apply strategies of hybridity, bringing together simple, structural, and normative control elements in order to extract more labor and commitment from holiday service workers. As explained, LPT prioritizes the labor process – the point of valorization. Within that process, the indeterminacy of labor introduces a control imperative for capitalists. Capital, through its managerial agents and tools of control, strives to extract the necessary amount of labor from the labor power hired to make the business profitable in a competitive environment and to generate surplus. This mechanism of generating surplus and accumulation underlies continuing technological innovation, the revision of managerial tools, and changes in skills. As such, capital's efforts to

maintain and widen control of labor, although never complete, concentrates on skills. Building on Braverman's study, LPT literature suggests that it is in the interest of capitalists to separate the conception and execution of work – the brain from the hand – and thus to strip workers from their skills in order to cheapen their labor power and subordinate them. De-skilling furthers the erosion of autonomy and erosion of task complexity, terminating labor control over the product in terms of quality and quantity. Accordingly, control over labor skills forms the final stage of capitalists' domination over labor. Braverman elaborates on the separation between conception and execution of work under monopoly capitalism. The conception and design of work come under the control of an ever-decreasing number of managers while workers' thinking is severed from the labor process. The majority of workers execute repetitive, routinized tasks. The separation of conception from execution brings a loss of workers' control over the pace, quantity, and quality of work.[1]

Borrowing the framework in Braverman, I argue that the holiday villages separated the conception and execution of work. The conception and design of work resided with top-level managers while mid-level managers and workers executed an increasing number of tasks in a race against time. If certain positions maintained some level of discretion, it was to fit with corporate goals of service customization (or lip service to customization) and find creative solutions to organizational questions and customer inquiries – i.e. flexibility and variability. Such discretion was found, however, generally at the higher ranks of the kitchen, entertainment department, and reception and GR teams. Although this was true for a minority of the team members, entertainment, reception, and GR teams enjoyed a certain level of responsible autonomy due to their customer-related, data producing responsibilities, but they did not analyze the data they produced. Control over the knowledge emanating from customer data analysis and further design of the marketing strategy – along with work design on the premises remained with top management.

Second, not only backstage but also the onstage white-collar workers in the holiday villages experience the extension of control and a loss of auton-

1 Braverman, *Labor and Monopoly Capital*.

omy. Although the service sector offers certain novelties in workplace relations in comparison to manufacturing, I argue that holiday service work, on both the back and front stages, were equally subject to degradation due to managerial control, decrease in task complexity, routinization, and increasing workload – even if a few jobs remained that enjoyed autonomy and task complexity. This was a drastic change according to more experienced interviewees who had started their careers during the golden years of the half-board system more than two decades ago and had continued to work up until the date of this research in summer 2012 and 2013, when an all-inclusive boarding system had become the dominant model. The all-inclusive contributed to the rationalization of services, and to bridging the gap between hospitality and manufacturing through intensifying work and worsening labor conditions.

Third, I argue that these changes in the last three decades point to a degradation of service work, which came as a result of both the cost-based competition strategy of firms and the secular decline in the power of worker organizations. Within that strategy, firms came to depend increasingly on especially international tour operators to be able to predict their sales and revenues. In turn, tour operators took advantage of the weakening bargaining position of the many, competing firms and put pressure on package prices, which were in return reflected in the number of workers employed, increasing workload, and decreasing wages.

Fourth, although skills have been an elusive theme, I argue that the definition and rewarding of skills – that is based on task discretion and pay – is related to the relative power of workers. Powerless and devoid of strong representative unions, hospitality workers cannot have their skills collectively acknowledged, which would allow them to bargain for better pay and working conditions. Accordingly, I argue that the use of emotional and aesthetic labor while producing service in themselves are not defining features of the skill content of service jobs or proofs of skill. These so-called soft skills act merely as a further screening tool during recruitment in a segmented labor market. After hiring the workers, they act as a performance-enhancing device by management in the workplace.

In this chapter, I first introduce various dimensions of the skills debate. Later, I provide cases from the two holiday villages, including examples related

to emotional and aesthetic labor, to contribute to the skills debate from the perspective of the hospitality sector.

§ 4.1 The Skills Debate

There have been various definitions of skill that until now have not produced a definitive consensus. A controversy remains. Human capital theory defines skills as human capital: workers' "capabilities, knowledge and experiences" that yield productivity in the workplace and are portable from one job to another. According to Spenner, this definition falls short of accounting for up- and downgrading as, for example, when schooling levels of workers in an industrialized society increase, but more skilled jobs are not generated.[2] Parallel to Spenner's criticism, recent scholars attend to the fact that the current neoliberal trajectory of capitalism in industrial societies is generating jobs the majority of which are of low quality despite the emergence of knowledge-driven sectors. They add that the narrow focus of policymakers and academics on "skills as human capital" does not change this course.[3] A sociological perspective, on the other hand, considers skills as feature and components of the job and accordingly acknowledges the immediate effect of the structure of work on the self. Spenner offers a multidimensional definition of skill, considering it as substantive complexity and autonomy and control. The former feature contains elements such as physical effort, manipulative dexterity, and the variety of tasks, while the latter includes responsibility and decision-making. Borrowing Kohn and his colleagues' concept of "occupational self-direction," Spenner explains that this is "circumscribed by the substantive complexity of work."[4]

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2 Kennet I. Spenner "Deciphering Prometheus: Temporal Change in the Skill Level of Work," *American Sociological Review 48,* no. 6 (1983), 827.

3 Caroline Lloyd and Ken Mayhew, "Skill: the Solution to Low Wage Work?," *Industrial Relations Journal 41*, no. 5 (2010); Ewart Keep and Susan James, "Are Skills the Answer to Bad Jobs? Incentives to Learn at the Bottom End of the Labor Market," in *Are Bad Jobs Inevitable? Trends, Determinants and Responses to Job Quality in the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Chris Warhurst, et al. (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

4 Spenner, "Deciphering Prometheus," 828.

These features appear in the earlier and later works of the LPT tradition, which defines skills as workers' capacity to retain control over facets of the labor process. Braverman's *Labor and Monopoly Capital* mentions responsibility, the scope and variety of tasks, and the integration of mental, manipulative, and interpersonal task components among the important features of work. His exploration on de-skilling and degradation of work is based on a critical analysis of Taylorist scientific management, which severs the labor process from the skills of workers, separates conception from execution, and concentrates the knowledge of work through which management controls the whole labor process.[5] Eventually, work becomes a routine, repetitive, and mindless activity for workers who lose control over the labor process, quality, and quantity of products. Contributing to the debate, Littler introduces three conceptions of skill, "namely skill as work routines, skill as socially-constructed status and skill as control over process and product." He underscores that task range and discretionary content are two dimensions of "an objective notion of skill"[6] and that skills cannot be defined "independently of organizational control and control processes."[7] Littler assesses that the economic rationale underlying de-skilling is to cheapen labor, while a stratified labor market sustains the dynamics of deskilling.[8] Littler notes that the weak version of the social construction theory of skill acknowledges a "significant skill content" even in unskilled or semi-skilled jobs.[9] Similarly, Fox argues that some discretionary content exists in all jobs, pointing to LPT's contention that capital must acquire a certain degree of creativity and cooperation from labor.[10] Workers always have some tacit knowledge that entrepreneurs want to obtain.

Beyond individualized, neoliberal notions of skill that see it as a labor market strategy, understanding the recognition and reward of skills cannot be

5 Braverman, *Labor and Monopoly Capital*, 113-19.

6 Littler, *Labor Process in Capitalist Societies*, 18.

7 Ibid., 9.

8 Ibid., 18.

9 Ibid., 9.

10 Alan Fox, *Beyond Contract: Work, Power and Trust Relations* (London: Faber & Faber, 1974).

considered without reference to structures such as industrial workplace relations, general industrial policy, the competition and product strategies of firms, pay, job design, national education policy, and human resources management. Over all, the discussion over skills cannot be dissociated from the collective power of workers, their organizations in the society and in the workplace, and from the balance of power between labor and capital.[11] Strong, collective worker organizations on skills recognition are vital. Parallel to Littler's argument, in her study of male print workers, for example, Cockburn shows that a strong collective organization is able to exercise control over both entry into the profession and the supply of labor, in turn securing the recognition of the status of certain work practices and skills and securing a decent, corresponding pay. However, this came at the expense of devaluing of the work of female workers.[12] Notably, unionization levels remain low among workers in Turkey in the neoliberal era, especially among service and tourism workers (no more than 3%) who are deprived of strong organizations and the power to secure status, high pay and security for themselves.[13]

What form do skills take in service work, interactive or otherwise? The service sector, including hospitality, is characterized by interactive – face-to-face or voice-to-voice – human relations. In service work, both tangible and intangible elements are produced by workers and consumed by customers in a service interaction. The former element concerns work on goods while the latter is work on or with people that adds an experience or mood dimension to the interaction as perceived by customers.[14] Analysis of service work concentrates generally on intangible elements. The work of frontline service workers is often highlighted since the intangible service product or element entails the workers themselves performing the product. Leidner states that workers

11 Caroline Lloyd and Jonathan Payne, "Developing a Political Economy of Skill," *Journal of Education & Work 15*, no. 4 (2002).

12 Cynthia Cockburn, *Brothers: Male Dominance and Technological Change* (London, Pluto Press, 1983).

13 For a discussion of the problems of unionization in Turkey, see Çelik, "Trade Unions."

14 Marek Korczynski, "Skills in Service Work: An Overview," *Human Resource Management Journal 15*, no. 2 (2005).

themselves and the way they appear, sound, and act are part of the product in a service interaction.[15] The effect of this, Leidner states, is that "[t]he labor process of interactive service sector work… draws on capacities and attributes located (often unconsciously) *within* each worker" (emphasis in the original).[16] Accordingly, Bailly and Léné claim a "personification of the service labor process." From this perspective, onstage services in the holiday villages are personified in the personalities and bodies of service providers.[17] The personalities and bodies of service providers are part of the holiday service landscape and its service products. For producing and maintaining the particular aura of the holiday village, capitalists make use of personal attributes, bodily presentations, and performances that are observable in glances, gestures, positioning, posture, sexualized appearances, meaningful looks, and emotions of service workers. Moreover, within a service enterprise with one-to-one interactive service relations, the reproductive work of workers on their looks is integrated into productive labor in the service sector under capitalism.[18] Workers are employed specifically for their "bodily habitus," and that habitus is made fit to correspond to the enterprise's organizational aesthetics. Workers with their specific "bodily habitus" execute the aesthetic labor that is their bodies become a display of the corporate brand. Thus, bodies and appearances become commodified and are served as part of the company product in such service settings.[19]

Bryman adds that Hochschild's emotional labor complements performative labor, rendering service work as akin to a theatrical performance and the service workplace to a theater stage.[20] Complemented by emotional and aesthetic labor, performative labor contributes to the transformation of a workplace – a space of production – into a place of amusement for customers. Aside

15 Leidner, *Fast Food, Fast Talk*.

16 Paul Thompson, Chris Warhurst, George Callaghan, "Ignorant Theory and Knowledgeable Workers: Knowledge, Skills and Competencies in Interactive Service Work," *Journal of Management Studies 38,* no. 7 (2001), 937.

17 Bailly and Léné, "Personification."

18 Wolkowitz and Warhurst, "Embodying Labor," 223, 231.

19 Ibid., 230; Pettinger, "Brand Culture."

20 Bryman, *Disneyization of Society*, 103.

from other material and immaterial tasks, such performative labor of mostly young men and women with their disciplined and sexualized bodies concentrates on creating emotions in and experiences for customers. As such, these employees become objects of desire and fantasies of the customers,[21] who are to be so enchanted that they become repeat guests.

The elusive theme of skills has been a matter of lively debate, even more so with the rise of the service-based economy that policy-makers and some academics erroneously equate with the rise of a "new knowledge-economy" or "high-skills economy" in a post-industrial era that allegedly fosters upskilling and rewards "thinking skills."[22] On the contrary, a majority of the jobs created in the new era, particularly in the service sector, are "bad" jobs that demand low or very low skills.[23] Acknowledging these bad jobs, others hold that with the rise of services, a second look at skills and the skilled/unskilled dichotomy is due, especially in relation to interactive, frontline service work. Accordingly, they claim that service work requires a different set of skills than (or alongside) the technical skills attached to manufacturing because of the intangibility and variability of service interaction.[24] What does this new set of skills include? They revolve around personal traits and include social and interpersonal (communicative) skills, emotional skills (empathy), and behavioral attitudes (a sense of service, involvement, and initiative-taking),[25] as well as problem-solving and team-working ability, leadership, an ability to improve individual learning and performance, motivation, and judgment instead of hard, technical skills.[26] Utilizing these new social skills, service organizations seek to enhance customer satisfaction with the aim of entertaining and maintaining "the

21 McDowell, *Working Bodies*, 13-15.

22 Thompson, Warhurst, Callaghan, "Ignorant Theory."

23 Ibid.; Craig Holmes, "Implications of Polarization for UK Policymakers," SKOPE Issues Paper 26 (Universities of Oxford and Cardiff, 2011); Warhurst et al. (eds), *Job Quality in the Twenty-First Century.*

24 Marek Korczynski, "The Contradictions of Service Work: Call Centre as Customer-Oriented Bureaucracy," in *Customer Service,* ed. Sturdy, Grugulis, Wilmott.

25 Bailly and Léné, "Personification."

26 Irena Grugulis and Steven Vincent, "Whose Skill Is It Anyway? 'Soft' Skills and Polarization," *Work, Employment, Society 23*, no. 4 (2009).

myth of customer sovereignty."[27] Through exploitation of such personal characteristics of workers, satisfied customers can be made into loyal (repeat) customers, and firms can further secure the profitability of their business, as this dissertation claims.

Burns, in discussing "service with a smile" in the hospitality sector, criticizes the skilled/unskilled worker dichotomy which he considers reminiscent of manufacturing and heavy industry and does not translate into a high-touch, customer-contact service sector, such as hospitality. He points to the importance of social or soft skills that are unrecognized and unrewarded by employers, but produce added value for enterprises since these soft skills generate customer satisfaction and profitability. What he sees as the unquantifiable and thus unrewarded skills of hospitality and empathy include amiability, flexibility, tolerance, and responsibility. Burns argues that it suits employers and managers to define the majority of their workforce as unskilled in an effort to keep wages low and remain competitive.[28]

Baum and Kokkranikal acknowledge the criticism that tourism is a low-skill sector with absolute skill shortages in the developed world, arising from the image problems of the sector, seasonality, and issues of education and training. For the developing world, the problem lies with the lack of connections between the skills base in the economy and effective tourism work.[29] Overall, matching skills with the new requirements of the tourism industry continues under the growing impact of globalization and competition, on one hand, and of communication and information technologies, on the other. Information and communication technologies introduce new necessities that call for new skills. The authors also claim that use of "aesthetic labor" would introduce more quality into tourism services.[30]

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27 Korczynski, "Call Centre as Customer-Oriented Bureaucracy."

28 Peter M. Burns, "Hard-Skills, Soft-Skills: Undervaluing Hospitality's 'Service with a Smile'," *Progress in Tourism and Hospitality Research* 3, no. 3 (1997), 239-41.

29 Tom Baum and Jithendran Kokkranikal, "Human Resource Management in Tourism," in *The Management of Tourism*, ed. Lesley Pender and Richard Sharpley (London: Sage, 2005), 87-90.

30 Ibid., 96-98.

Baum elaborates on the problem of skills and human resources management in tourism. Similar to Burns, he suggests that traditional manufacturing models cannot appraise the skills for the service sector. Indeed, the prism of technical skills suggests tourism work is "low value and demanding few, if any, conceptual knowledge-driven attributes," distancing it from what is regarded as a "knowledge economy."[31] He introduces the concept of the "skills bundle" to understand and evaluate skills in tourism. The bundle brings together technical and interpersonal (soft) skills. The soft ones necessarily include both emotional labor and aesthetic labor.[32] He contends that the hospitality and tourism labor market is not undivided, but is varied in subsectors and across boundaries. However, with the weakening of labor market regulations in the developed world, allowing for more flexibility and lower costs, the use of low skill migrant labor is becoming common.[33]

Service sector employers demand so-called soft skills that they themselves increasingly define given the weakness of labor organizations. As enterprises come to define the aforementioned new soft skills, they begin screening workers for such skills through human resources offices and corresponding departments before hiring them. This is done to estimate whether workers-to-be have "the right personality and attitude," whether they "look good" and "sound right,"[34] and whether they are good at and enthusiastic about communicating with people empathetically. Screening them for personal traits that may cause authority problems is done as well. These features that the firms screen for make up what they consider the necessary service attitude with which workers deal with the varied situations that arise in the relatively customized holiday services of certain service stations. Workers are expected to

31 Tom Baum, "Implications of Hospitality and Tourism Labor Markets for Talent Management Strategies," *International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management*, vol. 20, no. 7 (2008).

32 Ibid., 721.

33 Ibid., 724-25.

34 Callaghan and Thompson, "'We Recruit Attitude;'" "Looking Good, Sounding Right;" Nickson et al., "Importance of Being Aesthetic;" Christine L. Williams and Catherine Connell (2010), "'Looking Good, Sounding Right': Aesthetic Labor and Social Inequality in the Retail Industry," *Work & Occupations 37,* no. 3 (2010).

manage and manipulate emotions of customers and of their own.[35] This is what the capitalist service stage performance requires of frontline service workers and upon which the flow of profits at holiday villages depends.

Hochschild's concepts of "emotional work" and "emotional labor" are import references for the analysis of skills in service work. In her work *The Managed Heart*, she applies the Marxist concept of alienation to service interactions whereby service workers' emotions are commodified in return for a wage. Hochschild explains the concept: "This labor requires one to induce or suppress feelings in order to sustain the outward countenance that produces the proper state of mind in others."[36] She argues: "[The] human cost of performing emotional labor is as harmful as physical and mental labor" since "the worker can become estranged from an aspect of the self."[37] Emotional labor is a novel concept for understanding the service labor process in general. It has become paradigmatic because of its illuminating depiction of capital's extension of control into the feelings and moods of workers in the new, emerging service workplaces. Brook claims that, due to the emotional dimension of the service relationship, the capitalist faces an aggravating problem of labor indeterminacy. During the production of value, this aspect of indeterminacy due to emotional dimension mobilizes management to extend control beyond physical effort of workers to their thoughts, feelings, and behaviors as workers interact with customers.[38]

Hochschild's discussion on the commodification of aspects of the workers' selves ignites a new array of research on other aspects of workers' selves, such as their corporeality and appearances under the concept of aesthetic labor.[39] Concomitantly, the concept of sexualized labor – that is, firm's use of informal sexualization of workers in the formal commercial sphere for corporate goals – extends the analysis of aesthetics and corporeality to workplace sexuality.[40] My discussion centers on whether the above mentioned personal attributes,

35 Bailly and Léné, "Personification," 80-81.

36 Hochschild, *Managed Heart*, 7.

37 Brook, "Defence of Emotional Labor," 11.

38 Ibid., 25.

39 Witz, Warhurst, Nickson, "Labor of Aesthetics."

40 Warhurst and Nickson, "'Who's Got the Look?'"

attitude toward work, individual qualities, and performances of emotional, aesthetic, sexualized labor indeed constitute skills that are crucial for carrying out the service interaction and for customer satisfaction. Some authors suggest emotional labor – containing elements of task complexity and discretion - is a sort of skill that is essential for interactive service work. As such, it deserves acknowledgment and remuneration.[41] Emotional labor is allegedly sophisticated in that it requires social intelligence to assess customers' profiles and intentions and the ability to choose which emotional strategy to apply accordingly. This of course requires discretion in the face of contradictory pressures with respect to quality and quantity and may mean that workers defy organizational rules in the name of better customer service. Since generally women carry out this kind of work which involves natural feminine abilities, its real skill content remains unrecognized and unrewarded. These authors emphasize that its recognition would be an important step for better pay for and status of workers.[42]

In short, the "management and display of appropriate emotions while working" and "embodied capacities and attributes possessed by the employee" are regarded as crucial elements of service labor.[43] In the last three decades, emotion management; personal behavioral characteristics such as reliability, stability of work record, and responsibility; attitudes; character traits; and predispositions are labeled as (emotional and aesthetic) skills that are mostly unrecognized and unrewarded.[44] Service interaction makes it clear that emotional and aesthetic labor (briefly, employees' feelings and appearance) affect working conditions of service workers, turning their feelings and appearances into commodities – reshaped to fit employers' notions of what is desirable[45] –

41 Bolton, "Emotion Management;" Korczynski, "Skills in Service Work."

42 Jonathan Payne, "Emotional Labor and Skill: A Reappraisal," *Gender, Work & Organization 16*, no. 3 (2009), 51, 52, 59.

43 Nickson, et al., "Importance of Being Aesthetic."

44 Irena Grugulis, Chris Warhurst, Ewart Keep, "What's Happening to 'Skill'?" in *Skills that Matter*, ed. Chris Warhurst, Irena Grugulis, Ewart Keep (New Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 6-7.

45 Ibid., 8.

while alienating the workers from part of themselves.[46] Apart from work intensification, new routes to degradation and de-skilling in this type of work are paved via management's control over workers' feelings toward and appearance in front of customers.[47]

Many of these views are criticized from several vantage points. First of all, not all service takes place onstage and even intangible onstage production has preparation and backstage. Analysis of such frontline, interactive service work disregards a considerable number of service workers backstage who enable the production of both tangibles and intangibles. In a service workplace setting such as the holiday villages I visited, frontline, interactive service workers would not be able to produce the intangible elements of experience and mood without the successful production of tangibles backstage by their colleagues before and during the season. The targeted customer satisfaction depends on the careful, interdependent work of all employees whereby frontline workers cannot compensate for dirty rooms, toilets, or vapid food that make customers disillusioned. Moreover, Sherman announces that focus on the interaction between customer and frontline workers ignore the customer's influence on non-interactive service work taking place backstage, especially that of house keeping.[48]

Second, some scholars also criticize the designation of employer expectations as to right personal attributes of workers and as to emotional and aesthetic labor as skills. Grugulis and Vincent suggest:

> The few empirical accounts that exist reinforce the notion that soft skills are employer-defined, locally relevant and political rather than universal and generic. Brown and Hesketh (2004) argue that it is not just the skills themselves but the way they are enacted which are 'authorized' by employers, so 'good' employees display the 'right' skills in acceptable and accepted ways.[49]

46 Hochschild, *Managed Heart.*

47 Grugulis, Warhurst, Keep, "What's Happening to 'Skill'?" 7-8.

48 Rachel Sherman, "Beyond Interaction Customer: Influence on Housekeeping and Room Service Work in Hotels," *Work, Employment and Society 25*, no. 1 (2011).

49 Grugulis and Vincent, "'Soft' Skills and Polarization," 600.

Stating that there is little new in employers' demands for soft skills since the personality of the people they employ is always an issue, they argue that soft skills on the personal attributes of the individual inevitably introduce gendered, racial assumptions about who does what kind of jobs. This not only legitimizes discrimination, but contributes to the negligence of the structural aspects of work. Equally, when personal attributes and skills are linked, responsibility at work becomes individualized while its relational aspects are ignored. This hides elements that are related structurally to work design. Worryingly, these include the understanding of soft skills as alternatives to technical knowledge and expertise rather than as complements, depriving workers of the ability to learn technical skills and "trapping them in poorly paid jobs" indefinitely.[50]

Acknowledging the emotional labor content of many (poorly paid) service jobs and its importance for service work and for understanding the service labor process, Payne argues that emotional labor cannot be considered complex or skilled solely because it involves management of social interaction through feelings. With the same logic, he argues, all human activity is complex, whereas real skill requires virtuosity or an ability that is of relatively limited supply.[51] Accordingly, service workers doing emotional labor cannot be deemed "multi-skill emotion managers." Rather than being skills, some of the qualities come as the result of the nature and nurture that shape one's personal traits and dispositions (such as patience, tolerance, cheerfulness), while others belong to one's ethical and moral self (such as compassion and sympathy). And there is a middle-class dimension to the issue. Managing social interaction, paying attention to people's feelings, and assessing their situation comes with early socialization in the family and is acted out differently according to social position and upbringing:

> In short, it would appear that being a sophisticated social actor or skilled emotion manager has a good deal to do with 'middle-classness' or, as Bolton implies, learning to inhabit the world in ways consistent with middle-class norms of emotional self-management. This is seen

50 Ibid., 598-600.

51 Payne, "Emotional Labor and Skill."

> to play an important part in social reproduction as some groups in society – presumably the socially excluded sections of the working class – are felt to lack 'the benefits of wider participation in varied social encounters' and, as such, are unable to acquire the attitudes that employers look for in their front-line service staff (Bolton, 2004, p. 32; see also Nickson *et al.*, 2004). Beyond the recognition, however, that there are 'those who have limited "embodied dispositions," borne of a limited, class-specific, condition of existence' who are 'unable to play the game at all' (Bolton, 2004, p. 25), the implicit assumption would seem to be that this is still a game that most of us learn to play either very well or at least well enough.[52] (p. 356).

Given that in the service economy most service interactions are routinized, repetitive, and constrained to a limited contact time between service providers and recipients, service jobs have come to be deprived of real skill content (task complexity and discretion) despite their varying emotional (or aesthetic) labor requirements. In the holiday villages I studied, back and onstage jobs had varying skill contents with emotional labor required mostly for onstage ones. Within that, the entertainers were inundated with a heavy emotional and aesthetic labor load, followed by GR and reception. Guest contact time was relatively long for these jobs and it was the longest for the entertainers. And among the entertainment teams there was a further division of labor with respect to guest contact, as mentioned earlier. What is considered as routine niceness as a form of emotional labor was carried out almost by every frontline worker visible to customers, but more systematically by reception personnel. Apart from the invisible workers of technical units, the laundry, and the scullery, all personnel's appearances were under managerial control through uniforms and hygiene and personal appearance rules covering everything except shoes.

52 Ibid., 356.

§ 4.2 Experience and Skills Across Generations

An analysis of service skills in the holiday villages would not be thorough without periodization and an account of changes. By combining accounts of longtime and new workers with my own work experience and observations, I intend to provide historical depth to the subject of holiday service skills as well as to make the changes in the skill content of jobs in the sector understandable and comparable. I argue that this comparison between the periods of the half-board and the all-inclusive models reveals a loss of task variety and discretion, the impoverished skill content of tasks, and an increasing disregard for experience, pointing to the degradation of hospitality work. This degradation parallels the intensification of competition in the market and of work on the shop floor, standardization, routinization, the introduction of new technologies, managers' distrust of workers, and the weakening of labor as well as withdrawal of investment by firms in on-the-job training.

Emine, the aforementioned housekeeping manager at Escape, was a troubled manager, squeezed between top management and her longtime, hard-working employees. Emine recognized that the maids could not endure such prolonged, arduous work that had newly become the norm rather than the exception. She complained about the reduction in the number of workers over the years. Half of the available workers did not know the job well. The reason was that in the region where Escape was located, it was difficult to find replacements for leaving personnel, mostly due to the heavy workload and low wages. To find a knowledgeable, experienced replacement, one had to offer a higher pay, better conditions, or a promotion. Worker mobility due to higher pay elsewhere was a concern for the enterprises. According to the assistant human resources manager at Escape, the enterprises in the region coordinated with one another to approximate and even equalize the wage levels for each position. This was done to dissuade workers to quit with the expectations of better pay for their position in another firm in the region. This suggested that firms attempted to keep worker mobility among hotels in check. But, according to the general manager of the holiday village in Side, the problem persisted since workers changed workplaces for even 50 TL.

Emine herself started her career in tourism in an international chain in Antalya after graduating with a major in tourism management. She worked early in her career with a French tourism firm, and since her French was not sufficient for office work she started as a floor chief. Since there were few qualified, local personnel, firms tended to employ graduates from other regions of Turkey. She had great working conditions, she asserted. Her wage was more than what her elder brother earned as a policeman, to his surprise. Perks, the availability of lodging, certain social rights, and promotion possibilities were enough to convince her to stay. She stayed to learn about what she called "real tourism" from her expatriate managers. Striking in her narrative was that the various on-the-job training opportunities at this French enterprise were open to any workers who wanted to learn and improve their qualifications. The training was not confined to what was relevant for their department or division, but covered others, including the learning of foreign languages. This contrasted to tourism nowadays, in her view. In the current state of things, investment in personnel was lacking, lowering service quality as well as worker motivation, and breaking the satisfaction mirror. Another contrast according to her was the decreasing number of workers per customer in that holiday village since the early 2000s. She disclosed that none of her assistant chiefs were university graduates. If one takes education as a proxy for skill, one could suggest a change in the direction of a less educated workforce for supervising positions such as chiefs. As Emine suggested, none of the chiefs had a university degree. The same was true for Dreams. But overall, housekeeping employed more workers – including maids – with high school degrees. The on-the-job training she received back then in the French firm did not exist at Escape, and she did not think it existed on the southern coast.

Emine explained that people in the region were not initially open to tourism, neither culturally nor as a channel of employment. There were remarkable cotton fields and continued agricultural activity at the time. Women in particular did not work outside the traditional agricultural economy in those years. Back then, she worked with more local men who were employed and eventually retired as room cleaners or housekeeping personnel. Filiz, the housekeeping supervisor at Dreams, was also a university graduate and had also started at Dreams as a floor chief working with expatriate managers. Her

assistant, Ayten, had a degree with a similar career path. Filiz lamented top management's termination of collective worker banquets and activities as well as cancelling of the pre-season personnel training lasting a couple weeks. In these training weeks, workers assumed the role of customers, stayed in the hotel rooms, and used the areas and facilities that customers would use in the season. The management wanted workers to have a chance to experience the hospitality service the way customers would experience it so that they could detect problems, shortcomings, and improve service in the actual season by utilizing their creativity. It was a managerial tool to favorably access their tacit knowledge. The workers liked it. They could see what went on in other departments, as well, having an overview of the whole service production process rather than being confined to the routine tasks of their own division. Service remained a complex whole, but workers had since lost their connection to this whole.

As inferred from the statements of the experienced housekeeping supervisors, the firms had considerably reduced their investment in the training of personnel which over time prevented workers from comprehending the whole service process. Cancellation of training not only deprived workers of gaining qualifications and of aiming for higher positions, it also confined them to their service stations and repetitive routine tasks, both physically and mentally.

Sevinç, a primary school graduate, worked at Dreams as the maid responsible for luxury suite rooms, including those reserved for family of the entrepreneur, and the office of the boss. She stated that many floor chiefs, including Ayten, had received their initial training by her side through observing her execute the tasks. Due to their higher education, she continued, these women moved on to become floor chiefs while she and other experienced maids, who trained floor chiefs-to-be, remained in their current positions. This clearly shows the enterprises' emphasis on formal university level-education for the upper cadres, undermining experience on the job in a particular division. Sevinç knew the job well and did it with certain discretion since she also prepared the rooms for the entrepreneur family. She was the one who trained new, incoming personnel, among them even chiefs-to-be who would later monitor the work of maids on given floors. Her work was not controlled as such, but she controlled the work of up-and-coming maids and chiefs on behalf of the

division supervisor. Occasionally, she gave the okay or not for the employees during their probation time. Room cleaning, she said, was a physically demanding, difficult, and detailed task that concerned not only cleaning, but redressing used rooms back in the aesthetics of hotel's concept, including the odor, the bed-making style, and the position of garments. Apart from basic communication with the customers in case of need, the job demanded that work done was swiftly and dexterously, while remaining within the acceptable hygienic and aesthetic limits of the enterprise. She stated that she could understand demands of foreign customers when they asked her directly for something for the room. This was an indication of earned skills as part of experience gained at work: the completion of a series of tasks on time while remaining with the acceptable hygienic limits and aesthetic framework of the enterprise. With the decrease in the number of personnel and the increased workload, experienced maids, like other experienced personnel in other divisions, had to show the ability to go the extra mile without receiving a corresponding reward in return. They became even more dexterous due to the acceleration, but received serious injuries.

Sevinç had to quit work due to health problems literally caused by the heavy work. She explained that there were few workers left from the earlier generation of experienced maids, further weakening management's hand in hiring deft personnel. Thanks to experienced maids, the workload could be managed; many newcomers could not endure the work and quit during the season. Experienced personnel would know, Sevinç suggested, to what level of detail to clean a room, still leaving a room tidy, clean, and likeable and creating a period of rest for themselves. Newcomers could not handle that and were overburdened by the work, bodily pain, and low pay, which encouraged them to quit sooner than later. Clearly, experience was part of skill in terms of task discretion in housekeeping units, especially in the face of an acceleration that stole from quality and from the workers' rest time. Also management clearly targeted that skill, attempting to eliminate the workers' rest time, to accelerate the work, and thus get rid of unnecessary jobs – that is, decrease the number of workers in the cost competitive business.

During my stay at Escape in June, a couple maids quit the job altogether, and Emine had to find trained replacements which was almost impossible in

the high season. According to her, those who were hired as replacements "did not know anything." One particular maid called Pakize, a primary school graduate in her forties from the Black Sea region, came to Manavgat with her children in search of employment and began work a couple days before I left. One could see her confused, running around, trying to find her way within the premises, and being rebuked for neither properly using the cleaning material nor following the order of the work. I observed her discussing with the laundry manager. She could discern no difference between her way of doing things and management's. She eventually lost the battle since she lacked experience, knowledge of the hospitality service process and its niceties, and since she had no formal education.

Filiz stated that it took at least two months to train a new maid at Dreams, teaching her about the concept, the plant, the location of rooms, and the chemicals to be used for cleaning. Since the work further intensified each year, she preferred physically strong, younger people to be employed, setting an upper limit of 30 years old. Ideally, starting age should not be over twenty-five, and candidates should have a high school degree and basic knowledge of English. "All reports are print-outs from computers. They should be able to read and understand them." She admitted, though, that to date she had not been able to realize her project of bringing together an educated, female workforce of physically strong, young maids willing to be trained and remain doing the hard work in return for a wage that was received only seasonally. "There are many high school graduate girls in Fethiye who just stay at home rather than considering earning money," she said. She wished for female workers with high school degrees preferably speaking some English. However, she was aware how little the enterprise would offer them.

These accounts from the housekeeping division reveal importance of experience in skill formation. No one would consider the housekeeping jobs as having much skill content. However, these accounts referred to the cleaning and dressing of a room as a detailed job that demanded physical effort and dexterity. Experience yielded trust and discretion for the maids whose work was not controlled strictly by chiefs and the supervisor, who had themselves been trained through that experience. When the experienced maids quit the overall experience level decreased. Given the intense, repetitive, and routine

work, newcomers lacking experience could not attain discretion. Without the experience, discretion, and dexterity, their rest time remained short. And they were strictly controlled and dictated as to how tasks should be executed efficiently.

Hakan, the front office manager at Escape, was another employee from the ranks starting in 1991 – twenty-one years before – as a bellboy at Side Büyük Otel in Side, Antalya. After six months he was promoted to work at reception. The workload was heavier there and included the sale of all manner of things from telephone cards to postcards. Although computer systems were introduced in 1992, there was a lack of trust in them, he suggested. All records were kept both manually and digitally, including accounting and forecasts. Later, data in the computer was compared with the manually registered data. Reporting room occupancy meant drawing the rooms on huge pieces of papers and noting occupancy with colors: green for occupied, blue checking-in that day, and red for checking-out the next day. For forecasts, huge pieces of paper were again hung from wall to wall to write out the check-in and check-out dates of potential customers with pencil. The receptionists knew much about keeping a ledger for the half-board system. There were three separate entries for all income and expenditures – including breakfast, dinner, and room – within the overall room price. The room entry included housekeeping and general personnel wages, as well as room and general cleaning expenditures. The number of these entries increased with the change of the boarding system over time. There were four entries with full-board system since lunch was added, and five for the full-board plus system since certain local drinks were also added.

Hakan claimed that the new generation did not know how to coordinate these issues manually. They did not have an overview of the workflow. If the computer system crashed, they would be lost while "we (older generation) could keep things going manually." He argued: "The receptionists nowadays do not know about accounting and making expense and income entries." He continued: "They do not know about former board systems, only about the all-inclusive model for which they recorded only simple information into the computers, with little mental effort." There was once what was called a front

office safe box, he added. Each purchase was recorded and charged by reception. Now, it had turned out into an exchange office. The only registry of earnings remaining with the front office was phone calls from rooms. In that regard, the work had become easy with computers and the all-inclusive boarding system, losing its earlier task complexity. Needless to say, the workforce was reduced with the introduction of computers.

Hakan did not consider these changes in the Turkish tourism sector to be positive. He found the all-inclusive becoming the dominant model negative. This model and its variations imposed a competition without end with new offers added to attract more customers. It was competition without limits – a dead-end, he stated – all the while serving the very same customers. Changes and variations did not change the customer profile. However, increasing gratis offers aggravated wastefulness and caused costs to soar. Hakan did not state it, but such soaring costs were compensated for by reducing the number of workers. Concomitantly, firms put downward pressure over wages and social security payments of remaining workers, while increasing the workload.

I observed at Dreams that to become a receptionist one needed to have good educational credentials and knowledge of foreign language(s) and computer software, although work had become simplified with computers, as Hakan commented. Certain people were employed to carry out the task of registering check-in and check-outs and entry of the electronic cards assigned to the rooms. Meanwhile, they produced the routine niceness through greeting and farewell smiles. They were not entrusted with matters related to keeping a ledger or safe boxes, for example. As reception jobs turned into low trust jobs, the safe box remained under the control of few shift leaders who held the key, made the daily tallying of money (which was not much), and reported it to the chiefs. Neslihan, a female university graduate receptionist at Dreams, complained that she was not trained beyond basic, simple matters of software use. She said that much was easy, and she did not have to put any mental effort into completing the repetitive tasks. Irfan, her shift leader, had been her colleague the previous season and used to teach her other things, but once he became shift leader, he stopped. There was no one else to teach her further about front office operations, and so her learning stopped. For certain customer problems, such as a room change or upgrade, supervisors at Dreams

intervened. Hakan did so himself as the front office manager at Escape. Work that necessitated coordinating and negotiating with customers about their room preferences, finding a fit between their preferences and available rooms, and calculating the changes in terms of the budget was beyond the discretion and abilities of lower ranking receptionists who could not see the big picture of running and coordinating room sales. In short, the abilities and knowledge possessed by an earlier generation were now distributed within a hierarchical division of labor and system of control.

Knowledge and discretion of front office issues remained at certain ranks in the hierarchy as workplace training on various matters diminished, not unlike in other divisions. The little training that remained was limited to matters of communication with customers, empathy, workplace safety, and reporting to managers. The front office computer software could be learned from colleagues in couple of days. Certain tasks were simplified through technology, while others remained under the control of higher-ranking personnel. For the current generation, being computer literate had become usual and playing with software at this level required no particular training or expertise. I observed on one occasion that a bellhop at Dreams could manage things out at the reception desk and easily register a check-in. After a couple of demonstrations, even I could do it. To be clear, many receptionists and bellhops were either university students or university graduates, but nonetheless front office jobs did not demand the skill content of yesteryear.

Throughout July and August in summer 2012, a tension arose at Dreams between a few workers of the main village reception and the GR information station at the same location. Especially – but not solely – during periods of heavier workload, both units did their best to inundate one another with customer inquiries and blamed one another for service failures. Of course, this took place backstage inaudible to customers. As part of a mean, game-like competition and scuffle, each unit partially delegated the workload of customer inquiries under its own jurisdiction to the other unit, enjoying the sight of the other unit troubled with additional inquiries. This scuffle started with a mistake that the reception made regarding a customer inquiry. The chief leaders there blamed GR for the delayed response to the inquiry. Afterwards, the GR workers criticized the village reception for being "complete amateurs."

These GR workers claimed that the receptionists could not "even work as cashiers at a supermarket." Each time a task was transferred from the reception to GR, the reception was criticized and gossiped about. On such occasions, the GR workers emphasized their education and skills, that they spoke foreign languages, and that they could communicate with customers in a nicer way. Many personal stories emerged in this game of mutual criticism. Since I remained a neutral actor, I heard both views. From the other side, reception shift leaders found GR personnel to be inexperienced and slow. They knew also that many GR representatives were temporary, while they – locals from Fethiye – would remain employed in tourism, building a career.

Arguably, deepening competition in the sector and financial difficulties were reflected in hiring patterns on part of the enterprises that came to be criticized by workers who had worked for longer times. This developed into bickering and gossip among workers over who the qualified, skilled workers really were. Rather than bringing workers from different backgrounds together for the defense of their current capabilities and demand their recognition and due rewarding from management, the matter of skills acted as a divisive factor among them. As suggested by Burawoy, a vertical conflict became a lateral one.[53] From another angle, this was one of the detrimental effects of teams which introduced competition between individuals and divisions. Management thereby appropriated worker collectivism on its own terms.[54]

Regarding bellhops, who were predominantly young male university students at both Dreams and Escape, their task was to carry luggage between the reception and the rooms. They generally did not need any knowledge of a foreign language. Nonetheless, those who could communicate with customers in their language, guided them about the hotel, asked questions about their countries and hometowns, and assured them they were available if they needed anything during their stay. These chats on the way to the rooms yielded varied tips. It was not pleasant for a bellhop to receive two instead of the expected five euros, for example. One among the bellhops at Dreams offered

53 Burawoy, *Manufacturing Consent*.

54 Miguel Martinez Lucio and Paul Stewart, "The Paradox of Contemporary Labor Process Theory: The Rediscovery of Labor and the Disappearance of Collectivism," *Capital & Class 21*, no. 2 (1997), 62.

other services outside the domain of the holiday village – such as being a tour guide to the surrounding cultural and historical riches – to earn more money. Others did not like his entrepreneurial attitude. Alim, the bellhop captain at Dreams, said that he had no enthusiasm whatsoever for the work after eight years in the hospitality business: "It has long vanished. Beginning of each season I feel the enthusiasm for a couple of weeks and then it is routine again… We lift and carry bags here and there. That is all. It is all the same words, the same talk, the same faces." Alim was co-owner of a bookshop in downtown Fethiye and cared more about it than what he did at the holiday village.

There were many simple tasks attached to jobs at the holiday villages like lifting and carrying bags. Relatively qualified, educated personnel carried out these simple tasks. Their level of education did not change the job's content or the way it was done. Ceyda, a female student in a two-year university program, was responsible, for example, for giving away tokens to children at the game center where the noisy, electronic toys got on one's nerves during the work. She took the electronic cards from the customers, registered payments digitally into a computer and then handed out the tokens. That was her task for the whole day. While doing her job, she did not communicate any more than uttering some numbers; she did no calculations, and she got bored because she was often not busy. There was nothing on which to reflect on the job. Her only dialogue was with children of local families and with her colleagues on her long breaks. Apart from interns from universities, there were many high school and two-year university students and graduates working in the F&B division at Dreams, some only for the summer. These young, energetic, and educated people did the simplest, routine tasks under managerial control. Doing these routine tasks in uniforms and with a particular facial expression, they appeared from afar all to be the same person in different bodies with a constant mood, day after day, week after week. One could observe a balanced smile on sweaty, tired faces, harmonized quick body movements, and little talk or interaction with customers – and all with a compliant attitude.

Gizem, the demi-chef at Dreams, claimed that there were many working in the kitchen who were no chefs and knew neither about food preparation nor about hygiene. Newcomers would learn nothing if they were not curious, she insisted. Years would pass and one would find oneself getting old through

peeling and cutting onions if no extra time was spent to learn the niceties of what chefs really do for the art. They could not easily teach newcomers the art of food, she argued. Those who spent years without learning the art awaited retirement, without reaping the bygone benefits of seniority. Mehmet – the sous chef at Escape – was the brother of the executive chef Salih. He disclosed that he was more a manager than a chef and that the real chef was Salih. He watched Salih's back. Nonetheless, he stated that things were getting easier in the kitchen due to new technology: new ovens that enabled more efficient cooking and baking and deep freezers that enabled the long-term storage of certain stock products. Moreover, there were many ready-made, packaged preparations bought from the market that were no longer prepared in the kitchen. When the enterprise began buying packaged hollandaise sauce, lentil soup, and ready-made meatballs, then these were no longer prepared in the kitchen by personnel, who thus became partially redundant. Mehmet assessed that over time, cooks learned much and gained experience in the kitchen if they endured the hard work and surmounted the routine. From then on, they would go beyond the patterns, become creative, and add from themselves, as creativity was a must for the kitchen art. The kitchen art demands new recipes each year. And new recipes will be integrated into the menu.

Both accounts underscore skill formation in the kitchen. The former emphasized the essential on-the-job training to gain skills and be promoted. In Gizem's view, experience and seniority were separate. The latter account concentrated on experience as part of skill, arguing that creativity comes through grasping and surmounting the repetitive and routine. Mehmet did not make the full connection, but arguably surmounting the routine provided additional time for the worker to observe higher-ranking cooks and try things out on one's own. This was no longer possible in a workplace that had decreased the number of workers and sped up the work while terminating the rest times that management deemed as idleness. Idle time (once) served to help gain the necessary knowledge. It is equally important to consider technology's impact on kitchen work, which is similar to reception work in that it simplified part of the kitchen art, making certain capacities and – along with them certain jobs – redundant.

There were many working at the bar units – B3 workers at Dreams and bar pages or interns at Escape – who served water, tea, coffee, soft drinks, beer, and wine without making any preparations and not carrying out any chats with customers. The B3 at Dreams took orders from customers, collected customers' electronic cards, had the payments registered at bar by the B2 or B1 worker, and then served the drinks, returning the cards to customers. Sometime later, another B3 would take away empty glasses from the tables to scullery of the bar backstage. By contrast, Özgür, a talented B2, claimed that captains and top management did not recognize his bartending skills. He argued that some captains did not even know how to prepare a mojito, while he could prepare original cocktails that management did not expect of him. Mert, the bar supervisor, described bartenders as professionals who communicated with customers about customers' and their own country and culture, and as dexterous, talented, and good looking. Moreover, bartenders should be gourmet. Sertan, one of his bar captains who was in his late 30s, stated that he took care of his appearances. Working with female workers and serving female customers were his motivations. Bar personnel should look interesting and attractive and create curiosity, he agreed. I observed, however, that bar personnel at Dreams and Escape, whether female or male, generally lacked that charm and fell short of creating the aura mentioned by Mert and Sertan. In reality, the flow of work and the level of customization and training available at the holiday villages did not give space to achieve this. Moreover, the few who had the talent to dexterously create cocktails like Özgür did not become part of the skilled personnel since they lacked the power to have their skills be accepted. There were few who embellished drinks with shows of flying glasses and bottles (these shows were not expectations of management) or by keeping customers drinking at the bars through inspiring and enjoyable talks.

Ahmet, Escape's ex-MdH, claimed that there was a gap of knowledge and training in the type of tourism experienced at holiday villages on the southern coast. Hotel owners and managers were to blame for driving the workers into customer service without providing them with the necessary knowledge and training for the "service battlefield." It was not possible to train people within the flow of work, he lamented:

> We don't have time to introduce the customer, to introduce the boss, to test whether they have enough language skills. Formerly the bartender had at least seven to eight years of experience and taught others the art. It was a master-apprentice-type teaching and learning process. This is not the case anymore.

He further lamented the fact that there was a lack of skilled personnel at holiday villages and that he had to employ interns for important tasks on the "battlefield": "The all-inclusive system erodes the quality of service, and the food and drinks served. Capitalists want to earn money without spending first." Actually, bartenders should have strong intuition regarding customer mood and be able to entertain a customer, know about service procedures, and know how to prepare drinks, Ahmet stated. "Our friends [read workers] here do not even know how to prepare a Bloody Mary or in what type of glass a gin and tonic should be served, not to mention service types and protocol service. And although they know little, they still expect a title." Ahmet emphasized the technical knowledge that bartenders should know, but bar jobs as they had been designed by top management at the holiday villages did not require them to have such knowledge. Nonetheless, mid-level managers like Ahmet believed in the continuing necessity of such knowledge for quality service. His remark – "our generation was taught about all of these" – summarizes the change. Ahmet graduated from a public tourism training center in Ankara. He attended the center while undertaking the compulsory internship at the Ankara Büyük Hotel – one of the most prestigious hotels of its time – in the second half of the 1970s. He worked many years in the publicly-owned and managed Turban Hotel chain, being further trained in the art, often serving government officials and politicians, and finally being employed in the private sector, transferring his experience and knowledge to the service of entrepreneurs.

Muharrem, the headwaiter at Escape, similarly complained that the all-inclusive model had replaced the half-board system from late 1990s onwards, killing all the delicacies of tourism and hospitality. He suggested that a waiter was trained and liked to serve people at the table. At Escape, like in many hotels, there was an open buffet, no table service as such, and no real contact with

customers at the tables. He felt a lingering shame that customers, whom everybody called "guests," looked for things, found them, and took them to the tables themselves. And "I am the so-called waiter," he said. The new generation he trained knew nothing of the system of serving at the table except taking empty glasses and plates away dexterously. Newcomers had to take away a table full of plates, glasses, and cutlery at once without breaking them or dropping things on customers. They had to be quick and able to clean the tables for the next round of customers throughout the breakfasts, lunches, and dinners. There was a difference between newcomers who used trays and those with relatively more experience who could carry many plates in their hands and on their lower arms. Of course, the issue was not about how workers carried things around. Muharrem and other experienced workers like him perceived the changes negatively. In many ways, the changes stripped them of their professionalism and the discretion attached to it. The experienced felt reduced – below what their training, skills, and experience would suggest.

Erhan, the overall restaurant supervisor at Dreams, said it was relatively easy to do routine tasks at an open buffet restaurant. Those who trusted themselves should learn service better and prove themselves at the special restaurants where there was table service and real customer contact (in a foreign language). For him, attaining skills at restaurant service was a matter of transcending one's comfort zone into the domain of more challenging tasks. Tolga, a G1 waiter at Dreams' hotel main restaurant, differentiated himself from his colleagues at the village's main restaurant by emphasizing his skills in the profession: "They are ordinary workers whereas I am a waiter." From one angle, he did exactly the same tasks as his colleagues, which mostly concerned preparing the table for the next round of customers. However, relatively fewer customers visited this unit where he worked, and when time allowed, he served at the table and chatted with customers. This gave him time to practice quality service and contact with customers while breaking his routine. Nonetheless, this was not reflected in his pay, again due to the fact that workers remained divided and weak vis-à-vis management and the employers in terms of bargaining on the acknowledgement and remuneration of service skills.

Hamid, a Kyrgyz university student interning at Dreams, said that he observed a huge difference between service at the special restaurants and the

main restaurant. The former were places for real training. One could learn how to welcome, and seat customers, talk to them about the menu, explain the food being served that day, make suggestions, take orders, and serve the meal and drinks while chatting with the customers. This was altogether the art of customized restaurant service, he said. This art could not be learned or practiced in the latter setting where waiters worked as "empty plate collectors." Hamid stated that the training at Dreams fell short of his expectations, however. He felt that management did not trust interns. They should let him execute the tasks that captains did if he was to learn the art, he claimed. He jotted down the subtleties of what he learned along with the problems and shortcomings he encountered at Dreams. He planned to become an F&B manager in the future. He considered this experience in Fethiye important. Hamid took advantage of his training with respect to guest contact and had fun chats with younger British customers, he added.

There were more ordinary workers at both Dreams and Escape than waiters, taking Tolga's and Hamid's views and Ahmet, Muharrem, and Erhan's explanations into account. Ahmet himself was an educator, but complained that he could not make use of his pedagogical skills in the race against time that characterized the service work in the holiday villages. His skills in the educational sphere were neither appreciated nor recognized. Instead of continuous, thorough on-the-job training, orientations of a day or two were considered sufficient. These orientations generally covered matters imposed by the public authorities.

The G1s at Dreams monitored and helped G2s and G3s as needed while also cleaning tables and taking away empty and used tableware. The same was true for the captains inspecting the waiters and pages at Escape and executing tasks along with them. A similar structure existed in the bars and kitchen, though it was a bit more divided and complicated in the latter. Whatever had once mattered in terms of these ranks, by the summer of 2012, there was not much difference between a G3, G2, G1, a captain, and even a headwaiter in terms of the service work they executed. An experienced G1 did the same work as the novice G3. Neither the G1 nor the G3 had control over the design, pace, and quality of the uncomplicated, routine work. The more customers were

there, the more intense the work was and this curtailed the chance of communication with customers for even the G1s. If work was not finished in one unit, workers from other units were expected to help, eliminating their idle time, as well.

At the main restaurants, neither the captains nor the G1s suggested meals from a menu to customers. They could neither chat with the customers nor serve them at the tables in calm. Customers were not expected to stay for long in the dining room since the dining times were limited to two hours, despite extensions for latecomers. Within those two hours the majority of customers visited the restaurants and dined. Within the hierarchy, G3 and the G2 waiters were relatively more burdened with the routine tasks of preparing things and cleaning up, leaving G1 waiters and the captains some time for dialogue with customers. When work intensified, however, all hierarchies became obsolete as the service assembly line sped up, compelling even supervisors and their assistants to strive in order to bring daily operations safely to an end.

For the restaurant service, the work cycle was comprised of bringing in clean tableware and organizing it on the tables while taking away empty glasses and plates and dirty table cloths and napkins, replacing them with clean ones. That was all that was left of a waiter's work and craft: being dexterous, fast, and clean while preparing tables to welcome customers waiting in line. When work intensified, management expected the continuation of the same routines without tableware being broken and tables being "exploded"[55] – which meant cleaning tables for customers in line at a faster pace.

Doruk, a G2 waiter, did not want to pass his employment time at Dreams only by carrying away empty plates. He preferred to improve his communication skills. Over time, he thought he had improved in guest contact and thus deserved a better position in the service. One evening he discussed this with Mert, the bar supervisor, who disagreed with him in terms of his level. Doruk told Mert that he spoke English better than many bartenders and communicated well with customers. Mert suggested that if this were the case, he would be promoted. Doruk thought that his improvement was not being recognized.

55 Waiters used the word explosion here ("patlama" in Turkish) to mean that the tables could not be cleaned and prepared in time for the next round of customers who then had to wait until they had a seat to dine. This was a service failure and sometimes it was inevitable.

Yağız knew about the issue and thought Doruk had a good point. Korhan, another G2 and one of Doruk's colleagues, however, felt angry, saying that Doruk just chatted and "fooled around" rather than executing his tasks while others were stuck "in this drudgery." The short but ongoing discussion shed further light on the importance given to various dimensions of service both by management and by workers, as well as a tension in terms of the recognition of skills within the enterprise. That the workers themselves remained divided about the issue weakened their hand in bargaining with management, in having their abilities acknowledged as skills, in receiving due payment, and in changing their conditions at work to allow for the breaking of routines.

Bayram was another G2 at Dreams who tried hard to combine earning money with preparing himself for university exams that he had failed many times. Whatever he earned from the firm he spent on private courses to prepare himself for the exams. He felt stuck in the G2 position. It would be a big step to learn a foreign language, he stated, and such training was not provided at the enterprise. It was expected that he himself pay for a course that might help him improve his position at work. However, such courses were costly and there was no guarantee of a promotion, as seen in Doruk's case. He was somewhat relieved to finally pass the exams to enter a two-year program in 2012, but his prospects for promotion at work were not bright.

For management, promotions and titles were proxies for being skilled, while younger workers emphasized the criteria of formal education and language acquisition. Promotions and titles came only if there was vacancy in the next higher position in the hierarchy or if there was budget to create an addition to existing positions. People at Dreams and Escape acknowledged that some workers had been employed in the same unit for over ten years, without being promoted or gaining further knowledge. On one hand, workers noted that these long time-workers did not have much education, but still, they had accumulated experience. On the other hand, they claimed that these particular long-time workers did not care about anything beyond coming to work and going home. They were there for social security through formal employment, and did not gain much knowledge. To reemphasize Gizem's point, if one was not curious enough, years would pass while executing the routine in the kitchen. Mehmet, the sous chef at Escape, on the other hand, claimed that

creativity would eventually come as one surmounted simple, repetitious, and routine tasks. Importantly, though, creativity and experience, even if they were acquired, might seldom correspond with discretion as to its use or to a higher position, title, or status as one's rank might remain the same for years – along with the accompanying wage. Nevertheless, the kitchen in particular maintained its relative bargaining power for better wages at various levels, partially due to the employment of executive chefs together with the trustworthy assistants they demanded.

Arda, a two-year program graduate from Manavgat, received a promotion and became a junior F&B manager at Escape. It was on account of the promise of Sacit – one of the assistant F&B managers – that Arda had chosen to work at Escape in the summer of 2012. However, he had no illusions about the future of skilled labor in hospitality. As he showed me his draft of a book on the art of bar service, he explained that the entrepreneurs did not require a skilled workforce. As a cost competitive strategy, they wanted to reduce costs and run their business as cheaply as possible, he stated. A skilled workforce was deemed vital and was demanded by mid-level managers – as middle management interviewees emphasized – who had originally learned hospitality service under the half-board system and could not adjust to the new model, but also did not or could not resist it. Such managers bemoaned the lack of qualified personnel and the lack of time for on-the-job training for newcomers who anyway would not stay long due to the worsening conditions of work. As such, these newcomers neither developed an attachment to the profession nor to the workplaces.

Arda stated that, as a worker he knew his legal rights and that certain things could not be imposed on him. However, this was not the case for many workers, especially those from the Eastern regions of Turkey, desperate for a means of income. They sold their labor power at a much cheaper rate than people in the region: "Entrepreneurs prefer uneducated Easterners ("Doğulu" in Turkish) and not university graduates or the educated. And the entrepreneur receives more efficiency from that labor, more than he would with me." With word Doğulu, Arda was referring to the mostly Kurdish citizens who had migrated to various other regions of Turkey in search of a job in conditions of precarity. I observed that migrant Kurdish workers as were not employed in

onstage work. They were mostly low-level backstage workers at both enterprises, found mostly in the kitchen and scullery units. Employment insecurity hurt them most as they were considered the least skilled. Arda also talked about university students working at Escape in the summer 2012. He had told them bluntly that they had misplaced hopes about status and earnings. Their university education neither guaranteed them status nor an immediate good income if they did not work hard: "They're expecting to become supervisors and managers just because they have a university degree. It does not happen that easily in tourism." Arda was pointing in a way to the ongoing underemployment of educated in these workplaces.

Due to the changes in the tourism market and a dominant, low-cost strategy based on the production of mass services in an all-inclusive boarding model, work intensification, a decrease in the organization and bargaining power of labor vis-à-vis capital, and the development of technology had profound impacts on the acquisition, use, remuneration, and understanding of service skills in holiday workplaces. The analysis I introduce, which compares two periods of holiday service in the last three decades, shows a gradual impoverishment of the skill content of service jobs with an ensuing loss of task variety and discretion, an increasing disregard for experience, and problems among workers with respect to the definition of skills that had come to be defined and imposed by management. The turning point was the introduction of the all-inclusive boarding model, signaling intensifying competition among tourism firms for more customers and more efficient production. The service work eventually degraded not only backstage, but also for frontline workers who interacted with customers. I now elaborate on the changes in the skill content of frontline service work in the holiday villages, paying attention to emotional and aesthetical dimensions.

§ 4.3 Old and New Skills in Frontline Hospitality Work

The entertainment department and GR division generally employed young people with educational credentials, good appearance, and knowledge of foreign language(s). Despite apparently increasing educational credentials of workers, there was a perceptible change in terms of utilization and evaluation

of frontline work skills. Mahmut explained that the entertainment department was not anymore what it once was. He said he worked with talented people in the early years of his career, but those entertainers had left tourism in the Antalya basin after the rise of entertainment firms and an overall fall in wages. In his view, a major problem of entertainment and tourism today was the lack of qualified personnel who left the sector because of the lower wages being offered compared to previous years. He said that there was an overall 40 percent decrease in his personal income between the early 2000s and 2012. Management demanded that empathy, happiness, and energy – in short, a lasting good mood – be served to all customers by the entertainers. He emphasized that in return, a corresponding pay and discretion should be provided that would make both the workers and the customers happy and help both recover and reproduce their consumed energy. Instead of the improvement of their conditions, entertainers found their labor cheapened through establishment of entertainment firms providing foreign, unskilled labor to the holiday villages, which in turn preferred to outsource entertainment, in part or in full, rather than directly employ entertainers. In the light of this development, qualified personnel left the sector during 2000s.

According to Mahmut, entertainment was not only about entertaining, but about establishing an attractive, friendly, multicultural social life within the holiday village that customers wanted to experience. This social life at the workplace was built and sustained by qualified entertainment personnel. Formerly, he recalled, entertainers had distinct, crazy characters, with their own particular styles. They made fans among customers and then produced repeat guests from among those fans. They were stars of show business: apart from what they performed on stage at nights, they turned each entertainment activity into a special show. Currently, the aforementioned entertainment firms hired out entertainers to the enterprises for a season. In agreement with top management, the entertainment managers of holiday villages preferred such a hiring method in order to reduce costs. Mahmut stated that he did not get along well with the personnel hired through such firms because they did not know the job well and could not perform sketches that he and his friends wrote on their own. He thought many of these firms were not professional and that the people they hired were not qualified for the tasks. Such firms exploited

the labor of people while hiring them out to the enterprises, paying workers low wages and earning rent.

Cem, the entertainment manager at Dreams, disagreed with Mahmut, saying that there were many firms offering different dance shows compared to the past and that entertainment business was run more professionally. What his workers could not perform could be brought in from outside. This offered variety for customers who might become bored watching repeat performances prepared by the entertainment personnel. This being the case, a few department personnel found an opportunity to further practice their profession and improve their skills. Samet, Cem's assistant at Dreams, agreed with Mahmut that in the past, entertainers were distinct characters unto themselves. It was no exaggeration to call them crazy people because of their manners and style. They created an aura of excitement, feeding customers' expectations of adventure, novelty, craziness, and getting out of control. Importantly, they did this in a couple foreign languages, but foremost in German and English. This type of entertainer defied rules and had much discretion in her or his contact with customers. This was a case whereby the entertainers were hired because of their attitude – social competence, emotional labor, power, and style attached to it. As such, these entertainers worked in a high trust environment that served the enterprises' goals for profitability at the time. Such crazy entertainers created long-lasting friendships with customers, many fans, and many repeat guests, who would come in the following seasons to be together with these entertainers. Accordingly, such entertainers also had high bargaining power, but in time, their idiosyncratic features and highly customized service were no longer in demand. This was a matter of changing customer profiles and increasing competition. Customers coming with their families and not as single travelers were not looking for such excitement and adventure but to be together as family and relax. Importantly, this change of customer profile did not take place naturally but as part of the competition among and marketing strategy of hospitality firms. Nonetheless, certain workers and managers mentioned conflicts and political turmoil in neighboring countries as factors that caused those earlier customers to shy away to more secure regions.

An international workforce hired out by the entertainment firms partially replaced the entertainers that were employees of the enterprises. Their entertainment packages helped the holiday enterprises decrease operational expenses. They provided a seasonal workforce of entertainers whose additional costs, such as visas, work permits, lodging, and meals were already arranged, releasing enterprises of such concerns. I observed that these foreign entertainers generally stemmed from Central Asia, the Caucasus and to a lesser degree, Eastern Europe. Other firms offered more international shows, bringing in performers from Asia or Latin America. These were all standard shows put on stage once in every week or two, but offered variety to customers.

According to Nilgün, a former entertainer and dancer in her early 30s currently working in the Kid's club at Dreams, entertainers sadly became disposable. Since ready-made shows were bought on the market, it was not important if firms lost a once indispensable employee. "Entertainment is dead," she suggested, as "animasyon" has become "amelasyon."[56] She claimed amelasyon arose as a result of managerial imposition of time-consuming, trivial tasks on entertainers such as carrying and repairing materials such as décor pieces, tables, chairs, and costumes, and cleaning these as well as cleaning the spaces backstage that entertainers used. They also had to serve hundreds of customers at once, unable to spare time for real guest contact as they had in previous years. They were not able to control the quantity and quality of this service. In stark contrast to academic suggestions of a satisfying work experience on part of frontline workers in close contact with customers, such accounts like Nilgün's suggested the degradation of work even for those frontline workers that had relatively close and occasionally intimate contact with customers. I claim that this amounts to a de-skilling of entertainment, which entertainers could not resist.

Entertainment work was fragmented over time as the number of dancers on the teams was reduced to a large extent. The emerging fragmentation

56 She used the word "amelasyon," which does not exist in any language. According to Nilgün, entertainers coined this word by mixing the word "animasyon" – that entertainers used synonymously with entertainment – and the word "amele," which means an unskilled (usually construction) worker in Turkish.

within entertainment brought about a situation in which some workers performed only on a show-by-show basis, having little contact with other workers at the holiday village. They did not have a common platform from which to discuss vital labor issues. Management designed the shows and the entertainment program in a way that left little room for entertainers' creativity. The onstage aspects of entertainment, sports, acting, dancing, and contact with customers became increasingly separated from one another with an emergent division of labor. Backstage, costume preparation, stage design, and the arrangement of light and sound were other parts. Currently, teams were separated into disparate activities, shows, and sports with a shift leader at the head of each. This reduced task complexity and task autonomy for most entertainers.

Mahmut and his few friends at Escape, for example, were still employed by the holiday village itself. They tried to compose their own sketches and perform them on stage for about an hour each day in order to maintain their creativity and prevent the routinization of their work life. They comprised a group of people who still aimed at establishing real contact and built intimate relations with customers, some of whom turned into friends. Nevertheless, routinization and work intensification degraded their conditions and decreased the satisfaction they got from work. It was an advantage for them that they worked almost all aspects of the entertainment, from the stage shows in the evening to the sport and games in the morning sessions, as well as lifting and building their own décor pieces for performances. They still had task variety, but the intensity of the work turned pleasure and delicacies into backbreaking routines. The high number of customers to be served reduced the time for meaningful service relations. They walked an extra mile to maintain their creativity by writing and putting on such sketches from which they gained their freedom and joy. This was in a way an act of dissent, but that surely served the purposes of the enterprise, so management had not interfered for the time being in light of customer satisfaction. With respect to formal education, one or two university graduates who studied in the entertainment branches of tourism faculties were found among the teams. According to Mahmut, however, these graduates could not combine theory with practice since they lacked experience. It is possible that entertainment work as designed by management

did not allow the opportunity for these graduates to bring in their skills and the theory that they learned at the university.

Both Cem and Samet, former entertainers with university degrees who currently worked as manager and assistant manager, respectively, claimed that the activities in all holiday villages looked alike nowadays, having becoming standardized. Entertainment programs were almost identical in various holiday villages. When a pattern emerged, it soon became a standard copied by all others, they argued. Stage shows became routine as best practices were copied across the sector. Cem and Samet discussed coming up with novel ideas – new services to be offered by the entertainment department to save themselves from intellectual idleness and the boredom of routine. Out of these considerations an events management unit emerged that designed onetime events that would not repeat over the season. Such effort on the part of managers could, in return, increase occupancy in the weeks and months other than the high season, and keeping the enterprise competitive – at least until this novelty itself became the routine.

With respect to the dancers within the entertainment department, Nilgün lamented that throughout her career entertainment supervisors had not recognized her talent and skills. She was a dancer, then a step dance and aerobics trainer, and a choreographer. But she never received what she deserved because of the managers' bias in favor of foreign workers. She thought that competition with foreign female workers was uneven due to language. She spoke Turkish and English, while Russians spoke Russian and English. For the latter, their foreign language knowledge was counted as two, while hers counted as only one. Moreover, compared to foreign colleagues with the same level of talent and knowledge – however she measured that – she was always second choice. She worked as a choreographer for some time, but since she refused to have a sexual relationship with the entertainment manager, she claimed, she could not maintain her job. "It is the case 80-90 percent of time that female choreographers are the lovers of the male entertainment managers. I know that in tourism employees should be more relaxed in terms of sexuality, but I had my limits." Later she came to Dreams and started to work as an aerobics and step dance trainer. However, in her very first class, Cem, the manager at Dreams, watched and thought that she was not good at adjusting the level of

class to the level of the customers in attendance. Although Nilgün told Cem that this was her first class and she did not know about the customers' abilities, he moved her to another unit. Later, due to problems with her knee, she began to work as a baby-sitter in the Kid's club, ending her career as a dancer and trainer – at least in holiday villages.

Ezgi and Carin were the main trainers for step, aerobics, and yoga courses at Dreams. Ezgi, who was in her early 40s, thought it was difficult to adjust between levels. She wanted to introduce training material at a certain level, but this had to be acceptable to the customers. It was a delicate balance. "Doing things that are too easy will not satisfy them, but doing hard things will discourage customers who want to continue the class. The first class with new customers is very important." At one point she had customers with different levels over the course of several weeks and had to negotiate the level with them at the beginning and during the class time. This is a case of control by customers. An unsatisfied and discouraged customer would be lost both to her and to the enterprise, which would be a strike against her account given that the customer might not return. Ezgi also offered one-on-one classes to customers who asked for it, sparing the extra time to increase the level of customer satisfaction. She was a physical therapy professional working in Ankara in the winter and utilized her professional knowledge with customers who had certain injuries, preparing special training programs and CDs for them. She expended this additional effort with no extra payment, neither from the enterprise nor from customers. However, the enterprise exploited her professional knowledge (skill) for customer satisfaction, knowing her enthusiasm and motivation for such personal contact. She wanted management to employ her in subsequent seasons, so it looked good on the CSSs if her name was mentioned. She was fond of the venue and wanted to return every summer. Management knew this.

"I am talking all the time while I am holding the class. Talking in a foreign language and moving all the time is consuming. But I have to do this to prevent injuries that may happen in my class. If people are injured during my class, I will have trouble both with both customers and management." Communication with the customers was not confined to class time, Ezgi added. She went around inviting people to her exercise classes in order to contribute

to an increase of overall customer satisfaction with the enterprise. She was exempt from participating in the nightly shows even though she was a member of the entertainment department. Since she did physically and emotionally demanding work, she said, management allowed her to get a good rest, lest she become ill. She became ill often and quickly and was hospitalized many times a season due to dehydration and other problems. These accounts explain the division of labor in the entertainment department, on one hand. On the other, they show management's arbitrary handling of professional knowledge and skills. Such arbitrariness was complemented by both limitations and privileges that were exercised according to managerial goals. They also reveal the stress that individual workers felt, trying to adjust to expectations of both customers and management. And a little mistake can be a reason to lose status and position in the workplace.

4.3.1 *Body Work and Emotions*

It was confusing and tiresome for service providers, giving something of themselves to establish relations with all customers in a similar fashion. They actually could not. First, two customers could demand service in two different ways and thus a different relationship was established with each. Service providers were expected to shift moods accordingly, without having emotional attachment and manipulating the necessary emotions that a particular relationship with a particular customer required. Even smiles would be suppressed in front of a customer who did not need the service providers' smile, but rather their serious – but empathetic – attention. Second, as the number of customers as well as their inquiries increased, workers would shift to the efficiency mode that introduced quick, standardized, routine niceness, based on scripts, internalized repetition, and a plastic smile and calmness, to respond to all inquiries rather than showing empathy for a few at the expense of showing none to others. Emotional exhaustion would not be accepted as an excuse. More preferable was to show the same standard to everyone, which was itself tiresome work but fit with the corporate design and goals. That is how service enterprises extract labor out of the labor power in the service la-

bor process: using the personalities, attitudes, emotions, and aesthetic qualities of workers in a way that the enterprises design, not as workers prefer to use them.

In frontline service work, bodywork and aesthetic labor complement emotional labor. Holiday village workers who entered into relatively long-lasting, face-to-face interactive service relations with customers, paid particular attention to their faces, appearances, styles, bodies and odors, doing what Wolkowitz terms job-related reproductive "body work."[57] Integrated into service production, this is mostly but not exclusively the work of women. As more parts of a worker's body enter into the audio, visual, and olfactory space of customers during service interactions, they are given a certain shape and order befitting corporate goals – that is, they come increasingly under corporate control.

Almost all women working at onstage tasks at the front office, including reception, GR, and the hostesses at F&B division were well-groomed with light makeup and polished nails. I took note in August 2012 that one of the first things that female front office female personnel at Dreams did upon receiving their late paychecks was to visit a hairdresser and come to work the next day with a new hairstyle and manicured nails. The female workers sometimes wore high heels and sometimes sport shoes. The frontline workers often used deodorants, moisturizing creams, and light perfume to mitigate the effects of the heat and their sweat. They refreshed their makeup when they found a chance during their shifts. Workers onstage, both male and female, were generally slim and fit. Besides, there was a continuous strong concern around the issue of weight among them. The front office personnel (GR, reception, the bellhops) at Dreams frequently used the scale in the GR office to learn whether they had gained or lost weight and shared the number on the scale with colleagues. This was a game against the boredom of the work, creating an occasion for a chat. However, their concerns around their body image were remarkable.

57 Carol Wolkowitz, "The Social Relations of Body Work," *Work, Employment and Society 16*, no. 3 (2002).

Body care was not general, though, for both male and female backstage workers, who were relatively older, were more corpulent. The housekeeping division had the highest number of women workers, but the majority were not well-groomed – even the younger maids and the floor chiefs – beyond basic personal hygiene. Only the female housekeeping managers and the office secretary at Dreams took care of themselves along the lines described above. İnan, formerly a farmer from Adana, worked in the hot and loud work environment of the laundry. For the whole workday, his attention resided with machines – washing, drying, and ironing thousands of pieces of cloth to be used by both customers and workers. No aesthetic considerations were apparent in his sweating body doing repetitive, routine, hard work. This was also true for Ömür, another farmer originally from Fethiye, whose task was to sit in a 6 m^2 room attending to the adjacent boiler room for 8-½ hour stretches. He literally safeguarded the lives of all the residents (both those working and those on holiday) at the holiday village. Ömür was disabled because of injuries to both knees and could not work any other task. Many frontline workers hardly knew about him. No customer ever came into contact with him. İnan and Ömür neither had contact with customers nor with other workers in other departments. Many backstage workers had physical injuries, and I noticed that some quit their jobs because of them, as was the case with ex-maid Sevinç at Dreams. These injured, and uncared for bodies remained hidden from the eyes of customers.

Visible as they were to the customer, the uniforms in the restaurant and bar services were inspected and changed once or twice a day. Nails and teeth were also checked. Female workers in the restaurant service neither wore makeup nor took care of their hair other than keeping it trimmed. Light makeup on female bar personnel was observed, though. Men in all departments at all levels had to shave daily, and almost all had short hair, save Mert, the bar supervisor at Dreams. GR representatives at Dreams, including myself, considered it a big nuisance to have to shave each day.

The bodily appearance of the rest of the workforce contrasted with that of the workforce that paid or had to pay attention. Like other entertainers, Mahmut kept his body ready for the various onstage performances that were

the core of his job through training and a careful diet. The aesthetic labor dimension of his job became his lifestyle – or vice versa. He claimed that what he experienced in the holiday village was the world at a micro scale where he could socialize and be the center of attention because of his playful energy and personal attributes. Some female customers became lovers while other customers became temporary or lifelong friends, some of whom (especially in Russia) he visited on his own holidays in winter. Similarly, Batu, a young university graduate male entertainer at Dreams, built up his muscles and attracted attention with his hairstyle, clothing, and fun, relaxed aura. He was later promoted from the Kid's club to entertainment. Whatever their formal education and capabilities, aesthetic labor was clearly demanded from such entertainers. They were asked to be present at the nightly shows to demonstrate their personal styles, to throw attractive smiles around, to create an entertaining atmosphere with their postures and bodily movements to the rhythm of the music played by the DJs and to make contact with customers through entertaining small talk. They also tried to reach to a large number of customers to make them part of this apparently fun environment each and every night.

Although he neither worked on his muscles nor showed them off, Yağız perceived the summers as invaluable for nurturing one's body, especially for people in their 30s and 40s. He took care of his health with regular sports – especially swimming – and a controlled diet. Except a few, all male bar personnel and male receptionists paid attention to their fitness and health, although most did not train muscles. Almost all the barmen had their short hair combed in the particular fashion of the time in the region, like waxed spikes. In short, bodily presentation, showing the body off, and taking good care of it were common in frontline service.

The point is that frontline service jobs in holiday villages, especially those involving close contact with customers, required aesthetic and emotional labor more so than technical knowledge. These revolved around posture, attitude, behavior, and disposition as well as work on bodies that are integrated into the production and consumption of the service. These cannot be defined as skills, however, as I note from the beginning, although some consider them as soft skills necessary for the creation of service intangibles. The enterprises

undeniably demanded aesthetic and emotional labor from workers in front-line positions to varying degrees. Some workers were exhausted providing this extra labor. Nonetheless, providing emotional and aesthetic labor was not a straightforward process and bargaining between labor and capital continued with respect to the provision of such labor, labor's weak and unorganized position vis-à-vis capital notwithstanding. For sure, if labor were stronger, it could struggle through organized action to define aesthetics, emotionality, and socialness as skills in hospitality service. At the time of my research, though, this was not the case. The design, quality, and quantity of such labor were imposed by management, while labor variously reacted to the imposition. The reality was that such labor was a strong criterion by which enterprises evaluated their workers and how well customers were being served, but it was not rewarded in a way that corresponded to the effort. Similarly, backstage workers' physical efforts remained unrewarded, the rumenaration falling short of satisfying their expectations.

Nilgün, like other female entertainers, took care of her body, as well. However, she was demoted to the backstage task of babysitting when her manager claimed that she was unable to build sufficient empathy and trust with customers in her step dance and yoga lessons. This revealed the manager's attention to a variety of abilities for that position that apparently went beyond dancing and training. The position required the integration of the personality and empathy of the worker apart from their bodily appearance and performance while training. Not all of these were explicitly defined in written form. Nilgün's performance was evaluated not only on the criteria of aesthetics or knowledge, but also the standards of empathy set by management itself. If managers defined them in a way that it became difficult to realize the criteria, the result could be a loss of trust between the worker and the manager that may turn into a self-fulfilling prophecy of unmet expectations.

In terms of aesthetic labor and appearance – and in contrast with the cases of Mahmut and Batu – there was an unusual employee in the Kid's club at Dreams, which was dominated by young, attractive female workers in their early 20s. Barış, who was originally a translator in his early 40s, worked as a Kid's club entertainer. He was not slim or fit, had lost much of his hair, and had grown a belly. He did not reflect the youthful energy, nor did he have the

fun, moving style that was remarkable among other entertainers. But he gave a kind and easygoing impression and got along well with children. Barış could not make it beyond the two-month probationary period and had to leave. He might have been preferred at the first place due to his knowledge of foreign languages, to his easygoing attitude that posed no challenge to authority, and also to the lack of personnel at the point he was hired. It might be that on this occasion, "lookism" became a factor of discrimination against a worker whose attitude and personality were fit to carry out the task of taking care of children, but who had the wrong look in the long run.[58] Warhurst et al. assess that "employers appear to discriminate in favor of people perceived to be better looking or who are perceived to have the 'right look' and penalize those perceived as less physically attractive or having the 'wrong look'."[59]

Beril and Aysel were other Kid's club workers at Dreams who did not do much aesthetic labor. Nevertheless, working with babies and children aged zero to three, they carried an important part of the emotional labor of the holiday village overall. This was because families, which constituted the majority of customers, were relaxed and happy only when their children were relaxed and having fun. A satisfying holiday at Escape and Dreams meant satisfying and entertaining children equally with adults, if not more so. Beril and Aysel were not that attentive to their appearances: both were rather robust, with no makeup and no particular care for their hair. However, they had to build trust when parents handed their babies over to them. Maybe their de-sexualized appearance lay behind this emerging trust. Nonetheless, there were families that did not leave their babies at the Kid's club and those that complained after doing so, stating that workers there literally knitted and gossiped the whole day rather than taking care of their babies when they cried or demanded attention. This points to a withdrawal of emotional effort rather than its provision. Apparently there were not enough complaints about the level of the workers' care and attention, or else suitable replacements could not be found to fill these positions at the time. In such situations, the current workers were regarded as at least trustworthy due to their long years of employment, despite

58 Chris Warhurst, et al., "Lookism: The New Frontier of Employment Discrimination?" *Journal of industrial Relations 51*, no. 1 (2009).

59 Ibid., p. 132.

the fact that they did not provide the demanded emotional labor – or what they provided sufficed at the time.

Esra, a GR representative at Dreams, took care of customers' demands with a friendly, amicable style and smiling face. She was one of the onstage female workers who took care of her body and appearance well. She wore her makeup, perfume and dyed and styled her hair frequently. Her versatility and care for her physical appearance became productive as these served the corporate aesthetic and emotional atmosphere. At night after her shift, she visited the bar with fancy clothes, makeup, and often high-heeled shoes to socialize with customers and colleagues from other divisions. She occasionally left the enterprise at night to visit entertainment venues in Fethiye and Ölüdeniz. Her relaxed, outgoing, friendly personality served corporate goals well. As part of her work, Esra was expected to show empathy and a smiling face, to amicably attend to customer demands and problems, and to demonstrate social competence by coordinating among her colleagues, other divisions, and customers. Her tasks incorporated her whole personality – aesthetics, emotions, communication, and knowledge combined – and were a textbook example of an interactive service provider. "Not all is in harmony as it appears," she stated. "People talk about friendship and sticking together, but there are two kinds: real and pretended friendship. It is hard to endure the hypocrisy of the latter." This statement attests to another dimension of emotional work and labor, not necessarily to do with frontline work, but true for most workplaces with or without customer contact. Workers had to keep a calm atmosphere in their relations with other workers, as well, which meant controlling excessive demonstrations of emotion – whether positive or negative – during and after work, especially in a workplace like the holiday village.

Notwithstanding such managerial expectations, empathy toward customers could be mixed with workers' uncontrolled emotions. This happened occasionally between service providers and customers when emotional labor ceased to be labor and real emotions surfaced. In the case of Esra, an emotional threshold was crossed and a love affair took place. She had further expectations when the customer with whom she fell in love decided to revisit Dreams that same season. Her heart was broken when her expectations went unmet. She tried to pull herself together, continuing to serve with a smile in a

friendly fashion, while receiving help from close friends. Of course, this was not the only example of the mixing of emotions. Some female workers mentioned that they had become attached to customers, whether adults or children, and felt sad when they left. They even admitted shedding tears. One became accustomed to it, but it left an emotional impression. As suggested, these accounts of attachment went beyond the emotional labor that was the corporate goal. Some workers invested more than their physical and emotional labor in the work, giving something real of personality and emotions. They felt that the customers had become their own guests and friends, forgetting the uneven relations of exchange between a service recipient and provider. This sincerity turned the holiday workplace into a real place with real people with real feelings – at least for some people, some of the time. However, even that reality served corporate interests when it was controlled, which it generally was. If it could not be controlled, workers were simply replaced.

Nevertheless, the same sincerity was the reason some workers felt attached to their workplace as a home more so than others who did not have such contact with customers or colleagues. Mahmut and Tamer were among many who stated that at one time or another, they felt they invested more in their workplace than in their own homes. Some workers awakened from the dream of finding a home in their workplace with disillusionment, seeing that it did not really matter for management, which denounced such an attitude, reminding workers that this was a workplace and not a home. This meant that the workers should put in the expected amount of labor and not whatever they felt like.

The physical and emotional dimensions of service work had certain costs, such as injuries and emotional burnout. For example, Mazeen, a North African male entertainer that I got to know in my first days at Escape, looked completely fed up and exhausted. He was a man of thunderous energy on the stage in the nightly shows, which was how customers saw and approached him. The reality was different, though. Talking about his work at the entertainment department, he said: "I can't take it anymore: enough is enough." It was early June when he uttered this sentence, the beginning of the high season with at least three more months until the hotel would close. Nicholetta, a former entertainer at Dreams, recalled that one could not always smile, always be in a happy, funny, energetic mood, making guest contact and inviting people into

that mood to entertain them. Maybe there were problems at home, illness, or one just might not feel it, feel blue, or hindered. People felt different every day and they did always have the same energy since they were not robots. "But you're expected to be and do so, inexorably. 'I cannot' does not exist. No customer and no manager care about your problems at home or in your inner world." The fun mood should be artificially injected from outside since no one can manipulate it from inside, she claimed: "What you do then is drink alcohol to artificially create the smile and the mood."

The case of the entertainment department was extreme in this sense. Working conditions of some department workers who established one-on-one contact with customers, doing emotional and aesthetic labor, were heavy. By contrast, Tülay, a G2 bartender at Dreams, had brief one-on-one encounters with customers while providing drink service at the bar, but she did not smile or communicate with them all the time. Actually, her face was haggard and her body language spoke of her introversion. The reasons for her mood were the delayed payment of wages, electronic cash registers she used to receive payments from customers, the hot weather, and a lingering illness. She did not feel like doing any extras, which appeared as unnecessary burdens: "Better to be all-inclusive than full-board; these machines and payments are unnecessary effort. All I think of is bringing the shift to an end, receiving my money." She was not alone in thinking that way and in not showing a smiling face to the customers. Her emotional impact, however, was lesser compared to the reception, GR and entertainment department – but still substantive for quality service.

As I executed my tasks in GR, I observed that workers differentiated among customers. They held some as more dear, worthy, or amicable than others and served them with more enthusiasm, giving something of themselves as long as time allowed. Sometimes they wanted to give more, but the intense work took away their discretion in that regard. Management was not completely aware of such cases, but colleagues talked about and observed them among themselves. It was likely that information on such cases reached management through some colleagues, even if management could not directly observe them. If customers responded positively to special attention, then the

service relationship could be nice for both, as it approximated a genuine relationship. However, inequalities of exchange remained, alienating part of the workers' self unless the service relationship turned into a real friendship outside of the commodified sphere. This seldom occurred.

Such emotionally rewarding service moments were an important factor in the development of workers' self-esteem in service encounters and relations and increased their status among colleagues. This was the story told by Vehbi in GR, who over time had become a much beloved worker, appreciated by all his colleagues and even won the title "friendliest employee of the year" chosen by his peers. Such workers appeared more competent in the tasks they handled, both socially and technically, in the eyes of customer.

Hacer and Murat were two young towel personnel stationed by the main pools and at the beach. They nodded and flashed a thousand smiles every day while handing out fresh towels and collected dirty ones from customers. The towels ended up in the laundry. Bayram and Füsun and others in restaurant service work leaned over the tables while taking away dirty and empty tableware and laying out clean sets of cutlery. Every time they bent over, they wore a smile on their faces. Restaurant service workers paid attention to and joked around with customers' children despite their lack of a foreign language. At Dreams, the workers had a more relaxed, softer, extroverted body language compared to those at Escape. Similarly, bar personnel wore smiles when serving at the tables at Dreams. However, smiles were not to be taken for granted. At Dreams, given the problems of delayed payments, intense work, canceled weekly day off, and lingering personal health issues, smiles might turn into sulking, unpleasant for management.

Burak was an entertainer and worked as a football coach at Dreams. He trained and arranged popular soccer tournaments for different age groups among the children and teenaged customers. "Customers change out here every second week. I have been working for so long and with so many different people that at first glance, I now understand how I have to talk to and behave with a particular person." He assessed customers and shifted among various demeanors according to the customer in front of him. Hakan, the front office supervisor at Escape, thought similarly, stating that in terms of mood, they

had become chameleons, shifting among different personalities, cultures, and languages.

Smiles and the shifting moods and demeanors of the workers were part of the hospitality factory producing the variety of customers' smiles, emotions, moods, and relaxation. All workers felt pressure to control their emotions and facial expressions at work, and almost all workers onstage learned in a short time to shift to the internalized moods to be demonstrated in different cases. This was yet another menu of scripts in the mind, not written out anywhere, but quickly adopted by workers. I learned quickly that it was not always a smiling face and a relaxed manner that could solve customer problems or responded to their inquiries. My colleagues taught me that this would be the case with some customers and I took note, but the occasion on which I really learned it was when I served a British woman who rebuked me for my smile. It was not the mood with which she wanted to be served for her serious inquiry. It was hard to change moods at that point, but it was a telling lesson with a lasting impact for my emotional labor. It was not always management or colleagues echoing the words of management, but occasionally customers themselves who would tell service providers the corresponding mood with which they wanted to be served, an issue that hinted at with respect to management by customers.

The pressure of aesthetic and emotional demands from management and customers continued after work as well as during their time of rest and socialization for workers like Esra, since almost all of frontline, interactive service workers at the front office, in GR, and in the entertainment department were housed and used the common public areas that customers used within the holiday village. They could not stop being workers during their breaks and they were not allowed to, either. This was another unwritten rule. Young female workers felt the watchful eyes of their colleagues and management in addition to those of customers. They occasionally became the target of gossip based on various conservative norms according to which their attitudes and behaviors were judged, as mentioned before. Whether this extending control over their emotions and attitudes amounts to a technique of character formation or molding is a debate beyond the scope of this thesis.

The reception and GR were expected to be good at communication and to have the social competence to handle the variation and expectation of empathy in their service. Management cared whether workers were easy-going with it and with colleagues and that they not pose authority problems. So beyond competence, a particular character type was actually preferred. One either was that person naturally or demonstrated the preferred demeanors on the job. The GR workers, for example, were expected to handle customer demands and problems with sympathy while coordinating with other departments in response to those demands in harmony with other colleagues and divisions. To what extent these managerial expectations were fulfilled by workers was a different matter.

İrfan, a receptionist shift leader at Dreams, thought the work was easy. The most difficult dimension was handling money, according to him, which was not entrusted to low-ranking workers. He said that the fuss was about carefully counting the money in the safe. In terms of emotional labor, the difficulty lay in handling furious and irate customers. Not everybody could handle them. However, if a worker developed a certain temperament of not paying attention to what was being said by the irate customer (manipulating their emotions), things became easier. Both Irfan and Derin, his female colleague, stated:

> We let an irate customer be furious and take out their anger. The customer needs to be angry at that moment and the employee should not intervene or try to stop them or whatever. The worker should pretend to be listening to it without a smile.

Learning to be this calm and not care develops over time. Irfan claimed: "There have been times when I wanted to put down this name tag and punch a customer. Then I would think about future, my career, and many other things, and I would do otherwise." He said that one also learned to be patient with one's colleagues. He worked mostly with women who made problems out of everything, he suggested. There were previously tensions but now a modus vivendi had been created. "It is hard to cope with the fluctuating moods of women, but one learns to." It was not only women whose moods fluctuated, though. Olesya, the GR supervisor, complained that Vehbi's mood changed all

the time. There was no element of stability to his backstage conduct as a shift leader. She had to cope with it since he was a good onstage worker.

According to what İrfan explained about learning the right attitude and temperament to deal with different customer moods, management mostly hired people with the right attitude, but in certain cases workers developed a particular attitude and maintained it according to their own considerations and interests in the workplace, which of course had to fit the expectation that a myth of sovereignty be created for customers.

Frontline holiday service work did not always mean smiling. Sometimes customers really needed to be taken care of. That was the moment in the service in which certain workers gave something of themselves. This depended on worker's ethical and moral selves, as suggested by Payne.[60] When adults or children customers were injured, the (mostly frontline) workers supported their morale, in the form of a warm hug, for example. They might help customers cry to get them out of shock. No manager tells a worker "you should give a hug" when this or that happens, but it is very humanly to establish rapport and act accordingly. Thus, such emotional scenes occasionally took place. Such human responses nonetheless could become part of the entrepreneurial repertoire of customer contact, enlarging the list of so-called skills, but better understood as expectations as to personality and behavior. In the majority of such occasions, the rapport developing naturally out of such a relation with a customer became the property of the entrepreneur at the moment of its conception. Nonetheless, workers might not feel alienated from part of themselves since what they showed was their real selves. Such acts were service commodities, however, that belonged to the enterprise at the point of their performance. The enterprise might equally disavow the merits of showing true rapport with customers due to concerns about losing control or about possible complaints from customers. In that case, such shows of real concern would fade and the workers would continue in the mode of routine geniality.

It is hard to know the extent of its sincerity, but a similar if not identical type of intimacy developing between customers and some entertainers were said to be a factor behind the creation of satisfied, happy, and likely repeat

60 Payne, "Emotional Labor and Skill."

guests. They became friends to the workers and developed loyalty and liking for the enterprise where their friends worked and welcomed them. As mentioned before, rapport and intimacy could be useful for gathering information about customers, as well, but also to prevent or resolve crises and problems as well as to abate customer criticism which management did not want to appear in the CSSs. I already mentioned what Mahmut did at Escape in that regard. He also had customers fill out CSS forms that returned higher scores for certain workers, divisions, and for the enterprise overall than would have been the case otherwise. As suggested, the enterprises allowed the creation of rapport to the extent that they could use for their purposes. This created a bargaining zone for individual experienced workers with respect to their discretion, since not all dimensions of building rapport could be controlled managerially.

Apart from these, the workers in hospitality service are expected to reinstate customer trust and loyalty to the enterprise in times of crisis, making customers feel that the enterprises would go any distance for their comfort, happiness, and satisfaction – that is re-enchanting the customer. But this is a mere lip service to customer sovereignty; the enterprise would not go any distance. Customers demand reassurances about the sincerity of the offers at the enterprises with respect to the social relations created and maintained. Workers are expected to reassure them that everything is generally arranged with the customers in mind and that they are special. Hospitality work in the holiday villages demanded from workers the ability to reduce customer stress about issues such as departure and tour arrangements, their children's satisfaction, and lost items, and the ability to accommodate customers who asked for solace about their personal troubles, some of which they shared with workers. Albeit rare, these happened in the holiday villages.

Various types of emotional effort are extracted by the enterprises for the creation of service and the satisfaction of customers in a mass hospitality service work environment. A significant emotional labor is carried out along with the physical and mental efforts on part of the workers in such a setting. Academics such as Bolton argue that this is indeed a form of skilled labor, though

unrecognized and unrewarded.[61] Workers in close contact with customers performing emotional labor are skilled emotion managers. Drawing upon arguments by Payne, and Grugulis and Vincent, I suggest that none of these, however, can be claimed to be skills. Almost all workers made an effort having learned them within a short amount of time; otherwise they would be replaced with others who could.[62] There was no scarcity of people being able to produce routine geniality – an emotional proletariat – or people able to establish rapport while using their discretion to shift among various moods and emotions according to the demands of customers – so-called skilled emotion managers.

With respect to the gap between managers versus the proletariat of emotions in the holiday villages, shifting between moods and demeanors, assessing customer profiles, and acting upon them accordingly was not so difficult. Such jobs did not require professional or technical knowledge, only some experience which I myself acquired in some three weeks' time. Some did it within a shorter or longer time period, while others who were hired particularly for these jobs could do it immediately. Of course, the emotional requirements of the jobs varied, as well as the efficiency of the workers providing them. Some workers burned out providing the emotional labor. I observed this with my colleagues and with myself. However, running out of energy was equally true, say, for the housekeeping maids, who became exhausted providing the physical labor demanded by their ostensibly unskilled jobs. It was equally true that on this matter, workers were unorganized and weak – despite the existence of a union at Dreams that represented most of the workers. That the union did not represent entertainers and GR representatives, for example, whose soft skills were deemed indispensable for hospitality service, was noteworthy. From their weak, unorganized position, it was difficult for labor to bargain with capital on matters of skills and soft skills.

Some technical skill was exercised backstage in human resources and accounting, for example. This was of course a different case since the service produced was not for customers, per se, but for top management. One human resources interviewee at Dreams – together with a team of four people – not

61 Bolton, *Emotion Management in the Workplace.*

62 Payne, "Emotional Labor and Skill;" Grugulis and Vincent, "'Soft' Skills and Polarization."

only arranged monthly payments, but produced a balance sheet showing the number of workers, the vacancy rate, and profitability. The same team produced efficiency tables and charted statistics with respect to worker productivity, providing the reports to top management. Above all, they kept company secrets, including matters related to social security payments, and the salaries of workers and managers. They carried out interviews for hiring, making assessments and suggestions to the departments. The team also provided on-the-job training to younger assistants who watched the experienced personnel and learned on a daily basis. Nonetheless, as to task discretion, the team was also closely scrutinized by the human resources manager.

With respect to core and periphery workers, it was valuable to observe that those who were introduced as core workers at Dreams and Escape – both managers and line workers – were equally vulnerable to employment insecurity, budget considerations, and the re-division of work among departments, no matter how capable or experienced they were personally. At least at Dreams and Escape, no workers were as indispensable as they appeared. Management considered that for the jobs available at any position replacements could always be found in the labor market or else it could redistribute the workload among the remaining workers given that labor market might be tight in mid-season. Through a short visit in summer 2013 to both enterprises, I found out that many workers and managers at various levels of the departmental hierarchies, including the experienced and longtime serving workers, were replaced. This shows the extent of the relevance of core-periphery separation as well as the extent of being an indispensable worker in hospitality service.

§ 4.4 Chapter Summary

In this chapter I argue that holiday villages as workplaces separate between conception and execution of hospitality work whereby the conception and design of work reside with top management while mid-level managers and workers execute an increasing number of tasks in a race against time. Few positions in the workplace hierarchy retained any discretion, circumventing challenges to the course of the industrialization of services. Accordingly service skills that belonged to an earlier time of more customized service – when

the half-board system was used, competition in the sector was not so intense, and workers served the customers in a more relaxed manner because they had time, better wages, and relative security – were lost.

Second, I claim that in the holiday villages, not only backstage but also onstage, white-collar workers experienced the extension of capital's control and the related loss of autonomy. Holiday service work, on back and front stage, was equally subject to degradation due to managerial control, decreases in task complexity, and work intensification. The all-inclusive hospitality model brings about the degradation of service work. It contributes to the rationalization of services – bridging the gap between hospitality and manufacturing – through intense work.

Third, I argue that the degradation of service work over the last three decades is a factor of the cost-based competition strategy that tourism firms adopted in an intensely competitive, volatile market. While tour operators took advantage of the weakening bargaining position of the fiercely competing firms, the firms in return reduced costs and put pressure on workers' wages and earned social rights. It is important to link the market strategy of firms, pay, and skills as Lloyd, Warhurst, and Dutton suggest.[63] These authors refer to various research into the hotel industry that suggest that premium hotels have "a high degree of choice over their skill and pay strategies," while low cost hotels cannot follow such strategies.[64] In this chapter, I similarly link market pressures and the changing competition strategies of two hospitality firms as well as their reflection on customer profiles and cost considerations. This change was gradually reflected in hiring, training, and pay strategies with the detrimental long-term effect of lost service skills and service quality.

Fourth, drawing upon Cockburn and Lloyd and Payne,[65] I argue that the definition and rewarding of skills that are reflected in task discretion and pay should be considered in connection with workers' collective power and their organized struggle. The hospitality sector in Turkey grew after the 1980 military coup when a neoliberal capital accumulation strategy was launched,

63 Caroline Lloyd, Eli Dutton, Chris Warhurst, "Is There a 'High Road' in the Hotel Industry?" Presented at: *International Labor Process Conference* (Edinburgh, UK, 2009).

64 Ibid., 255.

65 Cockburn, *Brothers;* Lloyd and Payne, "Political Economy of Skill."

which achieved its main objectives by weakening workers' organized power and eliminating workers' rights. An unorganized, weak labor cannot resist capital's gradual imposition of new skill definitions and poor pay for more intense but increasingly insecure work. The power of workers has been a fundamental but often neglected dimension of skills and autonomy. In their elaboration on the contradictory impact of the division of labor, bureaucracy, hierarchy, teams, and especially technology on worker autonomy, Choi, Leiter, and Tomaskovic-Devey introduce a "contingent autonomy" perspective. They emphasize "the key contingency governing the influence of the technical organization of the labor process on worker autonomy is the relative power of workers to govern, or at least influence, the choice and implementation of material and social technologies in their labor process." As such they define autonomy as "an outcome, shaped by bureaucratic structures, production technology, and workers' power."[66]

Powerless and devoid of strong representative unions, holiday service workers do not have their skills collectively acknowledged and cannot bargain for better pay and working conditions. I found out that their lack of unity prevented them from defining new service skills that were then defined and imposed by the entrepreneurs and top management. Accordingly, I claim that the use of emotional and aesthetic labor while producing service cannot in themselves be taken as the defining features and proof of the skill content of service jobs. Thompson states that the redefinition of skills from technical, and task-based definitions to social competence enables employers "to stretch and broaden performance criteria."[67] The so-called soft skills employed in the holiday villages functioned as a further screening tool for hiring in the segmented labor market and as a performance-enhancing device.

Bringing these arguments together, I emphasize that an analysis of service skills in holiday villages cannot be thorough without periodization and accounting for change. By combining the accounts of longtime and new workers as well as my own work experience and observations, I provide historical depth into the subject of holiday service skills and make the changes in the

66 Choi, Leiter, Tomaskovic-Devey, "Contingent Autonomy," 426-27.

67 Thompson, "Disconnected Capitalism," 363.

skill content of jobs in the sector understandable. I found that the change from the half-board to the all-inclusive model signaled the loss of task variety and discretion and the increasing disregard for experience. This points to the gradually impoverished skill content of hospitality service jobs. This impoverishment parallels the intensification of competition in the market and of work on the shop floor. It parallels standardization and routinization, the introduction of new technologies, the low trust work environment, and the weakening of labor as well as withdrawal of investment by the firms in on-the-job training – hence, the degradation of work.

At both Drams and Escape, the weight of the responsibility for the quality of service and of its problems fell on the shoulders of experienced, longtime service workers, whose work was not appreciated by top management accordingly. These workers shouldered the heavy workload and endured the physical and psychological impact of work intensity. For the married female workforce, this created an additional tension of making trade-offs vis-à-vis their second shifts at home. This was an additional source of nagging stress for them.

Managerial expectations from workers – including enthusiasm in the execution of tasks, devotion and commitment toward the work and workplace, a soft, smiling face, training themselves to make eye contact, and self-responsibility in terms of maintaining a well-groomed, slim body, a nice scent, and an entertaining style – were part of the entrepreneurial endeavor to personify service and serve customers efficiently and empathetically through managed attitudes, emotions, and bodies. In holiday villages, these were expected mostly from frontline workers who were to be good team players, not create authority problems for management, and be enthusiastic in terms of serving customers. Cultural and productive body work was mostly attached to the work of female and male workers in the entertainment department and particularly the female workers of other onstage divisions.

Nevertheless, so-called soft skills were neither recognized nor rewarded duly. They acted merely as a further screening tool for hiring and a device to extract more labor. I observed that between restaurant service workers (who carried out routine tasks with little customer communication) and the majority of entertainers (who communicated intimately with customers on a one-

on-one basis in various languages) wages were close. Indeed, restaurant service workers earned better than the new GR representatives. Interestingly, they were represented at Dreams by a union, while entertainers and GR representatives were not. Still, the union did not serve to protect the interests of workers, but functioned instead as another control mechanism.

There are almost limitless expectations and requirements with respect to efficiency that employers and managers have of workers, which penetrate into their attitudes, emotions, behaviors, and appearances. The enterprises exert increasing control over these areas in an effort to extract more labor. The definition of skills that focus on these dimensions is also a means to intensify normative control. However, holiday villages expected and tried to exert this control without offering rewards given their cost considerations in the competitive market. Despite the increasing impact of human resources office within the enterprises, employers did not invest much in their human resources. While work intensity became the norm at Dreams and Escape, due rewards for overtime work along with emotional and aesthetic labor was lacking. Thus, workers watched the ticking clocks waiting to finish their shift and then waited for their pay at the month's end rather than devoting themselves to a satisfying work that did not exist.

Since mostly women perform service jobs that require natural feminine capacities, the hard-to-measure skill content of service jobs remains invisible and unrewarded. In their study focusing on comparing housing benefit caseworkers and highly skilled information technology workers, Grugulis and Vincent state that female caseworkers' traditional feminine skills are indeed recognized, but this recognition fails to benefit them. On the contrary, the shift to soft skills disadvantages them since they are kept in jobs below their technical competence.[68] This dynamic deepens especially gender inequality, impeding women's progress for skilled jobs. Over all, Grugulis and Vincent warn that considering soft skills as alternatives to technical skills deprives workers of opportunities to learn the latter, trapping them in bad, poorly-paid jobs.[69]

68 Grugulis and Vincent, "'Soft' Skills and Polarization," 598.

69 Ibid.

At the holiday villages, there was no specific gender difference with respect to the adverse impacts of the soft skills at the frontline of interactive service.

Frontline, interactive service jobs, such as those at the holiday villages, also require performance of aesthetic labor, especially in the front office units of reception and GR and guest contact and performance-related entertainment activities. In their research on the impact of aesthetic labor – a worker's deportment, style, accent, voice, and attractiveness – on workers in the retail industry, Williams and Connell assess that it aggravates and renders social inequality inconspicuous.[70] Extrapolating from their suggestions, employers free themselves from the responsibility of creating and maintaining a segregated labor market and instead charge workers and customers with it. Second, due to the enjoyment associated with the idea of a sun-sea-sand holiday, the drawbacks of working in a substandard job at a holiday workplace are downplayed.[71] I mentioned the case of Barış, a Kid's club worker, who was probably discriminated against because of his style and appearance. Apart from him, there were many who worked in difficult conditions in return for little pay, low discretion, and few prospects for a career. Thus, it is important to underscore that a framework of work associated with intimacy, play, and holiday downplays these adverse effects and disadvantages. Similarly for the GR representatives and receptionists who used the various facilities of the holiday village as internal customers, substandard employment conditions were ignored.

In conclusion, it should be recalled that Braverman does not argue for straightforward de-skilling. He states that capital can also encourage re-skilling for certain jobs. Braverman underscores that the new skills that are created will face a similar end to the craft skills of a bygone era. He mostly points to the polarization of skills whereby most jobs, even at managerial levels, become de-skilled. He thereby challenges the upskilling myth. Following this, Thompson argues that de-skilling may not be the sole route to standardization in the capitalist labor process.[72] What I observed, however, at the two holiday

70 Williams and Connell, "'Looking Good, Sounding Right.'"

71 Ibid., 361-62.

72 Paul Thompson, "The Capitalist Labor Process: Concepts and Connections," *Capital & Class 34*, no. 1 (2010).

villages was de-skilling for many line positions, while experienced workers were stripped of their professionalism and discretion. Still, Littler focuses on the skill content remaining in even low-skill jobs.[73] The workers continue to have tacit knowledge of the work process that management strives to access and use. At the holiday villages, substantive task discretion and complexity, though, were saved for certain high rank positions to be found at the level of department managers and their assistants – correspondingly, at the level of the executive chef and sous chefs in the kitchen. Importantly, there were many (especially young) workers working with high school – or vocational high school diplomas, associate's and bachelor degrees, and certificates, some of which were tourism related. As I make clear, many of these people were underemployed relative to their level of education. Any discussion of skills also should refer to skill formation and development. At Dreams and Escape, gaining skills at work was something of the past. These workplaces had withdrawn investment from skill development as internal labor markets were terminated. Rather, employers paid more attention to selection and hiring, seeking out attributes and attitudes that they thought fit the particular tasks to be executed and the corporate brand.

Each time a GR representative logged in to the system on a GR computer, a description of a GR representative would run across the screen. The script was a guideline. It delivered managerial expectations to workers in terms of how to perceive managers and the soft skills to be used while serving customers and coordinating customer inquiries with other departments. As discussed, the evaluation of workers against such managerially-defined normative criteria introduced elements of arbitrariness, making workers vulnerable to requests with respect to emotional labor:

> A guest relations employee is a person who: is in harmony with the team; can ask for apology; has responsibility and is able to take initiative in carrying out the tasks; can professionally leave work at work; obeys workplace rules; respects working hours and work standards; respects colleagues and superiors; remains honest despite fallibility and thus protects the team and in return is protected by the team;

73 Littler, *Labor Process in Capitalist Societies.*

demonstrates devotion; perceives directors not as "monsters (*öcü*)" but as sources of help; and builds empathy.

This chapter neither focuses on customers' perceptions of workers' skills – as co-producers of the service or as so-called second bosses – nor their possible ability to bargain with the enterprise about the matter or within a general framework of service quality that includes the question of skills. There were many encounters from which these perceptions could be observed, interrogated, and collected, but these are beyond the scope of this study. This matter needs further research in such service settings.

In the next chapter, I focus on holiday village workers' responses to managerial control, elaborating on the forms of the collective resistance of workers with respect to the effort bargain.

5

Ceaseless Resistance In the Service Workplace

It's easier to resist at the beginning than at the end.

– Leonardo da Vinci

In the previous chapter, I elaborate on the matter of service skills, acknowledging the emotional and aesthetic dimension of service work, but disagreeing with views that social competence, showing sympathy to customers, having a personal style, and looking good and sounding right are skills. Holiday service jobs, I argue, are mostly low skill, poorly paid jobs that do not require technical skills, with little task autonomy and task complexity. There are few remaining high skill jobs, and those few are located among the high ranks. The introduction of computer and new machinery introduce a new literacy with respect to their usage, but they also simplify many tasks.

In this chapter I argue that capital's employment of a hybrid control mechanism to deal with its problem of labor indeterminacy in the labor process cannot bring labor under full control. Labor's resistance against impositions of capital at the workplace continues. I argue that other than housing individual acts of defiance, the holiday villages became a stage for continuing, collective resistance of the working class during the performance of service and the production of repeat guests and surplus. Extensive managerial control and the ensuing erosion of discretion and complexity of jobs in holiday workplaces

suggest that labor came to be completely dominated by capital. On the contrary: as control expanded so did workers' resistance in various forms.

My argument is that the working class at the holiday villages was not completely submissive. Workers struggled against both exploitation and managerial domination, and formal subjugation to customers. There were indeed formal and informal elements of collective struggle as well as individual responses as to effort bargain, pay, and working conditions. Managerial efforts to industrialize and routinize holiday service work through simple, structural, and normative control (imposing corporate interests onto workers); scripts; rules of appearance and showing emotion; intensifying work, de-skilling; and individualizing practices notwithstanding, features of collective, class-based resistance were observable at Dreams and Escape. My focus is on collective forms of resistance since it is the collective worker that represents labor in the antagonistic capital-labor relations. Emphasis on the collective worker is crucial since it defines "the necessarily cooperative character of the capitalist labor process in which valorization depends on the collective functions of individuals'..."[1]

The major themes on which I focus are labor turnover, absenteeism, work avoidance, blocking information flow, informal solidarity arrangements, withholding of effort, protest, and strike, and I also briefly mention dissidence against normative impositions.

According to core LPT, capitalist employment relations have a contradictory nature because of the structural antagonism between and interdependence of labor and capital. As such, the domination of capital over labor is never complete, and Edwards reminds us that the workplace remains contested terrain.[2] The second wave labor process theorists point to labor agency and resistance – not despite but because of extending managerial control and exploitation. The various control mechanisms that were conceived and have been introduced in previous chapters actually were factors of a labor that was not yielding but struggling about the amount of effort used in the labor process.

1 Martinez Lucio and Stewart, "Disappearance of Collectivism," 49.

2 Edwards, Contested Terrain.

That is, whatever the mechanisms developed, there was no all-powerful management realizing all its goals in these workplaces. According to core LPT, capitalists introduce control because of the indeterminacy of labor in the labor process. Through control, they strive to extract the necessary amount of labor from the labor power hired in the market for generating surplus in a competitive business environment."[3] Elaborating on the issue of indeterminacy, Smith assesses worker mobility and the workers' freedom to choose the workplace to which to sell their labor power as a second dimension alongside that of their efforts spent in the workplace.[4] The high rate of turnover in the hospitality sector on the southern coast makes this an important point. Managerial coordination across firms regarding worker wages and managerial references with respect to workers' attitude and behavior in hiring were an effort to control mobility of labor. In this regard, labor turnover has appeared as a form of resistance.

Within the general socio-economic, political, cultural, and legal conditions of a particular country, the management of an enterprise seeks control over workers in an effort to extract more labor from their hired labor power for the sake of increasing and maintaining profits. In this process, workers do not always act in a compliant, deferential manner. Workers have agency in the capitalist labor process. They may help reproduce control mechanisms by giving consent to management, avoiding overt conflict, as Burawoy suggests.[5] However, they also collectively and overtly fight against their exploitation. They strive to increase their own control over the quality and quantity of the product while limiting that of management, increasing rewards while reducing or eliminating problems, altogether improving their of work and living conditions.[6] LPT acknowledges labor agency and worker militancy, emphasizing class struggle as the central motor of workplace change.[7] Labor – being

3 Jaros, "Marxian Critiques," 6-7.

4 Smith, "Double Indeterminacy."

5 Burawoy, *Manufacturing Consent.*

6 Thompson and Smith, "Follow the Red Brick Road," 59.

7 Thompson, "The Capitalist Labor Process," 8-9.

both a subject and object in the production process – has an intricate interaction with capital within the capitalist employment relationship. Structural antagonism between capital and labor appears on a daily basis in the capitalist labor process whereby management tries to realize productive labor from living labor power.[8] In the Marxist framework of historical class struggle, a structurally antagonistic relationship at the workplace, which itself reflects the contradictions of the capitalist societal order, eventually produces historical consequences. Thus, LPT analysts have been trying to build bridges between labor process and the wider political economy.

Focusing on the collective, low unionization levels among hospitality workers is a crucial point mentioned earlier and account for the weakening of formal collective resistance. Despite the emergence of informal, individualistic reactions and responses, collective resistance had not been exhausted and was not absent. Indeed, the effectiveness of individualized responses should be evaluated vis-à-vis the themes raised in this chapter and thesis to understand the complexity of production relations. The lack of strong, pro-labor unions and workplace unionism unfortunately prevented workers from acting collectively on various important matters. Nevertheless, at the time of the writing of this thesis, tourism and hospitality workers' unionization efforts – incorporating both frontline and backstage workers – continued despite political, economic, and legal difficulties. Solidarity grew over common grievances, divisions among workers notwithstanding.

Collinson and Ackroyd suggest a continuum of oppositional worker practices that range from resistance to misbehavior and to dissent that can be counted as "protesting behavior." This includes…

> …rebellions, insurrections and riots, shading through strikes and other types of formally organized resistance in workplaces through sabotage, theft to destructiveness, work limitation, absenteeism and time-wasting, to the cynical debunking of management pretensions and the satirical mockery of managers and authority figures.[9]

8 Thompson and Smith, "Follow the Red Brick Road," 61.

9 David Collinson and Stephen Ackroyd, "Resistance, Misbehavior and Dissent," in *Oxford Handbook*, ed. Ackroyd, 306.

They state that some of these are rejections of or reactions to state and civil society. However, historically, such protesting behavior at work also has connections with disturbances beyond the workplace.[10] In his article on organizational anomie, Hodson mentions two sets of worker behaviors: resistance and citizenship. He lists facets across which resistance behaviors are measured: "playing dumb, withholding effort, work avoidance, subverting particular managers, and machine, procedural, and social sabotage."[11] The aforementioned behaviors appear to be common to both industrial and service workplace settings. Apart from these, the additional emotional effort – critical to profitability because of customer involvement in co-production of services – is peculiar to service settings.

Following Hochschild's framework, Brook argues that owing to the contradictory wage-labor relationship and accumulation process, the "transmutation of feelings" into serviceable products is an unstable state just like the instability of the extraction of labor from labor power. The terms of the sale of workers' emotional labor has thus become terrain of struggle that is waged daily between management and workers.[12] He notes: "Hochschild's 'war of smiles' can be seen as a breach in the wall of commodity fetishism that allows class consciousness to emerge."[13] Based on evidence from militant trade unionism and struggle of airline cabin workers, Brook argues that partial and contradictory managerial control over emotional labor and the ensuing struggle over it emerge as class-conscious, resistive agents.[14] In a similar fashion, Fuller and Smith mention hotel desk clerks going on a "smile strike,"[15] though neither at the militant level nor in the formal collective form of resistance adopted by cabin crews.

10 Ibid., 306.

11 Randy Hodson, "Organizational Anomie and Worker Consent," *Work & Occupations 26*, no. 3 (1999), 308.

12 Brook, "Defence of Emotional Labor."

13 Ibid., 23.

14 Ibid., 23-25.

15 Fuller and Smith, "Consumer's Reports."

In her research on Irish call centers, Mulholland criticizes post-structuralism's emphasis on individual worker experience and the individualization of resistance that is associated with it.[16] Focusing on the collective worker, she lists collective, informal workplace attitudes such as sales sabotage, cheating over effort (slammin'), work avoidance, absenteeism, sickness, leaving work before the shift ends without permission, smoking during work hours (scammin'), fiddling, resignation, high labor turnover. She brings these forth as "expressions of a workplace antagonism rooted in and against the social relations of production." The last two points, resignation and high labor turnover, are peculiar to the service sector and parallel to arguments developed by Smith regarding labor mobility as a second dimension of labor indeterminacy. Thompson argues that call center workers "externalized their resistance" by leaving the job in numbers. He states that new control mechanisms could not solve management's "massive" problem of motivating and retaining workers.[17] In another research on call centers, Taylor and Bain assess the subversive features of humor in the hands of workers. Workers employed at call centers develop a culture of humor opposing managerial efforts to undermine the trade union that the workers strive to have recognized.[18] Deal and Kennedy argue that managerial innovations over the last two decades – such as outsourcing, downsizing, teamwork, and just-in-time production – increase employment insecurity and distrust of management, producing a culture of cynicism. Workers express cynicism variously, such as by refusing to participate in corporate rituals or by sending anonymous, critical letters. Humorous cynicism is one of the expressions through which workers ridicule the organization and its managers.[19] In an earlier research on female cashiers in betting parlors, Filby explains the role of sexuality as an organizational, commercial resource,

16 Kate Mulholland, "Workplace Resistance in an Irish Call Centre: Slammin', Scammin' Smokin' an' Leavin'," *Work, Employment and Society 18*, no. 4 (2004), 720.

17 Thompson, "Disconnected Capitalism," 145.

18 Phil Taylor and Peter Bain, "'Subterranean Worksick Blues': Humour as Subversion in Two Call Centres," *Organization Studies 24*, no. 9 (2003).

19 Deal and Kennedy quoted in Collinson and Ackroyd, "Resistance, Misbehavior and Dissent," 318-19.

which she claims is an intrinsic feature of the capitalist labor process. She argues that female workers develop a sexualized culture of humor in reaction to sexual harassment by the gamblers, taking control over their work in the face of the "tenuous" hold of management over their sexuality as a commercial resource.[20]

§ 5.1 Labor Mobility

There was a paradox between workers fear of being dismissed and the ease with which they themselves left the holiday workplaces due to enduring difficulties, hardship, and even maltreatment. Management tried to control when to employ and dismiss workers according to flexible demand and the profit level, but high labor turnover on the southern coast of Turkey (especially in the Antalya basin) meant that they could not effectively control labor mobility. The human resources assistant maanger at Escape and the general manager of another holiday village in the region mentioned that hotel managements in the region cooperated on the issue of workers' pay in order to control untimely moves between workplaces. According to them, wages at all levels were coordinated. The general manager said: "Workers at lower rank with lower education easily believe that another enterprise pays 50 TL more. Word spreads and they want to leave. I have hard time convincing them this is not the case."

Workers' leaving the workplace came as a blow to management at Escape. During my first days there, a group of young men working in the kitchen resigned in solidarity with their friend who had received a shock due to the contact of electric cables with wet surface. They all came from a particular village near Konya. Apparently this was not the first case of an electric shock taking place in this kitchen, and during my stay, it happened a couple more times with the workers being hospitalized. Interestingly, the operations manager considered their collective resignation "a massacre." Unexpected resignations in the high season without prior notification caused trouble for the workflow. More troublesome was filling the vacant positions or – when replacements

20 Michael P. Filby, "'The Figures, the Personality and the Bums': Service Work and Sexuality," *Work, Employment & Society 6,* no. 1 (1992).

could not be found – increasing the workload without having others run away, as well. Management learnt the lesson not to employ so many people at one time in the same unit from the same town, as they might stick together, act in solidarity, and bring about a collective protest action, setting precedent.

Although the workers who resigned may have remained in the tourism industry, their leaving caused trouble for that particular enterprise. Of course such health-endangering negligence was not the only reason that workers left workplaces. They might decide to do so in the face of other troubles. Again, at Escape, I was told about the literal escape of some young workers from the bar unit (after which I decided on the pseudonym Escape) earlier in the same season when their resignation was not accepted. "I do not like the working conditions, work intensity, and wages" was hardly a convincing argument for the management, explained a young university student working at the bar. So they were held hostage by the enterprise when security personnel – acting as prison guard – did not let them pass through the main gate with their luggage. They then threw their luggage over the high fence and walked out of the main gate as if they were going on a walk and would return, which they did not. As can be seen, if the timing of workers' choice to leave was inconvenient for an enterprise, management would try to convince them to rethink their decision; their efforts may have been much needed, and finding replacements was difficult in mid-season.

At Escape, Emine, the housekeeping manager, and Muharrem, headwaiter of the main restaurant, complained about personnel leaving in spite of the things they did for their workers in terms of training, motivation, and being close and friendly. Their complaints were strong as they accused departing workers of being ungrateful and unreliable. According to these managers, such unreliable workers would leave their masters in mid-season when work intensified and their labor was most needed. Muharrem said that he felt betrayed while Emine felt angry. She thought, however, that this circumstance was not unidirectional. People also came from other enterprises to Escape, though according to her, the departing personnel were far more skilled.

Although the employment process seemed to strictly follow a bureaucratic, legal process with respect to cases of resignation and dismissal, the law was almost completely ignored by both the employer and the workers. This

was occasionally to the advantage of the service workers. The general manager in Side stated that they might let some workers who resigned go, lest their negativity and unwillingness be mirrored to customers. That is, while management was willing to control mobility even against workers' will, they might contradictorily let them leave out of fear of sabotage in a high turnover, low trust work environment. Such labor mobility became both a chronic problem for management and an institutionalized form of resistance for workers, and it was externalized, as mentioned above by Mulholland and Thompson.

Delays of the payment of wages at Dreams in summer of 2012, which had hitherto low levels of turnover, became unbearable for longtime workers with families; hence, they left. Dreams could not retain its experienced workers because it could not solve its financial problems over the course of a couple years. A few who left returned after some time, stating that working conditions elsewhere were far worse. But many did not return. Managers and supervisors tried to convince their teams that everything would soon be okay. They noted that the boss was a fatherly, trustworthy, honorable person and that every single worker would receive their due wages when the financial crisis was over. Eventually, Dreams was sold to another firm at the season's end.

§ 5.2 Avoiding Work, Absenteeism, Withholding Effort, and Wasting Time

Absenteeism was another form of collective resistance at Escape and Dreams. Workers used it as a conscious reaction to intense work conditions. Emine, the housekeeping manager, mentioned female "deserters" in her teams would simply not come to work when pushed too hard. She pointed to the real source of the problem:

> I prolong the workday and cancel their day off in order to get the work finished. Then they simply don't come. I understand that. They are not robots serving Escape for their whole lives; they have families and work at home. When there is much work and I cancel their day off, they make their own [informal] day off it by not showing up… I yell at them throughout the workday to get things done, but in the evening

> when they leave I praise their work and compliment them so that they are not too demoralized and show up the next day.

Each year, Emine stated, management cut the budget for housekeeping and demanded from her a season-long work plan, which explained that she could handle work with a given number of workers. Abiding by the request, she saw a decrease in the number of her workers since she demonstrated that she could carry out the tasks with fewer workers each season. This came at the expense of intensified work on the remaining personnel who understood that if they did not react, management would not cease loading them with more work and causing the loss of their employment in the near future.

Rather than simply not showing up and risking unemployment, another strategy was to evade work for a couple of days with medical reports for pretexts other than pregnancy and for workplace accidents. This was more frequent at Dreams. Of course, by law it is up to management whether to pay the wage of the worker for the missing days or not. However, the issue was about more than paying and not paying them. It was rather about getting things done for management while giving a rest to workers who worked six days a week. Evading work gave a strong message to management that workers would not like to be pressed with such intense work. Management responded by following those who were frequently absent with medical reports, even if they were really and seriously sick. These workers were given the message that the enterprise might not be willing to employ them. Still, they obtained medical reports when they thought they had to get one and when they were sick.

Sickness, medical reports, and not showing up aside, workers found opportunities to avoid work. There were many relevant excuses, but they were not really necessary. Bellhop team avoided work by serving customers more slowly and attracted attention to their sweating faces and tired bodies. It would take longer for them to bring the luggage to the rooms of the newly checked-in guests, for example. The GR personnel vanished some minutes early from certain service stations, of course in cooperation with workers from other units. The customers would call the help line or the reception, but there was sometimes no answer on the first call. When GR or the reception called house keeping, there was also sometimes no answer on the first call. I observed that individually avoiding work was a losing game for individual workers since

others would not like their avoiding work at the expense of increasing the workload of the others. Thus, they might risk losing the cooperation of colleagues and even losing their job as they may be singled out. When work was avoided collectively through various signals that workers could sense, no particular worker was harmed and thus, some work was avoided through cooperation. This might also be done in turns rather than all at the same time.

In the first weeks, I returned from a dinner some fifteen to twenty minutes late because I thought I was making a useful guest contact. In this case, I reckoned I was not wasting time. When I returned I confronted the frozen faces of my two Russian-speaking female colleagues who thought otherwise. Yağız, the experienced employee, intervened the next day, stating that they were disturbed and might bring the issue up to the supervisor. I talked to my colleagues the following day. Over the next weeks, they were more tolerant of my missing minutes at the desk, while in turn, I took less time for guest contact at lunch and dinner. I tolerated their coming late, as well, when it happened.

Over the course of weeks, the GR personnel at Dreams spent less and less time at the dining table chatting with customers, although they were supposed to continue working during meal times by doing guest contact at the tables chatting with customers. This work during a rest demanded communicative and emotional labor. We avoided the work during meals, however, defying the rules despite the warnings of the supervisor. She was doing her work in that regard. Because of the financial state of the enterprise at Dreams, management could not enforce rules beyond formal, serious warnings. I observed, however, that even without these financial difficulties, there was a limit to management's ability to push things around. Moreover, I later learned that financial difficulties and imposing those difficulties on the workers – such as by paying late – were chronic situations in many enterprises, not just the two that I visited. So altogether, because management wanted to retain remaining and incoming personnel in face of real or imposed difficulties with respect to pay and the intensity of work, they did not badger them too much or chase people away unless there were serious, visible authority problems.

Accordingly, we as GR personnel, for example, even got caught dining together in the restaurant by the GR supervisor and the rooms division manager. The latter eventually joined us on one occasion. Observing that we worked

hard at other tasks, she was not upset about our dining together, though the supervisor kept warning us seriously. Thus, as weeks passed, we avoided a usually important aspect of our work. Guest contact at the dining table was part of the customization aspect of our work, and as work intensified, we spared our energy for other (more routine) tasks, forgetting about the customization. Quantity necessarily outweighed quality given such competition. Thus, we withdrew our efforts at dining table and tried our best to routinize our service at our service stations in intense times. Intensity became the routine and the customized aspects of work were ignored. When work was less intense, a couple of days of the week, we chose whom to serve in a customized fashion, paying more attention, having warmer conversation, and accomplishing the task as quickly and subtly as possible for particular customers. It was a selective spending of effort on our part.

Customers would not know the difference in terms of GR or reception services. As I mentioned, they would not know the difference in terms of room cleaning, either. Experienced maids could clean the rooms well to spare time for themselves and not doing it exactly as management would like to have it done. Emine said that she gave suggestions to her maids regarding how to make the room more likeable and how to behave when they encountered the guests staying in the rooms they cleaned. She was disappointed that her maids did not listen to her, meaning that they did not make give the extra effort. As far as I understood, maids thought that the extra effort was not worth the dollar or two left by customers as tips upon checkout.

While not for GR and housekeeping services, customers definitely discerned differences with respect to the entertainment service, which some customers cared about apparently more than others. Local customers staying in Dreams often complained about entertainers who they thought selected customers to serve more emphatically. They even claimed that entertainers flirted with foreign customers but ignored local ones. It was apparent that they could not serve everyone with the same level of physical, emotional labor, and communication effort. At times of intensity, they wanted to avoid work and have more fun for themselves at the bar or the disco during evening hours, rather than trying to produce smiles, fun, and energy for everyone equal. Flirting was

arguably a reaction to this physical and emotional exhaustion and thus became part of avoiding work and withdrawal of effort. It was also allegedly a covert protest against managerial control of sexuality and sexualized labor. The same was true for the entertainers at Escape. Mahmut and others defied the rule of not drinking alcohol while at work and went beyond the boundaries of guest contact into the terrain of flirting. The male entertainers were reclaiming their masculinity with such protest, shaking managerial control over their physical and emotional effort and sexuality.[21] This was similar for female entertainers who withdrew emotional and sexualized effort during work as part of the production of fun. Following Filby, I claim that these examples of struggle over sexuality paralleled physical and emotional effort, and were thus part of the effort bargain in the labor process. This is crucial from an LPT perspective, since flirting and sexuality are not individualized matters of identity alone. As admitted by the two general managers I interviewed, sexuality as such erased the boundary between customers and workers, distracting workers from their effort.

A general mood of being fed up and withholding of emotional effort were common and palpable at both Dreams and Escape. I learned of a long lasting smile strike in various divisions at Dreams, but especially in the bar, kitchen, and restaurant services. I talked to low-ranking kitchen personnel who stated that they found it difficult to smile at customers given such dire economic conditions. Workers did not feel sufficient energy and support to produce a quality service, but all completed their tasks. Serkan, one of the sous chefs, compared Dreams with his former enterprise where he had worked for six years. He stated that kitchen workers did not smile at customers or interact with them, criticizing top management for their lack of customer orientation: "This is the service sector and you have to communicate with customers. I watch over my team here while they are replenishing food trays at the open-buffet or serving food behind their bars. I cannot catch a glimpse of smile." He lamented that workers would not accept training on body language and customer contact.

21 For more on "working-class masculinity," see Darren Nixon, "'I Can't Put a Smiley Face On': Working-Class Masculinity, Emotional Labor and Service Work in the 'New Economy,'" *Gender, Work and Organization 16*, no. 3 (2009).

His statements resonated his dual position. On one hand, as a mid-level manager he was trying to impose and enforce proper display and emotional rules on the workers. As a worker, on the other hand, he was worried about the kitchen's detachment from customers – their being deprived of communication with customers – as matters of satisfaction and acknowledgement of their work. In his own style, he denied being detached from customers, confined to kitchen work, no matter how creative or routine the food preparation process was, and managing and training lower ranking cooks. He tried to prevent the separation of the back and front stages of the kitchen by maintaining cordial communication with customers as they collected food from the various buffets in the dining hall. He told that he expected the same from his team. He asked the customers how they found the food, for their comments about the variety, and whether they had additional requests not available from the buffets. His communication efforts eventually served both himself and the interests of the enterprise given that he was a high ranking cook and manager.

At Escape, one university student interviewee working for the summer as a receptionist said that customer satisfaction does not depend on the smiles of workers. Customers should be happy with the room they booked, the facilities, and the food. She did not particularly motivate herself for smiling at customers, though the front office manager emphasized the importance of smiling when welcoming and seeing customers off. I did not observe many smiling faces at Escape except those of bargirls serving the hotel lobby during the day, the three women-strong GR team, and certain – especially male – entertainers. In other units, customers were generally greeted with neutral or sulking faces rather than smiles.

At Dreams, apart from supervisors and managers, many frontline workers in the front office (the reception, GR, and the bellhops), in security, and in entertainment ran around with mobile phones. Backstage, the housekeeping floor chiefs, for example, also carried these devices. The line workers at Escape did not use them. These devices sped up communication and service while making workers available at all times from any corner of the premises. Workers with these devices could well be answering a customer, manager or colleague on phone while simultaneously executing one task after another. For

these workers, it was forbidden not to answer calls on the mobile phones. Answering calls was more critical for reception and GR. There were three lines that GR in Dreams offered for customer inquiries: German, Russian and the general help line (handling both English and Turkish). Who handled these lines changed on a daily basis and the Russian and German ones changed among those few who spoke the language. In summer 2012, the busiest line was the Russian one due to an increase in customers from Russia. This increased the workload on Russian speaking GR representatives. They appeared overworked and angry at times because of the workload. I observed that they sometimes did not answer their phones, which of course caused stress for colleagues trying to respond to the demands of Russian customers without knowing the language. If it was simply a matter of making restaurant reservations face-to-face, that could be managed. But there were other, more serious matters. Kaan, one of my Russian-speaking colleagues, rehearsed an excuse for not answering every phone call, which we were all expected to do. "If they ask, I can report that the battery of the mobile phone ran out or that it was broken. Or I could forget the mobile phone here and there while serving customers. If it is mealtime, then I forget it in the restaurant or at the office." Occasionally, it was difficult to reach other lines as well since no colleague really answered all calls. Having learned this, I also did not answer calls from time to time, though seldom. This was our way of slowing the work down. It was similar to going to the restroom when there was no need or taking an extra cigarette break. It ran the risk of rebuke but workers did not seem to be care much after becoming accustomed to the order at the workplace.

Almost all managers and assistants continuously complained about personnel of the younger generation, who did not give of themselves while doing their work. This, they claimed, would have repercussions for their skills and future career. The workers worked, but in neither a sufficiently hard nor responsible manner, and not with the level of devotion that management wanted to see and appreciated. The workers lacked the spirit of service, managers claimed. They worked for the salary and not for the profession. Devotion was their key concept. Workers refused to work with devotion. They refused to devote themselves to the particular enterprises and to the jobs they held there.

Most common forms of wasting time in the hospitality workplaces were relatively long visits to the restroom; breaks for cigarettes, tea, or coffee accompanied by chats, or sauntering in the office from one task to another. This was true for the housekeeping personnel, as well as for GR and the entertainment workers. In the GR office, this meant taking time while answering emails. Prolonging a chat with a customer as a way to avoid returning to one's station and to the queue of customers was a form of wasting time, slowing down the work, and avoiding the awaiting work. Chatting with customers was part of work, anyway, but at such moments it turned into a non-work space. In the restaurant service, avoiding work was done by dumping dirty materials and bringing clean stuff in at a slow pace and occasionally letting tables explode. This was unacceptable for customers and terrible for management, but could occasionally be beneficial for workers since it kept customers away from a particular dining area for a time. I could not learn how time was wasted in kitchen, scullery, or laundry other than prolonging breaks. At times of intensity, management focused on the break time of the workers to speed up service production. This was a reaction to wasting time, just as wasting time was a reaction to the acceleration of the work and reducing break times.

As elaborated in chapter 3, teams were introduced as mechanisms of control in order to capture workers' extra effort and information. As a GR team member, I observed that informal arrangements among colleagues based on emotional closeness and friendship could and did defy team control with respect to work effort and following the rules. Rules limiting the time for dining with customers and prolonging wasted time, I mentioned above, for example, were suspended through them. Most supervisor warnings in GR were related to typing CSS results into the software that held the most crucial data for the enterprise (followed by warnings regarding where to sit while dining). This was the most boring task for GR representatives. They disliked the task and the software, so they did it at a slow pace, dragging their feet every time. The supervisor had to warn team members many times before they would do it. Shift leaders joined the rest in this slow down rather than acting as agents of management by imposing a quick handling of the task. The same reluctance, slowing down, and foot dragging could be observed with respect to the distribution of CSS to customers and asking them to fill it in and return it. Still,

friendly arrangements that helped workers withhold effort and slow the work down were not easy to accomplish owing to personal competition and even possible enmity and envy among workers. But they did take place.

§ 5.3 Defying Rules and Standards

For an observer like myself, the service theatre would not reveal the workers' side of hospitality service for some two weeks of time. I thought it was unlikely that customers who stayed at most two weeks discerned that workers were defying rules and standards. Workers executed their tasks in their own way rather than the way of management, managerial warning and reprimands notwithstanding. This was the mode that the general manager at Escape strove to eliminate through a tough display that he claimed was necessary to get things done in the right way because workers had a tendency to do things in their own way. He did this to strengthen the bureaucratic control system. Constant toughness meant constant friction. Control did not become more embedded and invisible, at least not in the short term. Continuation of toughness meant that workers continued doing things their own way. Harsh, even disgraceful, words and sentences were uttered to personnel. This frequently occurred in Escape's restaurant service, for example.

Similarly, the housekeeping manager at Escape was tough in her attitude and language. There were a series of things with which she was not happy, as mentioned previously. Regarding standards and rules, even the most experienced housekeeping maids, did not complete their tasks the way the manager showed them to, she confessed. although she had demonstrated them a hundred times. Whether the maids knew it or not, I had learned that the unconcerned attitude on the part of the maids drove her crazy. Even after series of warnings, demonstrations, reprimands, and pleas, tasks were still not done the way she demanded. This was a conscious, deliberate, and collective reaction of the maids against managerial standards and control.

Korhan, a G2 at Dreams, stated that the whole restaurant service team was frequently reprimanded for not placing tableware correctly and occasionally for providing slack service. He said that public rebukes were never directed at

a single worker. The impact of these rebukes lasted at most a couple days and then workers continued to do things in their usual way until the next rebuke.

Defying rules took many forms, both collective and individual. One was the occasional gathering of GR and entertainment personnel at dining tables despite the rule that they sit with customers. The workers found relatively invisible corners away from the managers' eyes or have quick meal with friends before being caught. Another interesting form was observed among the front office and restaurant service workers of Dreams, who folded up the sleeves of their shirts that were anyway short sleeve. This was to protest the uncomfortable material of the shirt. While protesting, they used the pretext of the heat as a cover for their action. This act defied a display rule. Another display rule that was defied in late August, toward the end of my stay, was that male GR and reception personnel, who originally shaved every day, shaved less often. Caner, another colleague, stated that since he could not slow the work down – actually we could to a certain extent – he protested the chronic delay in payments by not shaving on a daily basis. These were overt protests. Another similar protest against late payments at Dreams was that restaurant service personnel ate from the food prepared for customers. Certain GR and entertainment personnel, who dined with customers, shared specialties with their colleagues in the restaurant service, defying the rules. They also defied other rules such as not taking fresh fruit out of the restaurant area and not ordering the Turkish pancakes ("gözleme" in Turkish) that were baked for customers at midday. In the end, restaurant service workers did not wait for other personnel to give them food but served themselves.

The lifeguards at Dreams were not allowed to swim in the customer pools except in an emergency. But in the late afternoons as the customers retreated, they jumped into one of the pools out of the sight of managers to refresh themselves after hours of work in the heat. They enjoyed a quarter hour or so in the pool, which made them happy. The entertainers at Escape were not allowed to drink alcohol at night while in contact with guests by the pools and bars. When they did, they were punished by losing access to the main customer restaurant for some weeks. Nevertheless, many drank with the help of their barmen friends, who were not to serve them in the first place. The barmen were just warned, while the entertainers lost access to customer-grade food.

Some experienced waiters served certain food and beverages to certain tables without the knowledge of top management, but probably with the connivance of at least the captains. They did this for additional tips from those whom they regarded as rich customers. The defiance against the rule of not serving to tables was a protest against the wage contract that did not fulfill workers' expectations. Similarly, one particular GR representative at Dreams often offered customers the golf cart to get from one point to another, although the GR himself was typically not allowed to drive the carts and furthermore it was not allowed to offer rides to customers other than during check-in and checkout to help them with their luggage. This particular GR representative did this in defiance of the rules to earn extra tips, since it was not often that the GR representatives earned significant tips.

In such acts of defying the rules and standards, one observes alliances emerging between line workers and captains, chiefs, chefs, shift leaders, and even supervisors who were on their side of the bargain despite serving as the watchful eyes of management.

§ 5.4 Informal Solidarity Arrangements

Informal solidarity arrangements emerged among the colleagues to help each other cope with working conditions, circumvent certain rules, and thus save energy and time. These arrangements were possible owing to the bonds of friendship emerging among workers that were activated for help as well as for defying the rules. One could concretely see the functioning of what are called "informal/sentient groups"[22] within and across units, teams and departments serving interests of the collective worker. Of course, high staff turnover functioned against the sustainable effectiveness of such groups. However, given the high turnover, these bonds and groups could spread in the long run across enterprises, paving the way for solidarity among all workers, who have common problems such that they become conscious about their shared interests, goals, and tactics.

22 van den Broek, Callaghan, and Thompson, "Teams Without Teamwork?"

In GR, such an informal arrangement occurred through one's staying at the office or at the service desk even though one's shift was finished. These GR representatives did not necessarily continue carrying out tasks (though they sometimes did this, as well); their staying was a form of psychological support of the ones who continued working. It could be that a difficult question would arise and colleagues would give each other suggestions. The mere presence of these colleagues just for a chat in between tasks was a great help to those on duty. It was also a form of practice for those not on duty, as they could reflect on their colleague's ways of doing things and take note. I recall, for example, that a colleague brought comics to the service station when I was on duty. Reading them together and commenting on political developments in the country with colleagues from other units who were around was a great means to pass time and lighten the stress of the work. Friendships developed and continued.

The bellhop teams at the holiday villages frequently drove electric golf carts to help customers carry their luggage. There were more at the hilly Dreams where workers' dormitories were situated up the hill and the service stations were down the hill. After their shifts, workers had to drag their tired bodies up the hill, but bellhops often drove their friends up the hill despite warnings and reprimands from management. Then they would stop helping their friends for three or four days, but then resumed. With the golf carts it took less than a minute opposed to a tiresome seven to ten minute uphill walk.

There was ongoing tension at both enterprises with respect to workers not having access to drinks and food prepared for customers. The workers wanted better food. Some thought what they had was enough, but many complained about the nutritional value of the food and the lack of alternatives. Alternatives at the employee cafeteria were no better and one had to pay for them. Workers at bars or in the kitchen exchanged food for drinks among themselves and also regularly gave some away to colleagues despite orders against this. Management was so strict on this issue that workers who shared with the coworkers risked being fired. Nevertheless, in such hot, heavy work conditions, workers supported each other, pilfering from the inventory or reclaiming what was their right. It was important to integrate young security personnel at Escape into this friendly system of sharing lest they snitch on workers. It was difficult

for management to control such sharing among workers, who demonstrated solidarity in terms of providing for their own nutrition during and after work. Not every worker benefitted from this. Those who benefited included the relatively longtime workers and those accepted to the informal food and beverage network. At an all-inclusive resort such as Escape, management needed spies among workers to end such sharing, but it proved resilient despite managerial attempts to end or limit it.

I spoke with Gizem in Dreams' kitchen and Gökalp in Escape's bar unit. Gizem stated that management could not stop her sharing food with her friends or prevent her eating whatever she wanted in the kitchen. Similarly, Gökalp explained to the MdH frankly that bar personnel got hungry during their long shifts. Since the food in the personnel kitchen did not satisfy them, they asked friends in the kitchen for food in return for sodas which kitchen personnel wanted as working for long hours in kitchen's heat made them thirsty.

Apart from these acts of solidarity, workers who finished their tasks early sometimes stayed and helped friends finish their work, as well, so that they could also have time together for socialization. I came across this especially at Escape's kitchen where the work was terribly intense and such cooperation grew out of recognition for mutual help. Jungle and survival metaphors were suitable. Again at Escape, Adem, a worker in technical support, helped his friend every evening after work. His friend Mesut raked the whole beach after customers retreated from the area every evening so that the next morning they would find it without any footprints. It looked like an unwrinkled bed sheet. He did the task with a heavy log that he dragged behind him, which was back-breaking by the end of the night. I thought that he literally survived thanks to his friend who gave a hand.

Some customers, especially children and youth, showed great solidarity in sharing food, snacks, and especially beverages with workers who were thirsty on their shifts in the sun. At times, customers also showed solidarity with workers by mentioning their names in the CSSs. Workers who established relatively good relations with customers during their stay asked them to mention their names in the comment section so that management would take notice of

their hard work, which might contribute to their reemployment the next season.

§ 5.5 Blocking Information Flow

A major concern of management was receiving as much information as possible from workers regarding the labor process, other workers, and customers, knowledge that could be crucial for managerial control and future planning. As specified by the general manager in Side, management was wary of worker plots and sabotage of the workplace and customers. That was why they wanted to learn as much as possible about what went on among the workers and what issues they were speaking about. Remaining in the dark was among management's major worries. Managers had to learn about the workers' intentions regarding the work, the workplace, and customers. Filiz for example, mentioned the necessity of knowing her maids' moods for the purposes of efficient work. Managers thought that bad moods were viral, so they needed to identify their sources and eliminate or suppress them.

Workers were generally silent about serious issues related to the work, bosses, managers, and themselves (that is, their emotions and private lives), at least at the beginning of an encounter. They revealed little until they understood the intentions of the inquirer, lest they drown in troubled waters. It could cost them their job, effort, money, and time. I observed that they constantly strove to create networks of security in a time of growing insecurities. Not sharing too much information was key, they thought, to employment security, at least, in that particular period. They were sensitive to spies, especially those of management who may be there to learn about them and how they do the job in secret. The first days of my research at both venues were days of inspection regarding my status. People questioned whether I was a spy of the boss, a trade union, or the state. After some time, I learned that people talked about others as being spies. Cross-team information sharing and gossip were effective for understanding who had what intentions. Workers did not talk much in the presence of those identified as women and men of management. They generally liked hard-working people, but preferred those who worked

for and with the workers rather than those who worked to get closer to management.

Workers obstructed information gathering about themselves and colleagues, managerial efforts to establish close, intimate relations with them notwithstanding. Management attempted to divide and rule, and play the game of good cop and bad cop for purposes of control and opening channels of loyalty and patronage. Retaining of information about oneself and about colleagues defies such control. I took note of the secret talks among Escape's younger F&B workers, who were mostly university students, about the venue and managers, level of exploitation, the treatment of personnel, the personalities of the managers, and whether they were liked. They immediately stopped talking when a manager or assistant approached. An unfortunate example in this regard was an experience with Ramazan who had finally decided to talk to me about this workplace, thinking that I was trustworthy. He was one of the core members of the restaurant service team and had been silent about such serious themes. Soon Aynur, one of his female colleagues, joined us, and they explained their working conditions and their observations about the problems caused by management. Our talk was interrupted at the beginning by one of the captains who intimidated the two. They immediately asked to be excused. I did not learn what information these two workers had, as management did not let us talk, but I sensed that management also could not find out what they really thought.

At these two holiday villages, workers in frontline jobs who were in close contact with customers could and at times did retain information about these customers despite management's striving to learn as much as possible to improve future service. The GR representatives and entertainers were entrusted with closely observing customers and reporting noteworthy features. Whatever information was obtained went into the system of building customer loyalty and avoiding and resolving problems with customers. While establishing close contact, workers and customers could take the relationship to a dimension that was outside of capitalist exchange relations. From a managerial viewpoint, Yim, Tse, and Chan talk about a "hostage" situation whereby customers

are "kidnapped" by workers in terms of the transfer of affect.[23] The transfer of affect from customers to service firms is jeopardized as the affect stays between customers and workers. In such cases, personal information about customers stays with the workers rather than being transferred to management. In this regard, front stage workers and especially entertainers were considered unruly and difficult to control by the enterprise managements.

§ 5.6 Protest and Strikes

There were many cases of overt protest of working conditions and pay, as mentioned. I encountered other forms of protest at the two workplaces, as well.

Some work tools were broken unintentionally, but some were broken intentionally. Likewise, tools went missing and could not be found. It would take time to replace the missing objects because of the bureaucracy approving a purchase within departmental budgets. These were covert forms of protest against the heavy workload and acceleration – efforts to slow down the work by creating small-scale chaos.

The sole overt form of serious protest I encountered was at Dreams. The lead guitarist and singer on the entertainment team decided to protest the late wage payments and work conditions on stage. I did not witness this protest performance, but colleagues explained that after having imbibed maybe a little too much alcohol before his performance, the guitarist took the stage, grabbed the microphone, and cried aloud to the audience of customers a tune of protest, about the hard conditions in which workers had found themselves for months. The audience was shocked as was management that was present. This was undoubtedly an individual act of a single worker who lost control. However, talking and listening to other workers, I understood that he was expressing long-suppressed feelings about the work and late wage payments. They tacitly but deeply supported his protest. There was no immediate action on the part of other workers to join the guitarist's protest against management, which

23 Chi Kin (Bennett) Yim, David K. Tse, Kimmy Wa Chan, "Strengthening Customer Loyalty Through Intimacy and Passion: Roles of Customer–Firm Affection and Customer–Staff Relationships in Services," *Journal of Marketing Research 45*, no. 6 (2008), 742.

told him to pack up and leave the holiday village immediately. The assistant entertainment manager told a group of managers that he filmed the protest to use it against him in future "if he tried to harm this enterprise." "He was drunk," therefore breaking the rules.

His individual act was not so individual after all. He was unknowingly announcing what was to come. In a couple weeks his protest was followed by news of a strike being prepared by many more workers protesting the conditions. This was not the smile strike mentioned before. This strike actually never took place, but its threat was enough for management to finally react. The partial payments that appeared in workers' bank accounts did not meet their expectations. Still, it was a relief for the time being and workers thought that more would come soon. Strikingly, this action was planned without the trade union at the workplace; the workers did not trust the union with the planning of a protest or strike. They did not believe that the union represented their interests, rather those of the boss. They thought that trade union representatives could hinder the action if it was made known to them. İrfan, the receptionist, expressed the general, adverse feelings toward the union: "Even if the union makes the decision to strike, nobody will join it. Each worker tries to save her or himself rather than get organized. The trade union is useful to create status for some. That is all." In contrast to what İrfan thought, however workers did organize to take a collective action around common problems, but without the union's support.

Earlier in the season, before I arrived, there was unrest in certain units at Dreams, and some workers suggested covertly protesting the problems. Hearing that this sentiment was growing, managers tried to convince their teams that everything was going to be okay soon, but this was no longer reassuring for many. Managers tried to shy their teams away from demonstrating their grievance in front of the customers, which would harm the enterprise. Management explained that it would cost them their jobs. Managers said if the firm and brand were harmed, there would be no work for anyone. They stated, although the workers had the right to be furious and show it in front of customers, doing so would greatly damage the brand and the workers themselves, now and in the future. Managers themselves, however, could not say anything as to when and how lingering problems would be resolved. They were also in

the dark. What they did say was that they were ready to offer any help to workers, including helping them financially out-of pocket until the storm died down. During the weeks I was there, I observed and recorded a general mood of being fed up with work and problems. After building trust, workers did not shy away from stating their troubles in our interviews and informal chats. Some were patient, though, following the managers' call for calm, while many others stated that they had lost the joy of working. Many experienced workers left; others remained for social security and awaited their payments.

Nilgün, the Kid's club entertainer mentioned earlier, talked about entertainers' plans for an organized action in front of customers. Cem, the entertainment manager, heard about these plans and pressured relatively younger, inexperienced workers, stating that it would harm the enterprise and their future careers. This collective action was called off, and he increased his control over the teams. Nilgün remained disappointed with her colleagues' "hesitant and shortsighted" attitude and told them that she would never make plans of any kind with them again. She thought that as a team with one-on-one intimate relations with customers, an action by the entertainers could have been effective. It could have been a model for other workers and together they could push management into the corner.

The real action was about to happen. Mostly kitchen and restaurant service workers, who were to be joined by others, would start the strike. This collective worker protest would come in the morning of the Ramadan feast in August 2012. Newcomers like myself did not know about it, but news apparently spread about a strike being prepared for the first day of the feast. That morning, however, what workers experienced was not an overt, collective strike. Rather, we learned that the strike was called off at the last minute, the reason for which was the eventual transfer of belated wage payments into the workers' accounts. The explanation was that the management had learned about the action and finally acted to prevent a strike that could have been disastrous for the brand. I observed that people were happy and congratulated one another according to the custom of the feast the whole day. Workers who prepared the strike had aimed for the limited but important goal of wage payments that were some months late. The goal was reached simply in the face of the threat of a strike.

In the afternoon that day, I interviewed Ramazan, among others, about this phantom strike. Ramazan, a G2 restaurant service worker, underscored the fact that many workers who were not generally interested in such actions would have supported it if it had taken place. It would have been a huge action. He himself had not thought of joining a protest or strike before. Statements of İrfan, the aforementioned receptionist, support this observation. Importantly, it points to the possibility of strong collective action and thus to class-consciousness in-the-making during the preparations for the strike. This was the case even if the workers had problems and opinion differences among themselves and were initially not well organized, and even if management built systems of control to prevent any such unruly action that would harm capital.

§ 5.7 Dissent and Managerial Misbehavior

Two other forms of worker behavior do not conform to managerial expectations and control mechanisms. Collinson and Ackroyd explain that dissent is about linguistic and normative disagreement, while misbehavior is conscious rule breaking.[24] I have given examples of the latter. Now I mention a specific case of managerial misbehavior encountered at Escape and some examples that I heard about at Dreams.

Unlike top management, mid-level managers accepted that there were problems caused by the design of work and the structure of competition. While criticizing the workers, they also accepted their mistakes frankly, but took no action to correct the problems and wrongdoings. They did not join forces with the workers in a powerful protest to make things better. They were part of the structure, cogs in the wheel of capital accumulation. Did they not also have agency? The threshold for Ahmet, ex-MdH at Escape, was crossed when one of his division workers, someone employed there for thirteen years – a long time for a firm with such high labor turnover – was dismissed on trivial grounds. When the worker sued the enterprise for unjust dismissal, top management asked Ahmet to testify in court on behalf of the enterprise. Ahmet told the truth in court, testifying to the integrity of the worker rather than

24 Collinson and Ackroyd, "Resistance, Misbehavior and Dissent," 305-06.

the enterprise. Ahmet resisted the pressure put on him that he should testify against the worker. He told me that his testimony later caused him trouble with the employer, who asked the general manager to find an excuse to lay him off. He was disappointed by the attitude of the general manager with whom he had worked for fourteen years at various firms. He was eventually laid off upon receiving three trivial warnings. This led him sue the enterprise to protect his dignity and to receive overtime remunerations that he was never paid. Until that time, Ahmet had abided by the practice that overtime would not be remunerated. Mid-level managers were accomplices in not recording the overtime of their division workers. Ahmet's was the case of managerial misbehavior. Rather than defending the firm, he defended the rights of a worker, probably winning the latter's court case due to his manager's testimony.

Later, I was made aware of an article in a national newspaper in August 2013, reporting on an increasing number of tourism workers in the Antalya basin who were suing the enterprises due to problems they experienced. These especially revolved around unjust dismissal, unpaid wages, and unpaid overtime. In increasing numbers, workers were applying to the Employment Tribunal, gradually becoming a nightmare for entrepreneurs. The workers apparently started to take action against mismanagement and violation of their rights guaranteed in the labor law, which is anyway not particularly labor-friendly. The newspaper report also mentioned that the formal initiative of applying to the Employment Tribunal was the result of the advice and offer of help to workers employed at hotels and holiday villages by both lawyers specializing in labor issues and former public labor inspectors.[25] The Employment Tribunal is a valuable tool in the short run while unionization remains low among tourism service workers.

In terms of dissent, it suffices to point to workers' defiance of managerially imposed concepts. I came across many workers at Dreams that did not accept the ideological constructs that management tried to impose as part of normative control. The managerial attempt to realign workers' interests within that

25 Burak Coşan, "İşçinin Rüyası Otelcinin Kabusu (Dream of the Worker Nightmare of the Hotelier)," *Hürriyet* (9 August 2013), 9.

of the enterprise through teamwork and normative control mechanisms were part of the design to extract more effort. Common themes were to call the modern environment buildings a "hospitable Turkish village" and the customers as "guests;" to repeat over and over that "we are a big family here," "this is our home," and "managers are not monsters but a source of help," "leaving the firm in mid-season is treason;" and to talk about the virtues of being a team player. Erdinç who worked at the game center of Dreams asked, for example: "How can customers be guests? You don't take money from guests, but we take money from them here." Or similarly: "How are we exactly a family? Do you treat family members the way managers treat us?" Or "This is a prison here." Or "Our work here has nothing to do with tourism." Or "Why do they earn more than I do when we do the same tasks on the same team?" Workers uttered many such critical comments on a daily basis. Such questioning, expression of ideas, and discussions among workers were clear signs that normative impositions of management were not fully succeeding.

I also observed that management did not thoroughly succeed imposing so-called appropriate behaviors and inculcating the right values. The main example was the unruly young women working in the GR and reception teams at Dreams, who, although few in number, refused to have their femininity subdued and re-sexualized the workplace. The example for the latter issue at Escape was the few entertainers, both male and female, that I have mentioned in various sections of this thesis.

§ 5.8 Chapter Summary

Workers' agency and resistance were said to be missing themes in Braverman's classical study of the capitalist labor process. However, the second wave of LPT theorists filled this vacuum with their analyses of workplace antagonism and its wider societal implications and resources.[26] As suggested in the Marxism-inspired LPT tradition, there is a structural antagonism between capital and labor. Despite talk of its elimination and the end of resistance on the part of workers, workers in newly arising service workplaces demonstrate different

26 Thompson and Smith, "Debating Labor Process Theory," 13.

forms of workplace resistance. Strikingly, collective forms of worker resistance are not extinct, as I argue in this chapter.

I argue for the continuing importance and relevance of the collective worker despite individualizing practices and discourse. Collective forms of resistance do not vanish in service settings where the products are both the services produced with participation of customers and eventually the repeat guests themselves. Instead of emphasizing hegemonic managerial control, this study and chapter argue that such control is far from complete in the tourism sector characterized by high turnover rates, labor intensive work, emotional labor, payment problems, decreasing wages and tips, and diminished career opportunities. Allegedly, management once had the consent of the workers for its work design due to handsome wages, tips, an internal labor market, workplace training, more contact with customers, language learning, and acceptable workloads. This consent largely faded as such conditions ceased to exist. Work intensified as the number of rooms to be served increased while the number of workers decreased due to the cost-competitive structure of package tourism on the southern coast of Turkey.

In this chapter, I particularly mention absenteeism, withholding effort, wasting time, covert and overt protest, strikes, informal solidarity arrangements, and defying rules and standards as forms of resistance that could not take place without the involvement of a considerable number of workers. What was noteworthy was that matters upon which workers acted concerned all workers. They touched on common grievances. I heard no acts of present or past sabotage at the two venues, although management feared it. I only learned at Dreams from one supervisor in a technical support unit that workers had gotten accustomed to the old machinery and mechanical systems and collectively prevented the purchase of new machinery and adoption of new systems to increase efficiency. They obstructed this out of fear of being laid off once the new machinery was installed. They managed to express their concerns through formal and informal approaches to supervisors and managers.

Apart from these, I also mention dissent and the increasing number of worker appeals to the Employment Tribunal, completing the picture of antagonistic relations between labor and capital. Recent studies and research have looked for novel types of worker resistance in call centers and retail service

settings. Ackroyd and Thompson and others categorize these acts under the concept of organizational misbehavior. Within this, workers use humor to subvert managers as Taylor and Bain explain in their research on call centers. My findings regarding humor as a tool of subversion were scant given time limitations, though I took note of GR, receptionists and bellhop personnel (mostly young people of the same age) making plenty of fun of managers behind their backs.

The holiday villages generally employed young people, especially on the front lines, as explained in chapter 2. There were more senior and experienced workers at Dreams than at Escape. People generally thought that the senior workers were passive, reacting neither to managerial designs nor to problems around work intensification and payments. Reasons suggested for their alleged passivity were their socioeconomic and family conditions, on one hand, and imminent retirement on the other. They did not want to risk anything. A few did not really need the money but worked for the sake of the social security. Workers with families and children were less likely to take risks.

The workers at Escape were more fearful of losing their jobs, but were also ready to leave in the face of problems and the firm's violation of their rights. There was no union at Escape, while the trade union at Dreams was idle with respect to representing the workers and protecting their rights. It was a control mechanism that the workers understood well, so they did not raise up any formal demands or grievances through it. Speaking directly to managers was a better option. As I mention, that was why during preparations for the phantom strike, trade union representatives were not informed lest they prevent it from taking place. However, in the end it did not take place because of management acting.

These examples point to the continuing structural antagonism at hospitality service workplaces between capital and labor. Workers had agency and resisted against the various control mechanisms created by management. They strove to establish their control on the quality and quantity of production.

6

Conclusion

I wrote my dissertation with the aim of critically analyzing capital-labor relations in the service sector in Turkey, bringing in a developing country perspective to the growing literature. I concentrated on a particular subsector of the service industry that has not been brought under the critical light of the labor process analysis initiated by Harry Braverman.[1] My concern has been to recognize labor's agency in a growing industry where workers have been made invisible despite the fact that tourism and hospitality workplaces are labor-intensive.

Tourism has become an important segment of national economies since 1950s and has contributed to the expansion of market relations. It caused the transformation of various services, formerly outside of market relations, into commodities. Similarly, the rise of services – and within that tourism and hospitality – introduced new forms of work organization and new types of work. This went hand-in-hand with a new wave of proletarianization, especially due to developments in the agricultural sector. Consequently, tourism has become a growing worldwide employer, constituting a considerable part of national economies connected to the global economy – contributing to the expansion of wage labor and thus creation of value and surplus value. This being the case, the continuing lack of a critical analysis of tourism and hospitality from the

1 Braverman, *Labor and Monopoly Capital*.

perspectives of production, work, and labor is surprising. There is a gap in labor process literature analysis, explaining how goods and services in tourism and hospitality are produced. Thus, I wrote this thesis to bring the working, employment, and living conditions of workers that produce tourism and hospitality services to light. These otherwise remain invisible because of the association of tourism solely with consumption and reproduction.

In my dissertation I concentrated on the employment and working conditions at two of these new work organizations that produced tourism and hospitality services in southern Turkey. The tourism industry is comprised of various types of organizations. Among them, I concentrated on organizations where service production was based on wage labor. What are popularly called holiday villages in Turkey – that is to say, resort hotels, – mushroomed in the post-1980 period, a time when, I claim, Turkey's tourism gradually became especially industrialized with the introduction of the all-inclusive marketing strategy. These so-called villages, which in reality have nothing to do with villages or the flow of village life, produce various services that altogether constitute a holiday package to be consumed by international customers who spend a week or two at these places.

Holiday villages in southern Turkey are well known for their provision of fun, entertainment, and relaxation in a 3–S (for some a 4-S) setting. They could be deemed a new cathedral of consumption. Similarly, tourism is associated with culture, consumption, reproduction, mobility, and fun in the literature. As such, tourism has been a focus of cultural studies and management studies. It is connected to various other issues such as marketing, environment, trade, investment, regional and national development, and sustainability. But tourism is not analyzed from the perspectives of work, production, and labor. The work and working conditions of tourism laborers have rarely been analyzed. In the tourism literature, only some geographers are partial exceptions to the general neglect of production, work, and labor perspectives in tourism.

Beyond this gap, there has been no analysis of tourism and hospitality from the prism of Marxism-inspired Labor Process Theory (LPT), which is the guiding theoretical perspective for the thesis. Work and labor in holiday villages, however, are challenging themes for LPT tradition. Foremost, season-

ality and the involvement of the whole person of the workers through emotional, aesthetic labor and corporeality are features that LPT research engages with in various new forms of work organization and working conditions that have emerged with the rise of services. Tourism and hospitality host a combination of these features demanding a critical analysis such as that offered by the LPT tradition, which focuses on production, the working conditions of workers, the material aspects of work in the services, and the continuity of managerial designs to control labor. Emotional and aesthetic labor, corporeality, control, skills, and worker resistance are relevant to LPT research into the service sector, wherein the extension of market relations, the commodification of workers' selves beyond their physical efforts, and workers' varied responses to intensified capitalist exploitation through new control mechanisms are analyzed. In tourism, seasonality reveals capitalists' efforts to extract more labor from the labor power hired for a limited period of time in the year. Together with seasonality, another key to understanding the service labor process, especially in case of frontline workers who face customers, has been the enterprises' attempt to mold emotionality and the corporeal qualities of workers through managerial intervention, trying to harmonize such qualities with corporate goals.

Tourism has become a vast industry that employs a workforce with varied sets of skills. These skills of workers vary both across and within teams and departments. When education is taken as a proxy for skills, inter-departmental variety is more observable, while when experience is taken as the criterion, differences are discernible within the same unit. Nonetheless, defining skills, especially in the services continues to be a contested issue. It is widely accepted, however, that the jobs tourism offers are low skill, low discretion, low income, and low security for the majority of line workers. In contrast, a small minority – occupying mostly managerial positions along with a few positions that involve high-touch contact with customers – enjoys certain benefits. However, as I observed and argue, this small minority is also on the verge of losing these benefits and facing the dire conditions experienced by the others due to the increasing competition among tourism firms.

At first glance, the holiday village setting reflects the serenity of the blue sky and the crystal clear waters of the Mediterranean. In a relaxed atmosphere,

guests play; rest in their comfortable and clean rooms, by the pools, or by the sea; enjoy their meals and drinks at bars and restaurants; join club activities; and do sports during the day and dance at night – while those who have children entrust club personnel with their children's entertainment and safety. This is on what the tourist's gaze initially focuses: on customers taken out of time as if in a sort of paradise by the shore, diving into the blue. These moments recorded by the first glance reflect a modern life of comfort, leisure, consumption, and luxury and free of concern.

Despite this modern outlook, an intense and exploitative work pattern operates in the holiday village so that the village can exist as a place of timeless leisure, fun, and consumption for hundreds of customers who check in and out on a daily and weekly basis. It is of utmost importance that customers enjoy the services and the facility and feel that they are special, as if everything has been specially prepared for them. This is the trick of disguising standardized services as customized. This trick demands a huge workload accumulating on the shoulders of the workforce with few benefits. Interaction at each service station is part of the modern life of fun, relaxation, entertainment, and cultural exchange, but the holiday village operates actually as a factory of services – a factory of holiday experience, but without chimneys. Workers produce these standardized services through spending physical, emotional, and aesthetic labor. While customers enjoy the timeless paradise, workers produce the services of the paradise – bounded by real time, real problems, and concerns. What they produce as a service should, of course, reveal none of their problems as these services are mostly produced in presence of and simultaneously consumed by customers. This makes customers a party in the politics of the production of this experience factory. By applying LPT, I uncovered various features of the holiday village as a service assembly line designed to manufacture the repeat guest, i.e. the loyal customer, via the work of service workers grouped in teams at various service stations within the village. Repeat guests are of utmost importance for tourism firms with respect to their budget planning, profitability, operations, and becoming a reliable brand.

For this dissertation, I visited two such holiday factories in southern Turkey which were built on public land with 49-year leases – part of a state policy to encourage tourism. The first holiday village I visited, located close to central

Manavgat (Antalya), was the property of a local entrepreneur. Escape, where I stayed for three weeks as a guest, operated an all-inclusive boarding concept and employed around 450-500 workers who served around 2,000 mostly Russian and East European budget-customers daily in the high season. The second holiday village, located close to central Fethiye (Muğla), was a former joint venture between a local firm and an international company that turned into a local enterprise after the withdrawal of the international company. The venture did not last long, but the workplace still showed a few traces of the international company's culture. Dreams, where I worked as a GR representative for two months, operated a full-board plus concept and was a higher-end facility, serving generally more well-to-do customers than the first venue. Dreams had also welcomed a trade union and collective bargaining as well as subcontractors in certain work units of holiday service. The initial cooperation with an international firm, the service for well-to-do customers, and the allowance for a trade union were qualities I initially thought would make a difference in terms of working conditions. Moreover, Dreams employed around 700 workers who similarly served 2,000 customers daily, mostly from Germany, Britain, and Russia. Importantly, until 2012 labor turnover was much lower at Dreams, which meant that a higher number of experienced, longtime workers worked at the holiday village. This gave some power to those workers in their relations with chiefs, supervisors, and departmental managers and relatively more autonomy in the execution of their tasks. At least until the 2010s, Dreams valued the experience of workers for the execution of tasks. In terms of composition, many workers at Dreams stemmed from the immediate Fethiye region, while at Escape more workers came from beyond surrounding towns. Either way, the majority of workers at both holiday villages were members of formerly farmer families. The two holiday workplaces had similar departmental and organizational structures though Dreams had more layers in its hierarchical system, which points to once functional on-job-training and internal labor market, as explained by workers.

At the end of my field research in the summer of 2012, I understood that the similarities between these two workplaces – which looked different on initial inspection in terms of their capital structure, workforce composition, firm

culture, holiday package concept, and customer profile – outweighed the differences. For one, the full-board plus system at Dreams was rapidly dissolving into an all-inclusive model as exceptional offers were being forged for a British tour operator, leaving the earlier high price policy defunct. This necessarily caused problems among customers and of course created complaints, which meant additional work for managers and workers. The specific reason for this transformation was the financial troubles of the firm and of mismanaged investments elsewhere, but more generally, it was the result of increasing competition. This was in turn reflected in belated wage payments that became chronic over time. This is a wider problem in the hospitality industry in general and Dreams was no exception despite its being a high-end vacation venue. This caused the firm loss of its experienced workers. Second, the trade union could not do much and did not protect its workers in the face of such problems, functioning more as an enterprise-oriented than a labor-oriented mechanism. If it did anything, it was to calm workers down rather than motivate them to struggle for their rights. Third, increasing competition, financial expectations, and financial troubles inevitably increased cost concerns at both firms – no matter how different their concepts, product markets, or market segments were initially. Increasing concerns over costs meant taking action to decrease costs and increase production in a volatile market with fluctuations in demand; that is, they had to find and welcome more customers during seasons of the same length. This necessarily meant relying on international tour operators who dictated the prices but did not offer all a 100 percent guarantee. When things did not go as expected, firms had to be flexible, adjusting the number of workers according to actual demand. As such, decreasing costs meant doing more work with fewer workers while the firms became more flexible through hiring and firing of workers according to demand. Such a system dismantled initial protective, training, and career arrangements available to workers who saw their incomes decrease and employment security vanish over the years. The only fragile, protective arrangements remaining were the hemşehri networks and small power cliques. This atmosphere, more the case at Escape for reasons that have been explained, underscores the role and power of mid-level managers who became references for the approval of workers. Some of these workers were relatives, kin, friends, and followers. Indeed,

labor market conditions in a certain period could give some leverage, though temporary, to workers at the bottom of the hierarchy.

In short, I observed that in terms of the working conditions of workers, the two holiday workplaces were increasingly similar, superficial differences notwithstanding. At both, there was a tendency toward centralization in terms of management, decreasing the discretion once in the hands of individual departments and units. Management dictated that more work be extracted from a decreasing number of workers over the years, a reason for the increasing turnover rates together with the decreasing promise of tourism employment with respect to income security, one's career, and skills development. This was true whether an employee had a formal education or not. The withdrawal of people with experience from the sector and from the industry altogether left a vacuum that created low trust work environments characterized by the radical constraint of the remaining workers' discretion and a steep reduction, if not all cancelation, of on-the-job training. Newcomers to the industry did not feel as attached to the sector or as loyal to firms, but worked in order to fend for themselves for the foreseeable future. Work intensification along with increasing insecurity with respect to employment, job, skills reproduction, and income was a fact for the majority of workers, even including some at managerial levels or in high trust, high-touch positions.

In my analysis of the relations of production in the hospitality workplace, I relied on core LPT framework introduced by Thompson.[2] Core LPT defines capital–labor relations as one of conflict and contradiction. Capitalist employment relations have a contradictory nature because of the structural antagonism and interdependence between labor and capital. Accordingly, the domination of capital over labor is never complete, meaning that whatever the mechanisms introduced, there is no all-powerful form of management in the workplace that utilizes all its goals. Workers respond in various ways to capitalist demands and managerial control mechanisms, rather than remaining passive. The general concept by which core LPT explains this complicated relationship is called the indeterminacy of labor. Through control mechanisms,

2 Thompson, "Crawling from the Wreckage: The Labor Process and the Politics of Production," in *Labor Process Theory,* ed. Knights and Willmott.

management strives to extract the necessary amount of labor from the labor power to generate surplus in a competitive business environment. This exploitative relation and mechanism of accumulation underlies continuing technological innovation, the renewal of management tools, and the change in skills. Core LPT suggests that in the process, capitalists necessarily seek a degree of creativity and cooperation from labor despite their antagonistic relationship. And labor responds to such requests varying from resistance to consent.

Following Edwards' taxonomy of labor control,[3] I argue that different modes of control co-existed at holiday villages as workplaces. Despite the inconsistency of their co-existence, I observe that this hybridity reflects capital's flexible application of them according to the needs of accumulation in a volatile market in the neoliberal era. I came across a bureaucratic structure that allowed both simple control mechanisms and incorporated teams for normative control to redefine workers' collectivity. Contrary to the general assumption, I argue that it is not unusual to observe technical control becoming important in hospitality services. Overall, capital's flexibility vis-à-vis labor control means the confluence of apparently contradictory control policies that in return brings about numerical and functional flexibility in the workplace. Of course, this has negative consequences for the workforce and for the firms in the short and long terms. Ostensibly contradictory policies actually balance one another out, further disorganizing workers and debilitating labor's hold over the labor process. Finally, on the question of customers' role in the control of workers, customer satisfaction surveys (CSS) are an important mechanism for institutionalizing the performance criteria through accumulation of numerical data in the hands of top management. Performance criteria necessarily become a sword of Damocles over the heads of workers, managers, and unexpectedly of general managers. As such, CSSs did not always reflect reality on the ground in the holiday villages, and certain revisions could always be made to the surveys when it seen fit. They could function to the benefit of workers at times. The crux of the matter, I conclude, is not customer satisfaction per se, but a managerial attempt to turn it into a norm that puts further pressure on workers and extracts more effort from them. In other words, this

3 Edwards, *Contested Terrain*.

hides managerial control behind customers by referring to a depersonalized customer satisfaction. Moreover, although managers often refer to them, service quality and customer satisfaction have actually deteriorated considerably over the years due to increasing competition, the industrialization of services, increased workloads, decreasing worker discretion and wages, and a disheartened workforce.

The same mechanisms of weakening workers' organizations under neoliberalism and cost-based competition strategy of firms also had their impact on skills composition. Skills are a contested theme, more so with the rise of services and discussions around soft skills. I argue that capitalism in its neoliberal stage causes degradation of hospitality service work through industrialization of services in the holiday villages, especially after the introduction of the all-inclusive model as a competition strategy. Such industrialization and ensuing changes in the skill content of holiday service jobs paralleled a downward pressure on incomes that were in turn responsible for the departure of many experienced personnel from the hospitality industry. With the industrialization of services, task complexity and task autonomy eroded as a higher degree of the division of labor – whereby tasks became divided, simplified, routinized, and scripted – became evident. This process made workers increasingly interchangeable and inexpensive. The tasks at hand did not require the labor of the former, highly–paid, experienced personnel. These people left their mark on the golden years of tourism of the 1980s and much of the 1990s. Few of them became managers and general managers at various tourism firms, but many were said to have left the sector.

Bad jobs are inevitable in Turkey's hospitality sector despite an increasing number of graduates of tourism vocational schools and faculties at universities over the course of the last three decades. Increase in education as a result of public investment, however, does not alter the degradation of hospitality work. This observation for the hospitality sector attests to Braverman's arguments against the upgrading thesis. Second, tourism and hospitality workers reflect the general situation of service workers in the neoliberal era, lacking the strong worker organizations that industrial workers once had in the postwar period. The power of labor is ultimately what matters most in terms of defin-

ing skills and the level of autonomy of workers at work. In a time of intensifying competition and the ensuing industrialization of services, disorganized workers are bereft of power to bargain with capitalists. Workers have less leverage in defining the terms of effort, wages, and skills. The powerful position of management, speaking on behalf of capital, define whether or not workers are skilled and of what service skills are constituted. Consequently, managers in the holiday villages complained about the unskilled labor force in tourism without mentioning the deteriorating working, career, and financial conditions of workers. Many newcomers to the sector indeed lacked formal training and did not receive on-the-job-training. Workers did not or could not plan a career in tourism and hospitality.

Arguably what have been described in the literature as soft skills – comprised of emotional labor, aesthetic labor, social competence, and attitude – could have been acknowledged as skills if workers had the power to make them as part of the service craft deserving of due remuneration and professional training. Many tasks or jobs could then have been associated with this protected craft as their content. Few positions were left at the holiday villages that allowed discretion. Consequently, following Braverman, I argue that that within a general polarization of skills, most hospitality service tasks became deskilled – without forgetting, of course, that even the lowest skill jobs have a certain skill content.

Finally, on the question of resistance, it should be emphasized that LPT acknowledges labor agency and worker militancy, emphasizing class struggle as the motor of workplace change. Accordingly, I argue for a focus on the collective worker and thus collective forms of resistance that have not ceased to exist in the face of the introduction of various control mechanisms. Of course, this also depends on labor's organized power, which was weak in the tourism sector also due to the extant laws, low levels of unionization, and precarious living conditions. As part of this general argument, I claim that what appears to be individual forms of resistance cannot take place without the direct help, or at least benign connivance, of colleagues and friends in the workplace. Most forms of resistance I introduce fall into this category. Informal solidarity arrangements remained strong despite measures taken by managements of both

holiday villages. Moreover, withdrawal of effort, blocking the flow of information, and defying standards and rules were common, and complaints were frequently raised about them by managers. Beyond these, I draw attention to high labor turnover in the tourism sector, and following Smith, I argue that labor turnover resulting in labor mobility is part of the labor indeterminacy along with the effort bargain. Labor mobility defies control designs and functions as a mechanism for externalizing resistance, consequences of which can be better understood in the long run.

I happened to be at Dreams when workers planned a protest and strike, about which they crucially did not inform and did not seek the support of the trade union. This strike, intended to be observed by the customers, was aborted at the last second. I call it a phantom strike. It was enough, however, to move management to take measures for the immediate payment of the late wages of the workers. This shows that in the politics of production, the working class "for itself" is powerful and menacing to capital, even as a specter. This was a moment of class struggle in the holiday village. Such power of the working class is the reason why capitalists take various measures to disorganize it, increase individualization, redefine collectivity through novel mechanisms such as the introduction of teams, update technology, and re-arrange the skill content of jobs. These eventually reduce labor's control over the labor process in order to ensure that workers become and remain subordinated to the imperatives of capital as part of the historic struggle. In Edwards' words, today's industry and economy attempts to homogenize labor while rendering workplace relations heterogeneous in order to divide the working class. This said, total labor control was not realized at the hospitality workplaces. According to LPT research, this is the case not only because capital requires the creativity and consent of labor to execute the tasks, but also because workers resist managerial plans, at times causing substantial alterations to managerial designs. Workers at Dreams defied even the trade union that they believed represented the interests of the boss. In short, workers at both holiday villages showed solidarity, transcending status divisions and negative personal feelings among themselves – whether they worked onstage or backstage, were unionized or not, or were experienced or newcomers. Such solidarity was fragile as long as the workers remained unorganized, but so was the managerial control regime.

The majority of workers employed at the holiday villages worked in jobs that required little or no skill in return for a low wage. Those serving a long time in tourism, and the lucky few who became supervisors, managers, or general managers, saw the change from what they regarded as the golden years to the all-inclusive model, industrialization of hospitality services, the change in the customer profile, the increases in the workload, the decreases of wages and tips, and the consequent deterioration of service work and quality. New workers only knew the system as one of intense, ceaseless work, detached from the cultural dimensions of tourism. They had little chance to build a career in the sector and did not experience on-the-job-training. Of course, these changes had much to do with Turkey's unsound economy sailing in a turbulent sea of neoliberalism and often close to a shipwreck. Economic and political crises throughout the last three decades aggravated matters for workers, including those in tourism, who experienced the dismantling of protective measures one after the other with the financialization of the economy.

I argue that the working conditions in tourism and hospitality sectors in the neoliberal era have long reflected the diffusing precariousness for labor, which is considered generally in terms of cost. What is called seasonality, for example, is a form of just-in-time flexible production whereby workers are hired in times of demand and laid off when there is insufficient or no demand to eliminate the additional costs of unneeded labor. Moreover, there is no guarantee that workers will be employed in the next season, making their employment temporary. Last but not the least, they can be fired in the middle of the tourism season without a pretext or indemnity payment, which defies the existing legal structure and makes their employment and financial situation highly insecure. Such new employment relations are not confined to new tourism workplaces, however, and have gradually become the imposed work order at other sectors, as well. Over the years, many firms in various sectors have adopted a similar model to produce flexibly, trying to turn their workers into subdued, interchangeable cogs in the production cycle. Capitalists attempt to disorganize workers regardless of sector, also by stripping trade unions of their earlier functions. Decreasing wages, late wage payments, and unpaid overtime are more common than in the past, even in the industrialized world.

Tourism as seasonal service work thus stands as an epitome, both foretelling and reflecting these changes in the work-life that have created precariousness for the majority. The aforementioned insecurity is fact for many tourism workers both during and after the holiday season. What is observable in employment relations can also be observed in work relations whereby work has ceased to be a meaningful activity under a heavy load executed by fewer workers. Moreover, as services and manufacturing infiltrate each other in the industry of our era – and thus as services come industrialized and manufacturing incorporates service production features – entrepreneurs claim to control the whole personality of workers along with their corporeal qualities – not just their physical effort. Capitalists exploit workers more by imposing emotional and aesthetic labor, attempting to mold workers' attitudes, feelings, and bodily qualities for the creation of surplus.

In sum, the tourism employment I observed in the two holiday villages in southern Turkey offered an insecure work-life to workers in terms of employment, job, work, income, career, working time, skills reproduction, and labor market. Contrary to the comments of some workers about the artificialness of what they experience within the holiday village, the labor process reflected the degradation of work in the neoliberal era in a sector that was alleged to replace the exploitative, de-humanizing work order of manufacturing. In fact, due to increasing competition, bosses intensified the exploitation of labor through means that turned their tourism enterprises into more flexible organizations, which in reality meant prolonged and mostly unpaid working hours, belated wage payments, heavier workloads carried out by fewer workers, acceleration of the service assembly line, increasing injuries, emotional burn-out, loss of health, lost opportunities for skill development and career planning, executing extra tasks that were not one's own, and workers' becoming interchangeable in the service assembly line.

Until the times when tourism and hospitality workers transcend their differences – mostly imposed by capital – to build continuing solidarity institutionalized by representative trade unions and occupy positions that can define tourism policy and other vital matters, the threat of being exploited as disposable inputs in an imposed service production design – nameless and invisible – continues to be real. In the new era, such solidarity also needs to take into

account the decreasing social distance between workers who serve in various workplaces and other workers who come to be served as customers, since capitalism attempts to control all workers in its cathedrals of consumption, such as holiday villages, where the unity of production and consumption are clearly observed.

Appendix List of Interviewees

ESCAPE

1 Emine, Female, 1966, Housekeeping, Manager
2 Handan, Female, 1971, Kitchen, Stewardess / Scullery Personnel
3 Semra, Female, 1972, Housekeeping, Maid
4 Hatice, Female, 1975, Kitchen, Stewardess / Scullery Personnel
5 Selda, Female, 1976, Quality Control, Controller
6 Fulya, Female, 1980, Entertainment, Kid's Club Supervisor
7 Alya, Female, 1981, Guest Relations, Manager
8 Dilfeza, Female, 1987, Front Office, Receptionist
9 Ceyda, Female, 1991, Food and Beverage, Bargirl
10 Mehmet, Male, 1957, Kitchen, Sous Chef
11 Selim, Male, 1958, Laundry, Manager
12 Ahmet, Male, 1959, Food and Beverage, Maître d'hôtel
13 Davut, Male, 1960, Technical Support, Assistant Manager
14 Turgut, Male, 1964, Top management, General Manager
15 Mesut, Male, 1970, Housekeeping, Sweeper
16 Muharrem, Male, 1972, Food and Beverage, Headwaiter
17 Hakan, Male, 1973, Front Office, Manager
18 Selim, Male, 1975, Food and Beverage, À la carte Service Chief
19 Sinan, Male, 1978, Laundry, Personnel
20 Mahmut, Male, 1980, Entertainment, Entertainer
21 Cemal, Male, 1981, Kitchen, Demi Chef
22 Arda, Male, 1978, Food and Beverage, Bar Chief
23 Mükremin, Male, 1987, Kitchen, Demi Chef
24 Noyan, Male, 1990, Front Office, Bellboy
25 Gökalp, Male, 1992, Food and Beverage, Barboy
26 Bulut, Male, 1992, Kitchen, Commi

1 Sevinç, Female, 1965, Rooms Division, Former Maid
2 Ezgi, Female, 1968, Entertainment, Responsible for Step and Aerobics
3 Filiz, Female, 1970, Rooms Division, Executive Housekeeper
4 Nilgün, Female, 1979, Entertainment, Kid's Club Entertainer
5 Olesya, Female, 1980, Rooms Division, Guest Relations Manager
6 Aysel, Female, 1980, Entertainment, Kid's Club Personnel / Babysitter
7 Neriman, Female, 1984, Rooms Division, Reception Shift Leader
8 Asuman, Female, 1986, Rooms Division, Repeat Guest Program Director
9 Esra, Female, 1986, Rooms Division, Guest Relations Representative
10 Afife, Female, 1986, Rooms Division, Laundry Personnel (employed by a sub-contractor)
11 Gizem, Female, 1987, Kitchen, Demi Chef
12 Neslihan, Female, 1989, Rooms Division, Receptionist
13 Jessica, Female, 1991, Entertainment, Kid's Club Entertainer
14 Füsun, Female, 1993, Food and Beverage, Waiter / G3
15 Rafet, Male, 1963, Human Resources and Training, Manager
16 Erhan, Male, 1963, Food and Beverage, Restaurant Supervisor
17 Harun, Male, 1966, Rooms Division, Laundry Supervisor
18 Hüseyin, Male, 1968, Landscape Architecture, Gardener (employed by a sub-contractor)
19 Cem, Male, 1972, Entertainment, Manager
20 Yağız, Male, 1972, Rooms Division, Guest Relations Representative
21 Mert, Male, 1973, Food and Beverage, Bar Supervisor
22 Murat, Male, 1973, Rooms Division, Public Area Supervisor
23 Serkan, Male, 1973, Kitchen, Sous Chef
24 Kadir, Male, 1975, Security, Guard
25 Sertan, Male, 1976, Food and Beverage, Bar Captain
26 Samet, Male, 1976, Entertainment, Assistant Manager
27 Fazıl, Male, 1976, Rooms Division, Assistant Front Office Manager
28 Kerim, Male, 1976, Food and Beverage, Bar Captain
29 Tamer, Male, 1977, Technical Support, Mechanical Chief
30 Hasan, Male, 1980, Food and Beverage, Assistant Food and Beverage Manager
31 Emre, Male, 1980, Rooms Division, Bellboy

32 Yusuf, Male, 1980, Kitchen, Assistant Chef de Partie
33 Irfan, Male, 1981, Rooms Division, Reception Shift Leader
34 Vehbi, Male, 1981, Rooms Division, Guest Relations Representative
35 Burak, Male, 1984, Entertainment, Entertainer
36 Orhan, Male, 1984, Food and Beverage, Waiter / G2
37 Toygar, Male, 1985, Rooms Division, Guest Relations Representative
38 Ibrahim, Male, 1988, Information Technology, IT Specialist (employed by a subcontractor)
39 Hamid, Male, 1991, Food and Beverage, Restaurant Service Intern
40 Korhan, Male, 1993, Food and Beverage, Waiter / G2

ADDITIONAL INTERVIEWEES

1 Sevda, Female, *not available*, Human Resources, Manager of a Luxury City Hotel in Istanbul
2 Ahmet, Male, 1975, Marketting, Assistant Manager of a Luxury City Hotel
3 Merve, Female, 1991, Shopkeeper, Children Games (at Dreams)
4 Mustafa, Male, 1960, Top management, General Manager of a Holiday Village in Side (Antalya)
5 Melih, Male, 1965, Shopkeeper, Photographer (at Escape)
6 Durmuş, Male, 1974, Shopkeeper, Parachuting Reservationist (at Dreams)
7 Zafer, Male, 1977, Maintenance Technician (at Dreams)
8 Mehmet, Male, 1987, Shopkeeper, Coiffeur (at Escape)
9 Mahmut, Male, 1988, Shopkeeper, Photographer (at Escape)
10 Birol, 1991, Tour Operator Representative (at Dreams)

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