



THE NATURE OF WORKING IN THE HOSPITALITY INDUSTRY: EVIDENCE FROM 3S TOURISM IN TÜRKİYE

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ABSTRACT

The main purpose of the study is to reveal the nature of working in the field of hospitality by examining employment forms and working conditions. For this purpose, the phenomenology approach was used and interviews were conducted with 32 hotel employees. According to the findings, it has been seen that temporary and precarious forms of employment are common in tourism. It is seen that the employees are kept under strict control for efficiency and productivity and the managerial hegemony is at a significant level. In addition, it has been determined that due to standardization and simplification in hotel businesses with an all-inclusive system, employees are deprived of their qualifications and become unqualified.

1. INTRODUCTION

The tourism sector makes significant contributions to employment. Before the Covid-19 pandemic, 333 million people were employed in the tourism sector worldwide. This figure decreased to 271 million in 2020. However, starting in 2021, tourism employment started to increase again (WWTC, 2021). The rapid growth of the tourism sector in Türkiye also creates employment for many people (Aykaç, 2010). However, it is observed that there are fluctuations in employment throughout the year. Because seasonality affects employment significantly (Baum, 1993) and most employees are employed seasonally (Jolliffe and Farnsworth, 2003; Lundmark, 2006; Erköse, 2020; Yıldırım, 2021). From this point of view, it can be stated that one of the most important characteristics of tourism employment is temporary - precarious employment (see Çelik and Erkuş-Öztürk, 2016; Yıldırım, 2021; Çıvık and Besler, 2022). Because the dismissal or suspension of tourism employees at the end of the season shows that they are included in the precariat class, as stated by Standing (2017).

In Türkiye's tourism, it is seen that hotel businesses have plans and policies to provide cheap labor instead of qualified labor (Aykaç, 2010; Erköse, 2020). For this reason, especially in seasonal destinations, hotel businesses are looking for short-term, cheap, and unskilled labor (Çıvık, 2021). This situation is an advantage for unskilled, semi-skilled, and migrant employees with low educational capital (Tosun et al. 2021). Although it is stated that income inequality will be reduced with the spread of tourism (Uzar and Eyuboglu, 2019), it causes a decrease in wages in the labor market. In addition,

the high unemployment rate creates competition in the labor market and employees accept lower wages (Çıvık, 2021). Another important issue in tourism employment is nepotism. Studies show that getting a job through acquaintances and being favored in the workplace is an important problem and the merit system has partially disappeared (Abubakar et al. 2017; Elbaz et al. 2018; Elsayed and Daif, 2019).

Besides the employment problems in the hospitality industry, working conditions are seen to have negative aspects in many respects. There are low and unfair wages, break violations, long working hours, and heavy workloads. Apart from these, managers abuse their positions, have bad faith, and discriminate (Baum, 1999; Poulston, 2009; ILO, 2012; Çıvık and Besler, 2022). It is seen that low wages cause high staff turnover (Brien, 2004). It is seen that women are employed in jobs requiring lower qualifications and earn less than men (Carvallo et al. 2014; Cave and Kilic, 2010). In addition, it is revealed in studies that hotel employees are exposed to domination by managers, customers, and colleagues (Çıvık, 2021, Çıvık and Besler, 2022).

The main purpose of the study is to reveal the nature of working in the field of hospitality by examining employment forms and working conditions. It is aimed to reveal this neglected subject in the literature within the framework of

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a critical paradigm by firstly examining the forms of employment and its effects, and secondly, the physical working conditions, the labor process, and the power relations in the field. The nature of working in the hotel industry is revealed holistically, especially focusing on working experiences under capitalist conditions. Thus, it is thought that this study will be an important source of information for the improvement of employment problems and negative working conditions in the tourism sector in general in the field of hotel management.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Employment Patterns

The tourism sector directly employs a large number of people due to labor-intensive production (Pizam, 1982). It is known that many qualified and unskilled people are employed in the sector, foreigners, and trainees. While the labor-intensive structure of the tourism sector increases the employment rate, some factors negatively affect employment. One of the most important factors affecting the employment aspect of tourism is seasonality. Especially 3S (sun, sea, and sand) tourism and winter tourism take place depending on the climate. This causes supply or demand fluctuations (Cooper et al. 2005; Baum and Hagen, 1999). The short duration of the sector also affects employment significantly (Baum, 1993) and commonly causes seasonal employment, underemployment, and unemployment (Jolliffe and Farnsworth, 2003).

While the number of employed in the coastal area of Türkiye increases in the summer period, it decreases in the winter period. Employees are either dismissed or suspended at the end of the season (Çıvak, 2021). The main reason for this is to adapt to demand fluctuations and reduce labor costs. However, seasonal or flexible employment traps the employees, revealing precarious and uncertain forms of employment (Standing, 2017). It is seen that tourism employees (Çelik and Erkuş-Öztürk, 2016; Robinson, et al. 2019; Yıldırım, 2021) who are dragged into precarious and flexible employment are included in the precariat (Çıvak, 2021; Çıvak and Besler, 2022). Insecurity is a newly emerging sociological concept with neo-liberal policies (Standing, 2017; Robinson et al. 2019). Tourism employees who are unemployed or suspended due to seasonal work inherent in the tourism industry have to struggle with uncertainty in their lives. Besides economic concerns (Çıvak, 2021), it is exposed to social pressures such as unemployment stigma (Lee et al. 2015).

It is seen that it is a common practice to get a job through acquaintances in the sector, and therefore there is nepotism. Especially in the food and beverage department of hotel businesses in Türkiye, it is seen that there is a need to act together with the leader (Çıvak, 2021). It is stated that those with strong social capital are favored in the workplace, therefore hotel employees think that there is discrimination in the sector (Balcı İzgi and Olcay, 2008, p. 57). It is stated that the physical characteristics of individuals are important in terms of favoritism (Abubakar et al. 2019). Nepotism has negative effects on job satisfaction, job stress, job performance (Elsayed and Daif, 2019), cynicism, and intention to leave (Abubakar et al. 2017).

In the sector, female labor force participation

is low, the education level is insufficient, the labor turnover rate is high and there are seniority problems (Chalkiti and Sigala, 2010; Poulston, 2008; Silva, 2006). In return for working under these conditions, it is seen that the wages are quite low. Because women employed in tourism are employed in semi-skilled, unskilled, and temporary jobs (Baum, 2013), therefore it is seen that wages are low (Timmo, 1993, p. 37). In this respect, it is seen that there is gender discrimination in the field of hotel management and that female employees are exposed to discrimination. According to UNWTO's "Global Report on Women in Tourism - Second edition", 54% of women are employed in the sector; they earn 14.7% less. The positive situation in women's employment turns into a disadvantage in terms of earnings. An important reason for this may be the employment of women in non-skilled jobs such as cleaning. According to the report, women employees experienced the fastest and greatest economic shock due to the COVID-19 pandemic. In addition, the employment of women in managerial positions is lower than that of men. The rate of female senior executives in the tourism sector is 36.8% worldwide. All of these show that women are discriminated as the distribution of jobs, wages, and career development (UNWTO, 2019).

2.2. Working Conditions

There are important problems in the tourism sector such as low wages, long-term labor-intensive work, non-payment of overtime wages, seasonal or flexible employment, informality, inadequate accommodation conditions, and high staff turnover (Baum, 1999; ILO, 2010). The problem of low wages in the tourism sector is seen as a problem not only in Türkiye but throughout the world. For example, it is stated that wages are low in New Zealand and therefore there is high staff turnover (Brien, 2004). The hourly fee differs according to the destination, the year-round operation of the hotels, and the departments. Mun and Woo (2021) state that the front office department's hourly fee differs between \$14.55 and \$11.96 according to the full-capacity and limited-service hotels. The hourly fee differs between \$ 13.81 and \$11.32 in the housekeeping department. When the minimum wage is calculated, the hourly wage in Türkiye is 1.3 dollars (see ÇSGB, 2020; TCMB, 2020). This shows that there is an average of 10 times the difference in wages between America and Türkiye.

One of the important problems in the tourism sector is long working hours. According to Kaya and Atçı (2015), the weekly working hours in the tourism sector in Türkiye are mostly between 46-60 hours (54.3%), and 23.1% of the employees work between 61-80 hours. 7.5% of them work 81 hours or more. According to ILO (2012), the average working time in hotels and restaurants in Türkiye is 59.4 hours. According to another study, it is 63.5 hours (Messenger et al. 2007).

It is seen that breaks are not given regularly in the peak season, weekly leaves are adjusted according to the density, and permissions are not given due to working on official and religious holidays (Çıvak, 2021). According to the research conducted by Balcı İzgi and Olcay (2008, p. 57), 42% of hotel employees stated that they could partially use their weekly and annual leaves, while 9% stated that they did not. 16% of female employees stated that they could not use maternity and breastfeeding leave, and 27.7% stated that they used it partially. It is known that in

some hotel businesses, the insurance is not made in the first process, called the trial period, input-output is made on the insurance so that the employee's right to severance pay does not arise, and the insurance premium is not paid regularly (Çıvık, 2021). In addition, it is stated that employees have difficulties in fulfilling the conditions for benefiting from invalidity, old age, and insurance, as social security premiums are paid less due to seasonal employment (Çavuş and Kurar, 2015: 149).

In addition to these, it is seen that heavy workload, prolonged standing, exposure to high levels of heat and sound, working with chemicals, etc. In addition, employees are exposed to domination, harassment, and discrimination by customers, employers, managers, and colleagues. Because of these, there are work-life imbalances, stress, and health problems. (Çıvık, 2021).

When it comes to the labor process in the hotel industry, an evaluation can be made through the labor process theory. Labor process theory is very important in determining the conditions of labor relations, commodification, deepening exploitation, and domination in the hospitality industry. Labor process theory deals with capitalist production relations, class contradictions of labor and capital, and their consequences (Rowlinson & Hassard, 2001). Accordingly, in the historical process, the labor process has been under the control of the capitalist, the work has been devalued, and the employee has been unqualified by separating the mental and manual labor. The division of work down to the smallest details means that employees cannot fully grasp the object produced. Since the production process is already planned by the management, it is almost impossible to imagine it in the mind of the employee. In addition, the division of work into details devalued the work (Braverman, 1998). There is a similar structure in tourism enterprises. It is seen that especially in all-inclusive hotels, the service is simplified, and the ties of the employees with the customers are partially cut off. It is stated that the simplification of the service devalues the work, and employees are detached from their qualifications (Çıvık & Besler, 2022, Erköse, 2020).

Edwards explains how control mechanisms over the labor process are used. In the workplace, managers/bosses develop practices on how to organize work, the pace of work, and how employees work and control. However, these practices are tools of exploitation established to provide maximum benefit. It can be stated that control is one of these tools. Edwards classified these forms of control as simple, technical, and bureaucratic control (1979, 17-21). Burawoy (1979), on the other hand, stated that employers not only think about control practices but also think about how to motivate them to work more and create motivational practices. It is stated that the employees in the hotel industry are watched one-on-one by the chefs, followed by cameras and audio recordings, and it is seen that the consent of the employees is gained through practices such as career promise and competition discourse (Efthymiou, 2010; Erköse, 2020, Çıvık, 2021; Çıvık & Besler, 2022).

3. METHOD

The forms of employment and working conditions in the hotel industry are mostly handled with a positivist paradigm. Instead of more positivist

studies, this study has been handled with a critical point of view. The research is ontologically and epistemologically based on the critical paradigm (Burrell and Morgan, 1979). A qualitative approach was adopted in the research. Qualitative researchers describe individuals and events in their natural settings in detail and position the interview as a key factor in research design (Weiss, 1994). The interview technique was used to learn and explain the situation and facts discussed in this study in detail.

3.1. Participants

The participants of the research consist of people working in four and five-star hotels in Antalya. Snowball sampling (Merriam, 2009) was used in the selection of the participants. People who played a key role in the research referred the researcher to other people. However, the maximum diversity sampling (Merriam, 2009) was preferred considering the department, position, and sector experience criteria of the participants. Attention was paid to the presence of at least one person from each department and determined job positions.

Table 1. Participants' Details

Pseudonym	Gender	Profession	Time Working in the Industry	Wage	Working in the same hotel in 2022
Esra	K	Housekeeper	8 years	Min. wage	X
Elif	K	Housekeeper	11 years	Min. wage	
Arif	E	Procurement clerk	14 years	Min. wage	
Erdogan	E	Cook (Butcher)	30 years	6000	
Erdem	E	Storehouse supervisor	4 years	Min. wage	
Serhat	E	Waiter	17 years	Min. wage	
Fatoş	K	Housekeeper	14 years	Min. wage	
Mehmet	E	Restaurant supervisor	13 years	4000	
Tekin	E	Cook	21 years	2700	
İpek	K	Tea house supervisor	2 years	2470	
Aydan	K	Security Guard	2 years	Min. wage	
Ahmet	E	Receptionist	14 years	2650	
Orhan	E	Headwaiter	16 years	3000	
İrfan	E	Headwaiter	10 years	3100	X
Recep	E	Sous Chef	2 years	2500	
Halit	E	Waiter	6 years	2500	
Semih	E	Waiter	5 years	2500	
Nurcan	K	Receptionist	3 years	2900	
Çağrı	E	Front office asst. manager	13 years	5000	
Aykut	E	Bellboy	7 years	Min. wage + tip	
Olga	K	Receptionist	12 years	3000	X
Eren	E	Receptionist	13 years	3000	X
Aysel	K	Switchboard operator	6 years	Min. wage	
Dilek	K	Switchboard operator (Trainee)	4 years	800	X (different department)
Fahriye	K	Masseuse	12 years	Min. wage + Premium	
Özge	K	Masseuse	12 years	Min. Wage + Premium	
Can	E	Receptionist	6 years	2400	
Berk	E	Receptionist	15 years	2500	
Büşra	K	Chef's assistant (Trainee)	1 year	800	New interviewee
Anıl	E	Bellboy (Trainee)	1 year	800	New interviewee
Daniil	E	Receptionist	5 years	3000	New interviewee
Indra	K	Masseuse	6 years	Min. wage + Premium	New interviewee

Participants work in different positions in different departments of hotel businesses. Six of the participants were locals; other participants migrated from different cities in Türkiye and different countries.

3.2. Data Collection

The face-to-face interview technique was used as the data collection technique in this study. A semi-structured interview was designed to get in-depth answers and not to get away from the subject. The questions are about the employment patterns in the sector; the working conditions, the impact of these conditions on the lives of the employees, and

how the employees adapt to the conditions. The questionnaire was sent to four experts in the field for 'expert opinion'. Necessary corrections were made after expert opinions (Appendix 1).

Fieldwork was carried out in four stages. In the first stage, a pilot study was conducted in Antalya between 1-20 June 2020, and 9 participants were interviewed in this context. It is stated that pilot studies are useful in both quantitative and qualitative research (Tashakkori and Teddlie 2003). The main benefit of the pilot study is that it allows the researchers to make corrections to the main study (Kim, 2011: 191). If the interviewees do not understand the questions posed to them, the collected data may be biased (Sekaran, 2003), and the pilot study makes it possible to correct ambiguous and unclear statements or questions. Thus, the pilot study adds value and reliability to the whole study (Van Wijk and Harrison, 2013). It also allows the researcher to gain field experience on the subject. As a result of the pilot study, it was seen that the questions were understandable. After the obtained data were analyzed, it was thought that the field study should be continued.

In the second stage, fieldwork continued in Antalya's Kemer, Alanya and Kundu regions between 10-13 August 2020, and interviews were held with 19 more hotel employees. In the third stage, the first 28 participants were interviewed between 6-20 April 2022, and 3 additional questions were asked. The reason for this is to learn about the changes in their lives, whether there is a change in their ideas about tourism and hotel management, whether they work in the same hotel or not, and the reason for leaving the job. In the fourth stage, 4 more participants were interviewed between 23-25 May 2022. Two of the participants are interns and two of them are foreign nationals. Additional interviews were conducted to examine the employment of interns and foreigners in more detail. Discussions were concluded at the point where new codes were not deemed necessary to effectively summarize the data. A total of 32 hotel employees participated in the research. All participants stated that they voluntarily participated in the research by signing the "Participant Information and Consent Form" and gave permission to be audio recorded.

3.3. Data Analysis

As a result of the interviews, the audio recordings were converted into text without changing the order of participant expressions. In this research, the interview texts were analyzed through the NVivo 12 program. Programs such as NVivo have been used frequently in qualitative research in recent years (Bazeley and Jackson, 2013). Because such programs have advantages in terms of revealing codes and themes more regularly and reliably and presenting more concrete outputs to the researcher in analysis. The texts loaded into the NVivo program were read line by line and open coding was done. Codes with similar and common meanings are combined. As new interviews were conducted, the number and content of the existing categories were monitored and the dataset was organized in such a way that it did not fall within the scope of the topic. Previous interviews and codes were re-examined and their suitability for the final version was tested. The codes are grouped under two previously determined main themes (employment forms and

working conditions). At the same time, four experts analyzed the data. Obtained data were compared. As a result of the analyzes made, it was decided that the data obtained from 32 participants reached data saturation (Fusch and Ness, 2015). At this point, the researcher ended the data collection process due to the lack of new data and the repetition of the data.

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.1. Forms of Employment

It is seen that seasonal employment is common in Antalya, one of the most important tourism cities in Türkiye, due to the seasonality of tourism, and employees are suspended after the season. However, the state is trying to increase employment through the Turkish Employment Agency (İŞKUR) to support the private sector and increase employment. It is seen that foreign nationals are widely employed in the tourism sector, and high school, associate degree, and undergraduate students studying in the field of tourism and hotel management are employed as interns, especially in the summer period. It is seen that one of the important features of the hotel management field is employment through acquaintances and team employment.

4.1.1. Seasonal employment

Seasonality, which is one of the important characteristics of the tourism sector, affects all working and economic relations in the sector. The length of the season varies according to the destination and the type of tourism, and seasonal work can cause underemployment and unemployment. Season length covers 6-8 months in Antalya. While employment peaks during the peak season, some hotels completely cease operations and lay off employees during the low season. Some hotels leave a limited number of staff to their winter staff. İrfan states that employees come to this job knowing that it is seasonal. Although some employees want to stay at the end of the season, it is very difficult to be included in the winter staff of the hotels.

"There are 80-85 employees in the summer season. They reduce this number after the season. Many of my friends already know that this job is seasonal. That's why they leave when the season is over. But some are married, and they work in tourism in the hope that they will stay in the winter. That's why I wish I hadn't entered tourism. Tourism is very bad." (İrfan)

Employees cannot receive unemployment compensation when they cannot meet the conditions for benefiting from unemployment benefits. Hotel employees, who already have low incomes, continue to make a living by spreading the money they earn in the season over 12 months. Especially during the coronavirus pandemic period, with the hotels being closed, hotel employees have become unable to meet their basic needs. Eren expresses it as follows; "The man fills his stomach for 12 months with what he took for 8 months. You know, there is a person who completes the season with a flannel, out of necessity. He washes it every day because he can't afford to spend his money". In addition, employees whose employment contracts are terminated or suspended at the end of the tourism season that starts in April and ends in October-November in Antalya and its districts work in temporary, daily jobs to maintain their livelihood. While the local

people of the region are engaged in agriculture, if they have the means; While male immigrants work in jobs such as construction, because job opportunities in tourism regions are limited and heavily dependent on tourism; women are returning to housework. Even hotel employees who have high school or higher education levels and speak different languages are looking for construction jobs after the season. Participants' statements reveal how seasonal employment shapes the living conditions of employees;

"The local people are economically strong. The economic level of the locals is good compared to the others. Everyone is engaged in agriculture in some way. Everyone has a second job here" (Ahmet)

"The receptionist speaks 3-4 languages. The man works perfectly. He is fine and gentlemanly. The season is ending, like November-December. This guy is looking for construction work." (Can)

4.1.2. Suspend system

"Suspend" in the hospitality industry is a system in which employees cannot benefit from unemployment insurance due to the continuation of their employment contracts. Suspended employees do not receive any wages and insurance premiums are not paid. Some hotel businesses terminate or suspend employees without informing them. Expressing that he heard about this system for the first time, Ahmet stated that the concept of suspension is specific to tourism; "We suspended you. It was here that I learned the word for the first time. There is such a concept here in tourism... But we cannot suspend the hotel. I say what is this? The hotel will close. In the meantime, we will wait". Elif, on the other hand, states that their insurance premiums are not paid when they are suspended. Since the insurance premiums of tourism employees who cannot get another job with insurance are lower than those who work all year, it also affects the retirement period. Mehmet, who works as a restaurant manager in a five-star hotel, states that they hire suspended employees based on the priority of arriving on time. Mehmet's statements show that the hotel employees are in a precarious and helpless situation. This situation is similar to the story of Doru mare, which was deducted from the account mentioned in the novel *Yılık Atı* (Rosinante) by Abbas Sayar (2015).

Seasonal tourism employees who were laid off in September-October 2019 were unemployed in 2020 due to the Kovid19 pandemic. Due to the travel restriction, both tourism businesses and tourism employees suffered a loss of income (Williams, 2021). It can be stated that seasonal tourism employees suffer from financial difficulties. In addition, it is seen that tourism employees who are dragged into precarious and flexible employment are included in the precariat (Çıvık, 2021).

4.1.3. Turkish Employment Agency (İŞKUR) employment

İŞKUR provides salary and bonus support to businesses to ensure that employees are employed for 12 months. According to Orhan's statements, although the employees do not find a job through İŞKUR, hotel operators direct them to register with İŞKUR. Thus, hotel businesses get rid of some of their employee salaries and insurance premiums by taking advantage of employment incentives.

Although employment incentives reduce seasonal employment, it can be stated that business owners benefit most from them. So, it reduces labor costs, which is the biggest cost factor in hotel businesses.

"We came in 2019. We found this job ourselves. We came, and they want registration from İŞKUR. The state did not find me this job. But the official records seem to have found the state. The employer directs me there. Go to İŞKUR and register because they will receive state support from there. When it enters the records, İŞKUR finds it. That's one of the tricks of falling unemployment numbers today." (Orhan)

4.1.4. Foreign personnel employment

It is possible to say that the employment of foreign personnel is common in the hotel industry. According to the 2019 data from the Ministry of Labor and Social Security, 23,109 foreigners were given temporary work permits in the accommodation sector. Hotel businesses prefer people who know the languages of those countries from which countries they receive more tourists. Especially considering that there is a high concentration of Russian tourists in Antalya, it is seen that Russian-speaking domestic and foreign personnel are primarily employed. It is seen that foreigners are widely employed in SPA and Thalasso. Fahriye explains this situation as follows; A newly arrived female friend. There are 13-14 people due to pandemics this year. Usually, foreign. It's also a matter of supply and demand, she. Businesses also have foreigners because the visitors demand foreigners". Mehmet expresses the reason for this situation with the following words; "Foreign personnel is preferred because they cost less and know the language". Although this situation is an advantage for businesses, considering the unemployment figures in Türkiye, employment opportunities for the citizens of the country decrease, and competition in the labor market occurs; Which results in lower wages.

4.1.5. Intern employment

The aim of tourism education in undergraduate, associate, and secondary education institutions is to meet the needs and expectations of the sector by training qualified personnel. For this, in addition to theoretical education, it has been made obligatory to do internships in the sector for the specified periods to increase the knowledge and skills of the students. However, it is possible to say that the negative working conditions in tourism reduce the desire of tourism students, who are at the beginning of their professional careers, to work in the sector. Eren states that the intern employment is intense and the interns are loaded with more work than they can handle. This is supported by the statements of Dilek, who had previously worked in the kitchen and service department. In addition, the researcher had an internship in the tourism sector for 11 months and experienced similar conditions. That is, when compared to the studies in the literature, the experiences of the participants and the internship experiences of the researcher in the hotel sector are similar. The statements of the participants are as follows;

"Currently, we are trying to work with interns instead of permanent staff... But we are assigning the work that a normal staff should do to the intern." (Eren)

"They torture the trainees in the kitchen. Peeling

potatoes, and onions. The chefs are constantly shouting in the restaurant. For example, it is difficult to transport the servant cart for women. They send me because I am a trainee.” (Dilek)

It is possible to say that trainee employment provides a cost advantage for hotel businesses. According to Vocational Education Law No. 6899 (1986), interns are paid not less than one-third of the minimum wage. Based on this law, businesses generally do not prefer to pay higher wages to intern students. Additionally, the age of high school interns starts from 15. According to Labor Law No. 4857, it is forbidden to employ children and young employees under the age of 18 in shifts between 20.00 and 06.00, which corresponds to the night period. The researcher’s working experiences and field findings in the hotel industry show that those under the age of 18 are employed in evening and night shifts in hotel businesses.

4.1.6. Getting a job through acquaintance - Nepotism

One of the ways to get a job in the hotel industry is to have social capital from the hotel business. As Bourdieu (2005) states, having a network of mutual acquaintance and recognition means getting the support of the capital owned by the collectivity. The acquaintance in the hotel industry is sometimes a relative, sometimes a chef or manager with whom you have worked before, and sometimes the business owners themselves. The higher the status, the more it means both job guarantee and favor within the business. In addition, it has become an important rule for entering the field, as it has become a common practice in the hotel industry to get a job through acquaintances. Halit’s statements reveal this situation;

“I had an older brother; he was working in tourism. I also finished high school and I had no profession. He said that come with me and work in tourism.” (Halit)

4.1.7. Team employment

One of the common practices in the hospitality industry is working as a team. In hotel businesses, especially in the kitchen department, there is a case of starting or leaving the job as a team. If the leader of the team quits his job and starts working in another business, he takes his team with him. It establishes its order by ensuring that the employees in the place it goes leave their jobs. Orhan, who is a restaurant chef, stated that he has been working with the same department manager in different businesses for years, his colleagues are the same people, and he cannot do it with another team because each team has its hegemonic order. This situation shows how high the managerial power is and that the managers keep the employees under pressure. As a matter of fact, in the research of Çıvık and Besler (2022) on the criticism of managerial control mechanisms in hotels, it is seen how control mechanisms turn into domination.

“I started with my current F&B manager and continued with him. Until this time, I applied to a hotel and did not expect a job, or because I could not be alone against the order; I continued with these people... Otherwise, you are alone, and that hegemony emerges. You will either quit or continue to be in slavery.” (Orhan)

4.2. Working Conditions

One of the biggest problems for employees in the hotel industry is unfavorable working conditions. As a result of the analysis, the categories of physical conditions, lack of legal rights, labor process, the characteristics of the field, and the theme of working conditions from these categories were reached.

4.2.1. Physical conditions

Physical conditions for employees in hotel businesses; refer to resting areas, lodging conditions, shower facilities, and environments such as the cafeteria. According to Kusluvan and Kusluvan (2000, p. 261), the physical conditions of personnel lodgings, dining halls, and bathrooms are in poor condition. Similarly, in this study, it was found that the accommodation and hygiene conditions were insufficient. It is possible to say that the negative physical conditions of 2000 and before are still valid today and there are no attempts or efforts to improve the conditions. However, it has been found that the areas where employees can rest during break periods are small, far from work areas and monitored areas. Camera systems, which Edwards (1979) described as technical control and intimidating employees not to exhibit undesirable behaviors, show that every moment of the labor process is kept under surveillance. Camera systems in hotels almost resemble Bentham’s panopticon (Foucault, 2012) and thanks to camera systems, employees are kept under the surveillance of the government at all times. Tekin expresses this situation with the following words;

“One day, they put a camera in our resting area... why the resting area is being watched. Are we not working? Are we skipping work for 1 hour and 2 hours? I wondered if they were trying to detect that.” (Tekin)

Although lodging in destinations such as Antalya with sea-sand-sun tourism is an advantage for some employees, this advantage is eroded due to limited opportunities and insufficient hygiene conditions. Pictures 1 and 2 show images of a hotel’s lodging in Alanya. It has been observed that the facilities are quite inadequate in terms of comfort and hygiene, and the building is at a neglected level. The walls swelled from moisture and had mold. The floors, tables, and chairs are in a very dirty condition. In addition, it should be stated that the lodging facilities of the hotel enterprises were established to cover the disadvantages of seasonal work. Because people coming from different regions of Türkiye for seasonal work will not be able to rent a house for this short period, hotel businesses have to provide accommodation conditions. In addition, the accommodation facility turns into a tool that intensifies power over them, like keeping the employees in a camp. Hotel employees, who spend their working and non-working time on the property of the business, are kept under supervision. In their study on disciplinary power and hosting employees, Kıykaç and Aslan (2019) stated that hotel businesses both provide a workforce and aim to create obedient and helpful employees by hosting employees. The statements of the participants regarding the personnel lodgings are as follows;

“The lodgings where the personnel stay, I know such things that if you tie a dog, it won’t stop.” (Erdem)

“Three people sleep in one bed in the lodgings... There are many cases of scabies... It is like a barn.” (Tekin)



Picture 1 and Picture 2: Resting Room in a Lodging

4.2.2. Lack of legal rights

According to the statements of the participants, wages in the hotel industry are generally at or slightly above the minimum wage. This causes the employees to suffer from livelihood problems. In addition, it can be said that the living problems of tourism employees are more in tourism centers where life is more expensive than in other cities. Esra expresses her financial difficulties with these words; “How shall I say? After paying 750 liras for rent with a minimum wage, it was our electricity, our water, and our children’s school. Employees who live in an expensive city and earn a minimum wage of 2300 TL, try to earn their living by going to add jobs after their shifts at the hotel. Hotel employees, who are physically and mentally tired, increase their fatigue with additional work; This reflects negatively on their work, family, and social life. İrfan’s statements reveal the effects of low wages;

“The salary does not satisfy anyone. Is the minimum wage of 2300 liras sufficient? House rents in Alanya are currently 1500 TL, in some places 2000 TL. Even if people work in tourism, they do additional work. Many cooks also work as waitresses at weddings. They work for 8-9 hours, and then they go to extra jobs.” (İrfan)

It was observed that weekly leaves were canceled due to the intensity. It is stated that in order not to give severance pay to the employees, input-output transactions are made in the insurance, as well as uninsured employees are employed. This situation causes unregistered employment. However, it has

been observed that some hotels do not give their employees severance pay and put various pressures on the employees not to do so. Considering all these conditions, it is seen that hotel employees cannot benefit from their legal rights adequately and labor exploitation in the hotel sector is at a high level.

4.2.3. Labor process

Hotel businesses prefer to work with a minimum number of employees to reduce employee costs; thus, it has been seen that the employees are burdened with jobs and responsibilities beyond their capacities and that the employees work at the highest performance in a way that forces their physical and mental capacities to complete the work. It has been observed that the legal working time is mostly exceeded in the high season, and some employees work double shifts, working up to 16 hours a day. It has been observed that the employees in the service department, where there is an entracte working system, spend almost most of the day in the hotel. In addition, employees are given additional duties and drudgery outside of their responsibilities, and employees accept these duties as obligatory in order not to be pressured by the managers. It is observed that employees experience health problems due to both physical and mental fatigue. In addition to diseases such as varicose veins and heel spurs caused by standing for a long time, lumbar hernia problems due to heavy lifting are frequently experienced. It has been observed that some employees have psychological problems due to stressful work, and some have heart problems. In addition, due to physical and mental fatigue, most of the employees are unhappy in their business life; It has been observed that this hurts family and social life. It is noteworthy that social life is very limited because of long hours and low wages.

“You are like a runner. Every day will be high-level performance, your performance will not decrease. Your job is to clean up the mess. There is no difference from the garbageman. You can’t get out of bed the next day.” (Orhan)

Hierarchical levels work in an integrated manner to ensure that the work is carried out in the determined standards and flow, and aims to increase efficiency and productivity by keeping the employees under surveillance (Çıvık and Besler, 2022). Each department has its special business processes. All process takes place within the determined standards and the works are standardized and routine. This process is carefully monitored with cameras, audio listening devices, one-on-one surveillance, or the manager’s agents. The statements are as follows;

“Our bellboys are our news birds. They know every place, whether inside or outside the hotel.” (Çağrı)

The work process in the service department has been standardized with the transition to the all-inclusive system. The service job has turned into simple tasks such as placing the food on the buffet, removing the empty tables, and cleaning. While in a la carte restaurants, customers order the food they want from the waiter, the relationship between the waiter and the customer is partially broken in the open buffet system. With the simplification of the work, the employees have been unskilled. Thus, there is no need for qualified service personnel in the field. This has led to the further devaluation and cheapness of labor power. In particular, the transformation of the service department was

realized in a very short time with the all-inclusive system. It can be stated that Braverman's (1998) criticism of the Taylorist system is also valid for hotel businesses. Because it is seen that the jobs in hotel businesses are standardized and simplified, and employees are unqualified.

Every moment of the labor process is kept under surveillance. Hotel employees are kept under control with simple, technical, and ideological control tools (Efthymiou, 2010; Erköse, 2020, Çıvık, 2021); and these tools turn into a mechanism of exploitation and domination (Çıvık and Besler, 2022). Because these practices aim to discipline employees by putting pressure on them. Simple control includes directives (Edwards, 1979). Simple supervision is provided by supervisors and middle-level managers to convey the instructions they receive from above to the employees and by one-on-one supervision. Çağrı, the assistant front office manager, stated that he observed the employees one-on-one, that he used the bellboys as a surveillance tool, and that they learned everything that was going on in the hotel. In the interviews with the bellboys in the same establishment, the bellboys stated that they told all the events in the hotel to the front office manager and his assistant. This is spying on other employees. Employees who know that this is the case, pay attention to their behavior and words next to bellboys. The researcher observed that Aysel and Dilek were uncomfortable with the bellboys entering the office during the interview. The participants, who took a break from their speech, continued their conversation after they left. In addition, it was observed that this situation caused a schism among the employees in the same department. The statements of the participant on the subject are as follows;

"I observe for sure. Guests are coming, I'm listening to the conversations at that moment. For example, the receptionist said inappropriate things to the guest. I warn them." (Çağrı)

Another simple control practice is to constantly point out the mistakes. A different department manager, who realizes the mistake, warns the employee and discloses the situation by telling both the department managers and the general manager. Thus, the employee receives warnings from different department managers, their department heads, and the general manager. Thus, it is possible to say that employees are trapped by simple control mechanisms. Berk explains this situation; "For example, the worst part of tourism is when you make a mistake, everyone warns you" (Dilek). In addition, some of the participants stated that the managers do not appreciate the employees, on the contrary, they reduce their motivation by making demotivating statements. It is seen that the chiefs warn and scold the employees at department meetings. Elif's statements also reveal the asymmetrical power relations of the ruling class within the field.

"There is a meeting in the morning. They do not say good things. You are bad every day. There are five chiefs, and one of them becomes a great chief. They all say negative things." (Elif)

Technical control is used to increase the work tempo and to prevent employees from exhibiting undesirable behaviors (Edwards, 1979). It is seen that the employees are monitored with cameras and listening devices. Employees who know that

they are being watched increase their performance in front of the cameras and pay attention to their behavior. Employees play their assigned roles and develop self-control mechanisms, just like a theatre actor in front of an audience. Scott (1992) describes this behavior as public behavior. Accordingly, hotel employees behave according to the expectations of business owners and managers due to prudence and fear. Ahmet expresses this situation with these words;

"There is a camera system. Likewise, there is a powerful sound recording. I don't know the legal procedure for this. They listen to us." (Ahmet)

Bureaucratic control includes business rules, performance criteria, and reward-punishment practices embedded in the social structure of the business or the social relations there (Edwards, 1979). It is seen that managers warn employees of their smallest mistakes, keep minutes, and criticize them with sarcastic remarks. In addition, one of the most important performance criteria is customer satisfaction. Hotel businesses apply a customer satisfaction survey during the check-in and check-out processes. In addition, the comments and ratings on the internet are taken into account by business owners and managers. It is seen that the employees are pressured in customer complaints and that all kinds of domination of the customers are endured in order not to receive any complaints. It seems that the reviews and ratings on sites like Holiday Check are very important and even the unacceptable requests of customers who threaten to give bad reviews or give low ratings are met. Aysel stated that a customer complained to her, that although she was right, she did not speak up and despite this, she wrote a defence. This situation is an example of bureaucratic control in the field of hotel management. Berk's statements on the subject are as follows;

"There is verbal violence. One day I will never forget, I was a trainee, I wanted a coke. They kept a record for one coke. I was very upset. Customers are so cruel. For example, guests want a room with a sea or pool view. They say that they have made a reservation with a pool view, but there is no sale... They say they will complain. The biggest trump card of the Germans is Holiday Check. They say that will give red and give 1 point." (Berk)

4.2.4. Power relations in the field

Many people from different cultures are employed in hotel businesses. The type of capital determines the actor's power in the field. If it is explained through Bourdieu's (1987) field theory, power relations between actors structure the field. For example, intellectual capital gives the receptionists additional symbolic capital and ensures them strong in the field. Another example is that cooks are effective actors in the field thanks to their professional knowledge and experience. In addition, those in dominant positions teach the lower-level employees as much as the job requires and deliberately hide the details (tricks) of the job to maintain their positions. As Bourdieu (1987) stated, while those at the top of the field implement conservation strategies; those at the bottom apply protection, monitoring, or subversion strategies according to their position. This situation is more common in the kitchen department. Therefore, it is seen that hotel employees working under capitalist conditions become individualized, and their collective unity is broken.

“They teach the necessary things in the kitchen. Know enough. They don’t want to give more... If you rise, it is problem for them.” (Dilek)

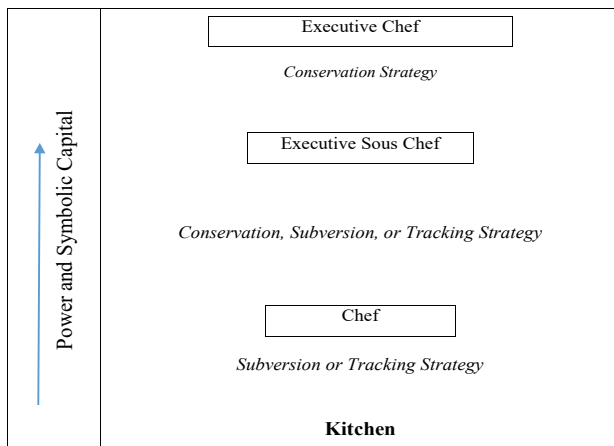


Figure-1: Struggling Relationships in the Kitchen Department

The managers cooperate and cover up each other’s mistakes. One of the participants expresses this situation as follows; “They put the strings in the hands of the managers... They are all been friends with each other for 15-20 years, so they cover up all their mistakes almost instantly. That’s why the newcomer doesn’t stop. He says they are already gangs” (Serhat). This situation clearly shows the power relations in the field and the established hegemonic order. Subordinates cannot stay in the field if they cannot establish close relations with the management or if they resist the order. In addition, according to the findings, hiring, distribution of jobs and wages and promotion systems do not operate fairly in hotel businesses. This also confirms the findings described in recruiting by an acquaintance and team recruitment. Trained employees believe that they are uncomfortable with this situation and that it is unnecessary to receive tourism training. Eren’s statements on the subject are as follows;

“The people who have nothing to do with tourism become department managers. They work for a few years and are made department heads. They do not know the language and the work... They cannot become a night manager with 3 years of work experience.” (Eren)

5. CONCLUSION

This study focuses on the forms of employment and the neglected points of working conditions in the literature. Seasonal and precarious employment and adverse working conditions are discussed through the experiences of the employees, and the nature of the work in the hotel business is described (Fig. 2). The study has four main findings.

First of all, when the employment patterns in the sector are examined, the temporary and precarious employment of hotel employees indicates a precariat class, exactly as Standing (2017) expresses. It has been determined that hotel employees suffer from financial difficulties due to temporary and insecure employment, and their retirement period is delayed. This situation has become more evident in pandemic conditions. Secondly, one of the biggest problems for those working in the hotel industry is unfavorable working conditions. In addition to long

working hours, wages, and leave problems, it has been determined that the physical environments are poor in terms of hygiene. Third, it has been seen that managers aim to increase efficiency and productivity by keeping employees under surveillance. Thus, the works are carried out in the determined standards and flow. All works to be done in this process are carried out within the framework of the determined standards and routine. It has been observed that the labor process in hotels with the all-inclusive system operates in a standard and routine manner, almost like a factory system, and the employees are detached from their qualifications with the simplification of the work. Thus, it has been determined that the need for qualified employees has decreased and the wages have been kept at the minimum level. Fourth, it was seen that the labor process was brought under control by simple, technical, and ideological mechanisms. Similar studies in the tourism literature (Çıvık and Besler, 2022; Erköse, 2020; Efthymiou, 2010) indicate this. Camera systems, which Edwards (1979) described as technical control and intimidating employees not to exhibit undesirable behaviors, show that every moment of the labor process is kept under surveillance. The monitoring and the audio systems operate like Bentham’s panopticon disciplining hotel employees (Foucault 2012).

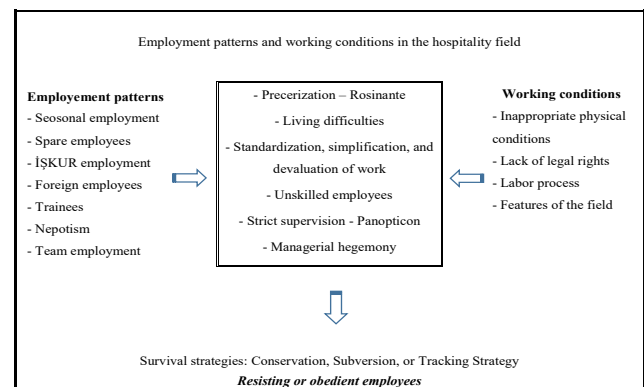


Figure-2: The nature of working in the hospitality industry

As a result, it is seen that employees follow strategies to get the job, maintain and rise in their position. It has been observed that employees try to advance in their careers by increasing their capital. In addition to intellectual capital, it has been determined that social capital is very important in the field. Having a network means getting support from collectivity (Bourdieu, 2005). For this reason, it has been determined that employees try to establish close relationships with supervisors, managers, or business owners. Because it creates a more comfortable working environment in the workplace when the employees establish friendly relations with the chiefs and managers; Otherwise, it has been determined that they have a perception that if they come into conflict with the rulers, they will face mechanisms of exploitation and domination. For this reason, it has been determined that employees tend to follow obedience strategies in the field. However, it has been determined that when the working conditions become unbearable or the possibility of resistance due to an oppressive regime increases.

5.1. Academic Implication

It is thought that it will be an important step for the disclosure of exploitation and domination, and the awareness and liberation of tourism employees by considering the studies on tourism with a more critical perspective. This study reveals how problematic the employment patterns and working conditions in Türkiye's tourism are and how they negatively affect the lives of the employees. This study, unlike previous studies, holistically emphasizes that there is managerial hegemony with strict control practices. There are precarization, standardization, simplification, and devaluation in the field. The study has a provocative nature to investigate similar problems. In particular, it will provide a priori information for future research in terms of revealing normalized inequalities.

5.2. Managerial Implication

It is seen that the strict control applied in the hotels creates a tense atmosphere (Çıvık and Besler, 2022) and has negative effects on the work and social lives of the employees. From this point of view, it is seen that a democratic working environment should be created where the work and responsibilities are distributed in a balanced way and ideas are expressed clearly, instead of strict control of the managers. In particular, managers should be aware of the necessity of developing representative democracy in organizations (Yıldırım, 2021). Apart from this, the transition to business/service processes with less standardization instead of the all-inclusive system in the hotel industry will prevent employees from losing their talents and increase their skills.

5.3. Limitations of the Study and Future Research

The main limitation of this study is that the field research is limited only to the hotels in Antalya in Türkiye. Another important limitation is that the field research is conducted 2-3 months after the Covid 19 pandemic. It does not have the characteristics of working in pandemic conditions. Despite these limitations, this study critically considers the nature of work in the hospitality field and offers a provocative approach to discussing the problems of tourism employees. In addition, the study offers several recommendations for future research. First, there is a need for critical studies in the tourism literature. In particular, handling labor issues in the tourism sector within the framework of a critical paradigm will make a significant contribution to the literature. At this point, the forms of employment and working conditions in different areas of tourism can be examined and the effects on the work and social life of the employees can be discussed. Working experiences of migrant employees in tourism and individuals who are in minority status in terms of ethnicity, religion, sect, and sexual orientation in the tourism sector can be discussed.

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