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Tracing the consent, adaptation and resistance practices of an 'unsustainable' workforce: The governmentality of workplaces in tourism industry

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ABSTRACT

This study takes a Foucauldian approach to neoliberal governmentality to analyze the multi-layered power relations at the tourism workplaces and the practices of subjection of employees to the industry's working conditions. It focuses on the neglected question of how tourism employees can continue working despite problems with their working conditions. Field research was conducted through semi-structured interviews with tourism workers in Alanya, one of Turkey's most important tourism cities, to reveal traces of employees' consent-adaptation-resistance practices in their everyday lives. The findings show that individuals are subjects in a multilayered power relationship. This subjection frames adaptation and resistance practices and reproduces unsustainable conditions within tourism workplaces. The findings offer critical insights into working conditions in the neoliberalized tourism workplaces dominated by Kafkaesque bureaucracy. The study encourages a new perspective highlighting the necessity of further criticism to promote decent work.

"-It seemed more honest to say I might have to leave …

-Honest! Honest! Who ever heard of a Plongeur being honest? Mon Ami! … Mon ami, you have worked here all day. You see what hotel work is like. Do you think a Plongeur can afford a sense of honour?"

George Orwell-Down and Out in Paris and London

"Work makes us pure and beautiful; it is our bond with the outside world and makes us who we are. But work can also take possession of our souls. No matter how meaningless and absurd the job, we unwittingly become its prisoner: from the moment we accept responsibility for its proper execution we can never escape its grip. Herein lies the greatest secret of man's fate and indeed the history of mankind." Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar-The Time Regulation Institute

"Every revolution evaporates and leaves behind only the slime of a new bureaucracy."

Franz Kafka

1. Introduction

The mainstream discourse of labor in the tourism literature remains rhetorical, despite assuming that human resources are critical for businesses (Solnet et al., 2015). Labor-related issues like low wages, flexible working hours, seasonal employment, work-family conflict and high employee turnover are mostly researched from a managerial perspective (Baum, 2018; Baum, Kralj, et al., 2016). As with management research, which does not focus sufficiently on gender, unionism and justice of income distribution (Dunne, Harney, & Parker, 2008; Pritchard, Morgan, & Ateljevic, 2011), the literature on the workforce in tourism also remains confined to management and economics (Ladkin, 2011), and not enough on labor-related issues (Baum, 2015). Thus, the present study starts from the need to analyze the social construction of labor force problems in tourism from a wider social science perspective (Baum, Kralj, et al., 2016), specifically within the framework of neoliberal governmentality at workplaces.

Neoliberalism is the transformative mentality of liberal economic policies, which has been based on three main assumptions since the 1970s: Efficiency-oriented market, a small but effective state regime and private property (Brown, 2015; Harvey, 2005). Neoliberal policies, such as privatization, downsizing, new labor market regulations and reduced

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trade union power have significantly changed understandings of the social state (Bourdieu, 1998; Dardot & Laval, 2014; Fleming, 2017; Lazzarato, 2012, 2015; Lorey, 2015; Sennett, 1998). The increased competition has transformed the culture of work and management (Castel, 2003; Kalleberg & Hewison, 2013; Sennet, 1998) and expanded flexible employment, insecurity and precarity, which is inherent to uncertainty, low income, low employee control over wages and limited social/legal rights (Campbell & Price, 2016; Kalleberg & Hewison, 2013; Standing, 2011; Vosko, 2010). The insecurity, anxiety, stress and depression created by the new states of work are directly reflected in the workforce (Fleming, 2015; Hall & O'Shea, 2013) and are a continuous cause of concern for employees from all fields, including but not limited to media and cultural workers (De Peuter, 2011), academics (Gill, 2014; Loveday, 2018), stand-up comedians (Butler & Russell, 2018) and freelance journalists (Norbäck, 2019, pp. 1–23).

Neoliberalism also shapes various production and consumption dimensions of global tourism (Wearing et al., 2019). These include the political economy of tourism (Bianchi, 2009; Mosedale, 2016), the curriculum for higher education (Ayikoru, 2015; Ayikoru et al., 2009) and the commodification of nature (Duffy, 2014). However, the discourse, which has been caused by the neoliberal paradigm, has resulted in the industry developing in a purely market-oriented line and the spread of cultural pedagogy copacetic for it (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2006, 2012).

In this context, the neoliberalized tourism industry also remains controversial because it is still failing to achieve the goals of United Nations' sustainable labor force (Baum, 2018; Baum, Cheung et al., 2016) due to the predicament of employment (Baum & Szivas, 2008). This failure cannot be separated from dominant neoliberal values in tourism (Bianchi, 2009; Higgins-Desbiolles, 2006, 2012). Such the main indicators of neoliberal transformation in tourism and hospitality industries are irregular working hours (Mooney & Ryan, 2009), flexibility, precarity, casualization or vulnerability (Baum, 2019; Costa et al., 2017; Davidson & Wang, 2011; Janta et al., 2011; Robinson, Baum, et al., 2019; Robinson, Martins, et al., 2019), low skill sets, status or wages (Goh & Lee, 2018; Janta et al., 2011), seasonal employment (Agarwal et al., 2018) and obligating young people to gain work experience to force them to adapt to these conditions (Robinson, Baum, et al., 2019). In short, the tourism industry currently fails to provide satisfactory workplace environment for decent work (Baum, 2018). Yet, despite these apparently unsustainable employment conditions (Baum, Cheung et al., 2016), people are still able to work.

At this point, these are three questions that need answers: How are the power relations that are related to neoliberal governmentality that which ensure the sustainability of the current working conditions in the workplaces, structured? What are the adaptation and resistance practices of the employees in the workplace? What kind of social constructions do these practices cause in the workplace? In a Foucauldian approach, which is often employed in organization and management research (Burrell, 1988; Nikolas, 1999; Clegg, 1994; ; Yoon et al., 2019), the study offers a discussion that has been neglected so far regarding the tourism workplaces. This can help in understanding "the ambivalent relationship between sustainable development, and the triumvirate of precarious tourism employment at work, precarious tourism employment of work-and precarious lives" (Robinson, Martins, et al., 2019, p. 1021).

The next section examines how neoliberal governmentality functions in the workplace. The method section describes the qualitative fieldwork carried out in Alanya. The empirical results are then analyzed in four categories. The results draw attention to the need of investigating the problems of the workforce in tourism in a broader and critical social science perspective. The conclusion section opens this requirement up for discussion in the context of policy, academic and managerial implications.

2. Theoretical framework and research questions

2.1. Governmentality of the neoliberal workplace

The attitudes and behaviors of individuals in the workplace are subject to the framework set to achieve organizational goals. This subjection was the central problem of early organizational work and the subsequent human relations approach. Today's workplaces, however, with their different normative and neo-normative control instruments (Alvesson & Willmott, 2002; Collinson, 2003; Fleming & Spicer, 2007; Fleming & Sturdy 2009), are dominated by neoliberal paradigm. A Foucauldian approach provides an important counter perspective for analyzing workplace power relations.

In his studies on power, Foucault examined the administration of bodies in the Fordist context. He argued that power focused on individual bodies and minds aims to educate, rehabilitate or treat individuals through institutions, such as schools, hospitals, asylums and prisons. Thus, while the power constructed the norms, it also shaped the norms that individuals would adapt to (Foucault, 1995). At Drawing on Bentham's concept of the panopticon, Foucault claimed that governments pursue surveillance strategies: "An inspecting gaze, a gaze which each individual under its weight will end by interiorising to the point that he is his own overseer, each individual thus exercising this surveillance over, and against, himself" (Foucault, 1980, p. 155). Consequently the "individual is carefully fabricated in it [social order], according to a whole technique of forces and bodies" (Foucault, 1995, p. 217).

Foucault also analyzed neoliberal deregulation in the context of this new governmentality (Berardi, 2009). In the neoliberal context, power is market-oriented, and concerned with success or failure rather than legitimacy or illegitimacy (Foucault, 2008). The labor market also operates according to productivity-oriented regulations rather than legal rights while a neoliberal governmentality focuses on the attitudes of individuals (Dardot & Laval, 2014) and it invades all areas of life. This governmentality subjectifies the individual: "It incites, it induces, it seduces, it makes easier or more difficult; in the extreme it constrains or forbids absolutely … A set of actions upon other actions" (Foucault, 1983, p. 220). Homo economicus is transformed to become "an entrepreneur, an entrepreneur of himself" (Foucault, 2008, p. 226). Neoliberal governmentality thus operates in the overlap between the domination of power and the subject's self-technologies (Lorey, 2015; Nikolas, 1999).

Power relations in the workplace take place within the framework of these technologies of the self and the entrepreneur of the self (Dardot & Laval, 2014). According to Dardot and Laval (2014), neo-management doesn't aim to refuse the reduction of the individual to the status of a passive object; it equates individual professional success with self-realization; it tries to ensure that every employee is fully devoted to the job while creating a desire that favors business interests. That is, "power operates by constituting identities and individualities in a manner that is productive to the maintenance of certain organizational imperatives" (Fleming & Spicer, 2007, p. 42), thereby aligning the goals of both individual workers and the business itself (Lordon, 2014).

This makes it important to observe and evaluate the extent to which individuals can overlap their own interests with organizational interests (Dardot & Laval, 2014). Instead, of direct discipline in the workplace, there is control over creativity, self-development and self-management (Collinson, 2003, 2006; Contu, 2008) to the extent that this new managerial control ensures subjection through the organization's value systems (Willmott, 1993). That is, the control aims to produce self-management and self-discipline (O'Toole & Grey, 2016) while generating work-appropriate identities (Alvesson & Willmott, 2002) and enabling individuals to pursue supposedly spontaneous organizational goals and desires (Lordon, 2014). In other words, the new managerial discourse aims to create individuals that have internalized organizational practices and see themselves as profit-oriented entities (Vallas &

Prener, 2012): "So the abstract formula of panopticism is no longer 'to see without being seen' but to impose a particular conduct on a particular human multiplicity" (Deleuze, 2006, p. 34).

Like other organizations, tourism workplaces include various strategies and power relations that enable the construction of the appropriate subject for the job and the organization (Johnson, 2020). For example, written or unwritten discourses, status or the value attributed to the job in tourism workplaces can determine the framework of the work or professional identity and sublimate it (Kensbock et al., 2016; Kingsbury, 2011; Minca, 2009; Wang et al., 2020). Thus, by building identities suitable for the job, employees can adapt and normalize the difficulty of working conditions (Burrow et al., 2015; Cullen & McLaughlin, 2006; Ong et al., 2014). In the case of organizational control, the function of these and other similar situations is related to the fact that the identity or image attributed to the profession has a very significant effect on job performance (Ashcraft, 2007). That is, the dominant discourse in circulation produces truths that turn individuals into "obedient, conscience-ridden, pliable, and appropriate" homo docilis (Hollinshead, 1999, p. 14). In this framework, individuals evolve into "subjects securing their sense of meaning, identity and reality" (Knight, 2002, p. 581). Thus, constructed professional norms are now replacing organizational control (Ashcraft, 2007) to enable the individual to automatically adapt to the work and organizational expectations in their current or future workplaces.

2.2. Beyond subjectification and alignment

According to Fleming (2015), the neoliberal ideology behind this fiction constantly reminds individuals that they could be excluded and that it is the only game available. Facilitating the application of new management in workplaces, this social fear (Dardot & Laval, 2014) transforms businesses into a "machinery by which vulnerability and 'exclusion' are created" (Castel, 2003, p. 382). This insecurity is then reflected in individual self-construction in the workplace whereby employees create conformist or dramaturgical selves that seem to adapt to these organizational conditions (Collinson, 2003). In fact, both kinds of self are indicative of direct or indirect compliance with organizational control. Neoliberal governmentality can thus corrode the characters to adapt to flexible and precarious conditions (Sennett, 1998). For example, Weaver (2005) drew attention to a similar situation among cruise-ship service employees, who have to hide their discomfort with their supervisors to avoid being fired. They can use pain relievers to suppress physical pain, thereby performing a masquerade to keep earning an income. One reason behind this presenteeism among tourism industry workers is the fear of losing their jobs (Arslaner & Boylu, 2017).

Neoliberal governmentality requires freedom and can even create it, although this freedom – "free to be free" – is granted by neoliberalism (Foucault, 2008). Lazzarato (2015, 2012) focuses on debt as a new type of power. Although "the debtor is free", their attitude frames the contract of the debt they are party to. In other words, "debt involves a process of subjectivation that marks at once 'body' and 'spirit'" (Lazzarato, 2012, p. 42). Individuals are confined to a system of debt because of consumption not misery: In this way they can be forced to work all day long, to work overtime and commit to their work (Foucault, 1994).

2.3. The rise of the Kafkaesque bureaucracy

According to Hodson, Martin, et al. (2013) and Hodson, Roscigno, et al. (2013), this new market- and profit-oriented approach has replaced the Fordist-Weberian bureaucracy with a *Kafkaesque bureaucracy*, especially in private sector workplaces. As in the original novels, the description Kafkaesque suggests a dominant organizational power and authority, widespread irrationality and uncertainty, and individual desperation and alienation (Clegg et al., 2016; Warner, 2007). Applying this to the workplace, conflicts of interest between management and employees create divergent goals; the understanding of production based on unwritten rules and limited rationality lead to chaos; the proliferation of these rules and informal relationships encourages particularism and patrimonialism; the asymmetric power relationship between owners and workers causes individual fear; a management approach that focuses only on organizational purposes enables abuse of employees (Hodson, Martin, et al., 2013; Hodson, Roscigno, et al., 2013). This new bureaucratic operation is spreading in the neoliberalized private sector, especially in hotels and restaurants (Hodson, Roscigno, et al., 2013), such that they are currently dominated by "the neoliberal utilitarian approach of perceiving people as instrumental, or as resources to be used and to be expended" (Bal & de Jong, 2017, p. 176). For example, asymmetrical relationships between cruise-ship service employees and managers forces them to pay bribes for better job opportunities (Weaver, 2005). There can be also abusive supervision in the tourism workplaces (Vučetić, 2018). This context suggests the first set of research questions for the current study:

> *(RQ1) What is the nature of working at the ground level regarding flexibility and insecurity? (RQ2)How are the power relations constructed in the context neoliberal governmentality that sustain current work conditions? (RQ3) What kinds of subjects do these power relations turn employees into? (RQ4) How are employee adaptation constructed at the workplace? (RQ5) What kinds of social construction do these practices lead to at the individual and organizational levels?*

2.4. Practices of resistance in the workplace

According to Foucault, "in power relations there is necessarily the possibility of resistance because if there were no possibility of resistance, there would be no power relations at all" (Foucault, 1997, p. 292). Therefore, resistance is an important struggle against organizational control (Prasad & Prasad, 2000). This struggle is not about who will have control in the workplace; instead, it concerns the norms of employment relations, such as the nature of work, safety or security, and protection from arbitrary control (Hodson, 1999).

De Certeau (1984) argues that resistance in everyday life is shaped by the strategy-tactic dilemma. Strategy can control spaces with panoptic practices and generate its own knowledge (De Certeau, 1984) whereas tactics are resistance. Resistance does not have its own space; rather, it poaches in the field of power (De Certeau, 1984). Scott (1990) conceptualizes compliance with the norms of power, submission to discipline and control as a public transcript. That is, formal compliance with working conditions, performance standards and management discourses create the public transcript of the workplace. However, employees may also develop counter attitudes: "the practices of domination and exploitation typically generate the insults and flights to human dignity that in turn foster a hidden transcript of indignation" (Scott, 1990, p. 7). This hidden transcript is the discourse and practices of the subject beyond the direct surveillance of power (Scott, 1985).

In the workplace, resistance against organizational discipline and control can take many forms: Gossip, resignations, theft, sabotage, noncooperation (Tucker, 1993), fiddles (Mars, 1982), playing dumb, withholding enthusiasm, avoiding (Hodson, 1999); careful carelessness (Prasad & Prasad, 2000), cynicism (Fleming & Spicer, 2003). Some criticize these forms because they allow the organization to continue functioning (Contu, 2008) while preventing individuals from becoming aware of the heavier surveillance state of insecurity (Mumby, 2005). Nevertheless, practices of resistance can still challenge dominant interests and produce organizational and social change (Collinson, 2003). This suggests the second set of research questions for this study:

> *(RQ6) How do employees resist their work conditions and the mode of management? (R7) Can these forms of resistance transform working conditions? (RQ8) What are the individual and organizational effects of this resistance?*

3. Methodology

The study is based on a qualitative research design with a social constructivist perspective. It aims to understand how individuals make sense of the social context in which they live or work, and the institutionalization of the common stock of knowledge and intersubjective practices (Berger & Luckmann, 1991; Creswell, 2014; Schutz, 1967). The data were obtained through semi-structured in-depth interviews with five-star hotel and travel agency employees from Alanya, Turkey's principal tourist town. Tourism activity in Alanya is concentrated between April and October while the high season is between June and August. Tourism mobility, which intensifies in the summer season, expands regional employment in terms of numerical flexibility and insecurity.

In 2018, there are 619 hospitality businesses, of which 83 had five-star status and 102 had four-star status (ALTSO, 2018). The reason only five-star hotel employees were included is that these are the most institutionalized in their category. Another main sub-sector is travel agencies of foreign origin. These two sub-sectors were included to avoid identifying tourism with the hospitality sector alone (Baum, Kralj, et al., 2016). Besides, the horizontal, vertical and cross-information patterns obtained from employees in different businesses, positions and departments provides a deeper, multi-layered insight into practices of adaptation, consent and resistance at the workplaces.

The study group for the research has been determined with the snowball sampling technique of the purposeful sampling techniques (Merriam, 2009). Firstly 6 people who have been eager to participate in the research have been reached out to. Four of these six people were acquaintances from the researcher's social circle. The researcher met earlier the other two at a 'career day' event hosted by his academic institution. In the next stage people who have been directed to by the initial participants and in the third stage the study group has been expanded with the recommendations of the second group. Within this framework, semi-structured interviews, lasting between 55 and 166 min, were conducted between November 2019 and January 2020 with 31 participants.

Interviews were held with a total of 19 different hotels and 8 different travel agency employees. Interviewees are anonymized here by using pseudonyms (Table 1). In addition, the participants signed a voluntary participation form and were assured that their personal information would be kept confidential and that the data would only be used within the scope of this research. Except for seven interviews, digital voice recordings were made with the approval of the interviewees.

In the context of the research questions in literature, in the interviews questions regarding the nature of the job, working conditions, flexibility and insecurity, reasons why people continue working in the tourism sector, searches for alternative job, the mentality of the management in workplaces, efforts of individuals to adapt to the work conditions, practices of success, relationships in the workplace, resistance practices, the success possibility of resistance and obstacles to these practices have been asked. Along with these, there were three more questions: Would you want your kids to work in the tourism industry? If you were to compare the workplaces, the working conditions in tourism to any place what would that place be? If you were to compare a worker in the context of working conditions to anything what would that be? These questions aimed to provide a broader insight.

After transcription, the responses of the participants were coded. Since the interviews were conducted in Turkish, the responses were translated into English using back translation (Merriam, 2009) to avoid loss of meaning and context. These were then coded under four main themes to allow room for interpretation.

3.1. Validity and reliability

A series of strategies have been followed to ensure the credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability of the research (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Merriam, 2009). Firstly it would be pertinent to give information about my position. I worked as a summer season intern at various hotels and travel agencies in the study area about 15 years ago. Currently, I am working as an academic at an academic institution in the same region. I also vacationed in a five-star hotel in a nearby area two years ago. While chatting with an employee, I asked him how busy the job was. He replied, "It is extremely busy! But I already have 15 days left before I quit my job, so I am putting up with it." This short dialogue was very thought provoking for me: Why does someone who is currently working countdown to leaving their job, what do they have to put up with, and what conditions that forbearance? These questions also constituted the basis of the research. Whilst doing the field research, I asked participants for answers to these initial points. In this context, I remained aware of the possible advantages and disadvantages of emic factors (Wilson & Hollinshead, 2015) during the research process: Thanks to my emic status (Robinson & Baum, 2019), I was able to have conversations rich in content and take a deeper look at the context. However, my analysis and interpretation could also be influenced by my personal experiences and prejudices. Therefore, I used the member checks and peer review/examination (Merriam, 2009) method to avoid

Table 1
Profile of interview participants.

Interviewees	Gender	Age	Position *Hotel-**Travel Agency	Years of work experience in tourism
Ali	M	60–69	Accounting Manager*	36-40
Ayhan	M	40–49	Tour Operation Personnel**	16-20
Ayşe	F	40–49	Housekeeper*	16-20
Burak	M	30–39	Receptionist*	1-5
Canan	F	40–49	Tour Operation Personnel**	26-30
Cemil	M	40–49	Accounting Manager**	21-25
Cengiz	M	40–49	F&B Manager*	21-25
Ceyhun	M	40–49	Tourist Guide**	21-25
Deniz	M	20–29	Waiter*	1-5
Ebru	F	20–29	Receptionist*	1-5
Emre	M	30–39	Tour Operation Personnel**	21-25
Ercan	M	30–39	Receptionist*	11-15
Erman	M	30–39	Tourist Guide**	21-25
Esin	F	20–29	HR and Accounting Manager*	6-10
Fatih	M	30–39	Tour Operation Personnel**	21-25
Filiz	F	20–29	Accounting Personnel*	6-10
Gonca	F	40–49	Executive Housekeeper*	11-15
Hakan	M	20–29	Waiter*	1-5
Hale	F	30–39	Accounting Manager*	21-25
Kaan	M	20–29	Waiter*	1-5
Kemal	M	40–49	Tour Operation Personnel**	16-20
Levent	M	30–39	Receptionist*	21-25
Maria (Russian)	F	40–49	Receptionist*	16-20
Okan	M	30–39	Tour Operation Manager**	11-15
Orhan	M	20–29	Receptionist*	6-10
Petek	F	20–29	F&B/Cashier*	1-5
Petra (German)	F	50–59	Receptionist*	16-20
Pınar	F	30–39	Tour Operation Personnel**	11-15
Selim	M	20–29	Waiter*	1-5
Sercan	M	30–39	Waiter*	11-15
Serdar	M	20–29	Receptionist*	6-10

possible subjective comments and judgments.

Therefore, I met up with 18 people again. For this cross-examination, I made sure that the participants were from different business types, departments, and positions to maximize diversity in sample selection (Merriam, 2009), which is one of the validity and reliability strategies. I looked for answers to four key questions: Do the participants approve of their own statements? What do they think of each other's opinions? To what extent do the comments overlap with social reality and context? Do participants feel discomfort regarding these comments? This second interview phase also enriched the data. Apart from two participants who requested the removal of three sentences from their statements, all approved the interpretation. As a result, the member checks process enabled the versatile reflexivity (Ateljevic et al., 2005; Harris, Wilson, & Ateljevic, 2007) needed in qualitative research, in terms of diversification of data and reviewing my own position, as well as obtaining the opinions, approvals, and objections of the participants. Thus, the second stage provided review of the credibility and confirmability of the research.

Dependability, refers to the compatibility of the results with the data at hand (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). At this point, I used the peer review/examination method (Merriam, 2009). I consulted three experts from the relevant academic fields at every stage of the creation, interpretation, and member checking of the themes. The results were guided by taking their opinions and suggestions into consideration.

Finally, I used the rich, thick descriptions (Merriam, 2009) strategy for transferability. According to this, the setting, participants, and interview notes should be defined in detail, with the characteristics of their context. This approach can strengthen the transferability of results between similar environments. The study tackled its case within the framework of neoliberal working conditions and interpreted the findings accordingly. Thus, the results may be transferable to areas with similar neoliberal conditions. In conclusion, one main concern in the research process was avoiding excessive or subjective interpretation, reviewing the consistency of participant views with each other and with the social context, and looking at the comments from an exterior perspective. Another major concern was the positioning of my role in this process in the context of moral reflexivity (Caton, 2012), which is regarded as a substantial part of scholarship. The main motivation of my moral reflexivity is to provide a critical insight into power relations in the neoliberal working conditions and to suggest this as the agenda of the relevant academic field.

4. Results and discussion

4.1. The nature of the work: "precarious souls"

The first theme includes how flexibility and precarity in working life are normalized and its individual consequences. The results are interpreted in two sub-themes (addressing RQ1).

4.1.1. Flexibility and precarity normalized by discourses

According to the results of the research, the most obvious quality of tourism work is precarity. In Alanya, seasonality makes the industry's flexible employment structure even more insecure while the work intensity of the 7–8 month season is also challenging.

According to the interviewees, "working hours may be flexible" (Petek) due to the seasonal work pace but "wages are never equivalent to the work done" (Burak); "overtime pay may not be compensated" (Cengiz) because "as bosses and managers often state, 'tourism is such a job'" (Cemil). This norm, as Foucault (1996) points out, becomes the natural aspect of the industry through discourses. Flexibility also encompasses life outside of work through new power and control tools, and expands the time and space of work (Sennett, 1998). This situation reveals availability-related flexibility for tourism workers (Costa et al., 2017). One interviewee explains it this way:

> *"If you died during the summer season, you wouldn't be able to attend your own funeral. If you curse at your manager, he would say 'Tell me, what is the matter?'; he wouldn't be mad. But if you ask for time off, he would lose his mind … Flexibility in tourism is not flexibility. You cannot go to your house; even if you do, your phone must be on so that the job is not over. There is a claw on your neck; it guides you the way it wants" (Kemal).*

4.1.2. At the end of the day: "precarious souls"

According to Foucault (2008, p. 66), "the motto of liberalism is: 'Live dangerously'". Individuals are thus conditioned to see their current and future situation as hazardous. Work insecurity even makes it difficult for individuals to imagine their future (Gill, 2014) because the tourism industry's structure induces insecurity: "A crisis may occur for any reason, and the sector that will be affected by the crisis first is tourism" (Cengiz). Therefore, no one can make long-term plans regarding their current job or workplace. Nevertheless, "everyone gets used to this anxiety over time; they have to get used to it" (Canan) and "tries to save the day" (Maria) in this insecurity. Indeed, this state of fear in the workplace, shaped by flexibility, insecurity and uncertainty creates what Berardi (2009, p. 184) calls "precarious souls". Two interviewees explain this as follows:

> *"Anyone that works in the tourism sector is ready to go back to their villages. Like, anything can possibly happen, and everyone may return to their village and start planting tomatoes again because, in tourism, nothing is constant" (Erman).*

> *"Everyone who works in tourism has their suitcase open and ready" (Ebru).*

4.2. Production of consent: subordinated bodies and minds

The second theme is about consent given to working conditions. This theme includes the multi-layered power relations that make consent possible in an individual, organizational, industrial, and social context. The results are interpreted in five sub-themes (addressing RQ2).

4.2.1. Fear of unemployment and stigmatization

The interviewees agree on some of the reasons why people are able to continue working in the tourism industry. The first is fear of unemployment (Dardot & Laval, 2014), which generates an asymmetrical relationship dominated by the employer. Kemal exemplifies this relationship, which makes individuals consent to bad working conditions and exert self-control:

> *"Everyone works due to an obligation. Anyone who had even a glimpse of an alternative wouldn't work anyway. Because people know; the conditions are apparent. One person does the job of three; the pay is not satisfactory. People think like: will I be out of work in winter or will I be employed next year? That is why performance is never poor."*

Unemployment can cause "stigmatization" (Goffman, 1963) in the social environment as it is characterized as uselessness, inadequacy and laziness. Therefore, working is part of a broader framework surrounding an individual's self and life (Fleming, 2009). In this context, according to some interviewees, fear of unemployment is not just about financial gain. Two interviewees explain this as: "At least I have a job. How would people look at me if I was unemployed? Unemployment is bad" (Ayhan). "Before people used to ask about wages first but nowadays the fact that it is work is enough for people" (Levent). This social pressure comes from those closest to the person: "My family says: 'Every workplace is the same; put up with it; be grateful'. That is why I can't bring myself to quit my job in the hotel" (Filiz). The wider social pressure is explained by Ebru, a recent university graduate: "If you criticize the hotel's working conditions, people say 'she is against working'. Like the fault is not in the

quality of the work itself but the person who is not capable of doing it."

4.2.2. The socio-economic construction of consent: debt, lack of alternative and interpersonal discourses

Employees often regard work as an opportunity, even if they are unsatisfied with their salary, working hours and permanent vulnerability. Debt plays an important role (Lazarotta, 2012), as Ali notes: "The employees are in debt. Enforcement documents are always arriving; a quarter of their pay is cut. Although they don't like this, they continue to work. If they quit in July, how will they find jobs?" Their debts make it possible to continue their work in spite of everything. Thus, the business doesn't need direct discipline: "Everyone has debts. What are people going to do? That is why they enslave themselves to someone else" (Kemal).

According to Foucault (1983, p. 220), "the relationship of power can be the result of a prior or permanent consent, but it is not by nature the manifestation of a consensus". Several interviewees suggested a sense of fatalism due to the lack of alternatives because tourism is the main industry of the region. This situation naturally leads to subjectification to and normalization of employment conditions: "Working conditions are all the same in the tourism industry" (Sercan). Therefore, "the employees are grateful for the work they have" (Ali).

These opinions are not only based on the interviewees' own experiences. Workplace conversations about the "nature of working in tourism" constitute what everyone criticizes yet still normalizes by inspiring themselves and their environments, which is what Bourdieu (1998) calls doxa. The social construction of this doxa also occurs through the discourse of older and more experienced employees. Thus, discourse constructs the truth implemented in the workplace (Fleming, 2009) and the power relations reproduces itself (Foucault, 1977). These interviewees from two different generations exemplify this reproduction:

> *"I am angriest with the experienced ones. They keep saying things like 'the things we've seen, we've lived through; you are better off.' This is because they are used to everything and they don't have alternatives. They want you to adjust to the same thing …" (Petek)*

> *"The young ones are not like us, they run away from work. When we were their age, we never complained about work … Anyone who wants to work in tourism has to be willing. They are complaining already but do they have a better alternative? No." (Gonca)*

4.2.3. Informal employee relationships and abusive supervision

Managers also play an active role in the production of consent in the workplace: "The manager touches the souls of the workers: 'We've got this; be a little more patient', they say. In a way [it] nourishes them" (Ebru). Informal manager-employee, and employee-employee relationship are also relevant here. "Acquaintance, friendship, kinship relationships" (Orhan), which are especially important in recruitment, help individuals consent to workplace conditions. Likewise, acts of loyalty are dominant: "Employees may continue to work with high performance, thinking about working for the sake of their supervisors and not embarrassing them" (Esin). These informal relationships and "patrimonialism – the velvet glove of power and manipulation within organizations" (Hodson, Martin, et al., 2013, p. 257), enable employees to exert self-control and perform well. According to the interviewees, workplace friendships are also important: "Maybe the work is tough; you don't like the pay but peace of mind is significant. Co-workers make the workplace bearable" (Filiz). This approach ensures that employees' complaints about work conditions remain faint.

These relationships in the workplace can perform as a kind of protective cocoon and produce consent. But as Giddens (1991) points out, the protective cocoon is a bracketing of possible risks and insecurity rather than a firm conviction of security. So much so that the function of the manager is not just limited to these strategies. Another technique is "the reminder of termination": "They say there are thousands of unemployed people that can work instead of you." (Sercan). This frequent discourse, whether explicit or implicit, is like the sword of Damocles hanging over employees. Interviewees understood the situation. As Cengiz acknowledges, ultimately, "the managers are also trying to make a living" while Kemal explains the distrust between manager and employee: "The manager is just the manager; he doesn't care about your rights. If he tries to defend the rights of employees, he should not be relied on". According to Sercan, "at the end of the season, the managers won't even look their employees in the eye". This indicates the abuse and fear within the Kafkaesque bureaucracy (Hodson, Roscigno, et al., 2013), which makes work in the workplace sustainable and instrumentalizes the employee for purely organizational interests.

4.2.4. Attractiveness of job opportunities and facing other truths

For younger workers, from generation Z, Goh and Lee (2018) have identified several specific factors. As the interviewees themselves mentioned, there are chances of "meeting new people" (Burak), "having an exciting work life" (Ercan), and "relationships formed with tourists" (Levent). Deniz adds: "From these relationships, especially the efforts of male employees, to go to Europe". Thus, despite low wages and long working hours, these factors may ensure that young or untrained employees especially have positive perceptions of work. In addition, informal earnings announced in the theme of adaptation, can attract people to work in tourism.

However, in the context of individuals facing off other factors that enable the production of consent at an organizational or social level, this framework, that is immanent to hope is Kafkaesque, like the experience of K. in Kafka's Castle: "That is to say that it is fuelled by contradiction, irony, despair and futility, characterized by a dark enigmatic shadow cast such that nothing is ever what it seems to be yet what it might actually be is never revealed" (Clegg et al., 2016, p. 158). This framework is in a state of constant tension with the disappointments of minimum expectations. Therefore, only five interviewees would like their own child to work in the tourism industry. Two interviewees said "Yes, maybe" (Ercan, Petra) while two others stated a condition: "They can if they are going to be in a managerial position" (Hale); "they can but not in these conditions of the sector" (Serdar). Finally, Ebru gives an ironic answer: "I would like that. I would like that so that they can see how hard life is. That would make that child stronger."

4.2.5. At the end of the day: escape plans that raise the threshold of consent

According to the interviewees, tourism employees have "short- and medium-term escape plans from the sector" that raise their tolerance levels by self-suggestion to endure current conditions. For example, "This is my last season; I'll not return after this" (Orhan); "I am going to find another job after I get married" (Levent); "I just graduated from university; I'll work here for two seasons and find something else" (Hakan); "I want to start my own business; for now I am just getting by" (Cengiz); and "I am about to retire; I am just hanging in there" (Ali). Therefore, just working in tourism is precarious so is their commitment or loyalty, – at least mentally – for the sector. Like the example that is narrated in methodology, many interviewees remarked how employees count down to the end of the season: "I have 20 days left, 10 days left", and hope that the work will be done as soon as possible. Erman, explains this tension as a pendulum oscillating between the working conditions in tourism and the reasons that sustain it through an ironic example. This example recalls the curse associated with the endless rolling of Sisyphus' boulder:

> *"I told my friend, "The season is over, thank god!" And he told me he was glad to hear that. My wife laughed: "How weird it is, working in tourism! Technically you are out of a job but everyone says they are glad to hear that." That's it! When you are working you see how hard it is, so much so that being unemployed sounds better. Then you run out of money and can wait for the new season to start."*

4.3. Adaptation practices: survival techniques and metamorphosed selves and scenes

The third theme underlines the success and performance practices of individuals in the workplace and discusses how they are oriented to the current conditions, business-ready selves and the outcomes. The results are interpreted in six sub-themes (addressing RQ3, RQ4 and RQ5).

4.3.1. Informal earning opportunities

Several interviewees commented on management attitudes in the industry: "Businesses are focused on the market" (Gonca); "they only strive for low cost and high profit" (Filiz); "they prioritize customer satisfaction, but do not value qualified employees who can achieve this" (Maria). This market-oriented management paradigm immanent in the divergent goals of the Kafkaesque bureaucracy (Hodson, Martin, et al., 2013) is also the basis of employees' adaptation practices. There is an implicit agreement of benefit between the business and the individual. That is, "homo economicus is the interface of government and the individual" (Foucault, 2008, p. 253). The principle of "win-win" (Fatih; Levent) is relevant to workplaces. This agreement ensures that the individual is kept under control for the business's own interests. For example, for a tourist guide, each tour is an opportunity to get a share of sales:

> *"There is only one thing the business wants from you: to work. In tourism, this is a little different … It doesn't matter whether it is night or day. The business sets a rule: you make me win and I'll give you a chance to win a little." (Erman)*

This also applies to hotel workers. Particularly in departments relying on face-to-face communication, the motivation to work hard is not salary but informal earnings: Tips and commissions. As Ebru puts it, "One of our bellboys was working 7 days a week and not taking time off. He said, "I need to get tips, because I am only working 6 months." Businesses use this as a motivational tool: "Even when [we] complain about the pay being low, they will tell you that there are tips" (Sercan). Similarly, receptionist Levent explains, "In an 8-h shift, I don't even take a break for eating; I wait ready for any possibility that might present itself." As another receptionist Serdar notes, "Every customer is a new opportunity. For example, one can get a commission from a hailing a taxi or obtain off-the record earnings with a room change." There is an implicit, unwritten agreement on this matter. According to some interviewees, this situation may be tolerated by managers due to the difficult working conditions and low wages. However, such earnings are ultimately bad for employees, customers and businesses: "Everyone is completely focused on tips or commissions and are willing to risk everything for it. Otherwise you can't survive. I pity this state of these people" (Kemal).

4.3.2. Competitive subjects in pursuit of opportunity

Flexibility imposes responsibilities on the individual, such as the ability to adapt to any condition, and lack of regulation (Bourdieu, 1998). These are the primary doxas of neoliberalism. The individual adapts to these conditions and thereby reproduces the structure. Flexibility is not just an HR strategy for businesses. Rather, this flexible business culture and the barriers to career development (Davidson et al., 2006) turn individuals into subjects that evaluate career alternatives and look for even the slightest opportunity for minimum working conditions. Gonca exemplified it this way:

> *"I worked in four different hotels in 11 years … If you stay in the same hotel your value would not be understood. Everyone chases for opportunities, anyway. A waiter, for example, a housekeeper can change hotels for a difference of 100 lira (approximate 13 USD)."*

As mentioned previously, precarity in neoliberal working conditions causes collective anxiety because anyone can lose their jobs at any moment. Consequently, the rule is to be competitive as well as competent at work. In this battle of the "survival of the fittest" (Dardot & Laval, 2014), working life is in question. Individuals become beings that "capitalize themselves" (Rose, 2004, p. 162) and adapt to their circumstances. In neoliberal conditions, workers are the entrepreneurs of themselves: they are their own capital, their own producers and their own source of earnings (Foucault, 2008). The concept of a "personality market" (Mills, 1969, p. 182) is now related to the desire of individuals to work in the workplace, their efforts to serve and their attitude towards work (Gorz, 1999).

Several interviewees, both employees and managers, acknowledged that tourism working conditions are bad but felt there was no point discussing them. Instead, "individuals must constantly improve themselves; make a difference" (Burak); "they should not go around in a circle. If they can speak two foreign languages, they should learn a third" (Okan); "they should evaluate opportunities, be able to make sacrifices in favor of the business to learn the job and to move up in their careers" (Gonca). According to Ercan, "changing jobs is an opportunity. Humans develop themselves". Those adopting this point of view take the reality of the market for granted (Dardot & Laval, 2014), internalize the ethos of the industry (Norbäck, 2019, pp. 1–23) and perform conformist selves in the workplace (Collinson, 2003).

Meanwhile, problems related to working life are pushed out of the collective anxiety. As Hale claimed, "Those who are dissatisfied would not work. No one forces you to work" while for Ercan "the responsibility is the individual's". Some interviewees believe that this view, imposed on employees by managers is dominant. This attitude implicitly accepts that working conditions in tourism are difficult while placing responsibility for success on the individual. This creates a distinction between those who can play the game and those who cannot (Börner et al., 2020). Therefore, this situation highlights the large number of potential employees rather than those who are "dissatisfied", as well as the managerial control due to the dependency of existing employees (Fleming, 2019). Everyone is free not to work, but the alternative is unemployment. This conditions employees to accept the unique meritocracy of the neoliberal governmentality.

4.3.3. The conversion vs the anxiety of exclusion

In doing so, however, employees enable businesses to dominate them even more (Gorz, 1999). The need to build a good CV, whether to change job due to precariousness or to prove that they deserve their current positions, reinforces voluntary compliance with the position and time flexibility. This situation recalls the conversion of the voluntary conforming to the embedded rules in total institutions: The inmate adopts and executes the discipline of the total institution such as carceral, mental hospital, barracks (Goffman, 1961). Of course, a workplace is not a total institution like them, but as Burrell (1988) points out, people live in a world organized by production and consumption networks and are incarcerated within an organizational world. Thus, the conversion to adapt in workplaces can be interpreted in this context. Interviews with middle managers exemplify this conversion:

> *"I am a manager in HR. I also handle the accounting department. This is an opportunity for me. What will happen tomorrow is not certain in tourism. If I transfer to another hotel, at least I will have another skill." (Esin)*

> *"There were times I worked for 13–14 hours. I needed to improve myself. I am ambitious. You need to be ambitious anyway." (Burak)*

> *"No manager can say, 'I work for 8 hours.' If you are a manager, you need to be at the hotel at least 12–13 hours. If I worked for 8 hours and left, I'd feel guilty. (Cengiz)*

> *"One morning, I went to work an hour and a half early. I ran into my boss. My boss asked, 'Why are you here this early?' I said that I loved my job. My boss smiled. Even a smile is important." (Levent)*

Feelings of existential inadequacy and guilt or being a workaholic (Mooney & Ryan, 2009) or presenteeism (Cullen & McLaughlin, 2006) to be successful align the individual with the aims of the organization (Lordon, 2014) and make them subject to their self-panopticon (Foucault, 1980). Essentially, this desire to align reflects the anxiety of exclusion in insecure conditions (Fleming, 2015). Levent, for example, later added to the earlier comment, quoted above: "Do you know why I went to work early that morning? Out of fear. Because if things don't go according to plan in your absence, you'd be the one to blame." This fear encourages individuals to work enthusiastically and with a concern for the business.

4.3.4. The other side of success practices and voluntary adaptation to panopticon

However, being successful in this game does not only depend on formal work performance as another side of the workplace meritocracy is "survival practices" (Collinson, 2003, p. 536). The interviewees mentioned several practices necessitated by the motivation to be successful under insecure conditions: "Sucking up to the managers" (Emre); "look like you are working more than you are" (Selim); "display all kinds of cunning behavior that may be in favor of the business" (Ceyhun); and even "lie for work" (Kemal): "The workplace is more comfortable than home because you can lie with ease" (Ercan).

The effort to adapt to this leads to dramaturgical selves (Collinson, 2003). Consequently, emotional labor not only concerns the formal relationship between employee and client but also relationships with the manager, boss and colleagues. As Petra notes, "workplaces are like The Truman Show: Everyone watches each other." Hence, impression management is a basic requirement for organizational survival (Collinson & Collinson, 2004). The interviewees noted that these practices, which match the understanding of purely profit-oriented businesses, constitute the unwritten workplace rules in tourism. As Hodson, Martin, et al. (2013) suggest, unwritten rules or rule breaking may be normal and essential parts of organizational functioning. Two interviewees illustrated the voluntary commitment of conformist and dramaturgical selves to the panopticon field of the workplace:

> *"I know when the boss is in the lobby or in the restaurant and I try harder to be seen in the field. Because if they don't see you, they think you are not working. That is why you need to be seen." (Gonca)*

> *"If I have to write an e-mail for work, I cc all managers that may not be directly related. You need to show them that you work." (Canan)*

4.3.5. The other side of workplace relationships and the ascension of atomization

According to Sennett (1998), the concept of "no long term" has weakened trust and loyalty in the workplace. Social bonds and fierce competition between individuals under conditions of flexibility and insecurity encourage harmful adaptation practices. Because neoliberalism is dominated by deregulation, "the only legitimate rule is now the strictest, most violent, the most cynical, the most irrational of all the rules: the law of economic jungle" (Berardi, 2009, p. 159). These unwritten rules also prevent employees developing collective awareness of their working conditions because they focus solely on their own success. It atomizes social relationships (McNay, 2009). This intersects with many of the experiences and impressions of the interviewees: "Everyone tries to win the boss/manager's favor and can do anything for it" (Maria); "no one cares about anyone" (Orhan); "no one trusts anyone" (Filiz); "everyone is after their own benefit" (Sercan); "it is hard to come across honest people in our sector" (Burak). Consequently, "the workplace is a lion's den" (Pınar).

The desire to be one of the few employees who can continue working over the winter or get hired again next season turns individuals into competitors. These efforts to protect the current positions can lead to chaos in the workplace (Hodson, Martin, et al., 2013). One of the most obvious practices is gossip. Gossipers try to make themselves more acceptable and successful while revealing others' mistakes. Through gossip and competition, every blind spot that the management could not otherwise see is brought within the panopticon field, thereby strengthening their control. Because "the hotel has a large area, somehow it has to be controlled" (Ercan).

> *"There is one thing that embarrasses me as I do it: Gossiping! Everyone talks about each other in the hotel … Because, if they are unsuccessful, your value is easily understood. That is why no one trusts anyone." (Gonca)*

Ultimately, existential, social, economic, or psychological insecurities lead to the reproduction of workplace selves and organizational power relationships (Collinson, 2003).

4.3.6. At the end of the day: Metamorphosed selves and scenes

The interviewees used various metaphors to describe a typical employee who adapts to tourism's working conditions. These provide valuable insights into working conditions and the nature of the job. For example, the average tourism employee is imagined as a slave, chameleon, cactus, mask, boomerang, donkey, robot, camel or mule. Slave, donkey, camel and mule imply the ability to bear any load while cactus means being able to adapt to any challenge, even the lack of water. The robot describes performing any job without problems while boomerang means coming back to the job the next season despite leaving at the end of the season with no intention to return. The mask suggests everyone putting on an act against each other while the chameleon reflects adapting to everything at any time.

These also overlap with the metaphors interviewees used to describe their workplaces: An open prison where getting out is free but entrance is mandatory; a ship vulnerable to storms; a zoo due to the fact that the employees have alienated themselves to their own natures; a stock market because everything changed according to circumstance and is, thus, fluctuating; a brothel where everything is seemingly enjoyable from the outside but is actually done out of necessity, offers a job opportunity and where getting pleasure is impossible; a theater scene where everyone plays a fake role; a hospital because they have to deal with constant customer problems; an area where there are no rules. The metaphors suggest how far these workplaces are from offering decent work and how close they are to Orwellian working conditions (Baum, Kralj, et al., 2016) and a Kafkaesque bureaucracy (Hodson, Roscigno, et al., 2013). The way most employees manage to adapt despite their awareness of poor working conditions chimes with Žižek's analysis of the cynical mind:

> *"'They know that, in their activity, they are following an illusion, but still, they are doing it'. For example, they know that their idea of Freedom [adaptation practices] is masking a particular form of exploitation, but they still continue to follow this idea of Freedom."* (Žižek, 1989, p. 30, p. 30)

4.4. Resistance practices: reproduction of power

The final theme analyzes resistance possibilities and focuses on understanding the reproduction of current working conditions along with adaptation practices. The results are interpreted in four sub-themes (addressing RQ6, RQ7 and RQ8).

4.4.1. Hidden transcripts and informal control mechanisms

Although there is resistance that sometimes weakens this illusion, this is not collective like union activities but hidden transcripts in the workplace. The interviewees gave various examples: Act like they are working (Ali); be insensitive to the work (Orhan); damage equipment (Ayşe); treat the tourists badly (Cengiz); encourage tourists to criticize the business on social media (Ebru); quit the job mid-season (Kaan). For

the interviewees, these resistance practices are motivated by revenge rather than intended to change or transform organizational processes. Nevertheless, such resistance practices may have medium-term effects. Gossip is an important tool for controlling the employees:

> *"There are people who play hooky or badmouth the business in the company of their friends. However, this can be tolerated to a certain extent. Beyond that, you will get fried. Because everyone talks about one another and this only serves the managers." (Orhan)*

There are many ironic, cynical or critical discourses against the business, the boss or the managers. However, as the interviewees admit, these discursive resistances do not directly confront the dominant understanding in the workplace (Mumby, 2005). Likewise, demands or complaints about working conditions are rarely considered.

> *"Managers expect you to have a high performance; they don't want to hear complaints. They say, 'If you don't like it, don't work here. For them, there are a lot of unemployed people to work there." (Sercan)*

Managers' arbitrary attitudes, focused on their own and organizational interests, demonstrates the chaotic tendency of the Kafkaesque bureaucracy (Hodson, Martin, et al., 2013). Levent provides another example:

> "If three of you come together and agree on objecting, everyone agrees to do it but then they sell you out. Everyone continues to work. It doesn't even matter for the boss or the manager. One employee arrives as one leaves."

4.4.2. Collective resistances and alternative labor supply

Some collective resistance, however, still occurs. Besides providing consent, informal relations between managers and employees can lead to group-level resistance: To quit en masse in high season. This is the strongest form of resistance to protect employees' rights and interests. However, this results in different control mechanisms. In particular, low barriers to employment (Baum, Kralj, et al., 2016; Robinson, Baum, et al., 2019) and the disadvantageous position of migrant workers who do not have an alternative (Tuomi et al., 2020) enable employers to maintain their current conditions in their favor (Janta et al., 2011). This situation limits the possibilities of the resistance of existing for employees to resist and leads to the reproduction of consent:

> *"If you quit as a group, there would be a crisis. Businesses fear this … Our hotel hired people from the Turkic Republics this year … The message the hotel wants to give is clear: 'There are a lot of people who want to work. If needs be, I'd bring them over from overseas.'" (Cengiz)*

4.4.3. Unethical work practices in the grey zones: is it resistance, tolerance or consensus?

According to Hodson, Martin, et al. (2013), organizational goals and rules can serve the interests of the elite. Nevertheless, ignoring subordinates is likely to create conflict. The interviewees mentioned various ethical violations as a resistance practice in response to "low salary and unattainable rights". In particular, unrecorded earning frauds against the business or the customer may be considered legitimate responses to low salaries. However, this legitimacy is mainly based on an implicit consensus in the daily life of the workplace. As one interviewee said, "everyone has a flaw in tourism, ranging from managers to employees" (Burak). Therefore, there is a nurturing relationship between this practice of resistance and organizational control. This normalizes actions inhabiting a grey area of unwritten workplace rules, whether fraud that benefits the employee or fraud that benefits the enterprise (Mars, 1982). As it was stated before: this situation may be tolerated by managers due to the difficult working conditions and low wages. These practices should thus not be seen as an anomaly specific to employees but the responses to workplace relations of power and domination (Hodson, Martin, et al., 2013). In this context "the same act can be resistant in one context and reproduce extant power relations in another" (Mumby, 2005, p. 35).

4.4.4. At the end of the day: the tension between moral autonomy and adaptation practices

Being able to sustain moral autonomy is another aspect of resistance. As discussed above, workplaces include unwritten rules and informal relationship networks that ensure success or protection against exclusion. However, some interviewees felt that this eventually leads to moral self-destruction. However, this view, with its conventional workplace values and which arises from the tension of moral autonomy (Börner et al., 2020), may have a price: "You may go around in a circle; you may not get the promotion but at least you will not lose your self-respect" (Ayhan).

5. Conclusion

This study focused on the operation and effects of neoliberal governmentality in Turkey's tourism industry by tracing the everyday consent-adaptation-resistance practices of employees. It also analyzed how the power relations that make poor working conditions "sustainable" are structured in the organizations and industries (Fig. 1). There are three main findings.

First, in tourism work, job security is unpredictable, so there is a constant concern for vulnerability as flexibility and precarity become the industry's structural features. Second, consent is achieved through stratified power relations at individual, organizational, industrial and social levels. The third main finding concerns the efforts of employees to be subjects in these conditions. Individuals adapt to power relations by developing technologies of the self. Consequently, profit and market-oriented power relations in the organizational and industrial fields operate through the conformist selves they produce (Collinson, 2003; Foucault, 2008) while panopticism is achieved in tourism workplaces by imposing "a particular conduct on a particular human multiplicity" (Deleuze, 2006, p. 34).

The results also showed that this situation in favor of management is the threshold of the contradiction that individuals experience in protecting moral autonomy (Börner et al., 2020) and the threshold of corrosion of character (Sennett, 1998). The unwritten rules of workplaces construct the intersection of ethics and an unethical field whereby individuals develop dramaturgical selves for the sake of 'survival' or 'success' in precarious conditions (Collinson, 2003, 2006). Meanwhile, workers are instrumentalized by a workplace Kafkaesque bureaucracy characterized by fear, chaos, irregularity, abuse and patrimonialism. Although resistance practices occur, as Contu (2008) and Mumby (2005) point out, these are not intended to change understanding of the organizational and industrial field; instead, they are reactive attitudes that can even lead to other instances of abrasion of character and the reproduction of power. This framework of governmentality of work in tourism shows that the pendulum between living on, achieving professional success and sustaining moral integrity leads to cognitive and affective contradictions for employees.

Ultimately the research provides a valuable framework for rethinking unknown or ignored power relations because they have become normalized by neoliberal governmentality in tourism workplaces. This governmentality subordinates the individual, transforms organizations into Kafkaesque bureaucracies and reproduces them, and ultimately stratifies at the individual, organizational and social interfaces of everyday life. The main contribution of the research is its critical analysis of power relations that maintain working conditions. This has policy, academic and managerial implications.

5.1. Policy implications

First, these findings warn us to consider at which level policies for

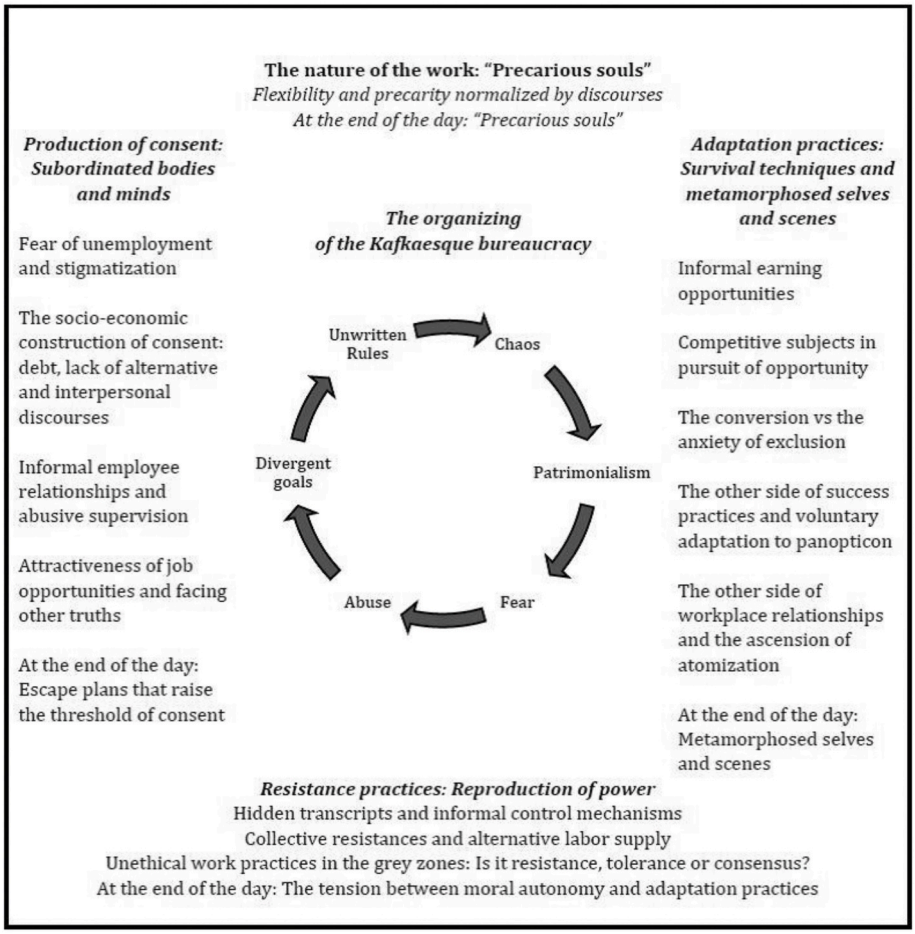

Fig. 1. The governmentality of workplaces in tourism industry.

the sustainability of the workforce should start. The multi-layered power embedded in the social and industrial field can reveal a workforce profile that favors businesses in the short term. Management can strive to achieve operational objectives with HRM strategies suitable for local labor markets (Solnet et al., 2016). The new work motivations of generation Z may prevent them from accepting low wages, long hours and the destructive consequences of emotional labor (Goh & Lee, 2018). However, this situation is unsustainable as it will cost the industry itself more directly (Davidson & Wang, 2011) and society in the long term.

The lack of "decent work" in tourism is a clear human rights concern (Baum, Cheung et al., 2016). Adaptation practices for the field and workplace conditions show how this problem is normalized in everyday life. Thus, "within the dominant neo-liberal ideology of many governments" (Baum, 2018, p. 880), studies focusing on micro human resource management or organizational behavior research (Baum, Kralj, et al., 2016) will be unable to provide decent work. It is necessary to put criticism of neoliberalism at the center of public policy at the macro level. In other words, the most effective approach to the current crisis requires reconstruction of the relations between economic actors, the common values of these actors and new public interventions (Touraine, 2014). Ignoring them makes it impossible to solve material inequalities in tourism and the problems related to working conditions (Bianchi, 2009).

5.2. Academic implications

The neoliberal paradigm also has transformed the structure of universities. Those with shrinking public budgets seek resources from the private sector for "industry-related" research purposes (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2018). This cultural pedagogy, associated with the illusion of neoliberalism's lack of alternatives (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2012), shapes also higher education for tourism (Ayikoru et al., 2009); academics are also subject to careerism in line with the mainstream paradigm (Mills, 1959/2000; Clarke & Knights, 2015).

However, the problems posed by neoliberalism are also directly related to the academy itself as flexibility, insecurity and oversight have become major problems in universities today (Gill, 2014; Loveday, 2018). Dealing with labor problems from a purely market-oriented perspective is a sign that, above all, the academy has become blind to its own current problems. Therefore, the development of a reflexivity towards this blind spot, as well as morale (Caton, 2012), could be a significant steppingstone towards discussing neoliberal governmentality, which structures employment relations through a holistic approach in tourism and other sectors. In this way, critical pedagogy, which reveals normalized inequalities (Wilson & Hollinshead, 2015), shows possible alternatives (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2012) and generates knowledge against the dominant power (Kincheloe, 2008), can become widespread. As a result, a sociological imagination linking personal problems to social issues (Mills, 1959/2000) and developing a critical and heretic perspective against to the normality of the dominant neoliberal paradigm can enable construction possible alternatives. Otherwise, tourism businesses can continue to witness the 'brilliant' success of neoliberal governmentality and Kafkaesque bureaucracy, which focus solely on the interest of the business.

5.3. Managerial implications

A pure profit orientation can make businesses successful in the short

term. The organizational logic, lacking transparency and accountability (Clegg et al., 2016), may enable Kafkaesque bureaucracies and maintain established power relations. However, it is clear that a system in which people do not worry about each other cannot sustain its legitimacy (Sennet, 1998). Thus, managers should be aware of the necessity of developing the representative democracy within organizations rather than waiting for a change in the state regulation. Managers should construct an open, transparent, accountable, participatory management approach that takes the concerns of their employees into account (Hodson, Roscigno, et al., 2013). Besides, democratizing public strategies with the cooperation of the people to open the system, i.e. civil society initiatives, can more effectively solve existing problems (Clegg et al., 2016). However, it should not be overlooked that the neoliberal paradigm can reduce this and similar solution attempts in its own logic and turn them into a self-compliant activity. Such as such that, as the Foucauldian approach shows, neoliberal governmentality is highly competent in the sustainability of its own legitimacy.

5.4. Limitations of the study and future research

The basic limitations of this study are focusing only on two subsectors from the sample group and only looking at Turkey for the research field. Despite these limitations, the results provide a provocative approach to discussing similar labor problems because this study was based on the assumptions of neoliberal governmentality. Future research may open up discussions on tourism workforce problems, multi-layered power relations, and more specific job types and professions in different countries. This approach, as Baum (2018) points out, can provide a steppingstone for future studies on the development of sustainable workforce planning in relation to political, social, economic and cultural policies.

Credit authorstatement

Mustafa Yıldırım: Conceptualization, Methodology, Formal analysis, Investigation, Data curation, Writing-original draft, Project administration.

Impact statement

The current research focuses on understanding the adaptation, consent and resistance practices of individuals in the working conditions in tourism, which still fail to achieve the UN's objectives. It achieves this by discussing how neoliberal governmentality, neglected in previous studies, is constructed in everyday life at workplace. The results point at how individuals are subject to multi-layered power relations in the industry and in workplaces. This subordination leads to self-technologies, conformist or dramaturgical selves that reproduce power relations that already exist. This situation is framed by a Kafkaesque bureaucracy in workplace. The research offers some political, academic and managerial implications to solve problems regarding labor. These provide a critical insight into how the UN's objectives for sustainable labor might be possible in the tourism industry which is dominated by a neoliberal paradigm.

Declaration of competing interest

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