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Authoritarianism and Labour Regime: Continuities and Changes during the Age of the Pandemic in Turkey

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Abstract

This paper deals with the policy pursued by the Turkish government during the first phase of the Covid-19 pandemic. The first part briefly examines the global changes in the economy. The second part focuses on the analysis of key aspects of AKP policy. It seeks to decipher the basic orientations of the government, which were expressed under the slogan “Keep the wheels turning”, and to identify how they were expressed in relation to the labour regime. The last part of the paper deals with recording the major impact this policy had on the working class.

Introduction: the pandemic of poverty and the crisis of accumulation regime

Suddenly, humankind found itself in a different world: empty roads, closed shops and unusually clear skies, but also a huge loss of human life. Early reports on the economy were negative, worldwide. The Covid-19 pandemic caused, perhaps, the deepest and most immediate economic recession in the history of capitalism. It developed much faster than the crisis of 2008 or the Great Recession of 1929 (Roubini, 2020).

The Covid-19 pandemic may have emerged as a health crisis, but it soon expanded into a huge economic and social crisis. It had a profound effect on everyday life, on the processes of production, reproduction and consumption, both at local and global levels. These developments revealed all the failures of capitalism through a magnifying glass (Stevano et al., 2021). At the same time, they imposed an intense wave of uncertainty on societies, which reached entirely existential dimensions, as well as dimensions associated with the wider stability and economic development (Gökay, 2021, p. 154).

In this sense, the pandemic restored even more intensely and directly the dynamics of the deepening of social and class antagonisms at a worldwide level. Not at all coincidentally, the UN Human Rights Council report, published in the summer of 2020, points out that the world found itself at an existential crossroads comprising pandemics, a deep economic recession, catastrophic climate change and extreme inequality. In this context, Covid-19 has been described as the “pandemic of poverty” (Alston, 2020, p. 9).

According to World Bank data, the world economy shrank by 4.3 per cent in 2020 and is considered the largest recession since World War II (World Bank, 2021, p. 1). Beyond the tragic loss of human life, the World Bank estimated that in 2020, some 124 million people were driven to extreme poverty, while those with a daily income of no more than 5.5 US dollars, reached 210 million (World Bank, 2021, p. 1). The International Labour Organization (ILO) pointed out that in 2020, 255 million full-time jobs were lost, a loss that is four times the size of the one recorded in the 2008 crisis (ILO, 2021a, p. 1). According to the same data, global unemployment reached 6.5 per

cent, recording an increase of 1.1 per cent since 2019 and adding another 33 million people to the list of unemployed (ILO, 2021a, p. 9). Job losses and unemployment also had a direct impact on labour income dividends. In 2020, labour incomes fell by 8.3 per cent, equivalent to about \$3.7 billion and accounting for 4.4 per cent of world GDP (ILO, 2021a, p. 2). From 2019 to 2020 more than 31 million people were pushed into the category of “working poor” – people who work but whose salary does not allow them to lead a decent life, keeping them trapped below the poverty line. In 2020, the year with the strongest impacts of the pandemic, a total of 630 million people fell into the category of the working poor (ILO, 2020, pp. 36–37). At the same time, in early 2020, for the first time in 20 years, a drastic increase in child labour was recorded, with the total number of child labourers reaching 160 million (*Euronews Türkçe*, 2021).

The aforementioned dramatic socio-economic consequences had as a direct consequence a widespread uncertainty, which affected people’s daily lives and raised questions about the immediate future (Buğra et al., 2020, p. 140). The Covid-19 pandemic, as well as its management by many governments, challenged people’s daily routines and changed the setting in which large sections of society felt even a relative degree of security. This had a negative impact on relations of trust and solidarity, while at the same time raising questions even about basic human freedoms which had, before the pandemic, been taken for granted (Gülseven, 2021, p. 45).

At the geopolitical level, new pursuits were also recorded, often with a highly competitive content (Gülseven, 2021, p. 46). In fact, the problems created by the pandemic for global supply chains raised substantial questions concerning the global architecture of production and trade processes. This in turn prompted new quests in many developed and developing countries, especially in relation to China’s strategic position in regard to global trade circulation. For example, the US has taken initiatives to move its investments from China to countries such as Taiwan, India and Vietnam (Taştekin, 2020). Right from the beginning of the pandemic, Ankara considered that it could capitalize on the situation, take advantage of its geostrategic position and emerge as an alternative, safeguarding the circulation of trade, production and investment (Öngel, 2021).

In his first address regarding the pandemic early in 2020, Erdoğan characteristically noted that “At this point we cannot know the impact the period we live in will have on mankind. It is very difficult to guess in which direction the world will evolve... It is clear, however, that nothing can remain as it is. We are entering into a period of radical political, economic and social change on a global scale. It is essential for Turkey to take an advantageous position in this photograph” (TCCB, 2020a).

In these conditions of extreme insecurity and intense antagonism, ontological security acquired a decisive role and was eventually exploited by many political elites for the promotion of authoritarian measures and political orientations (Gülseven, 2021, p. 42). Thus, the anguish that overwhelmed large sections of societies also worked as the basis for the reproduction of war rhetoric on the part of many political and economic elites worldwide.

With the outbreak of the pandemic many countries attempted to cease economy’s normal operation. Indeed, for a very short time it became clear that the choice of society to work in a direction opposite to economic rationale of capital was not only feasible,

but also necessary for the survival of the people. This was, however, a very short period of time. Gradually the voices against the lockdown of the economy and against the measures, in general, that forced economic operation to take backseat in the interest of public health, were strengthened and becoming dominant. The operation of the economy at all costs, eventually became the common feature, especially after the first lockdown. Pandemic and economy constituted an unresolved, competitive contradiction. Any measures to deal with the pandemic were manifested as a problem for the economy. At the same time, policies to ensure the smooth running of the economy have prevented the tackling of the pandemic.

In this sense, the pandemic deepened the crises in models of economic growth and forced many governments to pursue policies reminiscent of a kind of state of emergency. In this text “state of emergency” is used in the theoretical context used by Neocleous (2006, p. 207), who considers the concept of “emergency” as better-suited in more comprehensively analyzing an environment of crisis, than the concept “state of exception”. He explains that the word “emerge”, serves as a verb that better emphasizes the process of “return to the surface” of a pre-existing object-situation, which reappears due to specific circumstances, especially circumstances of crisis. Therefore, the state of emergency is not just the result of a crisis. It can also be the “response” to a crisis or the attempt to resolve the crisis. It emerges because the established order faces threat it cannot repel with existing–normal means (Hall, 1979, p. 15). As Boukalas (2015, p. 63) notes, in times of crisis the accumulation model reinforces characteristics based on further devaluation of labour, aiming to manage the crisis and not to permanently overcome it. Based on the above framework, the next part of the article analyzes the strategy of the Turkish government to restore the destabilized accumulation model, having at its epicenter important features of the labor regime.

Erdoğan’s “Keep the wheels turning” policy as restoration of the accumulation regime

The Covid-19 pandemic hit Turkey at a particularly difficult juncture because of the previous period of economic crisis and destabilization. Up until mid-2018, the country was recording high unemployment rates and a growing current accounts deficit. The credit expansion that took place in 2017 before the referendum caused an intensification of the fragile characteristics of the economy, while the geopolitical tensions of the period increased the outflow of foreign capital, as a result of which the government was unable to restrain the devaluation of the Turkish lira against foreign currencies. Up until the first eight months of 2018, the Turkish lira lost 40 per cent of its value against the dollar. From late 2018 to mid-2019, Turkey’s economy shrank (Öngel, 2021).

The pandemic promptly became an issue generating insurmountable problems for labourers in Turkey, as their socio-economic situation had already been hit by the previous period of economic destabilization (Meçik & Aytun, 2020, p. 6). Back in 2019, the unemployment rate in Turkey had already reached 25 per cent (Öngel, 2021). In the same year, the number of working poor was estimated at 3.999 million, recording an increase of 15 per cent from 2017. Thus in 2019, the percentage of working poor in Turkey reached 14.4 per cent of the entire workforce (DİSK/Genel-İş, 2021, p. 6).

According to data from the Turkish Statistical Institute (TÜİK) for 2018, the richest 40 per cent of the population in the country possessed 68.5 per cent of the total national

income, while the poorest 40 per cent of the population owned only 16.7 per cent of the national income. Among the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) member states, Turkey ranked in the third worst position in terms of distribution of income (Akyüz, 2020). The deterioration of income equality was also confirmed by Eurostat data. Specifically, for 2019 the richest 20 per cent of the population of Turkey had profits 8.3 times higher than the poorest 20 per cent (DİSK/Genel-İş, 2021, p. 3).

According to TÜİK (2017) data, in 2017 the percentage of households living below the poverty line was 20.1 per cent. But for households with two adults and three or more children, that percentage increased to 47.3 per cent. Furthermore, the World Bank reports that the poverty rate in Turkey increased from 8.5 per cent in 2018 to 10.2 per cent in 2019. According to the same data, the total number of people living below the poverty line in Turkey in 2019 increased by 1.5 million in one year, reaching 8.4 million in 2019 (World Bank, 2021, p. 42).

As a result of the consequences of the previous period of crisis, the government of Turkey sought to address the outbreak of the pandemic through a combination of interconnected ideological and political axes with corresponding economic choices. Two of the key axes were as follows. The first was the imposition of an ideological framework of “war”, the successful outcome of which required the mobilization of all citizens in support of state policy. Through this axis the government cultivated the need to protect the country against a “global threat” and called for “national unity” (Gülseven, 2021, p. 52). As a matter of fact, the cultivation of a war climate as a result of the pandemic was combined with the burdensome reminder of the previous economic “attacks” suffered by the country and therefore the framework for the “national mobilization” of society was more easily constructed. Erdoğan described the formula for confronting the pandemic as follows: “Our country, like the rest of the world, is facing a threat that may not have appeared before in world history... As a country and as a nation we have managed to face all the attacks against us so far by strengthening our unity and brotherhood. We will face the coronavirus threat in the same way” (TCCB, 2020b).

The second axis, interconnected with the first, was the emergence of the need for an unhindered production process, so as to not only address the difficult economic situation as a result of the pandemic but to also enable Turkey to completely overcome the consequences left behind by the 2018 destabilization. In his first comprehensive approach on tackling the pandemic, Erdoğan said: “Apart from the fact that daily life will halt due to voluntary or compulsory quarantine, this process will have serious financial consequences. As Turkey we are obliged to prevent the spread of the pandemic, but also to keep production, trade and employment alive. We are living through a time when we cannot lose control of the economy, since our country has just begun to find its way again after the attacks we suffered in August 2018” (TCCB, 2020a).

Turkey’s “obligation” to prevent the pandemic on the one hand, but to keep production, trade and employment alive on the other, as described by Erdoğan, was codified in the general strategy he called “keep the wheels turning”. The specific political statement was made on 30 March 2020 and was characteristic of the priorities set by Ankara in the conditions created by the pandemic: “Our most important sensitivity here is to continue production to sustain the supply of basic goods and support exports. Turkey

is a country that needs to continue production and keep the wheels turning under all conditions and circumstances” (TCCB, 2020c).

The motto “keep the wheels turning” eventually became the epicentre of an inclination that sought to stabilize the accumulation model in the face of a new global crisis. This insistence by the government was essentially a continuation of its previous choices to postpone the consequences of the more general crisis of the reproduction of society. Just as on previous occasions, especially after 2013, so during the pandemic period the Erdoğan government focused more on crisis-prevention policies through the promotion of labour-intensive sectors and the expansion of credit (Ercan & Oğuz, 2020, p. 106).

It was no coincidence that the need for “employment protection” demonstrated by the Turkish government was understood to be a key result of the unhindered production process and was supported by key business circles in the country (Gülseven, 2021, p. 52). As a matter of fact, Erdoğan himself made no secret of the fact that a primary task of the measures adopted by the government was to facilitate the country’s industrialists and export infrastructure to continue the production process (TCCB, 2020d). The head of Zorlu business group assessed the pandemic as a platform of global change where Turkey should attract the interest of the new supply chains to be created. In the same framework, the president of the Machinery Exporters Association (MAİB) suggested that because of the pandemic the trend for changes in the global manufacturing industry chain would intensify, something that should benefit Turkey (Öngel, 2021).

According to Turkish business circles, a key condition for the successful conclusion of the unhindered production process policy under pandemic conditions was to ensure the continuation of the main features of the labour regime. Some of the demands of organized employers were permanent flexibility in the labour market and ensuring teleworking was possible even after the pandemic was over (Karadeniz, 2020). The same was true with the promotion of a cheap labour force. The Istanbul Chamber of Commerce (ITO) prepared a report for foreign investors in order to attract purchase of real estate in Istanbul. Among the main arguments was the cheap labour force, especially in the manufacturing industry. Specifically, according to ITO, the hourly labour cost in the manufacturing industry is 5.6 dollars in Turkey while in Germany it is 47.2 (T24, 2020).

On a practical level, the government’s insistence on the continuation of the production process was expressed through avoiding a total lockdown of the economy, at least for the largest part of 2020. In the early phase of the pandemic, a traffic ban was imposed at weekends, as well as a travel ban between 30 large provinces with particularly high incidence rates. In essence, the government issued recommendations to the citizens to implement a kind of “voluntary quarantine”. By means of advertising campaigns like “Turkey: stay at home”, it was implicitly emphasized that every citizen should individually apply his or her own self-isolation period (Sarıöz-Gökten, 2021).

Among the early measures implemented by the government after the declaration of the coronavirus as a pandemic was the closure of premises connected to night entertainment or the sale of alcohol, followed later by the shutting down of restaurants, barbers, hairdressers and shopping malls (Kurtulmuş, et al., 2020, p. 344). In total, about 270,000 premises were closed down and freedom of movement was only curtailed for those over the age 65 and under the age of 20. (Öktem, 2021, p. 3). Very quickly,

however, and despite the quarantine imposed on the specific age-groups, the Ministry of Interior clarified that young workers aged 18–20, both in the public sector and in formal employment in the private sector, were excluded from the restriction (Sarıöz-Gökten, 2021). In this way, the government managed to keep most of the workforce active (Gurses, et al., 2021).

On 18 March 2020, Erdoğan announced the first package of measures in response to the pandemic under the name “Economic Stability Shield”. It was a set of economic policy measures worth 100 billion Turkish lira (about \$12 billion) (TCCB, 2020a). It included suspension of tax payments, subsidies to boost domestic consumption and a reduction in value-added tax on some products, as well as suspensions of payments to social security and health insurance funds (Gülseven, 2021, pp. 52–53). Therefore, the majority of the measures focused on large and small- and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs), while at the same time government expenditure was kept at 1 per cent of GDP, a particularly small percentage in relation to the size of the country’s economy (Gökay, 2021, p. 153).

At the same time, from mid-March 2020, the government enacted the grant of a lump sum of 1000 Turkish lira to households entitled to social assistance (Öktem, 2021, p. 4), while on 30 March, Erdoğan announced the launch of a state charity campaign, under the slogan “We are self-sufficient” (*Biz bize yeteriz Türkiye*), with the aim of allocating money to sections of the population who had lost their income (TCCB, 2020c).

The second economy support package was submitted before the National Assembly on 14 April 2020 and included the extension of measures such as the ban on redundancies in conjunction with the enactment of compulsory unpaid leave. In this way the government completed the basic policies related to work, on two axes: the payment of short-term labour compensation (60 per cent of salary) and the ban on redundancies, with enactment of unpaid leave instead (a monthly benefit of 1170 Turkish lira was paid to those placed on unpaid leave) (Öktem, 2021, p. 5).

But the cost of protection of employment, as the most important aspect of the unhindered production process, was passed on to the state and to the workers. The consent of the employers was reached after the dismissal of employees in the form of unpaid leave, with the state providing for the payment of a daily allowance, which, however, was separated from the unemployment fund (Kurtulmuş, et al., 2020, p. 346). Tens of thousands of workers were forced to take unpaid leave during the pandemic, receiving a monthly allowance of 1,170 Turkish lira (around 198 euros, at the then exchange rate of Turkish lira against the euro) from the state – an amount that was about 50 per cent of the minimum wage (DİSK – AR, 2020, p. 8). More specifically, in the period April–June 2020, 1.7 million workers were forced to take unpaid leave (*İleri Haber* 2020), and as of 31 December 2020 the number of workers forced into the same status reached 2,216,622 (Kara, Kaya and Kozan 2021).

By the end of May 2020, more than 270,000 companies that were operating as normal had applied for short-term employment compensation from the state. This amounted to some 2.7 million workers (Kurtulmuş, et al., 2020, p. 346). At the same time, shopping malls, barbers and hairdressers resumed their normal operation, while from June 2020, restaurants, organized beaches, parks and kindergartens were reopened and all internal transport was restored (Sarıöz-Gökten, 2021). The Social Security Institution also

issued a directive clarifying that Covid-19 could not fall under the categories of “occupational disease” or “occupational accident”. By this particular regulation the possibility to claim compensation by workers who fell ill with Covid-19, due to continuing to work in conditions of exposure to the disease, was ruled out (Sarıöz-Gökten, 2021). This measure was not accidental, since the exposure of labourers to Covid-19 due to the policy of unhindered production did indeed create additional dynamics in labour reactions. Typically, as of September 2020, the Ankara Chamber of Medicine had warned that 70 per cent of Covid-19 cases in the capital concerned factory workers, as well as employees of public organizations (İzci, 2020).

The political thesis to “keep the wheels turning” essentially led to the absence of any clear distinction between “essential” and “non-essential” sectors of the economy, an approach followed by other governments. Almost from the beginning of the pandemic in Turkey, industries outside the food and medical industry continued to operate normally, increasing the health risks for a large proportion of workers (Odman, 2021). This was a dynamic development, as in the course of the pandemic the Erdoğan government expanded as much as possible the range of sectors of the economy that were mobilized for the sake of continuous production (World Bank, 2021, p. II). Sectors such as those of construction, mining, the iron industry, the textile/clothing industry, the electrical industry, the furniture industry and export trade – i.e. sectors that were more concerned with stabilizing the accumulation model than meeting basic social needs – continued to operate (Taştekin, 2020). In most cases, in fact, their operation was the result of government intervention through special decrees and permits to employers (Kurtulmuş, et al., 2020, p. 342).

According to DİSK data for the Gaziantep Organized Industrial Zone, the vast majority of the 150,000 workers continued with production from day one of the pandemic. Most businesses easily obtained exemptions from bans by decree from local governors. As a matter of fact, the focus of production was not related to basic social needs in times of a pandemic, but rather concerned wood processing and furniture, charcoal packaging, footwear and clothing (Taştekin, 2020).

The management of the Dardanel factory decided to isolate within its premises those workers who had tested positive for Covid-19 and invoked the provisions of the regulation of the regional council of public health. The workers were moved in full isolation to student dormitories in the area and their transfer to and from the factory was arranged, without being allowed to return home (*El Yazmaları*, 2020a). A similar incident was recorded at a construction site of the Limak contracting company in Artvin province. After the appearance of 100 positive cases among the 2000 employees, the company imposed a quarantine inside the construction site and in this way, for the next 105 days, work continued. The confinement of the workers was the result of a similar decision by the regional public health council (*El Yazmaları*, 2020a). The management of the Sarkuysan factory (a metal works) also decided to continue with production after the detection of positive cases among workers and even managed to suppress the mobilization of protests through a decree by the Kocaeli district administration (Kurtulmuş, et al., 2020, p. 354).

An important aspect of the “keep the wheels turning” policy, aimed at stabilizing the accumulation model under conditions of crisis, are the measures for increased control and discipline at work. For example, The Turkish Employers Association of Metal

Industries (MESS) promoted the idea of the “electronic collar” as the “technology of the future” that would protect workers and the production process. This is an electronic collar that workers should wear around their neck while on factory production lines and that would send a “warning” in the event distances dictated due to the pandemic were not maintained. In this way the factory managers could more easily control and monitor the production process. Indeed, the use of this technology was observed in some factories by the end of 2020 (Sarıöz-Gökten, 2021).

Another prime example of the increasing trend for control and discipline of labour in the conditions of crisis created by the pandemic was the launching of “isolated production zones” by the Independent Industrialists and Businessmen Association (MÜSİAD). This organization, also known as the organization of Turkey’s Islamic capital, brought back an older proposal, at the heart of which was the guarantee of unhindered production processes, either in the event of a pandemic or in the face of other natural disasters. The renewed proposal was made public in May 2020. Among other things, it provided for the creation of a type of organized industrial area that would host more than 1000 families of workers and would apply quarantine measures without necessarily interrupting factory production (MÜSİAD, 2020). It was a closed workplace, where workers would be isolated and would function as a modernized type of “labour camp”. In this way, the pandemic and its management by the Erdoğan government revived the question of the relative separation between the employee’s private residence and the production space (*El Yazmaları*, 2020a).

The expansion of credit channels was another key pillar of the AKP’s policy to support the economy. So-called “financial inclusion”, which had been a central pillar of the AKP’s economic policy since the beginning of its rule, continued to be promoted as a solution to the adverse conditions resulting from the pandemic. The focus of this policy was the banking sector, through the encouragement of credit expansion throughout 2020. Thus, the “keep the wheels turning” policy was supplemented by the so-called “social policy by other means”, which relied on deferrals of loan instalments and the granting of subsidized loans, especially by state-owned banks. In fact, according to the International Monetary Fund, Turkey was among the countries with the smallest state sponsorships for combating the pandemic (Yücel, 2021). These policies led to one of the largest credit expansions worldwide in 2020 (World Bank, 2021, p. I). At the same time, they led to a new phase of household over-indebtedness. For example, in April 2020 alone, about one million people received a loan, and of those, 920,000 were people who had applied to banks for consumer loans for the first time (Sarıöz-Gökten, 2021). By June 2021, personal loans from banks and the Housing Development Administration of the Republic of Turkey (TOKİ) reached 965.9 billion Turkish lira, of which 172.3 billion are credit card debts (*Evrensel*, 2021b).

Impact on the working class in Turkey

It is a fact that the main political orientation of the Erdoğan government during the pandemic led to a relative economic recovery, in fact much improved in relation to many G20 countries. Turkey’s GDP for 2020 increased by 1.8 per cent (World Bank, 2021, p. I). The growth trend of the economy continued into the first quarter of 2021 at

a rate of 7 per cent, the highest among OECD member states (*Yeni Şafak*, 2021). The main axis of this relative recovery was the increase in industrial production (Öngel, 2021). From June 2020 until May 2021, industrial production recorded a steady increase. Specifically, in May 2021 the annual increase of industrial production reached 40.7 per cent (TÜİK, 2021).

Nevertheless, it is also a fact that this particular growth trend in the economy did not lead to an improvement in the situation of labourers, nor to a reduction in poverty levels. This was mainly a growth based on the increase in consumer loans and expenses, without creating new jobs or general trends for increasing employment. (*BirGün*, 2021). For example, according to data from the Turkish Statistical Institute, in the first quarter of 2021 business revenues increased by 3.9 per cent compared to the same period in 2020, while the employee dividend decreased by 3.5 per cent compared to the first quarter of 2020 (DİSK-AR, 2021a). The World Bank figures moved in the same direction, emphasizing that in the conditions of the pandemic in 2020, another 1.6 million people in Turkey were driven into poverty, recording an increase in the poverty rate from 10.2 per cent in 2019 to 12.2 per cent in 2020 (World Bank, 2021, p. 43).

Another dramatic development was the increase in the loss of full-time jobs throughout the pandemic. From the beginning of 2020 until June 2021, a total of 3.613 million full-time jobs were lost in Turkey, a number that corresponds to 13.2 per cent (DİSK-AR, 2021b). The World Bank points out that job losses decisively affected the poorest sections of the country's population. It was estimated that 60 per cent of job losses concerned the poorest 40 per cent of the population. On the contrary, most of the upper income strata retained their jobs, while a proportion of them managed to increase their profits (World Bank, 2021, p. 43). According to DİSK data, by July 2021 rising unemployment in Turkey had reached 23.6 per cent, a percentage corresponding to 8.4 million unemployed (DİSK-AR, 2021c).

As understood in the above, the Covid-19 pandemic, as well as the management of its effects by the government, did not have the same consequences for all social strata and classes in Turkey. The pandemic did not, of course, choose to hit specific social classes, but it is impossible to argue that its adverse impact was equally shared by the rich and the poor. The Erdoğan government's basic orientation to continue production created an environment in which most workers were forced to continue working and thus be exposed to Covid-19. The "voluntary" nature of the quarantine created grounds for new discriminations in relation to which parts of society could indeed be restricted, either by not working or working from home (Kurtulmuş, et al., 2020, p. 354). From the beginning of the pandemic only 24 per cent of the country's total workforce were able to work from home (Meçik & Aytun, 2020, p. 3).

Under the weight of the aforementioned consequences the pandemic eventually turned into a pandemic for labourers. Freelancers, the self-employed, workers in the informal sector, and workers in factories and small shops, did not have the opportunity for "self-isolation and protection", as this would lead to loss or reduction of their income (*El Yazmaları*, 2020b). In this way, the slogan "Turkey stay at home" essentially referred to a situation in which total protection from the pandemic was one more class privilege. Characteristically, 741 Covid-19-related deaths of workers were recorded in 2020, amounting to 31 per cent of all accidents at work in the same year. During the period from March 2020 to March 2021, 861 Covid-19 related deaths of workers were

recorded (İSİG, 2021). During the same period, another 391 health workers lost their lives to the pandemic (DİSK, 2021).

The development of the pandemic, in combination with the management and the choices made by the government in dealing with the economic consequences in Turkey, has left behind rifts in relation to the political system itself. The Erdoğan government had been facing a number of problems for some time and these have now been amplified. Its decline has been made more acute and it seems that since the beginning of 2021 this has triggered the estrangement of a significant part of the electoral core of the ruling coalition. Irrespective of the specific course and its final outcome at electoral level, it is a fact that the era of the pandemic leaves behind most profound changes in social relations throughout Turkey, with the challenge to the myth of Erdoğan's absolute supremacy at its core.

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BIOCAPITAL: AN EMERGENT FORM OF VENTURE CAPITAL AND A BIOLOGICAL FACE OF CAPITALISM

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Abstract

The spectrum and issues of bio-capital, are wide from sportive activities and bodily technologies to surrogacy motherhood, and organ piracy. Gene technology, pharmaceutic developments, getting complexed organ plantations and donation operations, anti-aging, diet programs to lose or gain weight, growing cosmetic market and plastic surgery, bodybuilding and training programs, sportive diet, protein based supplements, and products may contain steroids and *in vitro* production of *bios*, IVF pregnancy and hoarding of tissues, hormones, (stem) cells, sperms, blood, retina and of other body parts and liquids...

All these developments, on the one hand, have made the medical industry grow, on the other hand, many pieces of modern world and subjectivity by which the conventional modern world has ontologically been constructed, like the definition of death, meaning of life, the issue(s) of trade, the boundaries of the law, the limits of traditions and the modes of surplus extraction became the subject of ontological, epistemological and controversial discussions...

This conflictual terrain is labeled as *bio-capital*. Even though it has become more familiar with a covid-19 pandemic, bio-capital is not a novel term, with a little-known sixty-years history. What the focal point here is: how the traditional means of production-circulation-appropriation of value in the capitalist system became hybrid when it is anticipated bio-value produced through life-tech; and the general characteristics of bio-capital as an evolved sub-capital form of this anticipation. To do this, in the first place, some specific aspects of capitalism like,

(colonial) expansion, capture and the definition and re/definition of nature, natural sources and the body will be used to explain the paradigm shift from bio-politics to bio-capital

Keywords: Bio-capital, Bio-politics, Bio-value, Venture Capital, Speculative Capital

Introduction

Gene technology, pharmaceutic developments, getting complexed organ plantations and donation operations, anti-aging, diet programs to lose or gain weight, growing cosmetic market and plastic surgery, bodybuilding and training programs, sportive diet, protein based supplements, and products may contain steroids and *in vitro* production of *bios*, IVF pregnancy and hoarding of tissues, hormones, (stem) cells, sperms, blood, retina and of other body parts and liquids...

All these developments, on the one hand, have made the medical industry grow, on the other hand, many pieces of modern world and subjectivity by which the conventional modern world has ontologically been constructed, like the definition of death, meaning of life, the issue(s) of trade, the boundaries of the law, the limits of traditions and the modes of surplus extraction became the subject of ontological, epistemological and controversial discussions...

This conflictual terrain is labeled as *bio-capital*. Even though it has become more familiar with a covid-19 pandemic, bio-capital is not a novel term, with a little-known sixty-years history.

The spectrum and issues of bio-capital, as ordered above, are wide from sportive activities and bodily technologies to surrogacy motherhood, and organ piracy. Nevertheless, this wide spectrum will not be encapsulated in this article. What the focal point here is: how the traditional means of production-circulation-appropriation of value in the capitalist system became hybrid

when it is anticipated bio-value produced through life-tech; and the general characteristics of bio-capital as an evolved sub-capital form of this anticipation. To do this, in the first place, some specific aspects of capitalism like, (colonial) expansion, capture and the definition and re/definition of nature, natural sources and the body will be used to explain the paradigm shift from bio-politics to bio-capital.

Secondly, I will touch on some important debates and peculiarities in the processes of bio-value production and circulation, which focus on how capital turns into biological and biological ones turn into capital through the opinions of the prominent bio-capital analyzers such as, S.K.Rajan (2006, 2012), M.Cooper (2001, 2007), Dawson (2015), Fumagelli&Lucarelli (2007, 2010)

Lastly, I will turn back to my starting point, the birthmark of capitalism, which means capture, (colonial) expansion, and re/definition of nature, natural resources, and body. I want to close the bio-value, bio-capital, and circle of capitalism, showing what these biological discoveries, medical innovations, ethical-philosophical-religious-socio/cultural controversies, have transformed to human ontology... How these re/definition processes of capital(ism) and evolved, hybrid sub-capital have made boundaries of nature, capital, human body and trade blurring, are the last matter of the article.

Capitalism, Bio-Politics, and Bio-Capital

When one asks “*what is capitalism?*”, there will be numerous key words and conceptions: unemployment, over-work, exploitation for profit maximization via appropriation of surplus-value (Marx, 1933, 2015; Engels, 1997, 1999), trade (Braudel,2014; Wallerstein, 1976), market and status (Weber, 2012), *invisible hand* (Simith, 2014) industrialization, monopoly, imperialism and war for market share (Lenin, 2009; Buharin,1975; Luxemburg, 1941), alienation, reification, estrangement (Marks&Engels, 1994), entrepreneur (ship)

(Schumpeter&Clemence 1989), bohemianism (Simmel, 1971; Harvey, 2003), idleness (Benjamin, 1997, 2006), iron cage of the rational modern world (Weber, 1949)... All of these conceptions are conceptions that define capitalism in certain aspects, sometimes continuously and sometimes at a certain moment in the modern world...

On the other hand, in the context of this article, capitalism means *great divergences* against all humanity; unlimited and unlawful expansions against nature and (pseudo) human nature; an order protected by law and legitimacy-consent mechanism fabricated by power relations discourses. In other words, capitalism is expansion and capture, especially in the phase of great divergences, wars, and social and natural catastrophes; expanding capitalist markets' and transactions' borders against humanity and nature.

The colonization of Latin America (Galeano, 1973), that has begun with the discovery of America which was followed by the colonization of the Far East, Middle East, South East Asia, and Africa(EGO, 2011). This expansion was covers inside the centers of capitalism like the USA and the European continent: Enclosures of England countryside (Neeson, 1993; Thompson, 1963), enclosures of Galls (Kain, Chapman, Oliver, 2010) plowing the pasture of Irish countryside (Engels, 1997) issuing a decree against “wood theft” and banishment of forest for forester in Germany circa 1840s (Bensaid, 2017) in French (Sahlins, 1994) and England the banishment of hunting in the forest, (Thompson, 1975). The transgression of capital and definitions and re-definitions to transform from nature to natural sources, from peasant to worker, from raw material to the commodity figure out the infinite and expanding loop of expansion and capture that is embedded in the gene codes of capitalism. Melinda Cooper (*Life, autopoiesis, debt: inventing the bioeconomy*)-formulates this character of capitalism as follows: “the drive of capital to overcome its material limitations not only finds new resources but also constantly redefines the ‘nature’ of resources (e.g.through turning debt or other crisis moments into value) to create a surplus.”

In this respect, beyond the general definition of capitalism; capture, re/definition and expansion notions as three of the main contours of capitalism (Marks, 2000; Engels, 1997; Braudel, 2014; Polanyi, 2017; Pomeranz, 2000; Thompson, 1963, 1975) are in the very core of the issue, questioning the relation among human body, market, the bio-value production, and consumption.

On the one hand, capitalism intervened in nature, natural resources, and traditional communities in such a way as to transform them from rural peasantry society to capitalism, on the other hand, it intervened, captured, and transformed traditional forms of subjectivity. The expansion of modern capitalism's sphere of influence by means of bodies utilisation is the notion of biopolitics that Foucault has described in great detail. While on the one hand, capitalism built the theo-political context that Anderson and Schmitt mentioned in a way that sanctifies the modern state, on the other hand, it developed sacred domination over the individual body in favor of modern power: hygiene, public health, military service, population, borders, security policies, social state policies, etc. created biopolitical institutions through interventions.

The relationship that the state or capitalist modernity established with bodies in the classical industrial and Fordist periods depends on discipline, regulation, and control. However, since the post-Fordist period, the body has shifted its biopolitical meaning, which comes from the state's domain of influence and the capitalist market's source of labor, to the next level. First of all, the robotization and digitalization of production processes, the decline of labor-intensive jobs in labor employment, and the replacement of these by the useless labor of the service sector brought the tensions between capital and labor to other contexts, while the disciplinary power that Foucault constantly alluded to, was designed as a need of the capitalist production system. There is no longer need for one diemonsional, discipline producer, bio-political sanctions of institutions . *“Future generations will not even be lucky enough to be exploited”* At this point,

the body is an object of biopolitics not as a sphere of influence of the state or a source of labor in the market, but more than that, as both a customer and a source of raw materials, especially in the market of medicine, pharmacology and body technologies (blood, tissue, retina, organ, hair, fetus, etc...)

In the biopolitical world, bodies were controlled and classified by the state (men, women, soldiers, civil servants, workers, etc.) and were also disciplined by capitalism (working time, division of labor, production line, specialization in a particular field, etc.). Capitalism and the modern state were sometimes the cause and sometimes the result of each other. However, both the biopolitical modern state and the classical capitalist mode of production had limited access to (worker-citizen) bodies. The body was producing power on behalf of the state, and in the factory, it was producing commodities and surplus-value with its labor. However, after the 1970s, which corresponds to the beginning of the neoliberal era of capitalism, capitalism has expanded its demands on bodies a little more. The body would no longer be merely the producer of labor and the customer of the market, but also the producer of life (bio-tech) and the customer of life/bio-value. From this point on, how modern power, capitalism, and the citizens' position toward each other began to change...

In the new situation of capitalism, a new layer is added to the classical antagonism between worker and capital: biological contradictions between body and capital. In this layer, the market and the state, which is not only trying to be a bio-political but a bio-capital actor, no longer aspires to the living labor of the citizens, but also to the dying body of the citizens and to the bio-values such as blood, tissue, and organs that the body produces organically.

The Incubation Period of Bio-Capital

The deciphering of the structure of DNA (in 1953) that positive science has begun to analyze (and manipulate) our genetic inheritance, can be seen the beginning of history of *bio-capital*.

The cornerstone of the establishment of bio-capitalism is what Fumagali (2010) and Fumagalli & Lucarelli define as cognitive capitalism (2007); after the second half of the 20th century, it is the process of transformation of communication into cyber information. Following this process, biological life has been categorized in the form of four essential DNA nucleotides: “*cytosine (C), guanine (G), adenine (A), and thymine (T). Transformed into such a biological code, bios can potentially be circulated seamlessly as information, as a commodity, and as a material artifact.*” (Dawson, 2015: 6) Thus, after the cognitive capitalism, the syn-bio medium of capitalism was also formed. Taken together with today's computer engineers' increasingly rhetoric of DNA-based computing and synthetic biologists' lifecycle slabs, Syn-Bio, the roots of biocapitalism, represents a combination of these two technological transformations. (Dawson, 2015; Rajan, 2012a-b) The discovery of the structure of DNA has made multitude of biological operations possible that transform cells through manipulation of their cellular, and subcellular structures by techniques: cell fusion, cell culturing, and gene splicing (Rajan, 2006).

Along with these developments in gene technology, some very revolutionary developments have occurred. First of all, with these changes in the structure of DNA, agricultural production has transformed biological formation. Cell fusion, cell culturing and gene splicing have made both recombinant DNA and Genetically Modified Organisms (GMO) possible. These shifts from DNA to R-DNA and from conventional nutrition and seed to GMO have made the soil and herb weak. This weakness has strengthened the fertilizer and anti-pesticide industry.

Secondly, the information that has acquired the deciphering of DNA boards transferred into computer-based cognitive technologies: “*SynBio represents the fusion of these two technological transformations, with contemporary computer scientists increasingly talking about “DNA-based computation” and synthetic biologists speaking of “life circuit boards”*” (Dawson, 2015:6)

Nevertheless, all these discoveries in Agri-business and developments of DNA board-based applied cognitive computing technologies are necessary but not enough to explain how bio-capitalism has occurred.

In the first place, it should be stated that bio-capital is not a rupture or radical shift in the mode of capitalist production but an evaluation or a subtitle under *speculative/venture capital* (Rajan, 2006). It is a specific form and composition of bio(value), intellectual property, accumulation and transaction of bio-tech and circulation of speculative capital.

Before the circulation and accumulation of this specific combination of capital and SynBio, new legal, institutional and socio-cultural regulations were crucial to be a convenient for? new accumulation and circulation regime. According to Kaushik Sunder Rajan (2006) this new regime is the direct outcome of a confluence of alterations in the 70s and 80s.

The biotechnology industry came about largely as a consequence of this technological development in 1973 by Herbert Boyer and Stanley Cohen. This sort of cutting and splicing allows scientists to study the functionality of divergent genes and DNA sequences by expressing these sequences in organisms (usually bacterial or viral) called vectors. These vectors can be research tools that “house” the DNA to be studied, or can function as production factories for more DNA (if it gets amplified by the polymerase chain reaction or PCR), or for the protein that might be coded by that DNA. In other words, RDT allows the life sciences to become

“technological,” where the product that is produced is cellular or molecular matter such as DNA or protein. Some of these proteins could, in principle, have therapeutic effects (especially for diseases that are caused by, or have as a central symptom, an abnormal amount of that protein) and be produced industrially. This, in a nutshell, represented the possibility and the rationale for the biotechnology industry. While RDT could be said to have “led” to the development of the biotech industry, the emergence of new technology could hardly in itself be considered sufficient cause for the development of an entire industry. The shift of the techno-science of RDT to industrial locales was evidenced by the emergence of a slew of biotechnology companies in the early 1980s, a development that in turn led to further research and innovation in the life sciences and biotechnology. One can only understand this coproduction in terms of a conjuncture of several events and factors. One was the willingness of venture capitalists to invest in a technology that had little credibility at the time as a successful business model. A second was the enormous amount of money spent by the U.S. federal government on basic biomedical research through funding of the National Institutes of Health (NIH) consequent to the declaration of a war on cancer in the early 1970s.¹ A third was the 1980 Bayh-Dole Act, which was legislation that facilitated the transfer of technology between academe and industry and thereby enabled rapid commercialization of basic research problems. A fourth was a supportive legal climate that allowed the protection of biotech intellectual property, marked, for instance, by the landmark 1980 U.S. Supreme Court ruling in *Diamond v. Chakrabarty*, which allowed patent rights on a genetically engineered microorganism that could break down crude-oil spills.

How to Define?

Rajan starts his conceptualization of bio capital, based on the experiences of his fieldwork that he started at the end of the 90s. During the 70s, biotechnology developed, the venture capital and the techno-cities of these technology firms and universities acted together, and the crisis of the capitalism of the 70s was able to turn into neo-liberalism by overcoming itself. However, what is more, important for Rajan is that as capitalism becomes more and more biological, capital begins to express itself through speculative capital fields rather than investing in Fordist production chain and market logic. Starting from Marx's economic theory, Rajan emphasizes *capitalisms*, not capitalism. Capitalism, according to Rajan, is the umbrella concept that expresses a system, under which there are more fluid titles, speculative capital, which Marx draws attention from the third volume of *Capital*, although speculative capital is a form of capitalism, it is a very original form. . Rajan claims that biocapitalism is a multi-layer and compact category that is result of life technologies, the pharmaceutical industry, university technopolises' happy marriage with speculative capital; pharmacology and medical companies develop products/drugs with an upstream movement; with a downstream movement, Afterward, the product/drug is released to the market with such great pomp that; many pharmacological and cosmetic products are so expensive is not because of the cost of the production process, but because of the expectation created by the public is translated into surplus value (Rajan, 2012b).

The story of the pharmaceutical industry has arguably been one of the most dramatic stories of industrial growth in the twentieth century. The pharmaceutical industry was actually incubated in, and grew out of, the dye industry, just as the biotechnology industry in the 1970s was initially supported by, and grew out of, the petrochemical industry. The “boom” in the pharmaceutical industry occurred in the 1930s with the discovery of the sulfa drugs, followed by the industrial-scale manufacture of penicillin as part of the World War II which highlighted the

importance of the links between defense and security needs during war and pharmaceutical innovation. At the end of the nineteenth century, the two companies that could be called pharmaceutical companies were Bayer and Hoechst. They were joined in the 1930s and 1940s by would-be pharmaceutical giants such as Ciba Geigy, Eli Lilly, Wellcome, Glaxo, and Roche. The burst in natural-product chemistry occurred in the 1940s and 1950s, starting with the successful development of streptomycin for the treatment of tuberculosis. Not surprisingly, the development of biopharmaceuticals has a more modest history, both because the history of the biotech industry is much shorter and because in many ways the synthesis of biopharmaceuticals, which are chemically much more complex than small organic molecules, is often a much trickier process than traditional pharmaceutical development. (Rajan, 22)

The reason why, Rajan tells about the discovery of generic components by the pharmaceutical industry and the process of producing variant drugs from generic components, through some developments related to the dye-industry and petro-chemical industry, is to show that the pharmaceutical and bio-tech industry is more concerned with profit maximization (Let's remember the prevention of AIDS treatment through patent rights in South Africa) rather than treatment. Because, in this maximization process, while large companies develop generic formulas and variants, they also invest in know-how companies that really try to develop drugs. As Rajan has often said throughout the entire study, Wall-Street hates strong firms that have established themselves in the market, instead they love small investments of know-how with surprises hidden inside, ready to rise and fall speculatively. Thus, with speculative capital, which is a component of bio-capital, the pharmaceutical industry speculates not only in the stock market but also in people's lives.

Rajan asserts, bio-capital is the trade of hope by upward and downward movements of speculative capital on the one hand, and making life technologies bio-value in the stock market on the other. Melinda Cooper does not oppose the pharmaceutical scheme that Rajan figures out, moreover, she builds her bio-capital analysis on it.

While Melinda Cooper agrees with biotechnology, and the skilfulness of speculative capital, from the depression of capitalism during the 1970s, makes a very important determination regarding the combination of speculative capital and biocapitalism: The massive development of biotech companies over the last two decades has been based on America's debt imperialism and regulated through this mechanism. In her important book, *Life as Surplus*, Melinda Cooper (2008) describes the connection of capital with the new field of molecular biology, which is a new field that new capital accumulation and new monetarist policies regime during the neo-liberalism initiated by the Reagen administration.

As Cooper underlined; the debt form is also materialistic. Debt looks for ways to realize its promises on certain things such as the search for power, commodities, etc. In the long run, what the debt form wants is to return to the earth, to recapture the re-creation of life in the promising accumulation of the debt form; thus the renewal of debt corresponds to the renewal of life on earth and beyond. The system dreams of debt becoming biological autopoiesis as debt self-assessment. (Cooper, 2008)

During this period, the USA FED's interest rate policy manipulated the global financial flow towards the US dollar and the US market, allowing the US to widen its repayment gap indefinitely. At this point, what is most notable in Cooper's analysis is a link she established between the Reagan-era regulation, intellectual property rights, deregulation of banks and financial markets, and the growth of biotechnology firms. The other equally noteworthy claim of Cooper is that the new regime of accumulation has irreversibly and inseparably intertwined

economics and ecology. As Cooper has said; the new accumulation process enables debt to gain value on its own, to produce it in the form of biological autopoiesis, and thus to take over life and even replace it (Cooper, 2008).

The main claim of Cooper's "Life as a Surplus" study is that the neoliberal economy is essentially a bioeconomy. Cooper opens it this way, neoliberalism and the biotech industry share a common desire to transcend ecological and economic limits, and to do so through the speculative rediscovery of the future, the termination of growth-centered industrial production. The neoliberal development of capitalism began in the 1970s and targeted biological life as the new source of surplus-value production. In this respect, neo-liberal economics is essentially a bio-economy.

I am interested in the specific conjuncture of domestic economic crisis that afflicted the United States in the early 1970s and the role of the life science industries in promoting a certain response to that crisis. The biotech revolution, I argue, is the result of a whole series of legislative and regulatory measures designed to relocate economic production at the genetic, microbial, and cellular level, so that life becomes, literally, annexed within capitalist processes of accumulation. Part of my work here is to detail the specific forms of property right, regulatory strategies, and investment models that have made this possible.

These questions lead me later in the chapter to a consideration of the important shifts in world imperialist relations that have occurred since the late 1970s (and in particular since the monetarist counterrevolution of 1979 through 1982). This period, according to political economists such as Giovanni Arrighi and Michael Hudson, has been one in which nation-state imperialism and the

role of the United States within it have undergone a series of dramatic transformations (Arrighi 2003; Hudson 2003 and 2005). Here, I go further and interrogate the links between this shift in world imperialist relations and the growing importance of biological life within capitalist accumulation strategies. My argument here, and throughout the book, is that the geopolitics of World imperialism, as established in the post-World War II era, is today being displaced by a new and relatively mutable set of biopolitical relations, whose dynamics have yet to be theorized in detail. In this context a number of methodological and conceptual questions become imperative. When capital mobilizes the biological, how do we theorize the relationship between the creation of money (surplus from debt; futures from promise) and the technological re-creation of life? Has the one been coopted into the other? When capitalism confronts the geochemical limits of the earth, where does it move? What is the space-time—the world—of late capitalism, and where are its boundaries? What finally becomes of the critique of political economy in an era in which biological, economic, and ecological futures are so intimately entwined? And when the future itself is subject to all kinds of speculation? (Cooper, 2008:19, 20)

Apart from Cooper and Rajan's studies, there are also studies that evaluate bio-value/bio-tech and capital as different aspects of capitalist capital or in relation to different forms of capital.

Vandana Shiva proposes “biopiracy” in her work “The Plunder of Nature and Knowledge”. According to Shiva, patent restrictions is the second coming of Columbus: *“Biopiracy is the Columbian “discovery” 500 years after Columbus. Patents are still the means to protect this piracy of the wealth of nonWestern peoples as a right of Western powers. Through patents and genetic engineering, new colonies are being carved out. The land, the*

forests, the rivers, the oceans, and the atmosphere have all been colonized, eroded, and polluted. Capital now has to look for new colonies to invade and exploit for its further accumulation. These new colonies are, in my view, the interior spaces of the bodies of women, plants, and animals.” (Shiva, 1999: 23)

According to Catharine Waldby&Mitchell *“genetared whenever the generative and transformative productivity of living entities can be used along lines that make them useful for human projects”* (Waldby&Mitchell, 2006: 33) means *bio-value*.

Anthropologist Chaia Heller in her famous article *“McDonalds, MTV, and Monsanto: Resisting Biotechnology in the Age of Informational Capital”* claims that *“biotechnology as a mode of production”* that means a new moment in capitalism; this is the *“organic phase of capitalism”*, where *“capital targets the reproductive dimensions of cultural and biological life as loci for intensified production and commodification”*.

Another important medical anthropologist Margaret Lock and her collique Sarah Franklin evaluates bio-capital as a production and reproduction process and as a kind of property that gains *“form of extraction that involves isolating and mobilizing the primary reproductive agency of specific body parts, particularly cells, in a manner not dissimilar to that by which, as Marx described it, soil plays the “principal” role in agriculture”* (Franklin&Lock: 2003, 8).

For sociologist Charis Thompson, bio-tech industry means manuplation and speculation of hope with this respect Thompson argues that *“the biotech mode of (re)production operates with ‘promissory capital’, capital raised for speculative ventures on the strength of promised future returns”*(Thompson, 2005: 7)

What Does Bio-Capital Do to Humankind?

In his work in *Order of Things*, Foucault dates the emergence of the modern subject to the 17th century and prophesies that this subjectivity will not last long. What is meant here, of course, is the basic aspects that establish the modern subject, such as secularism, secularization, rationality, capitalism. Schmitt, who has made important contributions to the discussion of modernity, defines all these aspects through the concept of sovereignty and connects sovereignty to the border experience, that is, according to Schmitt, the architecture of the modern world is established through the border. On the one hand, the limitations of the civil rights and responsibilities under construction through the discussions on the state of nature through thinkers such as Hobbes, Locke, and Rousseau in the period of the construction of modernism, on the one hand, the limits of the relations between human/production relations and nature (property) through Marx's writings on the Law of the Forest, on the one hand. Schmitt's context between physical borders and hegemon (or) and on the other hand, Foucault's problematic relationship between the free man of the modern world and power. All these, namely the relations between the state, nature, society, classes, relations of production, and the modern subject, were confined spaces, just like Rousseau's metaphor of enclosure. The social contract between the state and the citizen, or the tension between the power and the subject, or the hostility of the two hegemons on either side of the border, were mediated precisely by these borders and the assumption of their inviolability.

In both senses of the word, bio-capital has suspended, violated, or at least irritated all the limits of limited modern subjectivity and modern hegemony.

Through this border violation, which is usually carried out around a medical or military discourse of security, the sacred and taboos that modern man built for his own body and for other bodies, albeit through secularism, were deconstructed and transformed one by one.

Sociologist Nikolas Rose (2001, 2007) evaluates this transformation from *biopolitics* to *bioeconomics*. In *The Politics of Life Itself*, Rose (2001), focusing existing literature in the juxtaposition of biyo-economy, analyzes how contemporary forms of subjectivity, national identities, race, mind, and crime are regulating and building again so as to position of human diversity establish themselves in relation to genetic mapping, bio-tech, life-tech industries, genetic diagnosis, genetic counselling, gene therapy, and genetic identification. It is easy to predict, dilemmas are plentiful in this conflictual terrain produced through “*amniocentesis, to patient rights organizations banding together around genetic polymorphisms, to medical professionals redefining race in the age of haplotype mapping, to criminologists looking to the brain sciences for new classifications of the pathological*”. Under heavy influence of Foucault and his important interpreter Paul Rabinow, Nikolas Rose proposes that actual biopolitics “*operates at the level of the molecular and from that seat organizes new landscapes of risk and genres of ethical subjectification*”. According to Rose, this process is molecularization: “*molecularization strips tissues, proteins, molecules and drugs of their specific affinities—to a disease, to an organ, to an individual—and enables them to be regarded, in many respects, as manipulable, and transferable elements or units, which can be delocalized*”(Rose, 2007: 36). The objects and subjects of biopolitics are transforming and what Foucault defines ‘life itself’ are transforming to a new, molecularized profile. Family, personhood, race, crime are all re/defined depending on biological technologies. For Rose, the outcomes of this molecular re-scaling occur in such prevailing practices as genetic insurance law and counselling, and he claims that such practices drive persons into new kinds of ethic/politic position that is called ‘ethopolitics’ that claims new reason forms in both micro and macro scales.

Conclusion

In conclusion, bio-capital is an evolved form of bio-politics socio-politically and venture/speculative capital economically. Since the 1960s, the results that emerged with the discovery of DNA sequencing had extremely useful and profitable results for capitalism in the fields of informatics, agriculture, medicine and biology. As Cooper mentioned, the USA got through the recession and debt crisis thanks to bio-capital investments, pharmacology companies monopolized and grew by speculatively buying know-how companies with their generic prospectus skates on the one hand. As seen quite clearly in the AIDS crisis in Africa, the marketization of medicine and treatment technologies and their protection by patent rights and customs barriers made life more commercial and speculative.

At the macro level, organs, bodies, death, body parts and fluids have become bio-value. became identifiable at the laboratory level.

Of course, all medical-biological developments are extremely promissory, operations such as IVF pregnancy, stem-cell, organ donation/transplantation/trafficking further strengthen the speculative aspect of bio-capital and add future trade between its layers. Moreover, these promissory expectations can vary at the national or individual level, for example, while ordinary people desire to achieve a long (if possible endless) and quality life with gene therapy, at the national level India is waiting to be a global player, while the USA is waiting for a millennial salvation (Rajan, 2006).

All these molecular, monopolized, promissory and speculative alanine effects, of course, differ nationally, class and regionally. As an Indian activist, Vandana Shiva (1999), in her work on bio-agriculture, defines bio-capitalism as bio-piracy in general, and sees all these events as the new wave of colonialism and the second coming of Columbus, through the unequal relations between India and the West.

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DAMNED IF YOU DO, DAMNED IF YOU DON'T: A STUDY OF ILLEGITIMATE TASKS AMONG BLUE-COLLAR EMPLOYEES

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Abstract

This study aims to explore the degree and the way blue-collar workers experience ILT (illegitimate tasks) as a unique task stressor. To achieve this, we conducted in-depth interviews with 12 participants working in two different Turkish manufacturing companies to understand the essence of blue-collar workers' relationship with their tasks on a deeper level. Drawing on the ILT framework based on the "theory of stress as an offense to self", we examined illegitimate tasks in two dimensions: unnecessary and unreasonable. Unnecessary tasks can be completed with less effort or no need to be done. Unreasonable tasks are those that are not compatible with the professional position and status of that employee. The employee with an illegitimate sense of task typically feels a threat to himself/herself and thus, is exposed to job stress that is different from other sources of stress because it occurs with the perception of a threat to the self. Findings reveal that our participants experience ILT to a large extent, and they found it unreasonable to challenge the core of their occupational identities and bring high levels of stress as offence-to-self. While favouritism and unjust treatment across employees appears as a key source of ILT, our findings also point out an interesting mechanism of how ILT evolves in the workplace; the tension and conflict between blue-collar and white-collar employees. As for its outcomes, ILT brings several negative effects on blue-collar employees, both work-related and personal. It is especially noteworthy how the impact of ILT spills over to private life and triggers work-family conflicts. Finally, blue-collar workers mainly cope with ILT demands passively as there are no formal organisational mechanisms to raise their voices.

Keywords: Illegitimate Tasks, Task Relationships, Blue-Collar Employees, Stress as Offense-to-Self, Qualitative Study, Manufacturing Sector

INTRODUCTION

The notion of 'blue-collar' refers to people in the working class who are primarily engaged in manual jobs based on physical strength and paid hourly basis. It has taken its name from blue-coloured (denim fabric) workwear in factories in the USA. Despite the longstanding history of workers' struggle against all forms of exploitation since the Industrial Revolution, today, the majority still suffer from the heavy workload and poor and precarious employment conditions

characterised by neoliberal market principles. Given this background, the workplace for blue-collar employees becomes potentially a powerful and implicit source of stress and injustice perception in the task processes.

A unique stress factor reflecting the tasks that should not be expected from a blue-collar employee within the scope of professional norms and acceptances can be better explained based on the theoretical framework of “illegitimate tasks” (ILT) in the organisational behaviour literature. Indeed, what distinguishes ILTs from classic task stress factors is that the employee does not regard these tasks as appropriate and valid and, in a sense, questions in essence. Also, it creates a different basis of injustice in the task processes, not due to the task structure but because of how it is demanded. However, these conceptual links have not been addressed adequately in the occupational stress literature (Akyurek, 2020; Akyurek & Can, 2021a). Likewise, the essence of ILT that is shaped by particular relational and socioeconomic conditions in a given organisational context has not been well explained.

This paper aims at exploring the ILT experiences of blue-collar workers by drawing on in-depth interviews with 12 participants working in two different manufacturing companies located in the city of Izmir. To the best of our knowledge, this is one of the first empirical studies focusing on the ILT experiences of blue-collar workers in the Turkish context. Indeed, only a few studies have investigated the same subject from a qualitative point of view in the literature (such as the study by Faupel et al., 2016 on teaching trainees in Germany). Hence, the current study offers an invaluable insider perspective on blue-collar workers regarding their ILT perceptions and work-related outcomes by addressing the missing link in ILT literature in particular and fulfilling the gap in organisation behaviour scholarship in general.

It is a widely recognised fact that management and organisational scholars are mostly silent on issues experienced by blue and grey-collar workers whose voices are excluded in academic

circles. Thus, this study is also an attempt to give voice to people who are underrepresented in the mainstream management and organisation literature by shedding some light on how they describe their work, work routine and practices, relationships with their colleagues/ supervisor, the meaning of work, and to what extent they experience (if any) unreasonable and/or unnecessary task demands, and how they cope with such demands, and the possible consequences of this situation.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

The Impact of Job Design and Job Stressors in Blue-Collar Work

The concept of 'blue-collar' refers to employees who belong to the working class and receive the return for their manual labour in terms of hourly wages. It was first derived from the blue-coloured (denim fabric) workwear worn by the employees on the production line in America. Blue-collar workers are represented by the working class that uses their physical strength (Bayraktaroglu et al., 2015). Fontenot (2007) listed the distinguishing features of blue-collar workers as follows: a class with less academic and educational needs, more on-the-job training, paid daily or weekly and expected of nothing other than work, with a generally lower wage income than white-collar workers.

The general assumption is that blue-collar and white-collar works significantly differ based on the resources, demands and stress factors they include (Toppinen-Tanner et al., 2002). Typically, blue-collar works entail fewer challenging tasks and lower independence and autonomy than white-collar ones (Pelfrene et al., 2001), which often require higher levels of physical effort, risks of accidents, and health problems (Borg and Kristensen, 2000). In the management literature, there has been relatively less work on blue-collar workers than on white-collar workers. Further, the research on their work processes, job characteristics and the relevant consequences is even more limited. Below, we reviewed the studies mostly related to the effect of job design and work stressors in blue-collar research.

First and foremost, the available studies emphasise blue-collar workers' perceptions of job insecurity and its outcomes. According to a quasi-experimental field study by Mohr (2000) on a sample of blue-collar male workers, job insecurity is mainly associated with an increase in psychosomatic complaints and anxiety while social support, opportunities in the labour market, and contract length in the company moderate the relationship between job insecurity and mental health. Another research points out that insecurity based on job content affects the innovative work behaviour of blue-collar workers very negatively (Spiegelaere et al., 2012). Relatedly, Siegrist and Peter (1994) found that injustice perceptions in the form of effort and reward imbalance are an important determinant of coronary risk and disease among male blue-collar workers.

Several articles have also investigated the specific work conditions, job design and task characteristics for blue-collar employees and how these are associated with increased stress levels. For instance, in their study on blue-collar workers from a Tunisian manufacturing company, Sassi and colleagues (2015) found that there is a significant positive association between work stressors (quantitative workload, role ambiguity, and interpersonal conflicts) and emotional exhaustion and perceived stress mediates it. In turn, emotional exhaustion leads to higher interpersonal and organisational aggression. In another study, Nahum-Shani and Bamberger (2011) point out that increasing working hours deteriorates employees' health and well-being, whereas the social support they receive has a buffering effect on this relationship. Task interdependence was another factor examined. In a study of Irish blue-collar employees, Ramamoorthy and Flood (2004) observed that task interdependence (personal outcomes depending on the work of others) has positive effects on both their team loyalty and prosocial behaviour. Task interdependence also moderates the relationship between solitary work preferences and pro-social behaviour. This finding suggests that cooperation is strengthened in works with high interdependence, which results in more satisfactory job outcomes. Job rotations

and task alternations have also been discussed in the literature. A study on industrial and non-industrial blue-collar work shows that alternations between productive physical and mental tasks are viable and preferable options for these workers. Yet the level of desire also depends on occupation, gender, age, years with current work tasks and perceived job control (Jahncke et al. 2017).

In a recent study, Asuyama (2022) focuses on a similar topic; job enlargement and enrichment and how they affect work well-being. The results of worker-level data from 20 countries indicate that even though the vertical expansion of jobs may lead to higher wages, blue-collar employees are generally dissatisfied with such enlargement, which signifies a negative work intensification effect regardless of age, gender, industry, firm size or country. The suggestion is to implement such task expansions only when the blue-collar employee's tasks are uninteresting and unchallenging initially.

A few other studies also address the role processes and role stressors for blue-collar employees. For example, from a sample of Spanish blue-collar workers employed by a bus company and a water supply company, Anton (2009) found that role stressors (role ambiguity and role conflict) decrease job satisfaction and affective commitment, leading to higher intention to leave and absenteeism. Similarly, a study conducted with blue-collar workers in a multinational company operating in Mexico and Spain found that role ambiguity increases (Urien et al., 2017). The study suggests that group cohesion can buffer the relationship, supporting the other studies highlighting the importance of cooperation, support and cohesiveness around tasks.

In the Toppinen-Tanner et al. (2002) study on Finnish white-collar and blue-collar workers, several job stressors as causes of burnout were investigated. Interestingly, they did not find a significant difference between the two groups regarding the burnout process or the job stressors as possible antecedents. However, the research findings show that cooperation conflicts were more strongly associated with burnout and cynicism in blue-collar jobs compared to white-

collar jobs. Moreover, the association between lack of appreciation and burnout dimensions was particularly strong for blue-collar employees.

As another essential theme, a couple of studies have explored the impact of employee benefits on the connection between job stress and burnout. A study conducted on 87 blue-collar employees in an industrial establishment in Israel found that vacation time and taking a break from work lowers the strain and burnout levels, where an identical pattern is also observed for absenteeism (Westman & Etzion, 2001). Similarly, Arnolds and Venter (2007) found that the most important motivational rewards for blue-collar and frontline employees are fringe benefits (paid vacations, sick leaves, and housing loans).

Finally, focusing on the mismatch between task requirements and individual attributes and capabilities, Mittal and colleagues' recent study (2019) shows a robust skill mapping process for blue-collar workers may support organisations in developing employee skills and, as a result, enable them to perform well on key outcomes such as better quality and fewer defects. The same study also highlights that the supervisor's role in performance evaluation is crucial in the entire skill mapping process.

All in all, the limited number of studies on the job characteristics, processes and outcomes of blue-collar workers emphasise both the technical and relational attributes and suggests that these two aspects should be designed in a balanced way. However, our review also makes it clear how existing research does not allow us to understand the essence of blue-collar workers' relationship with their tasks on a deeper level. We believe illegitimate task literature can significantly contribute to advancing our scholarly knowledge.

Illegitimate Tasks

Illegitimate tasks (ILT) are a typical hindrance stressor as their content includes “offence-to-self” by threatening the person through out-of-normed task characteristics. Apart from this main

classification, what distinguishes ILTs from classic task stress factors is that the employee does not regard these tasks as appropriate and valid and, in a sense, questions in essence. It reflects the tasks that should not be expected from the employee as they fall outside the scope of professional norms and acceptable limits (Semmer et al. 2010; 2015; Akyurek & Can, 2021a). ILT has two dimensions; unnecessary and unreasonable tasks, which comprise distinctive characteristics. Unnecessary tasks can be completed with less effort or no need to be done if they are organised effectively, whereas unreasonable tasks are incompatible with the employee's professional position and status (Semmer et al., 2010; 2015).

The employee with an illegitimate sense of task typically feels a threat to himself/herself and, thus, is exposed to stress. This situation causes role conflict or role ambiguity and a sense of injustice (Semmer et al., 2007). This job stress is different from other sources of stress because it occurs with the perception of a threat to the self as it contains various negative social messages. The perception of injustice through ILT also creates a different basis of injustice in the task processes, not because of the structure of the task but because of the way it is demanded.

ILT as a Unique Stress Factor at Work

The concept of ILT is fundamentally based on the “Theory of Stress as Offense to Self” (Semmer et al., 2007). Within the framework of this theory, since the individual wants to display a consistent positive self-image, threats to it cause stress and strong negative reactions (Sedikides & Strube, 1997). Claiming that people's social relationships and expectations for themselves and others depend on roles, role theory also helps to understand these processes (Biddle, 1986). While the affirmation of the professional identity as an important part of the self (Ashforth et al., 2008) reinforces the individual's self-worth and self-esteem, threats to this identity can lead to many negative effects due to stress (Meyer, 2006). ILT is basically one of these threats (Semmer et al., 2007; 2010).

The basis of ILT's job stress differs from other classical job stress elements; since the employee

does not find the job requests submitted to him/her in accordance with the definition of the role, he/she perceives it as an illegitimate task (Minei et al., 2017; Ilyas et al., 2021). This perception of illegitimacy also carries context-specific and personal-specific characteristics. A task that is legitimate for one occupational group may not be legitimate for another (Semmer et al., 2010; 2015).

Due to the stress it creates, ILT is also regarded as a source of inhibitory stress (Podsakoff, 2007), where its role-based nature reveals unique effects. Research suggests that ILT is a perception of a task that is not formed within the scope of extra-role behaviour but within the boundaries of an officially determined professional role (Akyurek & Can, 2021a; Semmer et al., 2010). As such, it leads to different results on the employee's well-being, workplace attitudes and behaviours, and relational qualities that affect post-work family relationships and work processes.

Current State of ILT Literature

Key Attributes of ILT Research

Recently, the notion of ILT, initially discussed in European and North American literature, has also been investigated in other socio-cultural and economic contexts (e.g. Turkey, Pakistan, and South Africa). The increasing number of studies today shows that ILT is a concept that keeps up to date. Methodologically, most ILT studies are survey-based (e.g. Semmer et al., 2010; Omansky et al., 2016; Zhou et al., 2018) or short-term longitudinal (e.g. Minei et al., 2018; Mugayar-Baldocchi et al., 2019), which also draws attention to the scarcity of qualitative studies. Until now, the empirical assessment of ILT based on a single quantitative measure has not allowed researchers to explore its contextual background and mechanisms sufficiently.

Main Findings in the ILT Literature

In line with the empirical findings in the literature, the effects of ILT that have been discovered be examined in 7 categories: (a) physical health, (b) psychological state and affect, (c) employee-supervisor relationship (ILT's relational dimension), (d) its various outcomes, (e) diverse perceptions of ILT based on culture, (f) its spillover effects (e.g. work-family conflict), and (g) perception of ILT based on gender and gender inequality.

There are a few studies that have classified ILT based on unreasonable tasks (ILUR) and unnecessary tasks (ILUN) (e.g. Mäkikangas et al., 2021; Kilponen et al., 2021). For instance, eight contextual categories were found in a recent mixed-method study on ILT. For ILUR, these include (1) tasks outside the person's professional role (78% of all ILUR), (2) conflicting or unclear demands (9%), (3) under-resourced tasks (8%), and (4) tasks with difficult results (5%). For ILUN, these are (1) impractical or outdated work habits (31% of all unnecessary tasks), (2) dysfunctional technology-related tasks (30%), (3) unnecessary procedures (27%), and (4) includes tasks related to bureaucratic demands (12%). Furthermore, both ILUN and ILUR have been associated with high levels of burnout, low work engagement and meaningfulness of work (Kilponen et al., 2021).

Various negative effects of ILT on physical health have been detected. As physiological indicators of stress, it has been found that ILT causes the employee to fall asleep longer, decreases sleep quality, and induces sleep fragmentation (e.g. Pereira et al., 2014; Framke et al., 2016; Ali et al., 2019). Additionally, it has been found that cortisol levels increase in response to the stress experienced by employees exposed to ILT (Kottwitz et al., 2013). Their body, mental health, and general well-being also deteriorate (Madsen et al., 2014; Kottwitz et al., 2017). An increase in musculoskeletal pain has been identified due to exposure to ILT demands and anxiety about the future based on worsening job conditions (Kottwitz et al., 2021).

In the category of psychological well-being and affective influences, it was found that ILT triggers decreased self-esteem (Framke et al., 2016; Ali et al., 2019), depression and anxiety (Pfister et al., 2020; Kottwitz et al., 2021). A study by Pfister et al. (2020) shows that ILT buffers the effect of illegitimate tasks for two of the four aspects of emotional well-being; depression and anxiety. Similarly, Fila and Eatough (2020) layout that ILT increases the employee's level of anxiety, emotional exhaustion, and depressive symptom. The mechanisms and actions buffering ILT demands were also investigated. The perception of the learning experience has been identified as such a mechanism (van Niekerk et al., 2021). It has also been discovered that perceived high advantages and expanded availability may buffer the harmful effects of ILT task demands (Dettmers & Biemelt, 2018).

As for wider work and organisational consequences, ILT was found to decrease job satisfaction (Framke et al., 2016), job engagement (Kilponen et al., 2021), and increase intention to leave (Zeng et al., 2021). It has been revealed that ILT weakens positive employee behaviours in general and plays a triggering role in negative behaviours. For example, while ILT causes unproductive work behaviours (Zhou et al., 2018), it reduces the perception of organisational justice and conscientious and adaptive behaviours (Semmer et al., 2010). In addition, while ILT has a negative effect on both task performance and proactive work behaviour (Ma & Peng, 2019), it also reduces the employee's intrinsic motivation and job satisfaction (Omansky et al., 2016). The negative impact of ILT on professional identity and the perception of occupational prestige are also considered important (Semmer et al., 2010; Akyurek & Can, 2017; Akyurek, 2022; Mugayar-Baldocchi et al., 2019).

The research evaluating ILT from a relational perspective emphasises the importance of ethical-unethical leadership (Chen et al., 2020), the effect of supervisor support and appreciation (Fila & Eatough, 2020) and supervisors' relational transparency (Muntz et al., 2019). Zhao and colleagues (2018) also found that ILT plays a mediator role in the relationship between ad hoc

leadership and employee workplace deviance.

Aside from these organisational outcomes, the effects of ILT outside the workplace boundaries have also been examined, particularly in the context of work-family conflict. It has been observed that ILT disrupts the balance between work and family (Ahmed et al., 2018; Zhou et al., 2020; Zenget al., 2021). Zhou et al. (2020) found that for individuals experiencing more passive leadership, the indirect effect of ILT demands on work-family conflict through psychological detachment is stronger.

From a gender perspective, it was found that men generally have higher perceptions of ILT than women, and they develop more proactive coping strategies in this direction (Omansky et al., 2016; Akyurek, 2020). In a recent study by Johnson and Otto (2021), it was also found that TGNC (transgender and gender nonconforming) individuals are more exposed to ILT than non-trans people, and their burnout and turnover intentions are in the same direction.

Since sociocultural characteristics differ from society to society, studies have also examined how ILT perceptions and experiences are formed on a cultural basis –e.g. individualistic and collectivist cultures (e.g. Ahmed et al., 2018; Akyurek, 2020; Akyurek & Can, 2021b). The results of a study comparing the USA and India show that the links between ILT and work-to-family outcomes vary by country/culture (Ahmed et al., 2018). A recent study from Turkey by Akyurek and Can (2021b) revealed that the perception of ILUN weakens the professional identity and occupational prestige while ILUR decreases the workplace well-being of employees. Yet, employees with a higher vertical collectivist orientation feel these negative effects less.

METHODOLOGY

Empirical Setting and Sampling

The aim of this study is to discover the ILT experiences of blue-collar workers. A purposive sampling strategy was adopted, and 12 semi-structured interviews were conducted with blue-collar employees working in two Turkish firms in the metal and chemical industries in two Turkish firms. Both firms are located in Izmir. Being one of the largest companies in its industry in Turkey, the metal firm was established in 1978. With a total of 600 employees, it produces in the field of casting, rolling and machining and exports 90% of the products it makes. As a younger organisation, the chemical firm was established in 2002. It is a company that manufactures and exports agricultural chemicals. It has the second-largest sales in the domestic market. Even though several similar work attributes might characterise blue-collar employees, different industries bring distinct conditions and challenges to them. Thus, it is important to detect, examine and compare these unique experiences. In our study, we aimed to achieve this by collecting data from participants belonging to multiple occupational categories in two different industries.

Data Collection

Comprehending the experiences utilising the participants' views is essential in qualitative research. To fulfil our study's purpose, we used a semi-structured interview approach as an appropriate way of gaining in-depth knowledge about the perceptions, thoughts, feelings and individual experiences regarding illegitimate tasks. Accordingly, we compiled an interview guide composed of open-ended questions in line with the conceptualisations and suggestions in the ILT literature and the selected industries' unique characteristics.

Some of the questions included in the interviews are as follows: *“How do you spend a typical work day?”*, *“Do you think there are tasks that should not be in your current job? If so, what are they?”*, *“Does your supervisor/manager expect you to do things beyond your job*

description? If yes, what are they?”, “How do you take such demands?” “What are the effects on you/ your relationships?”.

The interviews were conducted by one of the authors, who has strong connections to both firms (for one as a current employee, for the other as a former one), and she was able to build the rapport necessary to conduct the interviews. All 12 interviews were conducted face-to-face during lunch and breaks in the participants’ working environment. During the interviews, the sequence and the wording of questions were modified, and alternative questions were asked if necessary based on the answers received from the interviewees.

The collected interview data were examined in the study in two ways. First, the descriptive findings from the answers given to the key questions were categorised and summarised both qualitatively and quantitatively. Then, as a more inductive approach, a thematic analysis was utilised based on an open coding of the interview transcripts. The main themes derived from this analysis were presented and explained with their connections to the ILT research.

Participant Profiles

The main attributes of the study participants are shown in Table 1. As the table indicates, 75% of them are male. While their ages range from 35 to 55, the average age is 41,3. The education level of the sample is relatively low, with 75% of the participants having primary education. Only one participant has a university degree. 58% are employed in the metal industry, and the rest are in the chemical industry. Even though they are all occupied in the production sector, the specific job titles reveal that 42% of the participants have service duties, as supportive tasks to the core production function, including cleaning, kitchen and transportation. The average total tenure in the sample is 23.3, whereas the average firm tenure 6.9. Still, seven participants have only five or fewer years of experience in their current workplace. None of the participants works less than 45 hours a week, and several works 50 or more hours. Hence, they have high workloads.

Table 1. Participant Profiles

Participant ID	Gender	Age	Education	Industry	Job Type	Total Tenure (yr)	Firm Tenure (yr)	Weekly Work Hour
P01	Male	48	Primary school	Chemical	Cleaning	35	1,5	47
P02	Male	40	Primary school	Metal	Cleaning	20	5	45
P03	Male	39	Middle school	Chemical	Filling chemicals	23	5	45
P04	Male	55	Primary school	Metal	Maintenance foreman	40	18	50
P05	Female	33	Primary school	Chemical	Kitchen	10	8	45
P06	Female	48	Middle school	Metal	Kitchen & Cleaning	20	10	50
P07	Male	43	University	Chemical	Logistics foreman	20	5	50
P08	Male	39	Primary school	Metal	Driver	28	8	50
P09	Male	38	Primary school	Chemical	Filling chemicals	25	2	50
P10	Male	42	Primary school	Metal	Grinding operator	28	12	55
P11	Female	36	Primary school	Metal	CNC operator	10	3	50
P12	Male	35	Primary school	Metal	Casting staff	21	5	55

FINDINGS

Descriptive Findings

Below, we provide the key insights from the interviews under four categories; perception of jobs, work relationships, illegitimate task experiences, and consequences of illegitimate tasks.

Perceptions of Their Jobs

To better understand their specific task experiences, we first asked the participants about their jobs. Table 1 provides information regarding how each interviewee describes their work. The table shows that they fulfil very different responsibilities, ranging from more standard and routine production work to more flexible service duties. Their jobs also differ greatly based on the health and security risks involved.

Table 2. Self-Description of Jobs

Interview Quotes	Participant
“Receiving incoming materials, placing them in the warehouse, and distributing them. Pre-cleaning of the factory, garden, collecting garbage, cleaning the places where blue-collar personnel live.”	P01
“I do the cleaning of offices, toilets, changing rooms inside the production, as well as the areas outside. I make and serve tea to the blue-collar employees working in production.”	P02
“I fill the liquid chemicals produced.”	P03
“Maintaining or outsourcing the machinery and equipment that malfunctioned in the factory; controlling the works of the people who are dependent on me.”	P04
“I brew tea four times a day; I serve tea, coffee and soda. I collect the empty cups	P05

and glasses. From morning to evening, I tour the three floors several times.”	
“I brew tea, distribute tea and coffee. I serve lunch at noon... When I work in the evening or at weekends, I clean the offices.”	P06
“I follow every step in the logistics process from the raw material to the production and delivery to the customer as a finished product.”	P07
“I take the vehicles to the service, I go to the banks, I go wherever my manager says to go.”	P08
“I am responsible for the liquid filling processes of the chemicals produced.”	P09
“To ensure that the produced material is grinded and smoothed.”	P10
“Once I put on my work clothes in the morning, I go to my machine where I set up and maintain equipment.”	P11
“I help pour the molten hot metal into the mold...It is a very dangerous job.”	P12

When interviewees were asked whether they liked their jobs, the majority said they liked them, except one participant did not state any positive assessment. However, it is noteworthy that almost all of them emphasise their “need” to continue their current job as they have no better alternative. There is a strong emphasis on how they bear all difficulties only because they have to earn money for their families and children. For instance, P02 states, “my children are studying, and I have to work to support their schooling and my home.” P07 explains it: “*we all work to keep our lives going.*” Similarly, P12 says, “*our job has no ideal form; we work for a living.*” Thus, their connection to their job can be regarded as more logical and economically-motivated than an affective connection.

We also asked them how they see the boundaries of their job, broad or narrow. The answers show a sharp divide among participants as half see it as broad and the other half as quite narrow. Most participants who find it narrow are employed in production; their work is more standardised with strict rules and procedures.

Work Relationships

Participants’ responses also indicate that most have positive relationships with their co-workers and managers. Some more experienced participants described their relations with other employees by highlighting how many co-workers see them as “*big brothers*” or “*big sisters*”. Regarding their relationship with managers, four participants declared some type of adversary. For instance, P05 was very direct about it by saying, “*there are conflicts; they want to be treated with privilege*”. P08 stated that their relationship is neither good nor bad, and he tries “*not to*

argue with anyone". On the other hand, as a female worker, P11 was very open about how her supervisor treats her in a discriminative way because of her gender: *"My foreman has a dislike for women, doesn't talk to me much, he ignores women"*.

Illegitimate Task Experiences

We asked participants a set of questions about the extent to which they receive illegitimate task demands, either unnecessary or unreasonable, as well as the form and frequency of such demands. The data shows that eight participants (75% of the sample) have received such requests. These employees consider the frequency of illegitimate task demands as "sometimes" or "often". A deeper look indicates that such demands usually take the form of unreasonable tasks rather than unnecessary ones. Below, Table 3 provides examples of unreasonable task experiences of different participants in their own words.

Table 3. Unreasonable Task Experiences

Example Interview Quotes	Participant
"Sometimes, they get their private work done. For example, one of my managers wanted me to renovate his house with a garden, and we even installed a basketball hoop in the social area of his site."	P04
"Sometimes people sulk at us when the materials have finished. It's as if I didn't fulfil my work and didn't order on time. But, this is not my task."	P05
"Our managers have extra food requests, and I make them myself. Such requests come frequently, and I have to do it." "I sew the buttons of their shirts, or when their children come to the office, I prepare something for them."	P06
"Each customer has a risk limit, and we can only ship according to this limit. But it's not my job to track these limits down, it's someone else's job. Still, such orders were entered into the system without the information."	P07
"...They give me money to pay their credit cards, I deposit them, or my manager can also request a private work of his/her own, and I do it."	P08
"For various reasons, the colleague I work with is almost absent for one week each month. I almost always work alone a week of every month. He is an acquaintance of the manager."	P09
"I am a cleaning staff; I clean toilets, offices and changing rooms. But I also serve tea...While I am cleaning, I get messy, and right afterwards, I need to serve tea and coffee." "Moreover, in case there is a need, they also sent me to production as I worked in production before."	P02
"I'm a casting assistant, but I work like a casting worker, so I do almost every job. My supervisor makes me do things that are not my job."	P12

As can be observed in the table, blue-collar employees have very diverse illegitimate task experiences based on their location in production vs service function, the core content of their

job, their experience level, and the specific relationship context. One extreme case of being forced to take illegitimate tasks was described by P02, working as a service staff responsible for cleaning. Yet, when there is a vacancy, he is told to shift to production as he had previously worked in the factory. This brings a huge burden on him, and he explains it as follows: *“I’m annoyed that they treat me like a wild card... If there is a shortage of personnel in machining, they immediately make me work there. I am disturbed by this situation. Because this is no longer my job.”*

Besides several unreasonable task examples, some participants also described how unnecessary tasks emerge in their work processes. For instance, P05 explains how she needs to repeat the same tasks in a given workday unnecessarily because of other employees’ irresponsible attitudes. Similarly, P06 states that she needs to do extra rounds of cleaning because of the employees’ extra demands and requests for exceptions. We believe it is not a coincidence that these demands are mostly made to the service staff, whose responsibilities are defined more broadly than the typical production members.

Consequences of Illegitimate Tasks

In the interviews, we separately asked about the outcomes of the participants’ previous illegitimate task experiences. These outcomes include the attitudinal and behavioural consequences and the victims’ immediate emotional and cognitive responses. When we analysed the participants’ responses to our questions, two main categories of ILT consequences emerged; personal and work-related. They are presented in Table 4, along with sample quotes from the interviews.

Beyond the variety of consequences given in the table, interview data shows that one constant outcome of ILT for blue-collar workers is the perception of injustice. The feeling of unfair treatment is so strong that many participants consider the illegitimate tasks given to them as a result of personal grudge or discrimination toward themselves. Moreover, all of them state that they experience role conflict or role ambiguity once they are made to undertake such tasks.

Table 4. Consequences of Illegitimate Tasks

Main Category	Consequences	Interview Quotes	Participant

Personal Consequences	Physical health problems, psychological deterioration, anxiety, burnout, the feeling of injustice and mistreatment, work-family conflict	“I have health problems, and my knees hurt from going up and down too much between floors.”	P05
		“Why should I give up time with my family? Ours is already a very stressful job, and when such issues are added to it, the work gets in a deadlock, and I am an emotional person, my psychology deteriorates.”	P04
		“It's a shame to be discriminated against as women, even though we do the same job; why do I have to worry so much while a man has the right to make mistakes?”	P11
		“I go home late; I get more tired. I spend less time with my family and get tired both physically and mentally.”	P09
		“This issue bothers me a lot, and I get goosebumps when I am sent to an institution that I cannot answer.”	P08
Work-related Consequences	Quitting, intention to leave, decreased job satisfaction, negative work relationships, job stress, conflict with manager	“I found an excuse and didn't accept this private work that my manager demanded, so he was very angry with me, and our relationship deteriorated.”	P04
		“After being wronged at my old company, I quit my job and was unemployed for quite a while. It negatively impacted my family and me; we had tough times financially.”	P03
		“If I don't, people resent me. That's why I do it because I don't want to offend anyone. Or my manager has a special request; I do it in order not to go against him.”	P08

Besides the larger outcomes, we also asked the respondents about what they felt when illegitimate tasks were forced on them and how they reacted to their manager. Interestingly, many are vocal and open about the negative emotions ILT brings. Most of them stated that these situations made them sad, hurt, hopeless, annoyed and angry.

However, it is evident in the responses that the latter emotions, annoyance and anger, are typically hidden and not shown to the other party. Most participants fear their situation will deteriorate if they show their true feelings and/or refuse the illegitimate task demand. They believe there might even be adverse effects on their employment in the firm. For instance, P08 says that *“If I don't, people resent. That's why I do it; I don't want to offend anyone”*, while P02 states the following: *“But I have to do it...I tell myself it is only temporary. So, I bear with it”*. P04 also shares these concerns and feelings: *“Although I don't like it, it is my supervisor...it affects my entire work life. I am compelled to do it”*. All these excerpts reveal that ILT tasks put

a huge burden on the employees as they heavily feel being stuck, and they are forced to develop a set of coping mechanisms to reduce their suffering.

Thematic Analysis

After analysing participants' responses to specific interview questions, we present the most common themes related to the illegitimate task experiences of blue-collar workers that have emerged from the data.

Earning One's Daily Bread

It is notable that during the interviews, several participants used the notion of "earning the daily bread" when describing their work relationships in general and illegitimate task experiences in particular. In fact, this notion signified the very essence of how they associate with their work and workplace. Earning daily bread appears as a key notion reflecting how above and beyond, many blue-collar employees see their jobs as a means of providing for their families and, perhaps, just surviving. Subtly, it represents all the difficulties, risks and harsh conditions of blue-collar occupations and the key reason for putting up with these challenges. In many parts of the interviews, participants explained their acceptance of ILT or keeping silent against such demands by referring to their obligation of earning bread money. Hence, one can conclude that this notion plays an essential role in understanding the passive attitudes these workers carry even when their occupational boundaries are significantly violated.

Favouritism as a Source of ILT

We noticed that in several different interviews, the ILT examples given by the participants include favouritism (and sometimes nepotism) that are firmly embedded in the ongoing work relationships. In many cases, participants described situations where they have to do unnecessary or unreasonable tasks because a manager treats another employee favourably for reasons unrelated to task fulfilment or job performance. Another employee's poor work,

uncalled absence or undeserved benefits automatically bring more ILT and stress to the focal employee. Thus, it can be argued that managers sometimes use ILT as a method of intimidation and mobbing, trusting that blue-collar workers have less strength, resources or opportunities to oppose such demands.

Blue Collar – White Collar Tension

Many interviews we conducted, especially those with service employees in the support functions, make it apparent that ILT can manifest tension between blue-collar and white-collar employees in the workplace. This tension typically arises because white-collar employees often make special requests about how the service staff should serve them. Indeed, several participants declared that they receive unreasonable demands from their managers and office staff in the form of privileges and specialised treatments. They make such requests by knowing very well that these tasks are beyond the boundaries of the blue-collar worker's formal job description. Moreover, if these requests are declined, they rapidly become annoyed and start treating the blue-collar worker rudely and negatively. This may suggest that white-collar employees seek psychological and emotional satisfaction by emphasising their “superiority” and power over the blue-collar workers, even in small encounters in the office. This tendency, in turn, creates more ILT and stress for the blue collars.

Prosocial Attitude as a Coping Mechanism

Even though almost all participants experiencing ILT declared that they suffer both physically and psychologically from such demands, one interesting finding from the interviews is how some participants shared positive perceptions as an outcome of ILT. Mainly, they stated contentment and happiness as a result of being able to complete even these unreasonable and challenging tasks and fixing things for the people as well as the organisation. Some of the ways they describe this satisfaction are “being helpful”, “being useful”, “solving problems”, “being preferred”, and “everyone coming and consulting to them”. In a way, they cope with the adverse

influences of ILT by focusing on how overcoming such challenges and fulfilling these tasks make them more respected and stronger in the eyes of others. Regardless of whether this is a genuine feeling or they are fooling themselves, it can be regarded as a prominent coping strategy against ILT, making the employee tolerate these unjust situations, particularly when they repeat.

DISCUSSION

In this study, we explored the degree and the way blue-collar employees experience ILT as a unique task stressor. The findings from 12 semi-structured interviews with participants in two Turkish manufacturing firms show that blue-collar employees experience ILT to a large extent. However, their experiences differ depending on where they are employed in the organisation (production vs support services), the initial description of their jobs (broad vs narrow), their level of experience and the particular relational context. The interview data reflects that the jobs in production, as the core function in the two manufacturing firms in our sample, are defined in a more standard way compared to the service jobs in the support functions. Furthermore, we found that regardless of the identified occupational boundaries, service duties are perceived as more flexible and broader, making the service staff endure several ILT demands day in and day out. It should also be emphasised that most of these tasks are unreasonable, challenging the core of the occupational identities and bringing high-stress levels as offence-to-self.

Our study also reveals that even though blue-collar employees' personal ILT experiences vary to some extent, similar patterns emerge regarding the sources and consequences of ILT, as well as how they cope with constant ILT requests. While favouritism and unjust treatment across employees appears as a key source of ILT, our findings also point out an interesting mechanism of how ILT evolves in the workplace; the tension and conflict between blue-collar and white-collar employees. As for its outcomes, ILT has several negative effects on blue-collar employees, both work-related and personal. It is especially noteworthy how the impact of ILT

spills over to private life and triggers work-family conflicts. Finally, it can be argued that blue-collar employees often react to ILT passively as they cannot directly confront those making these demands or raise their voices through formal organisational mechanisms. That is, they typically endure it as much as they can. Interestingly, some of them even develop certain prosocial tendencies and frames of mind as a coping mechanism, helping them see the negative ILT experience more positively.

To the best of our knowledge, this is the first study focusing on and providing an extensive assessment of ILT processes for blue-collar occupations. Moreover, it is one of the rare qualitative investigations in ILT literature (see Faupel et al., 2016 and van Niekerk et al., 2020 as exceptions). Although the sample size is limited, our exploratory perspective and in-depth qualitative data bring several insights to the ILT scholarship and the broader research stream, prioritising the understanding of blue-collar employees' work conditions. Future research may extend this investigation by dwelling on certain processes and impacts of ILT or similar task-based stressors for blue-collar workers.

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DECENTRALIZED AUTONOMOUS ORGANIZATIONS (DAOs) AND GOVERNANCE TOKEN MECHANISM: WHAT CAN WE LEARN FROM DAOs FOR CORPORATE GOVERNANCE PRACTICES?

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Abstract

Digital transformation continues unabated. Today's businesses have no other choice but to adopt this rapid, inevitable change in order to survive. In this paper, we investigate blockchain technology, which is one of the most crucial digital revolutions of our age, and its new form of organization, decentralized autonomous organizations (DAOs), and their governance mechanism. DAOs and their governance tool, governance tokens, offer fascinating business practices for today's traditional businesses. We exhibit the current practices of DAOs and evaluate in which direction, blockchain governance can be inspiring for corporate governance practices. Therefore, this paper contributes to the literature in a way that suggests the blockchain governance mechanism, in other words, the governance tokens mechanism of DAOs for better corporate governance practices.

Keywords: Blockchain, Decentralized Autonomous Organizations, Governance Tokens, Digital Transformation, Corporate Governance

1. INTRODUCTION

The historical development of humanity consists of a continuous change, transformation, and progress from past to present. From the invention of the wheel to the industrial revolution, human history has witnessed many radical changes and transformations. Those who managed to adapt to these important change and transformation processes survived, while others failed. This is undoubtedly true for businesses, which are one of the most important components of modern capitalist economies as well. Contingency theory, a well-known theory in organization

literature, suggests that firms should adopt the changes in their external environment as necessary. If organizations do not keep up with their external environment and resist the necessary changes, they will eventually fail. One of the most important innovations and changes of today is digital transformation. One of the most important innovations and changes faced by contemporary societies and businesses is digital transformation. By utilizing communication technologies and other emerging technologies, the digitization process, which represents one of the sharpest turns in the long-running transformation journey of enterprises throughout history, represents a transformation that affects not only the internal operating environment of an enterprise but also all stakeholders, including the shareholders, management, and suppliers (Varoglu et al., 2021).

The trend of digitalization that we have been going through recently also makes the influence of digital technologies on corporate governance inevitable. Digitalization has accelerated the change of corporate processes and the incorporation of new business models due to advancements in communication technology (Burns 2001; Cross 2004; Manita et al. 2020). Concepts like adaptability, efficiency, transparency, and accountability have been made possible in the creation of new application areas by technologies like artificial intelligence and blockchain (Magnier and Barban 2018; Möslin 2018; Van der Elst and Lafarre 2019). In 2020, the Covid-19 outbreak, which has sped up digitalization processes globally, will make it necessary to carry out the actions outlined in corporate governance principles. The incorporation of digital technology and its results will be the most crucial pillars of digital corporate governance (Varoglu et al., 2021).

We must acknowledge that the evolution of corporate governance norms, as well as the responsibilities of conventional parties, are significantly influenced by technology (Cross 2004). This shift highlights the need for firms to continue tracking and disclosing non-financial metrics and to align all company processes, including supply, manufacturing, and distribution

channels, with the expectations of social stakeholders (Eng and Mak 2003; Perrini 2006; Sun et al. 2010; Varoglu et al., 2021).

Alongside IT breakthroughs, other cutting-edge technologies like blockchain and artificial intelligence (AI) have opened the way for new businesses with tech-driven business models. A new governance age has evolved around technology to create more sustainable relationships with stakeholders, taking things a step further and changing the requirements and expectations of corporate governance (Fenwick et al. 2018). Since they are incorporated into many company processes, blockchain technologies, whose implications are regularly discussed, also have an impact on corporate governance procedures directly and/or indirectly (Gökten ve Özdoğan, 2020).

The impact of emerging technologies on various processes is growing, including voting systems, supply chains, financial markets, accounting, and blockchain technology. These technologies are considered a viable way to democratize and alter outdated corporate practices (Dai and Vasarhelyi 2017). Blockchain, a technological infrastructure that is described as a distributed ledger that can operate without any intermediaries, enables related parties to monitor all processes, and, presuming historical records remain unaltered, will be able to function as a key tool for the development of good corporate governance practices.

Being one of the most important and groundbreaking technologies of our times, Blockchain technology has caused a new business and organization model; Decentralized Autonomous Organizations, or DAOs in short.

El-Fakir et al. (2020) define DAOs as a new paradigm for creating decentralized networks without a central authority developed with blockchain technology. Blockchain uses, however, transcend beyond the financial sector; most recently, they have been used in decentralized governance (El-Fakir et al., 2020). A new type of community governance known as

"Decentralized Autonomous Organizations" (DAOs) powered by blockchain has arisen, allowing communities to self-organize using the decentralized infrastructure. DAOs are governed by a means of exchange, called "Governance Token" which represents ownership and partnership right in the organization.

In this context, this paper investigates the abovementioned, newly introduced decentralized community governance model, DAOs. This paper aims to exhibit how the governance procedure of DAOs and the governance token concept work, and how can we learn from DAOs in terms of corporate governance in the digital transformation era.

2. A NEW FORM OF ORGANIZATIONS IN THE DIGITAL ERA: DECENTRALIZED AUTONOMOUS ORGANIZATIONS

Since the last century, the continuing digital revolution has changed many facets of daily life. But how has the digital revolution changed how businesses are structured and run, and what does this mean for the rules that are now in place, particularly those that regulate corporate governance is a matter that should be understood for better governance (Fenwick and Vermeulen, 2018).

The general agreement today is that corporate governance is all about people, accountability, and openness. In the current debate, the possibility of automating business tasks is not given much weight. But given that this is where technology can lead us, it is equally critical to take into account these wilder possibilities (Fenwick and Vermeulen, 2018).

A new paradigm for creating decentralized networks without a central authority has developed with blockchain technology. Blockchain uses, however, transcend beyond the financial sector; most recently, they have been used in decentralized government mechanisms. A new type of community governance known as "Decentralized Autonomous Organizations" (DAOs)

powered by blockchain has arisen, allowing communities to self-organize using decentralized infrastructure (El Faqir et al., 2020).

Blockchain technology has grown to encompass a stunning range of diverse applications, some of which are far afield from the initial goals of distributed-ledger financial-token systems (Chohan, 2022). Decentralized autonomous groups are among the most intriguing ideas (DAOs).

With member-owned communities at the helm and consensus-based administration that is immune to and free of centralizing structural influences, DAOs offer a revolution in the architecture of organizations through their emphasis on computerized rules and contracts in the age of blockchain technology (Ozercan et al., 2018; Bellini et al., 2020; Willrich et al., 2019; Maciel, 2020; Chatterjee et al., 2019a-b; Ciatto et al., 2018; Chohan, 2022).

Specifically, the so-called Decentralized Autonomous Organizations demonstrate the promise of blockchain governance (DAOs). DAOs are, to put it simply, groups of people whose interactions with one another, whether they be humans or robots, are mediated by a blockchain application that is governed by a set of guidelines written directly into its source code (El Faqir et al., 2022).

According to reports, DAOs can, among other things, autonomously hire workers, render services, amass wealth for their own ends, own smart property, communicate with other autonomous programs, or promote collaboration (Wright and De Filippi, 2015; De Filippi and Hassan, 2018).

Though there is not a uniform definition of a DAO, a comprehensive description made by the co-founder of Aragon DAO, Cuende (2019)¹ is that “a DAO is an internet-native entity with no central management which is regulated by a set of automatically enforceable rules on a public

¹ <https://twitter.com/licuende/status/1263511552709267456>

blockchain, and whose goal is to take a life of its own and incentives people to achieve a shared common mission”. Another definition of DAO by Singh and Kim (2019) states that:

“A Decentralized Autonomous Organization (DAO) is an organization whose essential operations are automated agreeing to rules and principles assigned in code without human involvement. A DAO is a novel scalable, self-organizing coordination on the blockchain, controlled by smart contracts”.

A DAO is, in essence, a group of individuals with similar objectives who get together to operate under a blockchain infrastructure that upholds a set of common guidelines (El Faqir et al., 2020). Community members of a DAO are often registered and given individual addresses. Additionally, they have a certain number of "governance" tokens associated with that address, which are often needed for participation and might play a part in the DAO's decision-making process. DAOs frequently control resources, such as bitcoins, ether, etc. Through a decision-making process, DAO members may choose how to distribute them (El Faqir et al., 2020).

DAO administration is carried out by a series of proposals on which members vote through the blockchain, and the holding of more governance tokens frequently equates to higher voting power. This is fundamental to the participatory input of users (Chohan, 2022).

The age-old issue of confidence in people has a fresh solution in blockchain technology. Blockchain offers a framework for "trustless trust," which lets us believe a system's results without believing any of the actors operating it (Werbach, 2016). Blockchain's radical transparency and automatically enforceable code have the potential to undermine top-down, centralized decision-making (Shermin, 2017).

Given the absence of a corporate authority in charge of governance, they employ distributed control mechanisms using smart contracts to earn user confidence. Similar to how common stockholders of a publicly listed corporation are permitted to vote on the firm's actions, holders

of exchange-issued governance tokens can decide whether or not to launch an airdrop, add or remove trading pairs, or alter the exchange's fee and vote structure (Makridis et al., 2021).

3. GOVERNANCE TOKENS AND MECHANISM OF GOVERNANCE IN DECENTRALIZED AUTONOMOUS ORGANIZATIONS

An organization administered by means of smart contracts is typically referred to as a DAO. Blockchain-based smart contracts are immutable computer programs that, when certain conditions are met, self-execute, or initiate actions that have legal repercussions (Bilic, 2019).

A DAO might initially appear to be similar to a corporation based on the current legal forms (Garcia Rolo, 2019). A DAO generally consists of participants who own “governance tokens” of that DAO. Similar to shares, tokens are a sort of smart contract that provides their owners the ability to vote and earn dividends (Bilic, 2019). Besides, DAO participants can sell their existing governance tokens or buy new ones on a secondary market. As the owners of the governance tokens are considered participants, they are allowed to vote on decisions, be a part of the decision-making process and share the organization’s profit. In the case of a DAO, the individual who purchased a token (during an ICO or on a secondary market) impliedly agreed to take part in the governance of the DAO together with other token holders, hence it can be argued that a DAO's participants are linked by an implied agreement (Oren, 2018).

Just like any other organization, DAOs are established for achieving a common, well-defined purpose and this purpose is defined clearly in a DAO’s white paper. Any kind of participation in DAOs is specified by governance tokens. The participants of DAO can be defined as every individual who owns at least one governance token. This participation has certain rights and may have some obligations as well.

As a DAO a partnership agreement, a governance token (or a DAO Token) is used to represent a partnership stake (Nielsen, 2019). DAO tokens resemble corporation shares in certain ways,

but not all of them. A governance token can be issued at any nominal value and need not be considered equity capital since DAOs do not have equity capital like traditional companies. Even if a DAO acquire some assets through an initial coin offer, this does not have the legal obligations of capital maintenance and thus, the number of tokens, their nominal value, and the payment of contributions are not subject to any strict regulations. A DAO is free to offer an ICO whenever its participants agreed upon it. Additionally, unlike traditional companies, a DAO is free to repurchase any number of its own tokens (Bilic, 2019).

Additionally, this implies that governance tokens may be used in a variety of ways, much like a cryptocurrency, including voting or even funding specific initiatives, projects or investments (Sims, 2019; Minn, 2019; Garcia Rolo, 2019). Conceivable, the most important right of a participant in a DAO is the voting right (Garcia Rolo, 2019; Nielsen, 2019). A DAO is managed by its participants through voting activities. Participants have the option to vote on daily management concerns as well as changes to the DAO's current regulations and procedures (Metjahic, 2018; Minn, 2019). The number of votes required to make a final decision is determined by the smart contract. Of course, a participant can use their voting right where there is a proposed decision. For proposing decisions, every participant has the right to offer. But in many cases, the proposition of decisions is restricted. A DAO may become overrun with ideas if any member could propose voting on any decision at any moment (Sims, 2019) and this problem would create an inefficient organization. This problem is usually solved by limiting decisions offered to certain participants such as an individual with a high reputation and well-known in the organization (Bilic, 2019).

Garcia Rolo (2019) and Tse (2020) pointed out that maybe the most important feature of a DAO's governance mechanism is that, unlike traditional companies, a decentralized autonomous organization does not separate ownership and management since a DAO does not have a board of directors, general assembly, or any comparable unit. Smart contracts and

participant decisions control every aspect and operation of a DAO. In addition, a DAO cannot be dominated by a participant. Mostly, DAOs have a natural defense mechanism by restricting the number of votes per participant (Bilic, 2019), and thus, DAOs are mostly referred to as “decentralized” and “democratic” organizations.

4. CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

Digital transformation is one of the most significant inventions and revolutions of our time. Digital transformation is one of the most significant developments and transformations that modern society and organizations must deal with. This process, which represents one of the sharpest turns in the lengthy transformation journey of enterprises throughout history, uses communication technologies and other emerging technologies to transform all stakeholders, including shareholders, management, and suppliers, as well as the internal operating environment of an enterprise (Varoglu et al., 2021).

The recent trend of digitization makes it unavoidable that digital technology would have an impact on corporate governance. Owing to improvements in communication technology, digitalization has sped up the transformation of corporate procedures and the adoption of new business models.

Blockchain technology is one of the most fascinating inventions of the digitalization era. Blockchain technology and its applications offer many opportunities for today’s traditional business environment. In this paper, we evaluated this important novelty in terms of corporate governance. With blockchain technology, Decentralized Autonomous Organizations (DAOs), a new form of organization utilizing blockchain-based governance mechanisms, arose. We believe that today’s business practitioners can learn and imply many things from DAOs and their governance mechanism which is called governance tokens in terms of corporate governance.

For example, transparency will increase if the company's ownership structure and voting procedures are moved to blockchain technology (Heminway and Sulkowski 2019; Lafarre and Van der Elst 2018; Wright and De Filippi 2015; Yermack 2017, Varoglu et al., 2021). Corporate voting is a crucial component of good corporate governance and a key measure of shareholders' capacity for self-representation (Harris and Raviv 1988; Yermack 2010).

There may be circumstances where shareholders are unable to completely and efficiently exercise their voting rights due to a complicated ownership structure, a lack of adequate and timely information, and other issues brought on by corporate structures (Kahan and Rock 2008). As DAO examples showed, the governance token mechanism may be a solution to this problem. The principle of transparency is one of the most important components of implementing blockchain in the name of corporate governance, especially given the increasingly complicated ownership structures of modern organizations (Malinova and Park 2016; Yermack 2017). Implementing blockchain-based procedures would boost ownership record transparency, improve investor mobility, and strengthen insider trading surveillance (Peterson 2018; Yermack 2017). Block-chain-based digital transformation will improve the level of stakeholder participation in corporate decision mechanisms and directly bears increase accountability as well as fair corporate governance (Wright and De Filippi 2015).

In this context, we highly recommend blockchain-based practices for traditional businesses. The companies can issue some kind of digital currency or tokens for various business practices. These tokens can be distributed to any kind of stakeholders and integrated their ideas into decision processes for the sake of fairer corporate governance. Another implication of governance tokens may be designed for specifically shareholders. Small investors usually remain distant from taking part in corporate decision processes due to holding a low number of stocks. But, with a blockchain-integrated voting mechanism, by utilizing governance tokens, minority shareholders can be represented in business decision processes. Finally, corporates

can issue governance tokens for several special project implications. For instance, disposable coins for specific projects can be issued, or special coins can be distributed to shareholders for continuously voting which projects to run. Another implication may be issuing coins for fund raising to finance some business or social responsibility projects.

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Deconstructing film industries with DIY filmmaking practices: Rethinking Yeşilçam's Copy Culture with B-movies

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Abstract

This paper aims to discuss the DIY (do it yourself) ethos in cultural productions from a theoretical perspective. By drawing on Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer's accounts on the culture industry, this study frames a certain critique towards the "sameness" in the art works that are culturally produced and consumed while discussing the cult value of cinema based on the views of Walter Benjamin. By doing so, this paper attempts to make sense of some production practices in order to provide a different perspective of the discussion between Adorno and Benjamin. In cinema history, in contrast to classical dynamics of the mainstream film industry and certain forms emerging as a result of them, some practices went beyond the industry, and movies and video works that employ DIY ethos have created not only distinct aesthetic forms but also deconstructed the certain privileges given in the film production and the reception of film value. This paper will highlight different aspects of the DIY approach in filmmaking to discuss the concepts such as aesthetics, cultural production, film industry and the hierarchies in film production of the examples of DIY and B-movies with a specific focus on the B-movies and Yeşilçam's copy culture.

Deconstructing film industries with DIY filmmaking practices: Rethinking Yeşilçam's Copy Culture with B-movies

When historicizing cinema, taking the shifting dynamics of film production into account is essential. The constant changes and shifts in artists' and filmmakers' ways of production create new genres, movements, styles and eras in each locality across the world and marks the film production history by placing these approaches somewhere special within the film industry and, sometimes, entirely outside the mainstream practices of the sector.

Scholarly, we are familiar with DIY (do it yourself) from cultural studies on subcultures and scenes as it has long been associated with the counterculture and the practices of young people. In some cases, DIY has been an essential element for political activism for artistic production and some subcultures such as 1980s anarcho-punks (McKay, 1998) while, on the other hand, DIY practices are simply employed as minor practices framing a resistance in an every-day level with examples such as tactical urbanism (Hou, 2020).

In a more general sense, DIY is a way of making use of a labor that is normally tied to capitalist production where labor is alienated and labor's participation is minimized (Holtzman et al., 2007) and despite its high relevance, a scarcely studied concept in the film industry. Before starting discussing the role of DIY in the B-movies, it should be noted that, it is possible to see DIY elements in the movies since the day cinema was invented, especially following the avant-garde cinema of the 1920s, a DIY ethos "never completely abandoned the idea of an experimental cinema rooted in smaller gauges, amateur ingenuity, and alternative platforms" (Powers, 2018, p. 81). When the film industry was formed and designed to be part of the entertainment sector to produce mainstream movies in Hollywood for example, an alternative way of production was employed in

variable processes of filmmaking. In the following pages, I aim to discuss the contribution of DIY ethos in filmmaking to the film industry and attempt to give different examples of DIY cinema by rethinking the reception of B-movies as a concept both through and independent of the political economy in the history of Yeşilçam.

Political economy of sameness in film industry

Culture industry, that is no different from any other industry in which commodity production takes place is a marketplace. It is an industry where financial success is constantly tracked and analyzed in order to meet the demand of the consumers. The changing practices of mass culture and how these practices are interpreted by the decision makers of the industry is still highly relevant to political economy as some of the concepts emerged over the past decades following the invention of cinema and audiovisual media needs to be reconsidered. Critiquing the culture industry, the spectator as part of the mass audience rested at the root of proliferation, as highlighted by the Frankfurt School. Frankfurt school argued that ideological views of the dominant class conditioned the economic base for different industries and in *The Dialectic of Enlightenment*, two names from the Frankfurt School Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer elaborated on the culture industry and explained how the working class is incorporated into capitalist society by popular forms of cultural consumption. For them, culture industries meant the capitalist driven entertainment and they drew on the film industry by calling Hollywood as the rubbish devoid of intellectual expression (2002, p. 8). Hollywood as an industry promoted and controlled by the capitalist in order to provide the working class, who are the consumers of the cultural products, with entertainment as a leisure activity, was responsible for the production of similar images that was aiming at reproducing a certain ideology. For Adorno and Horkheimer, the culture industry expresses a society in which cultural

commodities are reproduced continuously and mechanically, and this expression leaves no chance for the new or the changing to emerge. Reproduction of “sameness” happens through repetitiveness, repetition of the similar stories and images that presents one way of life, one way of being repeats the discourse of hegemony, sameness excludes the novelty that exists outside the alienated world of capitalist practices of consumption. For the film industry, new films to be consumed are produced with similar characters, similar plots and similar forms. The construction of the belief around the impossibility of thinking of an alternative for culture industry aimed nothing but to “entertain” the masses.

Adorno distinguished his ideas of standardization to refer not only to a production process but also to consumers who become commodities to be classified into numbers and diagrams such as the cinemagoers constituting the box office numbers. As a result, this leaves no option for the film audience other than following film producers’ classificatory desires in pursuing certain patterns and plots for certain genres for the screen. These classificatory desires are responsible for creating an “illusion” of choice for the audience and making industry’s work easier to label and differentiate consumer groups. Rather than thinking of a new plotline for a film, the audience is made to expect the same inflexible rhythm and therefore maintain the same discourse around what is necessary to be produced for the culture industry. In other words, producers’ perception of “what sells?” have been constantly tracked and imposed in the filmmaking process in the mainstream film industry. This perception not only assumed a certain taste of the (mass) audience but also aimed to sustain this taste by placing images and structural elements that guarantee the pleasure in watching filmic images.

Rethinking the culture industry requires thinking of cultural production, consumption and their critique from different historical perspectives. Film theory of the 1970s and early 1980s,

“particularly revolved around the notion of ‘the spectator’” (Hansen, 1993). Film theorists like Laura Mulvey explain the pleasure of looking at a cinematic image by “the gaze”, for her “cinema offers a number of possible pleasures” (1989, p. 59) and the looking at the human forms facilitates to identify with the seen image on the screen (1989, p. 61). The spectator, as the subject watching the film, relates to certain bodies, characters, stories and pleasures that bridges the gaze of the filmmaker and the audience. As they lay the nature of the cinematic image bare as explicitly relationed with pleasure, principles work in all films and audiovisual work regardless of the genre, means of production or length. Yet, I argue that there are ways to utilize the idea of identification. A film can be categorized as a rather “mainstream film” not only economically but also because of its approach to pleasure and identification and its way of manifesting the human body in regards to gaze.

Though his point is still relevant to discuss the parallelism between choices given to the consumer of the cultural products and the content and aesthetics of the product that is demanded by the spectator, it is useful to remember Adorno’s critique of culture industry was found one-sided by many accounts as Adorno places the concept of artwork strictly outside of the cultural production of the industry that is, in his opinion, designed merely to entertain the masses. One of the critiques Adorno has received is his critical and wary attitude towards the alternative culture. On this point, he differs from Bertold Brecht and Walter Benjamin who believe in the possibility of an alternative culture with the tools of the cultural industry. When the mainstream film and the desired images are analyzed, it is partly true that the spectator that belongs to a group of people is caught in a perpetual cycle between work and consuming in the limited leisure time with limited choices on offer. Nevertheless, within a vicious circle of sameness and similarity in the movie industry, there have been examples emerged due to different

economic, social and political reasons throughout history that have proved the possibility of an alternative way of surviving (or perhaps simply being) for the film production and therefore the film narrative and form. Benjamin with “shock effect” (2018) and Brecht with “breaking of the fourth wall” (1964) explained some of the ways that attributes a film capacity to be an artwork. What Benjamin means by shock effect is that shock is a distracting element that requires the spectator to actively attempt to make sense of the image that is seen. This spectator is different from the spectator of Adorno where the audience is a believer of whatever is given on the screen. Put differently, Benjamin’s understanding of the film as a democratic artwork that has the potential to distract, leaves an open door to the presence of the spectator’s interpretive agency. How do we interpret alternative filmmaking practices within and outside the main film industries in the light of Adorno and Benjamin’s discussion? In many of the cases in film history, alternative practices emerged out of a necessity and crises, and not all of them set off with a purpose to offer a necessarily alternative experience to the audience in a Brechtian sense. At this point, I would like to discuss this by analyzing the B-movies initially.

As an alternative mode of filmmaking to Hollywood industry’s traditional production, B-movies emerged in the 1930s and since then, many low budget and independent films have been explicitly or implicitly categorized as B movies. In order to produce the film with a limited budget, new ways had to be invented, even though this invention stemmed from an intention to “imitate” the mainstream film production. In the making of these B movies, “inventive filmmakers could often create remarkable imagery that would ordinarily prove beyond the scope of their budgets” (Davis, 2007, p.32). Be it an attempt to exist outside the financial restrictions and be independent, or simply to survive; B-movies proved alternative means to produce a film and many of them became “accidentally” successful.

B-movies: imitated and unique at once

The emergence of the term “B-movie” in the United States is not arbitrary when the budget and the financial volume of the mainstream Hollywood cinema is considered. The 1930s and 1940s, became the years when different types of films started to be shown in the movie theaters. In order for a B-movie to exist, there had to be a mainstream, commercial and “selling” A-movie. “An 'A-Level film with a major cast and relatively expensive production values was typically followed by a 'B-movie' with lesser known actors, a lower budget, and reduced production values” (Davis, 2007, p.2), in other words, it was not just a way to describe its production value but also its place in the “order” of screening.

Independent movies made with small budgets and B-movies can be used interchangeably and it is doubtless that what is a small budget and what are the technologies afforded with that budget changes from country to country, industry to industry. Therefore, it is impossible to think of one united definition and aesthetics of a B-movie and it is only possible to emphasize the DIY approach that deconstructs certain mainstream filmmaking practices that are seen as the irreplaceable elements of conventional narrative and aesthetics in cinema.

If we were to have a closer look at the nature of B-movies, it might be said that the reason why some of the films are considered as B-movies (as something secondary to what comes first) is simply producers and filmmakers’ attempt to make a movie with different and/or less means of production. Most of the elements of a B-movie can be seen as an “imitation” of what is seen in big budget mainstream movies. Famous scenes from *Bride of the Monster* (Ed Wood, 1955) can be remembered to see that: both footage of a real octopus and a fake, prop octopus were used in the scenes to “imitate” real octopus that plays the monster. What is achieved here is, this imitation creates a unique aesthetic.

Having glimpsed B-movies, if we go back a few decades back in the history of movies, and turn our way to different geographies, to Yeşilçam's most productive era also known as the golden age of Turkish film industry, the 1960s and 1970s, we can see that its one-of-a-kindness as an era where the uniqueness through imitation can be seen in many productions.

Copy culture of Yeşilçam: a different look at the production of “the same”

Although it is not possible to talk about a milestone as a crisis for Yeşilçam in the 1960s and 1970s, one can no doubt claim that it was a cinema with limited means of production compared to big film industries of the West. The crises rather came as the long identity crisis in the following decades, specifically in the 1990s (Erdogan, 1998, p. 260) following the crisis of coup d'état of the 1980 which absolutely forced the producers and auteurs to make essential changes in the narrative and forms to be able to survive the censorship. Before its identity crises, Yeşilçam worked as a fast industry, producing many films every year and meeting the cinemagoers' expectation thanks to its wide spectrum of genres from melodramas to social realism, from comedies to fantastic films. “The apologia of the ‘old Turkish Cinema’”, for Kyto, “is grounded in technological conditions and DIY resources” (2017, p.155) and in the same article she made a review of other accounts that compares usage of DIY resources with the pace of producing of Hollywood B-movies by drawing on Arslan (2011, p. 109). Although films produced fastly to meet the cinemagoers' demand between the 1960s and 1970s' golden age of Yeşilçam and its copy culture that was present until the late 1980s are not explicitly referred to as B-movies, many of them had a similar DIY approach with B-movies of Hollywood and the same reason to produce them fastly. The pace of production to keep up with the high level of demand may seem like it promoted the “sameness” that has been the subject of critical theorists at the first glance. However, I will argue that Yeşilçam cinema owes

its uniqueness to the creative “reuse” of some of the images and sounds from the world commercial cinema industry as well as stories and this “re” is particularly important to emphasize “the copy culture” defining Yeşilçam between the years 1960s and 1980s as suggested by Cem Kaya in his documentary *Remake, Remix, Rip-off* (2014).

To analyze “re” in the word “reuse” together with Kaya’s documentary would not be so arbitrary here. Re-making the images, styles and stories that have already been made and re-mixing the already existing sound had been the way of reproducing its presence for the Yeşilçam cinema industry and Kaya’s film is indeed a highly crucial source to review the aforementioned era of the Yeşilçam and it “has drawn attention to the popular but not systematically safeguarded Yeşilçam production in Turkey” (Krämer, 2021). Yeşilçam was popularly consumed by the audience in Turkey, yet this popularity did not guarantee the quality in a mainstream sense, quite the contrary, it has created its own way of being thanks to its limited means of production.

Another “re-” word steps forward here: reproduction, another term to go back to our discussion with critical theory and the film industry. Cinema as one of the most recently emerged arts in history has been subject to Benjamin’s “The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproducibility” (2018), the art of mechanical reproduction for him, refused to appreciate certain things once assumed indispensable for art such as “genius”, “eternal value” and “mystery” that are embedded in old forms of art in his opinion that gave art status that art is hovered over everything else. Historically, humans have always copied works of art and the idea of (mechanical) reproduction was not something new yet, with the invention of photography and the developments in moving images with the sound production according to Benjamin, any work of art became reproducible. (2018, p.18) Technological reproduction can reveal (that cannot be seen in the original) which in a way opens up new possibilities to make it available for a wide spectrum of

audience. In this sense, Yeşilçam's reproduction (re-making some films, re-using some content and copying (or sometimes stealing) some styles, costumes and music) in filmmaking thanks to mechanical or technological reproduction in order to produce "enough" and "fast" can be read with Benjamin. On the other side of the coin, Yeşilçam also proposes to consider this reproduction from a different perspective.

The copy culture of the 1960s and 1970s' Yeşilçam using a scenario, aesthetic style and music directly taken from Western examples that have box office success managed to produce enough for an entire era of cinema. The same spirit is sustained by fantastic movies such as *The Man Who Saves the World* (Çetin İnanç, 1982) that are produced with direct uses of images and music from Hollywood movies as copyright did not exist at the time. Çetin İnanç tells the story of the film in *Remake, Remix, Rip-off* of how they completed the film with footage from 19 different movies and soundtracks from 8 different movies proves Yeşilçam's daring attitude towards the commercial cinema of the West. Besides its unique aesthetics achieved through copying and stealing, Yeşilçam's filmmakers and production strategies reveal the unafraid moves despite (or perhaps thanks to) the censorship of the time.

If we are to continue with the same example to discuss the reception of copy culture this time, it should be noted that *The Man Who Saves the World* made almost no money when it first came out. However after the 1990s it was first screened in local film clubs, then, it made its way to international fantastic film festivals and movie nights. Its belated fame speaks not only for other Yeşilçam's fantastic productions such as *Seytan* (Metin Erksan, 1974) that is *The Turkish Exorcist*, but also for many other lo-fi, B-movies that did not make it to neither film festivals nor movie theaters across the world. Most of these films have been defined as "so-bad-they're good" leading these B-movies' way to B-movie classics and attribute them a cult value. This shift in their artistic

value happening throughout time emphasizes adds a one more layer to what Adorno and Benjamin discuss: an artworks' deconstructive nature revealing itself by time.

Apart from the fast pace of production, one other factor that demanded filmmakers to be inventive was the "localization" of the imported films. A trend of adding a belly dance scene already began in the 1950 with films such as *Uçan Daireler İstanbul'da* (*Flying Saucers Over Istanbul*, Orhan Erçin, 1955) continued adding local elements to superhero stories in the 1960s.

Rise of the non-Western cult film lovers in the West has been explained by some accounts as a dubious process of exoticization (Sexton, 2017) and I agree with this. Moreover, Corrigan's point that all cult films are indeed "adopted children" (2021) highlights how the definitions and values are almost borrowed. Just like filmmakers did not necessarily intend to make B-movies, the B-movies and films made with a DIY approach during this era did not aim to be classics. Nevertheless, some did become classics, their reception is deconstructed. What I am attempting to emphasize by the word deconstruction, is rather temporal at this point. Temporal dimension polishing the film wipes out the favorableness of the "unprofessional look" when watching the film. Time turns these films into "unique" works, classics, so-bad-they're-cults. This shift and deconstruction in the value of a film allows one to question the privilege given to "professionally made" mainstream films and privileged means of production and classical division of labor.

Going back to production once again, but this time, to the culture of DIY and the tradition of alternative media, from pirate radios to fanzines, which considers certain spaces as a space of resistance. After the 1990s when cultural production started to change forms to be produced with changing means of production with the effect of digitalization that caused a shift in the platforms where the cultural products started to be consumed digitally; internet and new media emerged as new spaces, "decentralizing socio-economic forms of coordination through technological means"

(Guerra & Quintela, 2020). Therefore, in a way, ever since it started to exist as a counterculture, DIY continuously implied “an alternative space” both for producers and consumers of cultural products. The necessity of an alternative space has rooted from unique reasons for each locality and each industry, and has been for mostly economic and political reasons.

What is interesting and unique in the films made with DIY ethos is that the challenged hierarchies in the film production and Yeşilçam’s copy culture is a great example of that even though it would not be possible to call it a counter culture. Being the main film industry of Turkey did not stop Yeşilçam’s filmmakers to pursue what is commercial with alternative ways due to expectations of producers. Repeating the same scenarios of films of Hollywood or Italian Spaghetti Western’s that had success.

Without a unitary definition of DIY film, it is possible to talk about certain DIY practices that can be embodied in the films. The way these practices shape the film narrative and form is unique in every film. It is possible to see these practices in different movements and eras in cinema because a film's mode of production depends on the social, political and cultural conditions when and where the film is made. Historically, the relation between DIY filmmaking and the film industry signifies a positive correlation between the conditions that require the films to be produced with low budget and limited means of production, while the hierarchies and classifications between films differ from each other from country to country. Although DIY films seem to emerge due to particular conditions that can be analyzed under cinema of recession or cinema of crises historically, meanings of DIY filmmaking may change depending on the place and the industry that the production takes place. Yeşilçam’s copy culture and the films produced in the golden era deserves a detailed analysis to explore the DIY ways that serve to produce the films in both an inventive and a local way.

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DIGITAL TRANSFORMATION OF VOCATIONAL SCHOOLS: EDUCATION OF GREY COLLAR WORKFORCE

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Abstract

The curricula of Office Management and Executive Assistantship programs of vocational schools in Germany, which have transitioned to the industry 4.0 process, have been comparatively examined in the context of digital transformation. All state and foundation universities with Office Management and Executive Assistant departments in Türkiye were investigated. There are 138 Office Management and Executive Assistant departments in a total of 77 universities. The curricula of 123 of these departments were examined one by one within the scope of courses compatible with digital transformation. Courses compatible with digital transformation have been determined and their number has been decided. Digital transformation is a concept which is transported to Türkiye from developed countries. In the lenses of institutional translation, while transporting an idea from one place to another, cultural differences should be considered. This research tries to observe, how digital transformation of vocational schools changes in Türkiye during institutional translation of the concept. The place of Türkiye's grey-collar educational institutions in the adaptation process to digital transformation has been tried to be resolute.

Keywords: digital transformation, grey-collar, vocational school, institutional translation

INTRODUCTION

Digital transformation in organizations is constantly increasing. The digital transformation process has been studied in the literature mostly in the context of white-collar and blue-collar workers. Kawashima examines the transnational mobility of digital white-collar workers and labor control in multiple production fields (2017: 483). Decius et al. undertook research based on three independent samples of 695, 500, and 3134 white-collar German workers, to measure flexible continuing education relating to digital transformation (2021:1). Waschull et al. interpret the enormous change in production methods, and jobs of white-collar and blue-collar workers, as being a consequence of the implementation of industry 4.0 as the part of digital technologies (2022:1). The human factor will lose its importance in organizations within the digital transforming process (Waschull et al. 2022: 11). In this sense, digital transformation will affect the managers the most (Bonfour, 2016:1).

In our research, we focused on grey-collar office workers, who are in direct contact with managers in the digital transformation process. Grey-collar employees can be defined as the group that is not classified as white or blue-collar, and the expression provides a balance between the one used for the other types of employees. While the definition of Grey-collar is sometimes used for employees who work past retirement age, the most widely accepted meaning refers to occupations that include some elements of both blue-collar and white-collar work, or that differ completely from both categories. Grey-collar workers usually have an associate degree in a particular field. Blue-collar workers, on the other hand, are usually trained on the job for a certain period, while grey-collar workers start their time in a position with a previously acquired certain skill set (Hajdú, 2011:263). As Haycock (2022) indicates the digital transformation process reduces the importance of blue-collar workers, instead grey-collar workers gain importance (Haycock, 2022:1; globenewswire.com, 2022).

Table 1. Color of the Collar of Labor Market

COLOR OF THE COLLAR	SECTOR / NATURE OF THE JOB THEY REPRESENT
1 Black Collar Workers	Mining or the oil industry and Black Marketing / Secretive activities like Army and Navy
2 Blue Collar Workers	Skilled / Unskilled labor and earning wages on hourly basis
3 Gold Collar Workers	R&D, Scientists, Business Partners or those who invest in conspicuous luxury
4 Grey Collar Workers	Do not fall either in the category of white or blue collar but expected to possess the specific skills required from White and Blue Collar jobs such as Fire Fighters, Police Officers, Fishing, Forestry, Forms of Agribusiness, Personal Service Sector, Food Preparation, Catering Industry, High Tech Technicians, Skilled Trades, Technicians, Typists, Stenographers, and Paralegals
5 Green Collar Workers	Environment concerned sectors
6 Light Blue Collar Workers	Prison Administration Services
7 Orange Collar Workers	Healthcare services
8 Pink Collar Workers	Sectors originally meant for women and is often low-paid
9 Red Collar Workers	Underworld activity
10 Scarlet Collar Workers	Pornography industry, which includes the women entrepreneurs, i.e.. Professional Sex Workers (PSW) who are action internet pornography
11 White Collar Workers	Salaried professionals and clerks
12 Open Collar Workers	Work-from-home services using internet

Source: Indiran 2016:2.

In this study grey collar worker definition is used from Indiran's classification of collar workers as above. In management departments, at the decision-making point, grey-collar office workers interact with the managers intensively. This means managerial assistants have to adapt digital transformation faster than any other occupations, in order to ensure managers to catch the speed of digitalized processes and also not to lose competitive advantage. To observe whether the executive assistants are ready for digital transformation, we decide to research their educational competencies. In Türkiye grey-collar workers are trained in vocational schools. The curricula and education level of educational institutions that train office personnel could be insufficient to achieve compliance with the digital transformation process. Measuring 'competency'

necessitates benchmark. Solutions found in developed countries regarding this issue and what can be done in Türkiye should be investigated. Since we take digital transformation as one of the aspects of fourth industrial revolution (Industry 4.0, I4.0) (Schwab, 2016; 21-24), we take Germany as our benchmark, which conceptualized and implemented I4.0 as a leading country. In our research, the curricula of all universities with office management and executive assistant programs in Türkiye were examined in the context of courses compatible with digital transformation. The curricula of office management and executive assistantship programs in Germany, which have transitioned to the I4.0 process, have been comparatively examined in the context of digital transformation.

Industry 4.0 was introduced in Germany in 2011. German Federal Government established a working group to discuss; the changes that will occur in the quality and the qualifications of work, the interaction between people and technology, and the possible changes in organizational structure (Hermann et al. 2016: 3928). The position of employees in the new industrial system, which was initially addressed with the concept of "human factor", was later evaluated under the heading of "human and work". This brings the big question of future organizations: with or without human? In the context of I4.0, it is stated that paradigm shift in human-technology and human-environment interactions will change inevitably and new production models will emerge accordingly. However, it was also emphasized that even in advanced complex systems like smart factories, the organizations cannot exist without human. People's knowledge and experience will always be needed in the changing conditions of the organization. Nevertheless, employees should be eligible to work with the new technology. For adapting employees to the new system in the long term, continuous training programs both at the university level and within the work should be developed, auxiliary systems to strengthen the physical and cognitive abilities of the employees should be established. Moreover,

employees should be trained for using augmented reality technologies and software-based applications for the configuration of the systems (Botthof, 2015: 4).

In our research, we try to conceptualize digital transformation of vocational schools in Türkiye from the perspective of institution translation. Since the institutional system of vocational school education in Germany is different from Türkiye, we should translate digital transformation of vocational school education into Turkish system.

1. Institutional Translation

Following the travels of ideas, we explore change. When ideas spread, they don't remain the same, at least not entirely the same. Though there is a broad literature claiming that ideas could transfer into another place untouched, and the original ideas diffuse into new settings. Since no attention to the cultural or institutional differences is given, Czarniawska and Joerges (1996) criticize the 'diffusion approach' and conceptualize transferring or importing ideas as "translation" rather than "diffusion". The meaning of "translation" in organization theory differs from the common use of linguistic purpose. As Latour (1996) indicated, due to the context any transfer creates non-existing new links between the translator and the idea itself, which leads to ultimately organizational change. He, who prefers to use the word "translation" for the first time, defines translation as a "*transportation combined with transformation*" in his early work (1986).

Boxenbaum and Battilana (2005) suggest three processes for importing managerial practices: transposition, translation, and theorization. Transposition is the process of conscious choice of selective importing to other fields or places. In translation, on the other hand, practices are adapted and adjusted to the new institutional context. The third process of importing practices is theorization, which is generalizing the translation to the field. Zilber (2006), on the contrary,

sees no distinction between transposition and translation; meanings are chosen and modified during translation on purpose. Some have conducted research to define and classify institutional translation to make a frame for legitimation (Sahlin-Anderson, 1996, Ansari et al., 2010). Considering the critics, Gond and Boxembaum (2013) modified previous strategies to a sequential frame as filtering, repurposing, and coupling. To legitimize translation first, conflicting discursive and material elements with the new context should be filtered. Then, the meaning of the idea or practice should be changed and repurposed in an appropriate way for the new context. Finally, in the coupling phase, the old and the new practice should be combined, and local material and discursive components should be added. This framework has been widely accepted. The coupling phase is also called “hybridization” (Zeitlin, 2000) and “bricolage” (Duymedjian and Ruling, 2010).

2. Türkiye’s Roadmap in Digital Transformation

A road map for industry 4.0 transformation was published by the Ministry of Science, Industry, and Technology in 2018. Conceptual studies and workshops were organized by the Ministry. The digital transformation roadmap has been determined as the Digital Transformation report in the manufacturing industry. Components of the roadmap; It has emerged as people, technology, infrastructure, suppliers, users, and governance. Since we are researching the digital transformation of educational institutions, which are graduating grey-collar workers, our research focused on the human factor, which is one of the six factors highlighted in the digital transformation roadmap.

The curricula of Office Management and Executive Assistantship programs of vocational schools in Germany, which have transitioned to the Industry 4.0 (I4.0) process, have been comparatively examined in the context of digital transformation.

Table 2. Ministry of Science, Industry and Technology- Industry 4.0 Road map

Digital Turkey- Manufacturing Industry Digital Transformation Road Map	
Human	Training of digital technology users in Continuing Education Centers and thematic technical colleges Proliferation of programs that train digital technology developers in universities Providing digital competencies to educators at all levels of education Supporting doctoral studies in the fields of digital technology Bringing together the workforce with digital competencies with the industry with special incentives and supports Supporting doctoral studies in the fields of digital technology Increasing and expanding digital transformation awareness Developing collaboration among digital transformation stakeholders
Technology	Preparation of technology roadmaps for focus technology areas (cloud computing, big data, artificial intelligence, autonomous robots, etc.) Preparation of applied R&D strategy Establishment of applied research centers in focus technology areas Launch of the Digital Technologies Program
Infrastructure	Ensuring that industrialists and technology developers have access to high-speed internet Integrating data communication standards into international studies and supporting the dissemination of standards Taking measures to ensure industrial cyber security Establishing a national industrial cloud platform and increasing industrial demand for data centers

Suppliers	Inventory of domestic digital technology companies Strengthening the technology acquisition and development opportunities of domestic digital technology companies Supporting customer access to products and services of domestic suppliers Making long-term financing (loans, capital investments, etc.) more accessible
Users	Opening of digital transformation centers Training of consultants to support the digital transformation of SMEs Facilitating the digitalization journeys of manufacturing industry enterprises with the digital transformation support program
Cognitive Management	Establishment of an effective and effective governance structure that will guide the transformation process of the manufacturing industry and ensure coordination among stakeholders

Source: <https://www.sanayi.gov.tr/tsddtyh.pdf>, Türkiye'nin Sanayi Devrimi, "Dijital Türkiye" YolHaritası,2018.

Enabling Turkey to transition to the fourth industrial revolution, the Digital Transformation Platform in Industry (SDDP) was developed under the leadership of the government in Turkey as well as in Germany. SDDD found it appropriate to evaluate digital transformation under two headings, and in the report prepared in 2017, E4.0 components were gathered under the working areas of two working groups as "Digital Technologies in Industry" and "Advanced Production Technologies". Horizontal and vertical integration technologies, big data and advanced analytics, cloud technologies, internet of things, artificial intelligence and smart software and cyber security Working areas of the Digital Technologies in Industry working group; cyber-physical systems, autonomous robots and mechatronic systems, intelligent and inflexible automation systems, innovative and smart sensors, additive manufacturing industry have been

determined as the working areas of the Advanced Manufacturing Technologies working group (BSTB, Digital Turkey Roadmap, 2018, 24-25).

3. Vocational Schools Workshop Report and UNESCO Report

Vocational high schools' workshop was organized by YÖK in 2018. The main topic of the workshop was determined as From Higher Education to Industry: Qualified Manpower. In the workshop report of YÖK vocational schools, it was decided that the programs planned to be opened in vocational schools would be opened based on ISCED field classification. The ISCED report points to the decisions of UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) Strategy for Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET) (2016-2021). In the UNESCO report, has made a 9-point regulation on the improvement of the education of technical and vocational schools. According to Article 9; priority 3 areas have been identified.

Three Pillars of Priority Areas in UNESCO Report statement.⁹

- 1) To encourage youth employment and entrepreneurship
 - UNESCO will support Member States in carrying out Policy reviews and TVET reforms.
 - UNESCO will mobilize the cooperation of different stakeholders
 - UNESCO will support member States in designing efficient and effective TVET financing strategies.
- 2) Promote equality and gender equality
 - Carry out UNESCO policy advice and capacity building programs
 - UNESCO will promote the exchange and dissemination of information
 - UNESCO will promote targeted policy measures for disadvantaged groups

- UNESCO will support measures that increase women's and girls' access to relevant TVET programs and provide equal opportunities in the business world.

3) Facilitating the transition to green economies and sustainable societies

- UNESCO will promote green skills for a smooth transition to green economies
- UNESCO will promote TVET's cross-sectoral approaches
- UNESCO will support member States in leveraging digital Technologies and bridging the digital divide.

Digital technologies have spread rapidly in much of the world impacting all disciplines, economies, industries, and the world of work. Despite this, 60 percent of the world's population are still offline and unable to participate fully in the digital economy. Member States and the international community need to work together to close the digital divide and reduce inequalities of access and quality to these services to ensure wider sustainable development benefit.

UNESCO will also support Member States to leverage digital technologies to ensure a lack of skills do not prevent countries advancing toward digital transformation and ensure that the benefits are widely shared. UNESCO will support countries in identifying the set of skills required including advanced information and communication technologies (ICTs) and science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM) skills. UNESCO will also support Member States efforts in modernizing qualifications and curricula; training teaching staff; and reinforcing the learning and recognition of these skills in workplace settings.

In line with the Global Action Program on Education for Sustainable Development, UNESCO's work on institutional and professional capacity development will support Member States in greening TVET by adopting a whole-institutional transformation which entails capacity-building of leaders, education managers and teachers to implement systemic reforms for

embedding sustainability concepts in TVET. The UNESCO-UNEVOC International Centre will develop appropriate training courses within its TVET leadership program (unesco.org).

4. Programs compatible with Turkey's digital transformation

All state and foundation universities with office management and executive assistant departments in Turkey were investigated. There are 138 Office Management and Executive Assistant departments in a total of 77 universities. To identify the courses that are adapting to digital transformation in their curricula, we have determined the keywords related to digital transformation. These keywords are digital, computer, technology, information, electronic, web, automation, database, social media, programming, mobile, three-dimension modeling, artificial intelligence, globalization, and virtual. The lessons have been evaluated containing these words, within the framework of digital transformation. The curricula of 123 of these departments have been examined one by one, concentrating solely on courses compatible with this framework. The information for 11 universities couldn't be found on their websites. Courses compatible with digital transformation have been determined and their number have been recorded. How Turkey's grey-collar educational institutions are in the process of adaptation to digital transformation has been examined to be ascertained.

Table 3. Turkiye Office Management and Executive Assistant Programme Courses Compatible Digital Transformation

Course Name	Number of Programs
<i>Computer and Office Programs</i>	53
<i>Use of Technology / Use of Technology in Offices / Office Technologies</i>	44
<i>Basic Information Technology / Information and Communication Technology / It Technology</i>	39

<i>Information Management</i>	37
<i>E-Commerce</i>	21
<i>Web Design/ Web Editor</i>	10
<i>Office Automation</i>	4
<i>Database Management</i>	5
<i>Introduction To social media</i>	6
<i>Introduction To Drawing on The Computer / Graphic Design</i>	2
<i>Information Literacy</i>	1
<i>Turkic World Digital Citizenship</i>	1
<i>Algorithm and Programming</i>	2
<i>Mobile Communication Devices</i>	1
<i>Human Computer Interaction</i>	1
<i>Three-Dimension Modeling Design</i>	1
<i>Artificial Intelligence Applications</i>	1
<i>Computer Literacy</i>	1
<i>Technology Literacy</i>	1
<i>Digital Literacy</i>	1
<i>e-Business Management</i>	1
<i>Electronic Document Management</i>	1
<i>Digital Archiving</i>	1
<i>Digital Marketing</i>	1
<i>Technology Management and R&D</i>	1
<i>Globalization Readings</i>	1
<i>Virtual Secretariat</i>	1

5. Programs compatible with Germany's digital transformation

Germany has a dual vocational training system. Vocational and academic training has been separated after middle school since the implementation of the vocational school act in 1969.

According to this law, students who want to have vocational training could attend school part-time as they are trained as an apprentice in selected jobs. The theoretical lectures were selected by the state and the federal governments in cooperation with the industry and commerce chambers. Although the programs could differ between federal governments in selective lectures, mainly compulsory courses are fixed. Office management students for example, must complete obligatory IT office management lectures, including information research and processing, data security, computer-based programs, which is 25% of the training program. At the end of this dual training students get certificate from the relevant chambers (BMBF, 2015). The description of these lectures remains the same even after Germany's declaration of I4.0. To understand if the content has been updated further research and interviews should be done.

Separating vocational education from higher education creates a strict distinction between white-collars and blue/grey collars. This hierarchical separation of occupation and profession has helped Germany to build a sound industrial work environment in 19th and 20th centuries. Yet, one problem of this policy was the lack of chance for grey-collar workers to have higher education. Since the students who choose to have vocational training could not get a high school diploma, university doors would not open for them. This situation has been seen unfair in the society recently, therefore, many families supported and encouraged their children to have higher education. Last decades, the distribution to vocational training and higher education has changed tremendously, which causes another threat for the future: increasing university graduated unemployment, in other words, overcrowded white collars (Wolter, Kerst, 2015).

Implementing Bologna Process in EU, brings the concept of 'life-long learning' to all European countries. The translation of Bologna Process in Germany for vocational schools happens to be opening certificate courses in the universities of applied sciences. These courses are given by academicians in the university facilities. Because the content of the lectures are in between vocational schools and university level, they are called as further education (Weiterbildung).

These programs are not fixed as in vocational schools. Many alternatives from many universities are offered; full time participation as well as dual studies, online courses or distant courses are available.

6. Discussion and Conclusion

Kagermann et al. (2011) declared that fourth industrial revolution has officially begun, and Germany would be the first country to “*play the violin*”, a transformation for a knowledge-based society is required. As we assume in the beginning, working in smart industries by machine learning and uses of AI with the new industrial revolution the need for white-collar workers would decrease and instead advanced, educated grey-collar workers would be needed more. For that reason, we try to find how the pioneer country of I4.0 fills the gaps to train grey-collar workers and how will it be institutionally translated in Turkish context.

In our case, we searched for office management and executive assistance programs. We believe, digital transformation would affect the managers most in designing the organization and decision-making processes. Manager Assistance have an important role to ease decision making for the manager. In Turkish context, we have vocational schools in higher education, so we could reach the study plans and the content of the lectures on the websites of most of the universities without difficulty. As we explained, German vocational training system is different from Türkiye, and even certificate programs are available in the higher education in Germany, these programs vary a lot among universities. We have found some similar certificate programs in the university of applied sciences but none of them give detailed information about their study plan and lectures given on their websites. We can only estimate the digital transformation effect on vocational education from the program names, such as “Digital Office Management”, “Sekreteriat 4.0”, “Future Skills for the Assistance 4.0”.

Another limitation of this study in this phase, that we cannot reach a total list of these certificate programs. To make a comprehensive benchmark we are planning to make a further investigation with interviews. In the second phase of the study, we will explore if there are similar programs opened after Türkiye's Digital Transformation Road Map and YOK's orientation of UNESCO declaration for vocational schools. In the third phase, we are planning to investigate more countries pioneering in digital transformation and try to explore how we can translate advanced digital transformation training to vocational schools in accordance with human aspect of Türkiye's Road Map.

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Digitalization and Blue-Collars: A Systematic Literature Review

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Abstract

The developments in digital technologies and the digital transformation of organizations affect all aspects of the business functionalities including human resources management. However, we have a concern that the relationship between digitalization and blue-collar workers is not given sufficient interest by the researchers although blue-collar workers make up the majority of the employees in many business organizations. This article aims to reveal the relationship between digital transformation and blue-collar workers with a systematic literature review. After examining 41 articles, our findings reveal that the studies on the effect of digitalization on employees are limited. The thematic analysis uncovers that employment, compliance, and auditing issues are hot topics. Even though there is an increasing interest in addressing this phenomenon in recent years, the number of empirical studies on the topic is not satisfactory. We suggest that future researches studying the relationship between digitalization and employees need to increase the focus on specifically the blue collars.

Keywords: blue-collar workers, employees, digitalization, digital transformation, Systematic Literature Review

INTRODUCTION

The importance of blue-collar employees in the context of management is undoubtedly a reality. In the case of studying digital transformation, the digitalization relationship with blue-collar employees is an important issue that should be revealed. In the literature of Management and Organizations, since 2011, the starting year of Industry 4.0, has the relationship between blue-collar workers and digitalization been discussed, and if so, what were the results? One of the main purposes of this study is to reveal this relationship with a systematic literature review.

The general focus of the digitalization literature on the employees in the field of Management and Organizations and the fact that it does not deal with the blue-collar employees expressly

has been examined and this issue has been discussed as one of the priorities examined issues in the literature.

The increasing interest in this topic and the importance of this interest in the article have been highlighted as another priority issue and have been one of the main elements of the study.

The main purpose of this study is to reveal the relationship between digital transformation and blue-collar workers with a systematic literature review. It also aimed to contribute to the literature on Management and Organizations by making suggestions for future studies.

METHODOLOGY

According to Greenhalgh (1997), a systematic review is defined as a general evaluation of primary studies that follow a certain methodology and are possible to repeat. Some of the advantages of a systematic literature review are its contribution to reducing research bias, increasing reliability, and making results closer to reality.

This study includes the selection of some previous academic studies according to certain criteria and their analysis with the help of the qualitative research method.

Since the main purpose of the study is a systematic literature review on the relationship between blue-collar workers and digital transformation, the keywords "blue collar" and "digital transformation" were first searched in the Web of Science database together with their derivatives. This search carried out in May 2022 yielded 455 academic studies.

Then, a second literature review was conducted by filtering according to some criteria. The year of publication was chosen as 2011 and later, since the initial year of digitalization is associated with Industry 4.0. Industry 4.0 was mentioned for the first time in public at the "Hannover Trade Fair (Germany)" in 2011. It envisages the production of systems with systems that pass from worker control to machine control.

In addition, a second search was carried out by selecting the document type "article", the field "management", the language "English" and the indexes "Social Sciences Citation Index (SSCI)" and "Emerging Sources Citation Index (ESCI)". In the second search, the number of articles decreased to 41 and these 41 articles constituted the sample of the study.

FINDINGS

When the distribution of the determined articles according to the publication years is examined (Table.1), it can be said that there is a general increase. In particular, the publication of 13 articles, constituting 32% of 41 articles in 2021, and the publication of 7 articles in the first 5 months of 2022 can be considered as a sign that the interest in blue collar and digital transformation will increase.

Table.1 Number and Percentages of Articles by Publication Year

Year of Publication	Number of Articles	Percentage

2012	1	2%
2017	3	7%
2018	7	17%
2019	4	10%
2020	6	15%
2021	13	32%
2022	7	17%
The overall total	41	100%

When the articles subject to the literature analysis were classified according to the method, it was observed that 26 of the 41 articles were written, in other words, 63% were written using the qualitative research method. Also, in 2022, only 1 article was considered by the mixed method.

Table.2 Number and Percentages of Articles According to research Method

The Research Method	Number of Articles	Percentage
Quantitative	26	63%
Qualitative	14	34%
Mixed	1	2%
The overall total	41	100%

Since conducting regional analyses in the literature review studies may provide some information about the countries, the articles have also been analyzed on a country and region basis. Some of the articles have been carried out on the borders of a separate country, while others have been processed on a continental basis, and some have been processed globally on the topic of blue collar and digital transformation.

While Germany ranked first with 6 articles in independent country studies, 4 in Sweden, 3 in Russia, 2 in Italy, Portugal, India, and 1 article in Denmark, Spain, Finland, Japan, Greece, Switzerland, USA, Australia, and Turkey. In eight articles, the research made in mixed-developed countries and at one in mixed-developing countries. Further, five research made in global countries (including developed and developing countries). It has been determined that the number of articles examining developed countries is higher than that of developing countries (Table 3). The fact that the concept of Industry 4.0, which has a close relationship with digital transformation, came to the fore in Germany for the first time and that the articles about blue-collar workers intensified in Germany are parallel.

Table 3. Countries subject to article research

Countries	Number of Articles
Developed	21
Germany	6
Sweden	4
Italy	2
Portugal	2
Finland	1
Denmark	1
Japan	1
USA	1

Spain	1
Switzerland	1
Australia	1
Developing	6
Russia	3
India	2
Turkey	1
Mixed Developed	8
Mixed Developing	1
Global	5
The overall total	41

When the articles dealing with the relationship between blue collar and digital transformation are analyzed according to sectors (Table. 4), Information Technologies ranks first with 9 articles. When the Public-Private Sector distinction is made, only 3 articles examine the public sector, while the other 38 articles deal with the private sector.

Table.4 Number and Rates of Articles by Sector

Sector	Number of Articles	Percentage
Information technologies	9	22%
Many sectors	9	22%
Public	3	7%
Metal	2	5%
Industry	2	5%
Construction	2	5%
Business and Management	2	5%
Manufacturing, Service	1	2%
Logistic	1	2%
Medicine / Health	1	2%
Finance	1	2%
Automotive	1	2%
Banking, Finance, Technology, Energy	1	2%
Industry, Commerce	1	2%
Food, Logistics	1	2%
Manufacturing / Production	1	2%
Machinery	1	2%
Manufacturing, Construction, Service	1	2%
Service	1	2%
The overall total	41	100%

When the articles in question were classified according to the journals (Table 5) they were published in, it was observed that there was no concentration in any journal and a scattered appearance was observed.

Table. 5 Number of Articles by Journals

Journal Name	Number of Articles
EMPLOYEE RELATIONS	2
MANAGEMENT REVUE	2
TQM JOURNAL	2
SOUTH ASIAN JOURNAL OF HUMAN RESOURCE MANAGEMENT	1
ORGANIZATION STUDIES	1
DIRECCION Y ORGANIZACION	1
EUROPEAN JOURNAL OF INFORMATION SYSTEMS	1
RESEARCH POLICY	1
EUROPEAN MANAGEMENT REVIEW	1
LOGFORUM	1
FORESIGHT AND STI GOVERNANCE	1
MIS QUARTERLY	1
GENDER WORK AND ORGANIZATION	1
POLISH JOURNAL OF MANAGEMENT STUDIES	1
HUMAN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT QUARTERLY	1
SCANDINAVIAN JOURNAL OF MANAGEMENT	1
HUMAN SYSTEMS MANAGEMENT	1
KNOWLEDGE AND PROCESS MANAGEMENT	1
INDUSTRIAL AND CORPORATE CHANGE	1
LOGISTICS	1
INFORMATION SYSTEMS AND E-BUSINESS MANAGEMENT	1
MANAGEMENT, PROCUREMENT AND LAW	1
INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF ENTREPRENEURIAL BEHAVIOR & RESEARCH	1
ORGANIZATION SCIENCE	1
INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF ORGANIZATIONAL LEADERSHIP	1
ORGANIZATION	1
INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF QUALITY & RELIABILITY MANAGEMENT	1
QUALITY-ACCESS TO SUCCESS	1
JOURNAL OF INDUSTRIAL INTEGRATION AND MANAGEMENT-INNOVATION AND ENTREPRENEURSHIP	1
RESEARCH POLICY	1
JOURNAL OF INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY	1
SERVICE SCIENCE	1
THE SOUTHEAST ASIAN JOURNAL OF MANAGEMENT	1
BRITISH JOURNAL OF MANAGEMENT	1
VINE JOURNAL OF INFORMATION AND KNOWLEDGE MANAGEMENT SYSTEMS	1
JOURNAL OF INTELLECTUAL CAPITAL	1
ACADEMY OF MANAGEMENT DISCOVERIES	1
JOURNAL OF ORGANIZATIONAL ETHNOGRAPHY	1
The overall total	41

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Digitalization is discussed intensively in the industry and on the application side, and applications are put into use, and the literature seems to lag the application. As proof of this, there are many references to non-academic articles based on practices and practices in academic studies on digitalization. It is considered that future academic research should increase rapidly and academic studies that have lagged the practice should come to the fore. 40 of the 41 identified articles, in other words, 97 percent of the articles, were written in the last 6 years. There is only one article in 2012. Recently, it is seen that the interest of the authors on the

subject has increased. It can be said that article studies on the subject are one of the popular topics of the last period. This situation creates an opinion that the limited number of studies in the research area has evolved into a direction that can be quickly eliminated. However, as stated above, it is seen that there is a need for an acceleration that can catch up with the pace of development on the practical side.

During the literature review of this article, it was seen that the studies on the effect of digitalization on employees were limited. Especially when it is desired to deepen the effects on the blue collar and its relationship with the blue collar, limited resources become narrower. For this reason, it has been determined that there is a need for more studies on the relationship between digitalization and employees and especially on blue collar.

Apart from this, when the literature is examined, it is seen that the number of empirical studies is only 14. As can be seen from this figure, the necessity of conducting new research with empirical studies is being evaluated.

As a result, it has been tried to contribute to the literature of Management and Organizations by analyzing the articles in which the issues of employment, compliance and auditing come to the fore both positively and negatively in the digitalization relationship with blue-collar employees and which are trying to be evaluated from many perspectives.

CONCLUSION

The striking change created by digital transformation in the world has undoubtedly caused important issues to be addressed in the context of business administration, and it has become essential to evaluate digitalization for employees.

With this study, the relationship between blue collar workers and digitalization in the literature of Management and Organizations was revealed through a systematic literature review, and suggestions were presented for future studies.

Finally, the first finding that draws attention is as seen in Table 2, 97 percent of the related articles were written in the last six years. This result is important in supporting the year Industry 4.0 started in 2011 and showing the increasing interest in addressing this issue.

Another finding is that while digitalization is generally handled in terms of employees in the Management and Organizations literature, both in the keyword search results and in the thematic analysis of the articles examined, it is not handled separately in terms of blue-collar employees. This result is important in terms of being a guide for future studies and seeing from where the studies so far are looking.

Another result obtained as a result of the literature review is the reality that digitalization has positive effects as well as negative effects for employees. In the articles, which analyzed whether digital transformation is seen as a threat or a supportive factor, especially for blue-collar employees, results indicating that digitalization has a negative effect as well as a positive effect on employees have been revealed. Does digitalization create new job opportunities for employees? Or does it lay off employees? As an example, this positive-negative duality has been a finding obtained as a reality encountered as a result.

As a result of the thematic analysis of the related articles on the employee digitalization relationship, it is seen that employment, compliance and auditing issues come to the fore. Will the employee move to a new position with the business processes that have transformed with digitalization? Will there be a fall from her/his own position to a lower position? Or will she/he lose his job? The questions were evaluated. Again, it has been discussed whether the employee's adaptation to a new technology is symbolic or not, and it has been positively revealed that the reality that the employee will need to increase their qualifications with new technologies will bring high qualifications to the employee.

As a result, it has been tried to contribute to the literature on Management and Organizations by analyzing the articles in which the issues of employment, compliance, and auditing come to the fore both positively and negatively in the digitalization relationship with blue-collar employees and which are trying to be evaluated from many perspectives.

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DIGITALIZATION OF PHOTOGRAPHY AND PHOTOGRAPHER'S LABOUR

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Abstract

Examining the transformation of the concept of “labour” through social media companies, which is another dimension of digitalization, Christian Fuchs explains the concept of “digital labour”, which Marx based on the concept of labour, and all forms of labour that cover the existence, production, spread and use of digital media. Based on Fuchs' approach, it is thought that digital image, which is an important pillar of digitalization, and the production and labour of professional photographers, who are one of its producers, can also be evaluated in the context of digital labour. With the pandemic process that started at the end of 2019, a new break in the digital age has occurred and this process has radically transformed both image producers and buyers, technological developments and the photographic production process. Photography profession carried out with face-to-face communication and photographers doing this profession as a professional job; It is one of the sectors and groups most negatively affected by the Covid-19 Pandemic. However, the pandemic process has radically transformed the relationship of both the producers and the viewers with the image. In this study, the relationship between digital labor and photography profession was examined through interviews with 5 photographers who practice photography as a profession, from different age groups and working in different fields of photography, and the transformation of the photographer's labor in the processes of digitalization and pandemic was tried to be examined.

Keywords: Digitalization, digital labour, professional photography, photographers, no-collar workers

Özet

Dijitalleşmenin bir başka boyutu olan sosyal medya şirketleri üzerinden “emek” kavramının dönüşümünü inceleyen Christian Fuchs, Marx'ın emek kavramı üzerine temellendirdiği “dijital emek” kavramı ile dijital medyanın varlığı, üretilmesi, yayılması ve kullanılması süreçlerini kapsayan tüm emek biçimlerini açıklamaktadır. Fuchs'un yaklaşımından hareketle dijitalleşmenin önemli bir ayağı olan dijital görüntü ve bunun üreticilerinden olan profesyonel fotoğrafçıların üretimi ve emeğinin de dijital emek bağlamında değerlendirilebileceği düşünülmektedir. 2019'un sonlarında başlayan pandemi süreciyle birlikte dijital çağın içinde yeni bir kırılma yaşanmış ve bu süreç hem görüntüyü üretenleri hem de alımlayıcıları, teknolojik gelişmeleri ve fotoğrafik üretim sürecini köklü bir biçimde dönüşüme uğratmıştır. Yüz yüze iletişimle gerçekleştirilen fotoğrafçılık mesleği ve bu mesleği profesyonel işi olarak yapmakta olan fotoğrafçılar; Covid-19 Pandemisi'nden en olumsuz etkilenen sektör ve grupların başında gelmektedir. Bununla birlikte, pandemi süreci görüntüyü hem üretlerin hem de izleyicilerin, görüntüyle olan ilişkisini de köklü bir dönüşüme uğratmıştır. Bu çalışmada fotoğrafçılığı meslek olarak icra eden, farklı yaş gruplarından ve fotoğrafın farklı alanlarında çalışmakta olan 5 fotoğrafçı ile yapılan görüşmeler üzerinden dijital emek ve fotoğrafçılık mesleği arasındaki ilişki incelenmiş ve fotoğrafçının emeğinin dijitalleşme ve pandemi süreçlerinde geçirdiği dönüşüm irdelenmeye çalışılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Dijitalleşme, dijital emek, profesyonel fotoğrafçılık, fotoğrafçılar, yakasız işçiler

Prologue

The photographic tool, which was announced to the whole world with the presentation of François Arago at the French Academy of Sciences in 1839, has caused the birth of a professional group beyond an artistic expression since then. Louis-Jacques-Mandé Daguerre,

who is accepted as one of the inventors of this tool by developing the legacy he received from Niépce, is one of those who turned the photographic tool, which is a product of modernism due to its conditions of existence, into an income tool. First in France and then around the world Daguerre has given hope to many who believe they can profit from this tool. While making money on the portraits of the rich was a livelihood for painters before photographers, the "techne" used with this new tool has also changed. Gisèle Freund talks about miniature painters who make money by making portraits of people on objects such as powder boxes and pendants. While there were over five hundred miniature painters in Paris at the beginning of the 1840s, by 1850 their number had decreased to only five (Freund, 1980: 10-11). These painters did not disappear, they formed a new profession as "photographers".

The first half of the 1800s was filled with various experimental studies of the photographic medium, and although Daguerre's name is prominent, there are actually many inventors who applied the photographic technique in different ways. What sets Daguerre apart from others is his ability to market it rather than what he finds or develops. Hippolyte Bayard is the first example and the most famous of those who reproached the lack of a response for her creative effort and criticized it again by using the "techne" in her hand. Bayard, who found photographic printing with the "direct positive method" he developed, complains that his invention did not make as much noise as Daguerre's. In the article he wrote on the back of his most famous work, *Le Noyé* (Self-Portrait as a Drowned Man), he expresses his criticism of a creative photographer's lack of financial reward.:

"The body seen on the other face is Mr. Bayard, the inventor of the method you have just seen or are about to see wonderful results. As far as I know, this ingenious and tireless researcher has been developing his invention for nearly three years.

The academy, the king, everyone who saw these defected drawings of himself were as fascinated as you are now. This greatly honored him and did not earn him a penny. The government, which had given too much to Mr. Daguerre, said nothing could be done for Mr. Bayard, and the poor man drowned himself." (Day1, Accessed: 25.06.2022)



Hippolyte Bayard, Le Noyé (Self-Portrait as a Drowned Man), 1840.

According to Marx, who states that labour is also commodified as a result of capitalism, the “thing” produced by the artist also becomes commodified. Marx states that the product created by the artist's labour is located between production and consumption “as salable commodities, like all artistic products different from the artist's own artistic creation”. Marx mentions that there is a transitional form in the products and labours of science and art producers and craftsmen (Marx, Compl. and Trans: Aziz Çalışlar, 2006: 99). The products of the artists who used the photographic tool, which emerged as a product of the developments in science and technology during the Enlightenment period, have also turned into salable commodities since the emergence of this tool. Thus, photographers have emerged as a professional group that does not see this work only as an artistic expression, but tries to earn a living from this work. All kinds of political, social and economic development and transformation that can be seen as a result of modernism in the historical process; He also nurtured the photography profession. Even the tragedies that marked the 20th century led to the rise of photography as a tool and photographers to experience their “golden age”.

The transition from the image recorded on the pellicle to the digital image created a breaking point for the photography profession. The seeds of the digital age, the results of which we see today in all business areas, began to be sown in the 1950s. In 1961, Eugene F. Lally, who was working as an engineer at NASA, took the first step in the production of digital images by developing the electro-optical sensor (Wikipedia: Eugene F.Lally, Accessed: 26.06.2022). The first digital camera prototype was developed by Steven Sasson, an engineer at Kodak, in 1975 (Aldred, Accessed: 26.06.2022). However, despite this, the digital photography was released in 1991. The pioneer is again Kodak company, the DSC100 model camera, which emerged by placing the sensor developed by Kodak on a Nikon F3 camera, was the first camera to be released (Wikipedia: Kodak DSC 100, Access Date: 26.06.2022). After this date, the photographic tool has also rapidly become digital, and both amateur and professional photographers have switched to digital cameras. This transformation has had much more serious consequences for professional photographers who practice photography as a profession beyond seeing it as a leisure pursuit or a means of artistic expression.

Christian Fuchs, who examined the transformation of the concept of “labour” through social media companies, which is another dimension of digitalization, put forward the concept of “digital labour”. Fuchs defines digital work as “all activities that create use values that are objectified in digital media technologies, content and products obtained by applying digital media” and according to him, digital labor is the alienated form of digital work (Fuchs, 2015: 501). Therefore, Fuchs argues that different aspects of alienation and exploitation are also experienced in all areas of the media industry that promises “leisure” and “entertainment” to employees, and that digitalization makes this seem even more legitimate. Based on Fuchs' approach, digital image, which is an important pillar of digitalization, and professional photographers, who are its producers, are the focus of this study. With the pandemic process that started at the end of 2019, a new break in the digital age has occurred and this process has radically transformed both image producers and buyers, technological developments and the photographic production process.

The main problem of this study is to discuss how digitalization and post-pandemic technological transformations affect the labour process of those working in the field of photography. The Covid-19 pandemic has also caused the digitalization of business processes, and the necessity of conducting working life remotely in many occupational groups, even employees who were relatively far from digital technologies before the pandemic had to

dominate digital display systems and communication technologies. However, there are many occupational groups that are not suitable for the teleworking system, and there is an audience that is negatively affected by this digital transformation. There are groups of workers defined as blue and gray collars who have difficulty in adapting to information and communication technologies, and there is also a group of artists and artisans defined as "no-collar". Those who carry out the profession of photography professionally are also included in this group called "no-collar". Digital transformation has affected this employee group in two dimensions, both after the 2000s and after the Covid-19 pandemic. Therefore, this study traces the thoughts and perceptions of photography professionals about the labor processes and how they are affected by the digitalization and pandemic process.

1. Methodology

In this study, in-depth interviews were conducted with 5 photographers who professionally practice photography and get their main source of income from this profession. The selected photographers are Orhan Cem Çetin, Aykut Fırat, Can Gazialem, Barış Demiray and Yiğit Peköz, who work in different branches of photography such as advertising photography, fashion and product photography, photo printing and also practice photography as an artist. The total years of experience in photography are also different for each of the photographers. Therefore, as there are those who have worked in both the film and digital era and who have experienced digital transformation; There are also those who started professional photography after digitalization, even with the pandemic. Thus, it is assumed that the selected group experiences this process in different ways. Photography and labor, working hours, how they position themselves in this profession and the sector, how and in what way the processes of digitalization and pandemic affect their work, whether they use today's technology and social media professionally, whether they can adapt the creativity in their artistic photographs to their profession, the future of this profession. Questions were asked about how they see themselves and how they think about living in this profession for themselves. From the answers given, it has been tried to analyze how digitalization and in addition, the pandemic processes affect the photography industry.

2. The Concept of “Labour” in the Terminology of Marx and Fuchs and The No-Collar Workers

Fuchs based the concept of “digital labour” on Marx's concept of “labour”. Marx says that “for labour to reappear in a commodity, it must first of all be spent on useful work, on

something that can satisfy any need". Therefore, according to Marx, labour is "a certain use-value, an object that the capitalist makes the worker produce" (Marx, 2003: 168). According to Marx's labour theory of value, what determines value is the amount of labour time spent on producing a commodity. The aim of capital is to try to lower the value of the commodity in order to increase its profits. For this reason, it aims to produce the same product in a shorter time and more, while Marx's criticism is that the wage earned by the labourer does not increase at the same rate (Fuchs, 2015: 25).

With industrialization, production began to take place for an exchange value beyond being a necessity. The "surplus value" that Marx emphasized has emerged. As a result of capitalism, the exchange value (ie commercial value) of something has exceeded its use value, and the difference between them has increased. Marx describes this as "commodification". As a result, objects with a use value become "reified" by moving away from their real value. Marx also talks about the commodification of labour. With capitalism, labour has also turned into a commercial thing and has become a "thing" that can be bought and sold. According to Marx, "as soon as a product enters a new labour process as a means of production, it loses its quality as a product and becomes only an element in the process" (Marx, 2003: 170). Marx put it this way: "The material provided by nature is adapted to human needs by a change of form. Labour has united itself with its subject; labour has been materialized, the subject has been transformed. What appeared as a worker's movement is now seen as an immobile, fixed quality in the product" (Marx, 2003: 168).

One aspect of the materialization of labor is the categorization of labor into "collars". The capitalist system categorizes employee labor according to collar groups. The "blue collar-white collar" distinction made in the 1920s and 30s to draw attention to the fact that labor is based on manual or brain power; gray, pink, black, green, gray, gold etc. divided into new groups and classes such as A group of professions, including artists, are included in a labor group called "no-collar", which is outside of all these classes (Ebersole, Accessed Date: 5.08.2022). This lack of categorization causes the labor they produce to be seen as "worthless", rather than giving a space of freedom to artists in general and photographers in particular.

Fuchs pointed to Andrew Ross's idea that, contrary to popular belief, those working in fields based on creative ideas do not have "freedom" and, in fact, artists or others working in the media field are also exploited in their current working conditions. Ross describes these

workers as "no-collar" workers. The free use of time by no-collar workers is not actually a freedom, and this situation, on the contrary, causes the border between work and leisure time to disappear. At the same time, these areas are defined as "fun" according to the common view (Fuchs, 2015: 328-329). Whereas, according to Fuchs, the boundary between work and leisure is also blurred in these areas.

Fuchs defines digital labor as "alienated digital work". Digital work, on the other hand, covers all activities that create objectified use values in digital media technologies, content and products obtained by applying digital media (Fuchs, 2015: 501). Marx explains the concept of "alienation" as "the loss of quality of the means of production entering a new labor process and thus its transformation into a commodity" (Marx, 2003: 170).

Marx makes a distinction between concrete labour and abstract labour. Concrete labour is the use-value-producing dimension of labour; therefore, it corresponds to "how" labour is produced and "what" it is. Abstract labour is the part that produces value, that is, the value attributed to it. The equivalent of abstract labour is "how long" the temporary duration of that labour is (Fuchs, 2015: 63). According to Fuchs, in modern capitalism, people spend hours working every day to create value for capital, but an unpaid abstract labour comes out. Fuchs mentions that the capitalist factory mentality has expanded into the daily lives of individuals, although in modern times, employees are not limited to a place. In the new economic systems, people are not limited to specific areas of production, but instead spend long unpaid working hours (Fuchs, 2015: 163).

Marx states that nature needs the tools of labour, that is, technologies, for its transformation by labour, but this has led to the union of labour with the object of labour in capitalist societies, that is, to the objectification of labour itself (Fuchs, 2015: 54). Marx defines the instrument of labour as "something or a combination of things that the worker brings between himself and the subject of labour and makes use of as the transmitter of his activity". "It makes use of the mechanical, physical and chemical properties of some substances to make other substances suitable for their purposes" (Marx, 2003: 167). According to Richard and Stahl, the exploitation system constantly encounters physical limits, and in order to overcome these, "commodified and new forms of fetishization have emerged through technology" (as cited in Ekinici, 2019: 34). Drawing attention to the contradiction between value and labour time, which Marx emphasized, Fuchs states that this is also the case in contemporary capitalism.

According to Fuchs, who does research on labour in commercial social media, paid labour is also decreasing in commercial social media, while unpaid labour is increasing (Fuchs, 2015: 163).

Fuchs states that temporal factors are as important as spatial transformations in the realization of the labour required for the production of a commodity. According to Fuchs, “working time, leisure time, working hours, production time, circulation time, distribution time, capital turnover time, acceleration of production or intensification of work” are concepts that show the relationship between labour and time (Fuchs, 2015: 24). The fact that these temporal distinctions are not in the hands of the labourer is one of the leading criticisms of capitalism. For example, at the point where the photography industry has reached with digitalization, it is mostly the customers who determine the working and resting times, not the producers of that work, but its consumers.

The factors such as the fact that professional photographers' "free" time has actually turned into an element of exploitation, uncertain remuneration, and lack of professional organization; causes them to be evaluated in the “precariat”. Standing defines the precariat as “employees who do not have a fixed or predictable income, do not have a stable or long-term and fixed-time job, and do not have organizations that defend workers' rights, such as unions”. Therefore, the precariat does not have many of the rights that the proletariat has (Standing, 2020: 20).

Yiğit states that the precarious conditions of the artists during the pandemic process have become more evident and draws attention to the fact that they should be seen in the "precariat" as well. According to Yiğit, the incomes of artists from short-term and piecework jobs do not make it possible to save, and their flexible working hours are extremely open to exploitation. Therefore, there is no system that secures artists neither economically nor in terms of working time (Yiğit, 2021: 9-11).

Karaca, who states that there has been a transformation in labour activities with the digitalization of circulation with production and consumption technologies, and the transformation of commodities into digital contents, says that the media industry is one of the sectors where this transformation is most experienced. Production based on intangible labour is shaped by the media industry (Karaca, 2021: 131). Social media, which has replaced

traditional media with digitalization; it reveals how the production and circulation of both commodities and knowledge and images is transformed. Digital labour; Starting from the approach of Fuchs, who states that digital media includes all forms of labour covering the existence, production, dissemination and use processes, in the next part of the study, how the concept of “labour” transforms after the digitalization of the production and circulation of the image is questioned through professional photographers whose main livelihood is photography.

3. Digitalization of Photography and the Labour of the Photographers

The digitalization of the image began in the 1950s, and the first steps were taken after 1960. With the first digital camera released after 1991, amateur and professional photographers started to produce digital images besides film. Digital cameras, which were not used much in professional works because they could not come close to the image quality offered by the film in the beginning, soon took the place of film cameras with the rapid development of image technologies. Technical developments have been experienced not only in the shooting stage of the photograph, but also in the reproduction of the photograph via print or web and the sharing of the image.

The pandemic, which started at the end of 2019 and whose real results can only be seen years later, has also caused a break in the production and dissemination of digital images. The photography profession carried out with face-to-face communications and the photographers who do this profession as a professional job; It is among the leading sectors and groups most negatively affected by this process.

In this part of the study, in-depth interviews were conducted with 5 photographers working in different fields of photography, who are performing photography as the main source of income. Information about the photographers and their opinions compiled from the responses are presented below.

3.1. Photographer-1

He does advertising and product photography, runs a photo printing studio.

Photographer-1 is the owner of one of the biggest photography studios in Ankara and Turkey. In the period when film photography, which he refers to as the conventional period, was widespread, he took industrial and outdoor shootings and product photography. He

participated in many photography-related events in Turkey and abroad, received awards and gave photography trainings. It also has the title of AFIAP (Artist of International Federation Photographic Art), one of the most prestigious titles among those who practice the art of photography, given by the International Federation of Photography.

Photographer-1, that they shoot the products of many important brands in Turkey, T.C. He stated that many ministries, especially the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, carry out the shooting works. In addition to the shooting studio, he is among the founders of one of the most important photo printing laboratories in Turkey. According to *Photographer-1*'s statement, this laboratory is actually one of the few photography laboratories in the world in terms of its scope and work. There have been photographers from various countries such as Germany who came to examine this laboratory as an example. According to him, the most important reason for this is that a very serious investment has been made in the film washing and printing laboratory, and investments have been made in machines capable of serial and high quality production. This organization is also one of the first studios and laboratories to adapt to the transition to digital photography.

Photographer-1, says that the golden age in which they lived during the traditional photography period is on the decline with the transition to digital. He stated that they first closed the shooting studio after digital photography, and then they decided to close the printing laboratory these days. *Photographer-1* explains the difference between traditional photography and digital photography as follows:

"We were getting about 1000-3000 rolls of film a day. The films were being developed, the ones coming out of the bathroom were going back to the automatic sealing machine, so that big bobbins were formed and they were switched to automatic scissors. We were printing 1300 copies in 4 minutes, which is an incredible amount of time. Of course, this required a huge investment, but the system was working very quickly. These are the investments for which we paid a very high amount of money, and what we earned was already going towards the payments of the machines. Just when we were saying 'we'll start earning from now on', digital came out and everything changed. We also bought digital printing machines and for the first few months in Turkey, we were the only laboratory that made digital printing. In the old system, our production process for printing a 36 exposure film was 1.5-2 minutes. With digital photography, this time has increased to 10 minutes, time has increased. It has never been as

easy or fast as we expected. In addition, operations such as photo processing and correction were added to this. Taking the photo in an SD card and transferring it to the computer, sending it to print; It was a 5-6 times slower than the old system.”

When the *photographer-1* was asked about his opinion on whether the income they earned and the effort they put in paid off, he states that it paid off in the traditional period, but that there was a significant decrease in the income of photographers with the transition to digital, and explains this as follows:

“In the traditional period, the cost of the photo produced per unit was very low: space rent, personnel expenses, electricity and water expenses were high because of printing; but their overall cost was still small. Because sometimes we were making 75,000 prints in a day. Shortly after going digital, phones started taking photos too and people stopped printing photos. Because they could look at the photo from the phone. Thus, photographic prints fell by 85-90 percent. While printing an average of 20 thousand photos per day in a year, the number of daily prints decreased to 500. It was a very dramatic decline. Since the number of photographs produced was very small, other expenses and income began to go hand in hand. The first 8 years 2000-2020 may have been self-subsidized, but we haven't been able to monetize photography for the last 10-12 years or so.”.

Photographer-1, who thinks that the perception of the production of photography and the effort put into this production in our society has changed with digital photography, is of the opinion that he can spend 4-5 hours a day for a single job, but the wages of the labour put into it are only evaluated through photographic printing, and the time and effort spent on it cannot be remunerated. The main reason for this is that the value given to the tangible product in our society cannot be given to the intangible product: “When we spend hours processing a photograph, people ask us 'what did you do, you just spent time in front of the computer'. When this business had been digitized it came to be perceived as a simple business that has no value in our society”.

As one of the founders of the company, but also as the person who produces the work, he was asked how close he felt to the distinction between the employer and the employee,

"Imagine a collar painted gray-blue all around, when you remove the back, it is white, but there is no whiteness in sight. That's what we do," he replied.

Photographer-1, who is also a photography artist, answered the question of whether he used creative labour in his work or not, that he evaluated creativity in two dimensions as a photographer and a company owner. According to Photographer-1, as a company owner, making the right investment, designing a job correctly and choosing the right employees to get them done require a vision. He thinks that they have this vision because they have been doing this job for so long and they can adapt to all these transformations. He is of the opinion that he is able to use the creative process in his individual shootings and portfolio designs.

Photographer-1 stated that, considering that photography is a craft in terms of profession, he also tries to transfer knowledge to new generations with a master-apprentice relationship for the continuity of the profession. He said that in the 1980s, when information in Turkey was not as easily accessible as it is today, they received training by participating in photography fairs held in Europe, and then they conveyed this information to both the employees in the studio and to people from outside in the form of workshops: *"In those years, this place was like a library. We were just like the library of Alexandria, but when we went digital, we burned!"*

According to *Photographer-1*, the photography profession, which was already negative with digital, has deteriorated with the pandemic. On the subject of the transformation of photography into a virtual commodity tool under the name of NFT, from being digital photography today, he comments that "it is one of the methods found by capitalism to absorb money": *"It is the final point of how photography is marketed rather than what it expresses artistically"* he said.

3.2. Photographer-2

He is an advertising and product photographer.

Photographer-2 started photography as a photojournalist for various magazines and newspapers. For nearly 30 years, he has produced products in many different fields of photography. He still does photography and advertising

He takes photography independently and carries out the photography in one of Turkey's wellknown e-commerce sites. He has given lectures on different disciplines of photography in many associations and organizations working in the field of photography, especially in AFSAD, and in universities. He participated in many exhibitions at home and abroad. In addition to photography, he works as a cinematographer and lighting director in the field of cinema and video. *Photographer-2*, which also owns a publishing house, mainly publishes books on photography.

Photographer-2 states that the digitalization process in photography has changed the perception of looking at photography as a professional job. The fact that photography can be produced faster than film and the basic limitations of film are eliminated. This have caused many amateur photographers, who can actually earn their living from different professions, to act as if they are professional photographers. In the film era, not only the machine; photography professional, who had to constantly control the film, its development and printing and allocated a certain budget for them. Photography has begun to be perceived as "instantly accessible" and "finished, completed" with the emergence of the digital image. For him, in professional photography, a product is actually considered as the printed and completed work that needs to be delivered to the customer or the end user. *Photographer-2* points out that, "weekend photographers" can think of a commercial job being completed by simply shooting the digital image. The main deforming side of this idea for the photography profession lies in the fact that it causes the customer profile to change. Especially the customer profile in Ankara has started to prefer the "cheap" business, not the "qualified" business.

According to *Photographer-2*, the main reason for this is that the "weekend photographers", who do this job for less, are calculating the cost of the job, and the investment in equipment, the time spent learning the job, the time spent on the execution and delivery of the job, and the labour involved are priced without considering the problems. Because these photographers have other professional occupations that they do during the week and they can make a living. Therefore, after the digitalization process, "photography" has begun to be perceived not only as a hobby, but also as a business that can be done commercially and professionally. This perception has resulted in customers cutting prices from the works done continuously. As a result, those who perform the photography profession have started to receive wages that cannot make a living if they only do this job. When we look at the time spent on the

job, the effort and the wage, it is seen that the effort does not pay off, which makes photography not a profession.

According to *Photographer-2*, this situation started in the 2000s and gradually increased. Those who can fix this situation are the customers who may demand to work with professional photographers. In addition, according to *Photographer-2*, professional photographers should also enter into a professional organization in order to protect their professional rights.

When an independent advertising photographer, a photographer working for an e-commerce company, and the owner of a publishing house, she saw herself as an employer or a worker, *Photographer-2* replied:

“I position myself in a classless place. Because I don't belong to a professional association because photographers do not have a professional association, nor are they perceived as a class in society. The place where I realize that I am classless the most is the factories. In factory shoots, workers never let the photographer join them, only bringing tea but not engaging in conversation. Likewise, middle and top managers do not try to communicate, for example, they do not eat together with the photographer. Mostly, the person who makes this communication is the person responsible for the public relations of the factory, accompanies the meal, etc.; but he does it for his job. I understand that we are a classless profession group there.”

Photographer-2 states that apart from the individual works he does, there is no space left for him to use his creativity in professional works. Because customers do not want creative ideas, they mostly want a job like the other company owner, someone they know. *“When I want to try something new and different, the answer I usually get is 'Let's not risk it'. Therefore, I don't contemplate on a product and advertisement photographer can do creative work unless they find a client like Benetton. Although the Istanbul market seems to be better than Ankara, they are actually imitating the West. The state of creativity in Turkey is based on imitation”*. According to *Photographer-2*, the emergence of social media is one of the main factors affecting this imitation and the perception of the work done as "easy and simple". According to him, social media is a field where the works related to photography are exhibited, circulated

and the photographer is followed and imitated without effort, rather than being a medium that increases the recognition of the photographer.

Photographer-2 evaluates the impact of the pandemic on the photography profession in two ways. As photography is a face-to-face business, photography business came to a complete standstill at the beginning of the pandemic. However, in this process, amateur photographers also started to leave the field, so the field began to reopen for professional photographers. Another positive effect of the pandemic in terms of photography has been the rise of e-commerce, thus increasing the demand for "quality" product and advertising photography.

3.3. Photographer-3

He works in an advertising agency and he is shooting product photos. He takes wedding photos also.

Photographer-3 started photography with the trainings of AFSAD. He has just graduated from Dokuz Eylul University, Faculty of Fine Arts, Department of Photography. He started shooting wedding documentaries and product photos during his student years. After graduating, he continued to work as an independent photographer in these fields for a while, and in the following years he entered the advertising agency where he still works.

Photographer-3 is of the opinion that as an independent photographer in Turkey, it is no longer possible to make a living in this job alone. That's why he continues to shoot weddings and products independently outside the hours he works for the advertising agency. Photographer-3 is of the opinion that advertising agencies also do not hire photographers "just to work as photographers". "In addition to photography, I also shoot videos, do the editing, contact the customer and arrange the job, manage the social media, fly a drone, and also work as a driver when appropriate. It is not possible to survive just by taking pictures."

According to *Photographer-3*, a lot of budget is not allocated for photography and video works in Turkey, because it is ignored. For this reason, the concern that comes to the fore in both the work done and the wages is "saving the day" rather than being able to do permanent work. He states that as a graduate of the faculty of fine arts and who has been working in the photography market for a long time, he can show his creativity in his individual works but

cannot apply them very much in the works that come through the agency. Because, according to *Photographer-3*, the subject of creativity in photography depends on the equipment besides the photographer. In today's market conditions, agencies say that they cannot invest much in equipment. Technical inadequacy also negatively affects the creativity process. *"Photography materials are purchased with dollars, but we are trying to sell the final product with Turkish lira. We need to constantly renew equipment because they have a lifespan, we have to invest in them as technology develops, but their prices depend on dollars and our purchasing power is decreasing day by day"*. *Photographer-3* emphasizes that this situation threatens the future of the photography profession.

When he evaluates the customer profile he works with, he is of the opinion that the customer values the work more than the budget allocated for this work. If the client wants a quality job then they can allocate more budget, but there is also a segment of clientele who think that photography does not deserve very high fees as an easily produced product; they do not allocate a budget and may be more demanding in order to take the time and effort of the photographer. According to *Photographer-3*, whether he works in an advertising agency or works independently, the photographer's salary allows him to live long enough to "save the day". *"In this case, no photographer can think freely and creatively. That's why they can't look at alternatives. At school I knew I could do this job; but i learned later that i have to sell my photo. We are trying to trade in a business that we started as an "artist" and we are trying to sell our work as well. However, this is not taught in photography education at the university, and many of my artist friends cannot make a living from this work because they cannot market their work. This is the biggest obstacle to our liberation as artists and professionals"* he said.

Photographer-3 states that he is from the generation that started photography with digital cameras, but later learned to work with film and print. *"You can't shoot the difference in film as much as digital, there is a limit. I think that this also trains him to take photographs by thinking"*. *Photographer-3* states that those who earn money only through photography are unemployed during the pandemic process, and that those who can also run other businesses such as print and web can only survive. *"The single photo is over during the pandemic process. The pandemic is over, but this time a very serious economic crisis has started and this has shaken the market terribly. That's why it's not just photography; Now you can earn money when things like video, web, drone shooting come together. That's why ad agencies can earn more than independent photographers."*

3.4. Photographer-4

He is a fashion and advertising photographer. He lives in France and practices this profession there.

Photographer-4 is a software engineer, has been interested in photography as a hobby for many years. After the training he received at AFSAD, he made productions in the field of photography both with film and digitally, and participated in domestic and international exhibitions. *Photographer-4* settled in France in 2012, where he continued to work as a software engineer. The pandemic has affected his relationship with photography in a different way and offered him the opportunity to realize his dream of professional photography for the last 2 years, and *Photographer-4* has decided to continue his photography as a hobby professionally.

Photographer-4 states that although the fee for photography in France is better than in Turkey, it is difficult to survive without a well-known photographer.

"Shots are charged hourly or daily. However, many photographers, myself included, prefer daily or at least half-day rates. Otherwise, customers pay 2 hours and try to squeeze too much work into those two hours, and this can turn into a slavery order. Time outside of shooting is not charged. It can take days to make plans before the shooting and to make correspondence for the necessary permissions for some shootings. At the end of this whole process, the customer can also cancel the job. In fact, one time, a client canceled a job that I had devoted my days to and had another photographer take it using my plans. In such a case, does the photographer have a guarantee? No." he said.

Photographer-4 says that the photographer is responsible for everything from preparation to delivery. In addition, a self-employed photographer also needs to work one-on-one to build a client portfolio, which requires a non-remunerable time spent on a daily basis. There is no guarantee that a customer will be found at the end of all these searches, that is, that the effort spent will be rewarded. Apart from this, no additional fee is charged for the photographs sent for correction. Because charging a separate fee for a few photos creates a reason for customers to withdraw from that job. When these corrections accumulate, they cause a significant amount of time to pass without being charged. For these reasons, *Photographer-4* states that he actually spends 24 hours a day working, but the paid part is a very short period of time.

Photographer-4 defines works such as establishing customer contacts and correspondence outside the shoot as “rough work” where the intellectual accumulation in photography cannot be transferred. According to him, photography includes both an intellectual activity that requires creativity and a heavy physical labor. Therefore, he agrees with the view that photographers are “no-collar” workers.

According to *Photographer-4*, it is necessary to do a lot of research and work in order to be creative in photography; In addition to this, the customer should be prone to this in commercial affairs.

Photographer-4 does not find the pandemic process negative for photographers. Pointing out that there are fashion photographers who take pictures using online platforms and direct the model from afar during this process, he states that the pandemic process is an opportunity for photographers to improve. For this reason, he is also hopeful about the future of the photography industry. He believes that even if the vehicle and market change, there will always be a need for people who can manage the image and have a good command of elements such as light, color and camera angle.

“However, if 10 photographers are doing this job right now, maybe 1 photographer will continue this job, others will disappear and our independence will be lost. But it was always like that. The fact that everyone is a photographer makes it difficult for those who do this job professionally. Moreover, we can access information very easily right now, there are incredible resources. These are another result of digitization.”

3.5. Photographer-5

He is an artist and advertising photographer.

Photographer-5 is one of famous photographer in Turkey and he does professional advertising photography in many different fields such as theatre, architecture, industrial, food and product photography. There are works of art covering many different disciplines and interdisciplinary studies, including photography. In addition to his professional shootings, he sells works at his exhibitions and also acts as a consultant to a company that imports photographic materials to Turkey. *Photographer-5* has also been giving lectures in photography

departments of many universities in Istanbul and various photography institutions for many years; he is a consultant to important cultural institutions in Turkey.

Photographer-5 is of the opinion that the income from the photography industry in Turkey does not pay off for the photographer's efforts. Although he works for more than the income of many photographers working in the field; Considering the fact that photography is a physical job, investing in expensive equipment, the necessity of renewing them periodically, and the intellectual investment that the photographer has to make, he thinks that the wages earned in Turkey do not correspond to the work of the photographer. In terms of advertising photography, only shooting times are often taken into account. However, apart from the time spent for shooting, the planning and post-shooting of the shooting is also spent as much, or even longer than the shooting. In addition to these, it is obligatory to periodically renew the machines, lenses and other equipment, and these are covered by the photographer himself. The economic crisis after the pandemic and the foreign exchange indexing of such equipment make it impossible to continue this profession alone. In addition to all these, according to *Photographer-5*, photography is a physically tiring and risky job:

"Photography is a terribly heavy-duty job, it's physically demanding and risky, even though it may seem like fun from the outside. We carry very heavy bags, we shoot in unexpected places, for example, to shoot an industrial photo, we may have to go to a high place and shoot the production line without any safety of life. Most of the time, we do not have a chance to say 'no' to this, and many of our advertising photographer friends fell from high places and were injured or life-threatening in the past. Although it may seem quite enjoyable, photography is actually a physically tiring and dangerous job. Therefore, the wages we receive for the work we do, the equipment we take, and the risk we take are not satisfactory".

According to *Photographer-5*, the fact that photographers work in their free time gives them more disadvantages than advantages: "Of course, we can't work between 9-6 hours like a standard office. Sometimes, if a business is closed on a Sunday, they find it more appropriate to shoot on that day because there will be no personnel. Since the customer realizes this flexibility, they can use it in times when it is not, and this flexibility can be against us. There may be customers who want a product shot in the middle of the night to catch up with the next day."

When he thinks about working conditions, Photographer-5 says that he sees himself as a “worker”. Because it indicates that in order to be an employer, it is necessary to employ someone else. He thinks that photographers, on the other hand, are in the position of workers as the people who do the work, although they are in the decision-making position. Photographer-5 states that the main problem with the rights of photographers is that they do not have a professional organization.

“There may be a Professional Chamber of Photographers in every city, but their function does not go beyond determining how much biometric photos and bride-groom photos will be charged. Apart from this, there was a Professional Promotion Photographers Association of which I was a member in the past, but they also had a very elitist attitude, they did not include everyone, and the number of members never exceeded 70-80 and it was closed. However, an institution that will protect professional rights should not have this elitist attitude, it is enough for the photographer to work in this profession. There is an effort to establish a similar professional organization, but it has not yielded any results for years.” For all these reasons, Photographer-5 thinks that this professional group is legally insecure.”

Photographer-5 is of the opinion that the Covid-19 Pandemic affects different areas of photography differently. For artists, this process has led to a revival. The increase in the speed of sharing the photograph on the internet, the spread of online meetings and the establishment of artist collectives have also made it possible for the photograph to reach the audience easily. Photographers did not experience a negative situation like that experienced by artists in fields such as theater and music, because it is possible to share the photograph via the internet. Organized online exhibitions and realized projects, but most of them were not income generating works. According to Photographer-5, the most affected group in this process is the group that has to shoot face-to-face like special day photographers. However, due to the revival of the e-commerce business, there has been a revival in terms of product photography.

Photographer-5, on the other hand, states that digitalization makes it difficult for photographers to increase their workload by gathering different works under the name of “photography” rather than making their work easier for photographers, limiting time and turning free-time work against photographers:

“Until the 2000s, when we were working with slides, we were only responsible for taking the photograph in the best technical way. These films were then sent to certified, quality-controlled laboratories and washed there. Then he would come back to us and we were making

our selections on a lighted table, making notes and sending them to the client. Today, the process of processing the photo after shooting is left to the photographers, in the past this was done by another working group called 'colour discrimination'. Today, the photographer is responsible for taking the final form of the photograph and must have such a skill. In addition, this is not enough, the photographer is also expected to shoot a video. In addition to this financial investment, it also requires an intellectual investment in terms of knowledge. As a matter of fact, when we look at the academy, we see that only the 'photo' departments have decreased, and the 'photo and video' departments have increased."

Photographer-5, on the other hand, sees the increase in the number of photography production and amateur "photographers" with digitalization, and that these create a competitive element in the sector as a positive. As an academician and a professional photographer who has trained hundreds of people in this field, he thinks that the difference between those who do this job only with technical equipment and those who do it with intellectual knowledge can be understood and that quality work is appreciated. According to him, this is a driving force for professional photographers to improve themselves. However, according to *Photographer-5*, the viewer must also value the photograph. The fact that the photograph is also an idea and a work of art needs to be attributed to an edition value, to accept that it requires a copyright, and to change the perception that a copy of the photograph can be easily downloaded from the internet.

As an artist, *Photographer-5* thinks that it is risky to show his creativity in artistic works in professional works. *Photographer-5*, who defines creativity as "creating a synthesis from existing elements that has not been tried before", states that commercial works should be seen as a job that needs to be done in a limited time and a wage must be earned at the end of the shift. He states that he does not enter into such trials unless there are very special requests. According to *Photographer-5*, the photography industry will continue to exist, *"but the medium may change according to people's needs and habits."*

4. Findings and Interpretations

The process of digitalization of photography, on the other hand, has led to the transformation of perceptions about the labor of photographers serving in this field. In order to determine these perceptions, in this study, 5 photographers who work in different fields of

photography, whose main source of income is photography and who have different experiences in the digitalization process because they are in different age groups, were interviewed.

According to the findings obtained in the interviews, the digitalization process has affected the photography profession more negatively than positively. Although it is thought that the images taken with digital cameras produce images that are circulated in a shorter time, simpler and faster than the images taken with the film era, photography professionals are of the opinion that the digital image that can be used for final use is slower and unqualified. One of the main reasons for this is that photography is perceived as an "easy and simple" occupation in the society, the number of amateur photographers is increasing and the effort spent on this job is gradually decreasing, and photography is perceived as an "effortless" job that requires little effort. For this reason, after digitalization, there has been a significant decrease in the monetary value paid to photography works. It is observed that Marx's abstract-concrete labor distinction becomes more visible with the digitalization of the photographic field. In terms of our society, the concrete labor that focuses on the "what" of the product remains only visible, but the part of the abstract labor, that is, the "how much" of the time devoted to production, is not noticed. The main problem for photographers is that this labor-time value cannot be determined correctly.

The pandemic, which started at the end of 2019 and whose real results can only be seen years later, has also caused a break in the production and dissemination of digital images. Photography profession carried out with face-to-face communications and photographers who do this profession as a professional job. It is among the leading sectors and groups most negatively affected by this process. However, the real transformation in terms of photography was experienced with the digitization of the image, long before the pandemic process. Digitization has profoundly affected the photograph-viewer relationship, as it has changed the production process of the image as well as the process of sharing it. Thus, for the viewer, photography is perceived as a tool that is "easily obtained", "worthless" or "anyone can do it". This perception not only caused amateur photographers to be thrown into the field, but also negatively changed the wage-labor relationship gained the professional use of photography.

With the change in the sharing channels of digital images, the number of photographic prints has decreased to such an extent that it stops production in this area. However, the workload of photographers during the process of shooting, post-processing and reaching the audience has not decreased, on the contrary, it has increased even more. Photographers are no

longer just taking the photo; They are expected to process the photo, post it on social media, and even produce video footage, not just take photos. These expectations make the photography profession, which is already a heavy physical job, even more challenging. In addition, the expenses required by photographers to renew their equipment and materials and to spend on the training they need to learn these new areas of the industry are increasing. It is getting harder and harder to practice photography in a sector where income is difficult to obtain but expenses are constantly increasing due to foreign currency.

The transformation of photography into an easy-to-produce tool with its digitization has also facilitated the learning of photography techniques. This situation has increased the desire of photographers who started as amateurs to earn money in this sector. Thus, “new” photographers joined the photography industry and competition in the market increased. While some of them practice this profession full-time, some of them do photography as an additional job. While some of the professionals oppose this new group because they do not show the necessary training and equipment investment for photographic production and reduce the wages earned, some of them are of the opinion that the entry of amateurs into the sector will reveal more quality works. The majority of photographers state that one of the positive effects of the pandemic process is the ability to distinguish quality photos.

Almost all of the interviewed photographers see photography not only as a means of earning money, but also as a means of artistic expression. Therefore, photographers have done creative work in such expressions. However, the majority stated that creativity cannot be shown in commercial works easily.

The acceptance of photographers among the “no-collar” workers corresponds to the necessity of using both brain power and physical power intensively, rather than the emphasis on their freedom. As Fuchs and Ross stated, it is seen that those working in fields based on creative ideas do not have “freedom” contrary to popular belief, and in fact, the labor of artists or others working in the media field is exploited in the current working conditions. Fuchs's emphasis on the disappearance of the distinction between leisure and work times coincides with the photographers' criticism that only the fun parts of their work are seen and their physical difficulties are not noticed. One of the most concrete examples of this is the remuneration of shooting times as the only apparent labor of the photographer, and the fact that non-shooting times, which constitute the main part of the work, cannot be reflected in these wages.

As Fuchs stated, temporal distinctions that show the relationship between labor and time such as working time, leisure time, leisure time, working hours, production time, circulation time, distribution time, time of capital turnover, acceleration of production or intensification of work are in the hands of the laborer, that is, in the hands of the laborer. According to this study, it is not in the hands of the photographers. Customers, that is, those holding the capital, can control the time and even cancel the business at any time. In this process, there is no system that secures the photographer's labor. The inability to determine this labor-time and value negatively affects the existence of the photography profession.

Epilogue

According to the approach of Fuchs, who defines digital labour as all forms of labour that includes the existence, production, dissemination and use of digital media, it is thought that professionals who produce in the field of photography should also be evaluated within "digital labour". The age of digitization refers to the digitization of the image along with information. One of the most important pillars of the digital image is the photographic field.

According to Marx, "the worker works under the control of the capitalist to whom his labour belongs, the capitalist pays great attention to the proper execution of the work and the wise use of the means of production. Thus, unnecessary waste of raw materials and wear and tear of vehicles are prevented. Secondly, the product is not the property of the producer directly, but the capitalist" (Marx, 2003: 171-172). In the photography industry, the worker photographer himself takes the place of himself, but the capitalist has been replaced not by the capital owners, but by the customers, namely the final consumers. However, the main difference here is that although these consumers do not share in the capital and pay a low wage, they take a large part of the time of the labourer as well as the product.

Digital cameras, which were not used much in professional works because they could not come close to the image quality offered by the film in the beginning, soon took the place of film cameras with the rapid development of image technologies. Technical developments have been experienced not only in the shooting stage of the photograph, but also in the reproduction of the photograph via print or web and the sharing of the image. As a result of these developments, the number of photographers using film cameras has decreased significantly

after the 2000s. The main reason for this is that digital photography costs much less than film. In addition, digital photography can show the result instantly, thus speeding up the photographer in terms of shooting and its presentation. However, this speed, convenience and decrease in costs have caused amateur photographers as well as professional photographers to use photography as a source of income. It has been a turning point for the photography industry of professional photographers, especially in Turkey.

These negative conditions created by digitalization have made it worse for photographers with the pandemic that started at the end of 2019. The most important reason for this is the economic crisis after the pandemic and the high financial costs of the photography profession. However, after the pandemic, there was a break in the production and dissemination of digital images. It has become difficult to produce in areas of photography such as special day photography, which must be done face-to-face, but due to the development of e-commerce, qualified works and professional photographers have come to the fore in the fields of product and advertising photography.

These conditions created by digitalization got even more challenging for photographers with the pandemic that started at the end of 2019. After the pandemic, there was a break in the production and dissemination of digital images. The photography profession carried out with face-to-face communications and the photographers who do this profession as a professional job; It is among the leading sectors and groups most negatively affected by this process.

According to Marx and Engels, the stages of development of the productive forces are determined by the relations that people enter in their social production. According to them, what constitutes the economic structure of society is the whole of these production relations (Marx and Engels, 1980: 7). While the ideal of Marx and Engels was to create a classless social order, the workers who could not escape from the capitalist system were also classified according to their "collars" and fell into an alienation within themselves. All kinds of labour produced, whether white collar, blue or gray collar, continue to be exploited within the "status quo". The claim of every tool developed within capitalism is to make human life easier and to save time; however, the time and money earned at the end of these tools do not belong to those who produce that labour, they continue to feed the system. The digitalization of the photographic tool has also resulted in that the photographers put more effort for lower wages, but this labour is not valued by the society.

The fact that professional photographers' "free" time turns into an element of exploitation, uncertain payment and prices per piece, and lack of professional organization; causes them to be evaluated in the “precariat”. As Yiğit points out, artists are an important part of working in precarious conditions and forming the "precariat". The lack of a professional organization that will defend the rights of photographers is one of the problems for this profession. Despite the fact that their work is seen as easy and fun, there is a need for an audience that will value the efforts of photographers who work in very heavy physical conditions. For this, it is thought that not only the education of photographers, but also the audience needs a visual perception and aesthetic education. It is believed that an audience with a good command of the language of the image, especially photography, will value the effort and bring about the solution of the labor-value problems related to this sector.

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Feelings of Insecurity in Subordinates and A New Perspective to Resist

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Abstract

The capitalist world structure makes the social fraction, especially the blue-collars, feel insecure and engages them in the system through this devaluation mechanism. Emotional burdens such as the uncertainty of the future are deepened by representations in media channels that claim not to be fictional, such as news texts. The sense of worthlessness thus produced blunts the subjects' skills of objection and system criticism. This study focuses on how the feeling of worthlessness is produced through the analysis of news texts that make blue collar workers feel insecure.

Capitalism produces feelings of insecurity instead faith in life is needed. The field of organization and management sciences will be approached from a different perspective. Like D.T. Suzuki, Watts tries to link Western Philosophy to Eastern thoughts. We see the same tendencies in Nietzsche as well. Feelings of insecurity is a tool used by power elite to control the employees / subordinates.

Hypothesis 1: Capitalist production mechanics create dynamics of shame and insecurity.

Solution: Employees can resist these feelings of insecurity and shame by using the power of nature. Here nature stands for three tools:

1. Nature within (oneself)
2. Nature shared by others (nature in others)
3. Nature outside (living creatures other than humans / plants, animals etc)

Aim: This paper tries to create / develop its own model for resisting the shame and insecurity driven mechanics of capitalist production.

Insecurity: Feelings of insecurity are used by power elite to control subordinates. Lacking the power from being a member of union / cynicate etc can increase the feelings of insecurity.

Insecurity in the Early Capitalism and Industrial Era

Insecurity is one of the features inherent in capitalist societies. The main reason for this situation should be sought in the fact that capitalism, by definition, is always based on the growth of capital. In this context, the problem of insecurity is expected to manifest itself in labor processes as well. As Marx showed, while capital only produces surplus value in order to grow, it needs surplus labor, again in Marx's words, a "reserve industrial army" for this process to take place. The aim here is to break the bargaining power and demands of the labor power owner. Surplus-labor, which Marx (2007) calls the "reserve industrial army", weakens the hand of the worker at the bargaining table, just as it does for labor, in terms of subjectivity components. A growing mass due to distorted employment policies, which Marx (2007) calls the relative surplus population or industrial reserve army, also constitutes the objects of poverty industries. Marx says that it is capitalist accumulation itself that produces the surplus population because the fixed part of the total capital grows relatively more and the variable capital that provides employment suffers a relative shrinkage (2007: 599-600). The laborer surplus population that constitutes the industrial reserve army becomes not only the production of the capitalist accumulation model, but also the "leverage" and even the condition of existence of this mode of production (2007: 602). The industrial reserve army is necessary for the continuation of the free and equal exchange relationship between capital and labor power, which forms the heart of the capitalist mode of production. Because, on the one hand, capital wants to find it ready in the market whenever it needs labor power, and on the other hand, it wants to keep control over the price of shopping, in other words, the price of labor power. Thus the handy industrial reserve army "creates a mass of human material, always ready to be exploited, to meet the changing needs of capital to expand itself" (2007: 602). In labor processes, the first reward for surplus labor is insecurity, and this has been a field of struggle. In addition, developments in the division of labor and technology appear as factors that increase insecurity by causing the need for less labor.

Transformation

Contemporary capitalism is undergoing a transformation due to reasons such as financialization, transformation of institutions, and informatization of production paradigms. The relation of this transformation with insecurity is deeper and multidimensional compared to the industrial period capitalism. In addition to the fact that the discussions on this subject constitute an extremely wide literature, post-Fordism, which takes the place of the industrial period organization in particular, the debates about the source of value, the transformation in institutional forms from the hierarchical model to the modular network model, and the transformation in labor organizations can be listed as the main topics that stand out. The phenomenon that is frequently encountered at the intersection of these headings is the company organization and model. While the production model was the factory in the industrial period, the company is at the center of the current transformation.

While industrial capitalism is defined by its pyramidal organization and assembly line, an amorphous shape will first catch my eye when we attempt to define the new corporate-dominated form. We can use Sennett's definitions to understand this form. Richard Sennett says that the bureaucratic-hierarchical organization of the institutions peculiar to the industrial period has been replaced by the network type organization consisting of production islands: "Companies are trying to reduce the layers of bureaucracy and become more flat and flexible organizations. Governments think of organizations not as pyramids but as networks" (Sennett, 2008: 22). Reminding that Max Weber characterizes the bureaucratic hierarchical institutional organization with the metaphor of the "iron cage", Sennett states that the logic of hierarchy separates the technical staff and managers from the lowest worker through both physical and occupational equipment and definition. In addition, institutions make long-term contracts with their employees. An employee usually completes his or her entire professional career in an organization. Managers and technical staff climb the career ladders foreseen for them in this process. On the other hand, network type organization means the organization of production islets, some of which are short-lived and some of which are longer-term, that are connected with each other. Each islet acts as a module suitable for adding or removing. Mass mass production is replaced by project-based production. The relationship of employees with the institution is determined by the life of the project. If a new project is to be started, the employee will continue to work in the same institution. Flexible specialization is the motto of the network organization. There is no longer a career ladder to climb. The hierarchical diagram is replaced by teams and team leadership. Observing that a marked transition to network-type organizations is taking place in advanced capitalist countries, Sennett argues that Weber's iron cage turns out to be fragile.

Essentially, the distinction Sennett makes is similar to the differences between Fordist and post-Fordist modes of production: "Flexible specialization is the exact antithesis of the production system embodied in Fordism. Today, in the manufacture of cars and trucks, the more than one kilometer assembly line in Daniel Bell's time has been replaced by islets of specialized production" (2008: 53). Besides, the said organizational model is technocratic. Binark, who distinguishes simple, technical and bureaucratic forms of control in capitalist production relations, states that the model called "technocratic organization and control" overlaps with the discussion about current transformations. Binark emphasizes that in order to understand the technocratic organization model, it is necessary to make a distinction between the expert and the non-expert. The construct of expertise here combines with a supra-ideological construct, relying on the ideology of the neutrality and universality of science and technology. Another feature of technocratic organization and control is a skill loss problem related to qualifications. However, this situation is not reducible to the unskilled labor problem known to be caused by certain lines of business. In the face of the inclusion of information and communication technologies in the labor processes, "the situation faced by the workforce is the contradiction of being incompetent on the one hand and acquiring new skills on the other hand" (1998: 355). Another feature of this model is the flexible structure of

authority. This structure makes “participation in the sharing of power relatively possible because it is established within the autonomy of the decentralized administration granted to technical experts” (1998: 355).

Starting from this model, we can also consider the fundamental differences between the machines of industrial societies and the machines of control societies in this context. The thermodynamic machines and automata of industry are of the kind that transform one variable into another variable in the context of a particular function. Since this conversion process is of a nature that is articulated in the form of resultant functions, its highest point is the production line. The machines of cybernetics, on the one hand, create a modular form, while making the functions of the production line one of its modules dynamic. Modularity is Sennett's network-forming islets: “In the network, the connections between points are looser; it is possible, at least in theory, to remove one part without damaging the other. The system has a fragmented nature: it offers the opportunity to intervene” (2008: 50). For this reason, companies exhibit a multi-centre network view. Each center becomes a module that can be added or removed or enlarged or reduced as needed. Herein lies the origin of the ideology of flexibility. This form is necessary to adapt to the chaotic, volatile, unpredictable character of the market.

When we want to make a short history of the company, we say that this organization is not new; but we see that the industrial era puts it in another form. Since there are companies-individuals and entrepreneurs who are the new mode of subjectivity that neoliberal governmentality is trying to create, and the establishment of companies by their citizens is supported by comprehensive programs by the institutions of the state apparatus; In addition to subjectivity, corporate company organization should also constitute another dimension of studies on transformations. The phenomenon of the company is one of the most important issues of the discussions on the capitalist transformation. The concept of the company has been one of the goals and consequences of neoliberalism, from transnational giant companies to medium and small-sized companies that seem local but have to fully integrate into global markets due to their activities, and the imagination of brand individuals who have determined the rules of the free market. When we focus on the innovations that come with the company, we encounter a series of differentiations such as a large-scale and effective institutional structuring, changes in production paradigms, and transformations in production processes and culture. Another important difference of company organization and culture from factories is the strong mentality it establishes with employees and members of the labor market. This link tries to introduce a type of identification between labor power and capital that did not exist before.

Employees can be included in the precariat group, who predominantly do “temporary jobs that well exceed the employability category” (Standing: 117: 2015). The labor process exhibits a character approaching the precariat. Increasing labor exploitation (absolute surplus-value) by increasing the labor-time experienced at work, moving the work out of the office, the necessity of meeting many demands

in a limited time, the time required for education, the expectation of doing more than one job at the same time (multitasking), erosion in security, shrinking vacancies. The new conditions of the labour-process, such as time (Standing, 2105: 202-218), reveal a characteristic towards precariatization.

In this context, Sennett's determination of the reason for this short-term temporaryness in the labor force is also very important: "The 'temporaryization' of the labor force means more than the use of temporary workers or subcontractors from outside; it is related to the internal structure of the firm" (2009: 40). This modular, flexible, project-oriented internal structure of the company causes the labor force to change jobs frequently and to break away from institutions in almost every field of expertise and level in all sectors.

The scope of the conceptualizations put forward on "post-Fordism", which puts product focus instead of mass production and obscures the difference between service and production, and deals with the determinant of information and information production and circulation, is one of the platforms where transformations in institutional paradigms and subordination mechanics can be discussed together. Post-Fordism finds its historical-geographical counterpart in "a dynamic area formed by small firms and workshops located in the central and northeastern regions of the country" (Kumar, 2004: 54) called the Third Italy in the 1970s and 1980s. The essence of post-Fordism is the adoption of the understanding of cooperation of regions, each of which consists of small workshops and factories specialized in a specific field: Post-Fordism, which is referred to as "decentralization of production and social integration" (quoted from Brusco, 2004: 55), the subcontracting system in the local economy, the subcontracting system in the production requires flexible specialization and an intense division of labor within and between firms. The post-Fordist transformation has been the subject of a debate similar to the differences of opinion about the information society. Its proponents argue that flexible specialization reunites design and production, turning workers into highly skilled artisans. He claims that the division of labor reduces hierarchies by causing horizontal organization, and the flexible and dynamic production environment provides wider opportunities for innovation and invention. Studies on Third Italy indicate that they observed mastery of workers from Taylorian management principles and as a result: "Most of the workers were highly skilled and had little sense of separation from supervisors" (Kumar, 2004: 55). On the other hand, Kumar also emphasizes that the rise of post-Fordism in the case of Third Italy is "a cause for great concern for some" (2004: 60): "Critics see a warning that a new, more ruthless phase of capitalism has begun in Third Italy" (2004: 60). (2004: 60). One of the main factors in the transition to post-Fordism in production processes is the historical crisis of Fordism. The reasons such as reducing various costs, especially labor power, allocating more resources and time to activities such as R&D, and the need for a more flexible structure of enterprises, have primarily caused companies to turn to outsourcing. Transition processes have taken place in the forms required by the conditions of each region and country. For this reason, outsourcing practices also take a regionally specific form (Tayşir, 2011: 109). For example, a firm, which is a manufacturer of durable household appliances and white goods in

Turkey, could not find the external source it needed, so they established a supplier company from its own employees (Tayşir, 2011).

Jessop sets various levels for the post-Fordist accumulation regime, just as it was for Fordism, by addressing the non-standard assumption of the flexibility of production with differentiated consumption. First of all, in the context of the labor process, post-Fordism is a production process based on flexible production tools and systems, and a flexible workforce, the basic equipment of which is micro-electronic-based information and communication technologies (1992: 21). Jessop states that the tools and programs deployed here can also be used “to provide direction, control and immediate feedback on a wide variety of human and machine operations” (1992: 23), adding that this situation goes beyond flexible mass production in large factories and in medium and small enterprises and manufacturers. It says that it enables new and advanced flexible specialization in networks. “This template can be labeled post-Fordist insofar as it emerges from the Fordist labor process itself and/or helps resolve the crisis of Fordism. Indeed, by including this crisis we can also include process and product innovations that occur outside of any immediate Fordist context” (1996: 170). However, this transformation is not a process that produces autonomous craftsman-worker, as the dominant paradigms often emphasize. With the increase in the competence of audit processes, Taylorism also reveals areas where it expands and intensifies, covering areas such as low-grade clerical work and design. In other regions, there may be a two-way convergence towards mass and artisanal production. From this, Jessop deduces that a polarization of skills between skilled and unskilled workers can occur under the post-Fordist regime (1992, 23).

An ideal set of post-Fordist practices that are expected to transform mass production and go beyond will show itself with flexibility and innovation in supply. On the side of those who produce these flexibility and innovations, a new distinction is encountered, which includes differences from the skilled and semi-skilled worker distinction emphasized for Fordist labor processes. Here, Jessop's approach, which he defines as the 'polarization of skills', is important. Next, Jessop makes a distinction that he calls “core worker” and “environmental worker” for this kind of polarization:

Industrial relations strategies can focus on integrating core workers into the business and activating the production intelligence of workers, dissolving the Taylorian divide between design and execution. There may also be greater concentration, marginalization and distrust for peripheral workers. These workers will often be recruited from low-paid, unorganized and politically marginalized social groups such as ethnic minorities, rural-urban migrants and illegal immigrants.

(Jessop, 1992: 25)

Jessop's distinctions and definitions here and his critical evaluations of post-Fordism in general find a place for themselves in the discussion of "general intelligence", "human capital" and "cognitive

capitalism". At the same time, a new organization based on teamwork, design and production partnerships, R&D and continuous innovation, which is both a supplier and a customer of outsourcing and subcontracting services, is different from the bureaucratic model, in an effort to respond quickly to the demand. -It can be evaluated in connection with the Fordist regimes (1992: 25-26). It should be noted that this model is a complete description of the flexible networked organization of modular production islands that we borrowed from Sennett.

With the post-Fordist regime, a polarization will occur between transnational firms and small firms, private and rootless bank credit will dominate the money form, flexible credit forms will be developed, and individual nation states will be pushed into competitive disadvantageous positions against continental and pan-regional states. "In this regime, collective bargaining begins at the firm level, not at the national level, and entrepreneurship shifts from hierarchical, well-organized, bureaucratized large structures to superficial, non-linear flexible organizational forms" (Oğuz. C., 2018: 28-29). The Fordist growth cycle is valid for an accumulation regime of national character, which is envisaged to operate in a closed circuit. On the other hand, Jessop reminds us that post-Fordism has an open character economy from the very beginning: "The post-Fordist world will be structured in the race for social modernization through the interaction of national or regional competition and the dynamics of a global production system" (1992: 27).

The definite relationship of Fordism with regulation and state models and the counterpart of the Fordist cycle, which is expected to cause an increase in production efficiency, wages, consumption, at the national level, is the Keynesian Welfare State model, which has been abandoned by entering a historical crisis. Jessop, who states that the state does not develop a new model simultaneously with the post-Fordist practices, and that various transitional stages are experienced for this to happen, argues that the new state form should have the Schumpeterian Workfare model instead of the Keynesian Wellfare State in his later works. The distinctive goals of this model in economic and social reproduction are: "to promote product, process, organizational and market innovations in open economies in order to strengthen the structural competitiveness of the national economy as much as possible by intervening on the supply side; and subordinating social policy to the needs of labor market flexibility and/or the constraints of international competition" (1996: 176). Thus, while full employment is replaced by international competitiveness, social and economic rights are replaced by productive reorganization of social policies, "partnership in various forms and levels between official, semi-public and non-governmental organizations from an understanding that takes the priority of official state apparatuses as given" (Oğuz. C., 2018: 30) an organization that prioritizes establishment comes to the fore. The content of Jessop's state of work regime, strategically oriented towards innovation and moving from a competitive, centralized national state to a governance model, is compatible with the concept of Neoliberalism.

Bob Jessop, who has produced a detailed, inclusive and critical study of Fordism and post-Fordism, warns that introducing a model or paradigm for post-Fordism risks promoting a teleological and/or functionalist analysis. Teleological analysis is that an inevitable, predetermined transition to post-Fordism has taken place, while the functionalist approach is to consider everything in terms of its role in a constructed paradigm of post-Fordism. Jessop criticizes an overarching post-Fordist paradigm for its inability to distinguish between possible positions in which Fordism and post-Fordism can flourish, strategic or rhetorical validation and concretization on social formation, and fundamental asymmetries between Fordism and post-Fordism that could lead to the closure of an era. Despite all this, Jessop acknowledges that a post-Fordist transformation has been observed within the labor processes: “Even if it is not possible to advocate a new post-Fordist accumulation regime or mode of regulation, the evidence shows distinctly specific post-Fordist tendencies in the labor process” (1992: 30) .

In addition, especially after the Industrial Revolution, with the participation of science in the production processes, the transformation towards knowledge brought about by the forces of nature and science reached a higher level, with Braverman's determination at this stage, that science itself is a source of surplus value, and Marx's name "general intelligence". This led to the discussion of a conceptual approach he gave. We encounter an approach that claims to propose a critical evaluation system by including these concepts in its research, in the cognitive capitalism assumption. This assumption has a view that argues that Taylorian governmentality is losing its validity and that Fordism has not been able to get out of its historical crisis. Didier Lebert and Carlo Vercellone, who said that after the crisis of Fordism, capitalism entered “a phase of structural change that transforms the forms of value of capital and the organization of production and labor” (2015: 17), reminds that the ever-increasing role of knowledge is not a historical innovation: “Knowledge precedes the first industrial revolution. ” (2015: 17). Lebert and Vercellone support Landes' idea that it is knowledge that makes a difference in the founding elements of the industrial revolution in Great Britain (2015: 23). There are processes of polarization of knowledge and participation in fixed capital at the basis of Fordism and Taylorist organization, which consolidated the real yoke on labor after the competition for qualified labor before the patent system and division of labor became scientific, which developed rapidly after it was born in Renaissance Italy. The Fordist model has completed the polarization process of knowledge, while the Taylorian distinction between labor activity and worker's subjectivity is "the result of a process of coding knowledge" (2015: 25). In industrial capitalism; in other words, the "Social crisis in the Fordist wage relationship" (2015: 29) has led to processes that will form the origins of the new era, which Lebert and Vercellone call "cognitive capitalism". The first important process is the "rejection of the fragmentation of labor and the growing need for autonomy of wage earners," rendering the Taylorian form inapplicable. Other important processes, such as health, education and research, which are not based on the supremacy of the market, as a result of the "spreading of the collective services and assurances of

Refah" (2015: 30), thus strengthening the model that requires intensive knowledge production (2015: 30). democratization of education and the formation of a widespread intellectualism (2015: 30).

Drawing attention to the distinction that needs to be made between information and knowledge, Lebert and Vercelleone emphasize that the information manager is "knowledge that has participated in living labor" (2015: 30), and that the source of value is "no longer in capital and material labor, but in information that has participated in living labor and is mobilized by it". (2015: 31) defends the view that there is. At first glance, this seems to be an approach that takes value from labor and connects it to another quality, knowledge, as the dominant approach has always advocated and often expressed, but unlike Lebert and Vercellone, they do this without separating value from labor. The source of value is in knowledge, but this knowledge must have participated in living labor. Besides, if we are talking about the rise of a knowledge-based economy, this cannot be understood by "separating a sector specialized in knowledge production or dedicated to the use of information production" (Lebert and Vercellone, 2015: 31). If the production and use of knowledge and information has become more widespread and has gained new functions, the innovation is valid for the whole economy sector, not for a discrete information sector. This view is in line with what Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri call informatization in production paradigms. Just as the industrial revolution industrialized all production paradigms, including agricultural production, informatization also informatized all production paradigms, including agriculture and industrial production (2001: 298). The transformation of a bread oven, which Richard Sennett examines in *Character Corrosion* (2008), is an important example of this paradigmatic transformation. After being bought by a food company, a bakery that produces bread using traditional methods, in which physical strength and craftsmanship are involved, undergoes various radical transformations. The quantity and type of production is determined "depending on the daily demand in the Boston market" (2008: 69). Another important transformation is experienced in processes with the introduction of software technologies:

Now, the bakery workers follow the entire production process without having any contact with the material or the loaves of bread, through the icons on the screen - for example, by looking at the images of bread that change colors according to the oven temperature and baking time - and very few of the workers can see the loaves they produce. Workers' work screens are in the Windows style we all know; Many more types of bread are on display than were prepared in the past – it is possible to produce Russian, Italian or French bread simply by touching the screen. Bread is now just its representation on the screen (Sennett, 2008: 70).

Richard Sennett (2008) says that we have entered a historical turning point on routine and that "routine is about to disappear in the most dynamic sectors of the economy" (2008: 45). Emphasizing that early concerns about routine time were realized by Taylorian principles of scientific management, Sennett

directly associates routine with quality. The routine time of industrial production is the unskilled labor time of the pieceworker.

At the production level, the boundaries between design and implementation begin to crumble, innovation processes are no longer linear, Taylorian collaboration gives way to “communicative collaboration” (2015: 32). At this point, it is useful to return to Schumpeter's work on these innovation processes and organizational models that make society the source of the company. Stating that “the role of the entrepreneur is to renew and fix the production system by using an invention or a technical opportunity that has never been used in general” (1974: 205), Schumpeter places the concept of “creative destruction” in which new commodities, new technologies and new organizations come into play. . Haluk Geray is of the opinion that the concept of innovation extended by Schumpeter contributes to Marx's studies on competition: “While technology in the context of the mechanization of production (process innovation) is mentioned in Marx, the types of innovation are differentiated in Schumpeter” (2016: 26). Geray lists new products and varieties, new types and qualities of raw materials or intermediates, and new organizational trade routes as types of differentiated innovation. According to Schumpeter, the main driving force of innovation, technological progress and, as today's popular expression, innovation and “the only factor that ensures long-term total production increase” (1974: 169) is giant enterprises. In addition, Schumpeter argues that for giant enterprises to reveal this power, five elements are necessary: the state as the law enforcer, gold for capital increase, population growth that also increases the workforce, geographical discoveries and technical progress (1974: 171-174). “According to Schumpeter; competitive capitalism is defined as a capitalism based on individual entrepreneurs; The concept of trusted capitalism, in which innovation is carried out in an organized manner by leaving it under the control of gigantic firms, is aimed at understanding the impact of organizations on innovations” (Geray, 2016: 27).

Although Schumpeter's work was written in a period when the paradigms of the Industrial Era were still being applied, he pointed to large companies as the main actor and called “creative destruction”, the processes in which existing production styles and organizations were replaced with new ones and new products and commodities of different quality were introduced to the market. In terms of defining it as the main feature of capitalism, it maintains its place in the debates on today's political economy paradigms. For this reason, rhetoric based on innovation and entrepreneurship, which are popular concepts of today, is fed by this work of Schumpeter. Schumpeter's work is also known for what he calls “cycles and circuits” but more commonly known as “long waves”. Each long wave is unique because of “on the one hand, the technological innovations and differences of that period and on the other hand the differences in historical events such as wars, the discovery of gold mines or famines” (Freeman and Soete, 2004: 22) Schumpeter, who developed this theory by inheriting it from the economist Nikolai Kontratoeff It is also the first in that it includes technological changes and innovation processes as basic indicators in the long-wave theory. The long-wave theory is a theory developed from Marx's treatment

of development and technology. (Basaran, 2016: 66). He describes each of the processes that take about half a century in the adventure of capitalism and manifests itself with various innovations and institutional changes as "cycles and cycles" and describes each of them as successive industrial revolutions (Başaran, 2016: 69). These successive industrial revolutions, ranging from water power as an energy source to steam, electricity and oil, and from textiles to railways, electricity, steel, automotive and microprocessors respectively as the main application area, "instead of the simple quantitative growth of independent industries, the qualitative improvement of the economy through new technologies. transformation" (Freeman and Soete, 2004: 24). In this context, the new Schumpeterian approach proposes the concept of the techno-economic paradigm:

The 'life cycle' of a 'techno-economic paradigm' consists of a series of interconnected technology systems'. However, besides new technology systems for a new techno-economic paradigm, there is a need for institutional and organizational innovations and change of legal and regulatory principles corresponding to these technology systems in order to ensure their dissemination, application and use for rapid and sustained economic development.

(Basaran, 2016: 72)

For this reason, a techno-economic paradigm is defined by the new Schumpeterian approach as "a fundamental technological innovation and a combination of institutional, organizational and regulatory innovations to adapt to it" (cited by Preston, Başaran: 2016: 72). "While information and communication technologies and the techno-economic paradigm suitable for these technologies will spread to all production systems, they will fundamentally transform other technology systems" (Başaran, 2016: 79). Freeman and Soete define the new long wave, the period when micro-electronics and computers formed the main application area since the 1980s. Increasing application of electronic communication and computation methods in military and industrial fields, the birth and spread of flexible production systems, the spread of information and related technologies as tools and products, the organizational styles of companies in terms of "technology, quality control, education, investment and production planning ('just in time'). The structuring of large and small firm 'networks' (2004: 79) based on computer networks, collaborating closely on issues such as 'JIT) constitutes the basic content of the new process, which Freeman Soete calls the "Kondratieff wave of information and communication" (2004: 79). creates. In this approach, information and communication technologies include the expectation of capitalism to catch a stable long wave after the 1980s. In other words, the ICT (Information and Communication Technologies) techno-economic paradigm as the driving force of capitalist growth is beginning to settle" (Geray, 2016: 27).

On the other hand, one should not ignore Schumpeter's ideas that capitalism is not a sustainable system and that the processes of creative destruction will come to an end. In addition, the economic picture Schumpeter observed is the style of capitalism that tends to disrupt the structure, unlike the competitive

free market of Neoclassical economics, which predicts a state of equilibrium. In addition to the purpose of continuous growth of capital, a second level imbalance situation arises. The dynamic competition conditions of the market are based on innovation, whose actors are companies. The R&D budgets and methods that will provide this innovation are also directly related to the size of the company.

At this point, it is necessary to discuss the approach of the dominant rhetoric, which relates the main reason for the transformation of commitment to institutions with the preferences of the agents. We encounter a widespread discourse that new generations feel less commitment to all kinds of corporate organizations, especially workplaces, and therefore there is an increase in the frequency of job change in sectors. This discourse is an aspect of the typical approach of mainstream paradigms, which sees the causes of structural transformations that occur with the activities of power components in single agents. This discourse, embellished with a rhetoric such as flexibility, freedom, and self-development, clearly ignores the rise of temporary, precarious employment regimes that do not allow the employee to rise, that usurps surplus labor more, watches more, adds control mechanics, that is, categories. At the other pole, the destructive effects of successful, winning, effective, brand individual subjectivity on the employee are not among the issues addressed by this discourse. While competition eliminates all collective formations and acts of solidarity, the teamwork that is substituted brings the performance expectation to the fore by worrying about increasing motivation. For this reason, the team formations presented as one of the most important components of the company organization are not collective in any way. While a team expects the highest level of adaptation and dedication from the employee, who forces the weakest link to catch up with the strongest, who is completely disintegrated at the end of the project, who is expected to be a member of more than one team at any time, on the other hand, they are both machinic slavery and social subordination forces that are quickly established and destroyed. It is a short-lived, manic nucleus, a cell that keeps it active at all times. This is why Deleuze (1992) describes the company in a state of permanent metastability.

In the recent history of capitalism, a transformation has taken place from standardized and mass-produced mass production, where invention and more innovation have become as indispensable as mass production. The Taylorian model separated production from design. After the Second World War, developments in communication and information technologies made it possible to separate these two processes geographically. The unskilled part of production by the piece-worker was shifted to countries where labor was cheaper and insecure. In other words, production was transferred to the Third World (Deleuze, 1992: 6).

It would be useful to add the issues of "risk" and "security" to the conceptual framework put forward about audit societies. "Another phenomenon that comes to the fore in the audit society is security" (Arslantaş-Toktaş et al., 2012: 53). Ulrich Beck, emphasizing that the dangers and threats increase exponentially with the growth of the productive forces, says that this also causes a change in

modernization: “The modernization process becomes reflexive, it takes itself as a subject and a problem. Problems of politically and scientifically ‘management’ of technology risks—management, discovery, inclusion, avoidance, concealment—are overshadowed in their particular importance by issues of actual and potentially exploited risk management (in the realms of nature, society, and personality). ” (2011: 22). Beck states that the promise of assurance grows with risks and calls this stage of modernity the risk society. “In the risk society, modernity has been radicalized or taken further, and

It is based on the thesis that we live in a world dominated by uncertainties” (Ünal, 2015: 97). As a phenomenon, risk also brings with it the security problem. Therefore, “the normative counter-project that constitutes the foundation and driving force of the risk society is safety” (Beck, 2011: 71).

Stating that security is at the center in a risk-based regime, Sevda Ünal argues that the nature and scope of risks have changed due to the dominance of neoliberal governmentality in political economy and the accompanying developments in information and communication technologies (2015: 188). The risks faced by society are no longer just a matter of national security. In addition to the macro and local risks such as climate crises, toxic and nuclear pollution, ethnic conflicts, migration, extreme nationalism, racism, global financial crises, various risks threatening the components of the individual such as health, shelter, nutrition, communication, environment, insecurity and uncertainty. appear as highlights. “Uncertainty and risk play an important role in the construction of the neoliberal security state, which constantly provokes the search for certainty and security with the spread of insecurity. Uncertainty is produced in different ways, controlled and made the subject of security and science” (Ünal: 2015: 189). Thus, security policies were put into practice and surveillance and control mechanisms were legitimized in many areas of life.

Key Tools and Concepts

Search for security	Accepts life and its conditions (such as insecurity) as they are. There is no security, all there is, is change and flow humans are the experience of the moment.
Shameful, Needs security and possession.	Spontaneous, effortless
Security and Certainty Seeking	Acceptance of Uncertainty (Brene Brown / Alan Watts) Lets go of the control of the future. From egoic mind to senses. Self acceptance. Acceptance of all possibilities of the present time. Total abandonment and surrender.
You are separate and you are in danger. You'd better hunt for you will be hunted. Search for guarantee.	You are part of the nature (unity) / whole. You are already connected. You don't have to search for security.
Feelings of insecurity	Faith in life

Feelings of Unworthiness and Shame in Subordinates and A New Perspective to Resist

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Shame can be defined as feelings of being unworthy of love and belonging¹. Belonging to a group and feeling loved, heard, seen and accepted is a universal and evolutionary need of all human beings. Unfortunately as one is ranked low in social hierarchy the feelings of shame can rise. The Dynamics of capitalism makes the socio-economically disadvantaged feel worthless. In this paper a new perspective and a new reason to understand the world will be proposed to resist the devaluation process.

This paper tries to link Brené Brown²'s research on shame to the experiences of media professionals who work as technicians, such as cameraman, lightman etc and can be classified as blue collar workers. Brené Brown's work is mostly based on grounded theory which tries to understand the field by in-depth interviews.

As a shame researcher, Brené Brown defines shame as the universal feeling of not being worthy of love and connection. So we can suggest that to have resilience against shame, one should have the belief of being enough:

In her book, *The Gifts of Imperfection*, Brown supplies a model to picture a person who has self-worth (someone who is worthy of love and belonging the exact current circumstances). This paper will try to apply this model³ to the experiences of technicians in media field.

¹ Shame is the intensely painful feeling or experience of believing we are flawed and therefore unworthy of acceptance and belonging (Brown, 2008: 5).

² Brené Brown is a professor at University in the Department of Social Work. She is mostly known for her TedTalk at Texas and became a public figure since then.

³ The model is as follows: Cultivating Authenticity: Letting go of what people think, cultivating self-compassion: letting go of perfectionism, cultivating a resilient spirit: letting go of numbing and powerlessness, cultivating gratitude and joy: letting go of scarcity and fear of the dark, cultivating intuition and trusting faith: letting go of the need for certainty, cultivating creativity: letting go of comparison, cultivating play and rest: letting go of exhaustion as a status symbol and productivity as self-worth, cultivating calm and stillness: letting go of anxiety as a lifestyle, cultivating meaningful work: letting go of self-doubt and "supposed to", cultivating laughter, song and dance: letting go of being cool and "always in control" (2012: 9-10).

Here, Brown mostly refers to the work of Kristen Neff, who is a PhD in the field of and tries to combine the concrete research to the Buddhist teaching⁴.

From Separate to United

The main tool of capitalist control mechanism is to make the subordinates feel unworthy and insecure. One feels to survive in the jungle of capitalist World and reach the opportunities and supplies, he should be special. Although humanitarian primary needs such as food, water, shelter and education should be supplies to the civilian for free, one needs to fight for them. From the early days of childhood, ideologic tools of state dictate that humanbeings should compete for their basic needs, because needs are endless, and supplies are limited.

Although humanbeings are a part of nature, this reason which may be named as “subjective reason” as in Max Horkheimer’s *The Eclipse of Reason* or as “the new reason of World” by Pierre Dardot, makes us feel separate from our natural surrounding. Low salaries and limited security oppurtunities worsens those feelings of separation and shame. Socio-political ideologies such as Marxism seem inadequate to chance the conditions of the disadvantaged groups. For this reason a new reason, a new way of understanding will be proposed in this paper.

This new perspective derives from Eastern philosophy, mostly Daoism. For westerners, the basic teachings of Daoism may be hard to comprehend and apply, for this reason a more western approach will be used. Philosophers such as Eric Fromm, Max Horkheimer and W. F. Nietzsche had tried to link those eastern ideas to the western thought. In this paper mainly Alan Watts’ perspective will be used. Watts is an USA based, British philosopher/academic whose main topics of interests are Daoism, Zen Buddhism etc. But since Daoism and Zen Buddhism are not religions, but teachings and Watts is not a reverend, but an academic, this paper will propose concrete solutions, instead of mystical one’s. This is also the case when we consider that Daoism is based on “nature”, not “God”, here the only source of power is regarded as nature.

Therefore trying to understand the capitalist World and disadvantage groups’ positions as subordinates will be revisited from the perspective of the nature and the nature in humanbeings, mainly our bodies and instincts. From this point two different perspectives will be summarized and “the perspective of nature” will be proposed as a tool of civil disobedience.

1. From Authoritarian Personality to Authentic Personality

⁴ Currently there is a vast literature on self-compassion: To name a few Paul Gilbert, Zümre Atalay, Gremer are the academics who devote their work to the subject. So we can state that nowadays there is a tendency to include Eastern roots to the Western medicine and academic field.

The Dynamics of capitalist control mechanics produce authoritarian personality. The term is first used by Frankfurt School in 1950's in their primary empirist study. Authoritarian people control their instincts in the way the power elite desires. So in accordance with the principle of self-preservation, he changes himself to the ways he thinks the authority will like and he hides himself.

In this paper the term “authentic” will be used as the opposite of “authoritarian personality.” Authentic people do not pretend or hide themselves, they act as the way they feel at the specific moment. They are courageous and as Brene Brown states they tell their truth from their hearts, this is where the Word “courage” is rooted in French (“coeur”).

2. From Being Separate to Connected or United

Being a part of a group and connected is a main need for humans and the ancestors of humans (such as monkeys, bonobos, chimpanzees). This is the way we feel loved and cared for, this is how we believe that we will be supported at moments of danger/sickness etc and this is the reason we believe that we are worthy of being loved as the way we are without any change.

The ideology and the perspective of capitalist World is making believe that to survive one must change and be special. Those beliefs create feelings of narcissism. Contrary to general belief narcissism is not a way of self-love, it is quite the opposite. It is a way of shame, feeling unworthy of love and belonging. When we suffer from narcissism, we believe to be loved, we should be perfect, which is impossible for any living creature, but all elements of nature are as beautiful as they already manifest to the outer World.

In Watts' perspective, all elements of the universe are connected. He frequently uses the example of the eyes and the stars: For the stars to exist, the eyes that see them are needed and for the eyes to exist the light from the stars are necessary. We mostly experience ourselves as separate from the outer World, left to our fate to survive, alone.

When one believes, he is a part of the nature, he doesn't feel the need to be something else. So authentic people do not hide themselves, they act spontaneously which is a very precious condition of human mind in eastern philosophy. Here being open, natural and effortless are praised, because to let the moment happen by its own mechanics is a way of transcending to the reason of nature.

Key Tools and Concepts

A	B
Subjective Reason (Frankfurt School)	Objective Reason (Frankfurt School)
Neoliberal Reason	Reason of Nature / Daoist Perspective
Authoritarian	Authentic

Separate	Unity / Faith in the unity (Alan Watts)
Shame / hides himself	Open / Spontaneous / Natural / Effortless
Narsisism / Egosantrizm Separated from unity insulated, inadequate, isolated and inadequate self	Unity (Alan Watts) Connection (Brene Brown) Common Humanity (Kristen Neff) “We are all connected.”
Narsisism / Egocentrism Competition / Individualism	
Narsisism ⁵ Tries to be liked because feels detached from the whole. Looks for performance. Tries to fit the patterns.	Subject-object unity: Robert Pirsig Works for the pleasure of work.
Proves / performs / tries to be a brand.	Doesn't need approval ⁶
Authoritarian Personality Prescriptive - Categorical Enjoys following and making patterns, setting and following rules.	Authentic Free-spirited, Acts according to the rules of nature. Flexible thinker.
Self-Denial Denial of the shadow (Jungian Archetype) Has no courage	Self-Acceptance / Authentic Accepts his darkness (shadow) and pain mindfully Courageous, confronts, accepts and expresses himself. The interconnectedness of fate (determinism) and free will (Alan Watts / Fromm / Nietzsche)
Instrumental mind Divides	Connection
Shame “There's something wrong with me that if people find that out they won't love and accept me.”	Unity beyond habitus, social role and hierarchy Self-acceptance

⁵ Dao Te Ching, 29 ““Whoever takes the empire and wishes to do anything to it I see will have no respite. The empire is a sacred vessel and nothing should be done to it. Whoever does anything to it will ruin it; whoever lays hold of it will lose it. Hence some things lead and some follow; Some breathe gently and some breathe hard; Some are strong and some are weak; Some destroy and some are destroyed. Therefore the sage avoids excess, extravagance, and arrogance.”

⁶ Dao Te Ching 22 “He does not show himself, and so is conspicuous; He does not consider himself right, and so is illustrious; He does not brag, and so has merit; He does not boast, and so endures. It is because he does not contend that no one in the empire is in a position to contend with him.”

	Accepting everything as it is.
Narsisism – Shame Need for being special, priviliaged, elite Otherwise feels worthless	Joy of connection
Resists, fights, destroys nature	In harmony with the forces of nature
Fearful, anxious, insecure	The power of water
Conditional love	Unconditional love (which is not dependant on performance)
“You are worthless, therefore you are insecure”	“We are all a part of the unity.”
Jealous and competitous.	Soft, effortless
Feels wrong. “I have a problem.”	
Makes people feel in danger, anything can happen at any time. (Frightens by hunger, unemployment” Rules by humiliating and intimidating.	The manager manages without revealing, devaluing or intimidating. Daoist roots.
Calculates, Plans, Organizes.	Lets go the need for possession Unites, frees, Sets free.
Shameful, Needs security and possession.	Spontaneous, effortless
Shameful Approval seeking	Self-acceptance
Subjective Reason (Frankfurt School) Evaluates/measures himself and the world over quantitative values.	Objective Reason (Frankfurt School) Prioritizes quality.
Security and Certainty Seeking	Acceptance of Uncertainty (Brene Brown / Alan Watts) Lets go of the control of the future. From egoic mind to senses. Self acceptance. Acceptance of all possibilities of the present time. Total abandonment and surrender.
Masculine Principle	Feminine Principle ⁷

⁷ Dao Te Ching 6 - “Highest good is like water. Because water excels in benefiting the myriad creatures without contending with them and settles where none would like to be, it comes close to the way. In a home it is the site

Fights hard. Wounds Get hurt The way of the rock.	The way of the water: Soft, flexible, natural.
The Need for Possessing	Feminine Principle ⁸
Control	Letting the spontaneous be spontaneous
Control	X Control⁹
Control	X Control¹⁰
Slave's morality	Master's morality
control	Doesn't control¹¹
Control of the Nature / Control of the Labor Being controlled in every step of the production process.	Letting Nature Take Control Wu-Wei Daoist Perspective Open Senses Mindfulness
Slave's Morality Takes risks, but based on the external rules of a game for which he did not set the rules. Does not have its own moral stance / the rules he obey are external (reactive).	Master's Morality Beyond taking risks, he is truly brave.

that matters; In quality of mind it is depth that matters; In an ally it is benevolence that matters; In speech it is good faith that matters; In government it is order that matters; In affairs it is ability that matters; In action it is timeliness that matters."

⁸ Dao Te Ching-10 "It gives them life yet claims no possession; It benefits them yet exacts no gratitude; It is the steward yet exercises no authority."

⁹ Dao Te Ching LXXV (75) "The people are hungry: It is because those in authority eat up too much in taxes That the people are hungry. The people are difficult to govern. It is because those in authority are too fond of action. That the people are difficult to govern. The people treat death lightly: It is because the people set too much store by life. That they treat death lightly. It is just because one has no use for life that one is wiser than the man who values life."

¹⁰ Dao Te Ching, LVIII (s. 62): The way is the refuge for the myriad creatures. It is that by which the good man protects, And that by which the bad is protected. Beautiful words when offered will win high rank in return; Beautiful deeds can raise a man above others. Even if a man is not good, why should he be abandoned? Hence when the emperor is set up and the three ducal ministers are appointed, he who makes a present of the way without stirring from his seat is preferable to one who offers presents of jade disks followed by a team of four horses. Why was this way valued of old? Was it not said that by means of it one got what one wanted and escaped the consequences when one transgressed? Therefore it is valued by the empire.

¹¹ Dao Te Ching XVII "When his task is accomplished and his work done The people all say, 'It happened to us naturally.' / Dao Te Ching XX "What others fear, One must also fear."

Subjective Utility / Interest (Pragmatism)	Objective Utility / Interest¹² Puts his own self-interest last, but succeeds. The opposite of Machiavellian pragmatism.
Resisting Nature	Wu-Wei¹³ In Harmony with Nature and His Own Nature
Self-Control Self-Consciousness	Flexible
Mind – strict control	Nature – Senses - Awareness

Controls	X Control ¹⁴
Needs to prove himself / herself. Needs to be a brand. Ascetism	You are part of the nature (unity) / whole. You are accepted as you already are. Self-acceptance and acceptance
	24 “He who tiptoes cannot stand; he who strides cannot walk. He who shows himself is not conspicuous; He who considers himself right is not illustrious; He who brags will have no merit; He who boasts will not endure. From the point of view of the way these are 'excessive food and useless excrescences'. As there are Things that detest them, he who has the way does not abide in them.”

¹² Dao Te Ching (7) – “Therefore the sage puts his person last and it comes first, Treats it as extraneous to himself and it is preserved. Is it not because he is without thought of self that he is able to accomplish his private ends?”

¹³ Dao Te Ching XLIII “Exterminate learning, and there will no longer be worries. The most submissive thing in the world can ride roughshod over the hardest in the world; That which is without substance entering that which has no crevices. That is why I know the benefit of resorting to no action. The teaching that uses no words, the benefit of resorting to no action, these are beyond the understanding of all but a very few in the world.

¹⁴ Dao-Te-Ching (2): “Therefore the sage keeps to the deed that consists in taking no action and practises the teaching that uses no words. The myriad creatures rise from it yet it claims no authority; It gives them life yet claims no possession; It benefits them yet exacts no gratitude; It accomplishes its task yet lays claim to no merit. It is because it lays claim to no merit. That its merit never deserts it.”

Not spontaneous	Spontaneous ¹⁵
Nars.	X Narsisism
Narsisism. He wants to be perfect which is the opposite of love, shame.	We are connected, we are good and accepted as we already are.
It wants to attract attention, to perform, to take advantage of the unity.	Spontaneous (out of ego) Unity and joy Connection = love = unity He is already a part of the unity, so why does he have to take advantage of the unity?
Quantity	Quantity ¹⁶

¹⁵ Dao Te Ching, XXV (s. 27). The road itself obeys the law. Without coercion.

¹⁶ Dao Te Ching, s. 55: "To try to add to one's vitality is called ill-omened; for the mind to egg on the breath is called violent."

Characteristics of	Characteristics of
Death Instincts (Marcuse / Freud) Necrophilia (Fromm) Destructive and not creative. Finds art useless. Interested in dead things.	Life Instincts (Marcuse / Freud) Creative.
Authoritarian. Worships those who are stronger than himself and dominates the weak/subordinates.	
Sadomasochistic. Enjoys humiliation, domination, and exercise of power.	Believes in differences, justice and equality.
Doubtful, paranoid.	Has faith in common humanity.
Looks for security	Lets go of the need for security
Believes in superstitions.	
Thinks through binary distinctions.	
Coward and frightening.	Courageous.
	Enjoys life.
Weak, but tries to appear strong.	Derives his strength from being in harmony with the forces of nature.
Pretends.	Self-expression Has the courage to express himself as he is at the present moment.
Resentful, angry, suppresses his nature.	At peace with himself. Happy to be himself and affirms his life and nature. Amor fati.
Divides, separates, unable to see the whole picture.	Holistic and perceives life in relational terms.
Resists his own nature and the nature outside.	In harmony with his nature.
Forces and tries to control.	Knows how to stop and slow down.
Narcissism imprisoned in himself. tries to get the world's attention.	Web of life

sees himself as detached from the world.	
His decisions are determined externally by authority.	has his own intrinsic value judgments.
Feelings of guilt and shame Blames himself and others	knows that "guilt" is produced structurally. wants responsibility for his actions, but does not make him feel worthless, does not produce shame. Instead of blaming, accepts the moment as it is.
Security Seeking Ascetic. Suppresses the life instincts and produces the death instinct in oneself and others. Humiliates himself, and afraid of happiness. enemy of life.	His life instincts are active has joie de vivre
Security Seeking Afraid, frightened, frightening.	Trusts life, Happy, playful, hopeful.
afraid of nature, wants to destroy it.	admires and respects nature and everything natural. does not fight the forces of nature.
seeks over-stimulating and luxurious stuff.	loves simplicity and nature.
ascetic.	joyful.
perfectionist. has no tolerance for faults and mistakes in himself and others.	sees imperfection as a valuable tool for providing common humanity and connection.
obsessive and trapped in his mind.	
intolerant.	compassionate.
mainstream.	dissident, anti-conformist, critical.
has death instinct and enjoys mechanical work.	admires life and nature's creativity.
defines himself by his work, profit and efficiency oriented.	focuses on his work and enjoys it.

FROM WEB 1.0 TO METAVERSE; A REVIEW FROM WHITE AND GREY COLLAR PERSPECTIVE

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Abstract

With the world wide web emerging from CERN laboratories and entering our lives, the internet has become an indispensable part of modern people from education to health, from economy to social life. With this transformation, on the one hand, in some professions, people had to transfer the task to the machines, but over time, new professions and new jobs emerged, and new competencies and talents were discovered thanks to these technologies. The effects of this technological transformation on employment continue to be discussed by scholars. However, on the other hand, the transformation of the interaction between people and information with web technologies has brought along an important paradigm shift in terms of professions and business. Today, with Web 3.0, this change is felt more intensely, and we see the concrete implementation of the idea of a completely digital life like the metaverse. In this study, the transformation of technology from Web 1.0 to Web 3.0 is included and the effects of this transformation on white and gray collar workers are discussed.

Keywords: Web Technologies, Metaverse, Digital Universe, White-Collar, Grey-Collar

INTRODUCTION

The century we have lived in since the 2000s has brought various transformations and paradigm shifts from economy to social life, thanks to many different elements, phenomena, and tools. Undoubtedly, among these changes, it has become the ones that we are most affected by in general terms, where we live in the economic field and are led by technology.

While the widespread use of robotic processes in production technologies has led to significant changes in the roles and responsibilities of blue-collar workers, web technologies have brought about fundamental changes mainly for white and gray-collar workers. While some repetitive and easily automated occupations were transferred directly to digital tools and other technologies, the acceleration in web technologies, which started with web 1.0 and continues

with the metaverse today, has redefined the way people produce, access, and share information. In this redefinition process, web technologies especially facilitated the dissemination of tacit knowledge, and in this way, competence gain was transferred to the internet environment, leaving the monopoly of traditional institutions such as universities.

These changes have created many new jobs, some of them mentioned in the study, and new professions such as blogger, influencer, Youtube broadcaster, etc. have emerged thanks to faster network speeds and extensive use of mobile devices. These technological tools, which make it easier for people to discover their talents and interests, have made it necessary to change the relationship, communication, and previous rule set of companies with their employees. Especially after the pandemic, many companies switched to models such as remote working or hybrid working with the help of web 2.0 technologies, and many white and grey-collar workers began to give more value to the freelance structure, where they can work on any project whenever they want, without being tied to a single job.

In all this transformation, with web 3.0, people who produce and share information and content on the internet since web 2.0, but who have limited rights regarding that sharing, have become able to take full control of the economy. Web 3.0 has opened the doors of a real digital presence by eliminating the dependence of individuals on platforms in terms of digital ownership. As a concrete implementation of this vision, Metaverse provides people with maximum mobility in a digital universe without the time and space constraints of the physical world.

With this study, discussions on occupations, work, and working class were carried out from the perspective of the transformation in web technologies and ultimately the metaverse, which is not only an economic variable but also a reality both institutionally and socially.

THE TRANSITION FROM WEB 1.0 TO 3.0

If we go back to the beginning of the process, looking back from today, thanks to the technology

called the web, also referred to as web 1.0, the world has discovered a new way of distributing information. With the appearance of the first World Wide Web page at CERN on August 6, 1991, businesses also got a new channel for various operations. This new way, coupled with the ever-developing speed of communication, started the transition from physical to digital and led to the emergence of new business models such as e-commerce.

Over time, this process allowed the emergence of completely digital products as well as the digital sale of physical products. Studies conducted in those years revealed that people who used the Internet increased their income faster than those who did not (DiMaggio & Bonikowski, 2008). Although the technology led to the disappearance of some traditional jobs (David & Dorn, 2013), it also allowed the emergence of a new generation of jobs. In this process, web design, e-commerce infrastructure, data storage, and large Developing business fields such as data analytics and data management software emerged.

Web 1.0 undoubtedly allowed the emergence of a one-sided knowledge economy. The content was produced digitally directly by companies/institutions, and end-users could not interact other than accessing this content. In this period, digitalization and internet technologies are "How can we save on human resource use in traditional sectors?" was used with and accompanied by motivation (Autor, Levy & Murnane, 2003). The websites created in this process were static, requiring a laptop or desktop computer to access. Looking back today, no matter how simple and few the methods and tools he used were, he succeeded in making significant impacts on the business world in his own time.

Increasing data transfer speed over time, cheaper data storage costs, and advanced internet-connected consumer electronics products; enabled the emergence of applications/websites that create the tools of what we call Web 2.0. Consumers, who are information users in Web 1.0, started to take an active role on the production side with Web 2.0. Especially with social media platforms such as Facebook and Youtube, content has become a phenomenon that is both

produced and consumed. Web 2.0 technologies have been the force that changed the dynamics in many sectors from media to education, from retail to art. The fact that Web 2.0 tools have reduced the time difference between producing and consuming digital content to seconds has brought along a very agile information flow. This has accelerated the change in the roles of content producer and consumer of that content.

In a 2009 McKinsey study, half of the companies stated that they would increase their investment in web 2.0 technologies, while the other half were more uncertain about the benefits of these technologies (McKinsey). However, in the following years, Web 2.0 enabled consumers to take an economic share from the content production on digital platforms, resulting in the emergence of new business lines. High technical knowledge requirement (such as the requirement to know a programming language to build a website), which is one of the barriers to users of Web 1.0, has been reduced to a minimum with Web 2.0, resulting in a much more participatory and active web environment. While designing and publishing websites required technical knowledge and training in the Web 1.0 era, today there are 1.17 billion websites worldwide, according to Siteefy data, and 3 new websites are created per second (<https://siteefy.com>).

Several new professions have entered our lives, such as Youtube publishers, bloggers, social media influencers, influencers, professional online gamers, and e-sportsmen. Of course, because of these professions and the followers, consumers, and fans that came with them, new social perspectives emerged. When evaluated from this context, with Web 2.0, digital tools not only offered new and useful consumption methods of knowledge to the society but also enabled new and creative production forms to emerge and create a community around them (Schneckenberg, 2009).

Web 2.0 applications have revealed an important paradigm shift in the field of education under the leadership of Youtube. With apps and mobile devices connected to the Internet, anyone can

get paid or free online training on any subject from basic to advanced levels and gain competence (Yan, Davison & Mo, 2013). After this transformation, the increase in the rate of competence acquisition led to the emergence of a new group of white and grey-collar workers who could easily change their expertise and therefore their jobs. The democratization of training and specialization processes has removed many barriers to working in a well-paying job.

In the Web 2.0 era, the effects of digitalization, mobile devices, and immediacy have been observed in all processes from recruitment practices to communication and interaction with employees. With the spread of internet technologies, many jobs previously done by white and grey-collars have disappeared, and many white and grey-collar workers working in the traditional service sector have left their place in digital technologies. While the initial development of the web accelerated the transfer of repetitive and easily automated jobs to new owners, we witnessed that more complex jobs were taken over by computers with the emergence of artificial intelligence, big data, and digital communication tools with much more advanced analysis capabilities. Today, products and services that include complex technologies such as Tesla's autopilot or Google's self-driving vehicles, unmanned aerial vehicles, the repetitive work mentioned in the Web 1.0 and 2.0 era, and the tendency to take simple tasks from people and deliver them to machines can also be used for much more sophisticated tasks (Brynjolfsson & McAfee, 2011).

According to the work of Frey & Osborne (2017), 47% of total employment in the United States is threatened by emerging technologies. Authors argue that those who work in jobs that require low competency will need to shift to jobs that require creativity and social intelligence. The jobs that will be affected the slowest by the technological progress will be the jobs based on these two elements (Frey & Osborne, 2017). Unlike the previous webs, Web 3.0 is not only a platform that can be interacted with on devices with a screen, but also has a design that can exist invisibly and synchronized with people and society in all areas of life, thanks to

technologies such as the Internet of Things (Kreps & Kimppa, 2015).

With Web 3.0, the transfer of data and the power of managing it from platform providers to users in digital interaction allows the emergence of different relationships established with this new generation of web. Web 3.0, also known as the token economy and semantic web; has also allowed the development of the metaverse (digital life) form shaped around new generation applications, tools, and organisms such as crypto assets, decentralized finance applications, qualified intellectual property (NFT) and decentralized autonomous organizations. Although studies on the use of this new form for educational purposes are at an early stage, it represents an important vision for the future of educational tools and methods.

METaverse

To form the digital universe also known as the metaverse, providers must fulfill three basic functions: architecture, interaction, and communication. Graphics, motion, and scenario elements of the digital universe are created by game companies. In other words, game companies are the architects of the digital universe. The second group includes hardware developers. Game consoles augmented reality glasses, that is, hardware developers provide interaction. Thanks to this hardware, it is possible to control the digital twin/representatives and take part in the digital universe. The coming together of these two groups is enough to take place individually in the metaverse. However, to co-exist with digital agents controlled by others in the same digital universe, the presence of digital communication is necessary. Through platforms such as Roblox or Steam, communication between different individuals in the digital universe is made possible and a digital universe with different digital representatives can be formed.

It can be easily understood within the framework of the classification that the digital universe currently exists, shows a certain development, has participants, and continues to develop.

However, there is no doubt that the concept of the metaverse, which has gained popularity today, has reinforced the interest in the digital universe. Then, with various virtual activities that are frequently brought up - for example, giving a concert in the virtual world or meeting through digital representatives - is an entry into the metaverse made? Although the performance of these virtual activities contributes to the popularization of the concept of the metaverse, it is not the equivalent to metaverse activity. Because every second, millions of people are already in the digital universe (especially on video game platforms). There are millions of children on Roblox who are meeting through digital representatives, sleeping in their virtual homes, drinking tea, and driving together. It should be underlined that Roblox users are mainly children. Because those who will take part in the metaverse in the future are the children of today and they are already participants of the digital universe today. So, what is meant by the metaverse, and what is the main element that makes this concept different?

Metaverse is a concept that expresses the integration of digital life into the digital universe. In other words, when life begins in the digital universe, the metaverse will have been formed. With this issue, instead of the concept of the metaverse, the phenomenon that will emerge with our approach is the digital ecosystem. In short, the metaverse is the digital ecosystem. Ecosystem refers to the whole in which living things living in a certain area interact with each other and with inanimate elements. They also differ in terms of the features they contain. In other words, the species diversity in a certain region or habitat (in the classical framework in geography) constitutes the main basis for the differentiation of ecosystems: Terrestrial, freshwater, and saltwater ecosystems are a generally accepted classification based on significant differences (Gökten, 2019). However, there is no doubt that today's world is gaining a new vital space, and this new vital space is built on a digital architecture, which can be called the digital universe, by incorporating vital factors.

The definition we have developed for the metaverse, that is, the digital ecosystem within the

framework of our knowledge is as follows: The digital ecosystem is a continuous system that is formed by the mutual relations of digital representatives and artificial intelligence in the digital universe, and the digital elements surrounding them and their environment.

Digital assets, digital money, digital commerce, digital business, digital companies, digital production, digital relationship, digital rights, and eventually digital society constitute the basic data that will give concreteness to the concept of the metaverse. In other words, the development of digital life, which has begun to crawl (accelerated by the Covid-19 pandemic process), will reveal the digital ecosystem. The formation of the digital ecosystem, on the other hand, can be expected to create a paradigm shift in two basic aspects, sociological and psychological: respectively (1) changes in the interaction of society and humans in the digital universe in addition to the physical universe, and (2) changes in emotions and thoughts that determine behaviors in the digital universe in addition to the physical universe. These paradigm shifts will essentially require reconsidering the levels in Maslow's hierarchy of needs in the context of the physical and digital ecosystem. In other words, expectations, benefits, and satisfaction levels will change in terms of the relations between social values and the economy. Perhaps in the future, the only element to be addressed in the purely physical universe will be physiological needs, which form the base of Maslow's pyramid. The digital economy to be created in the digital ecosystem, as a socioeconomic reality, may result in individuals meeting their love/belongingness, dignity and self-actualization need entirely in the digital ecosystem.

CONCLUSION

Technology is considered a phenomenon that directly affects people's economic and social life, and with each new technology, people are faced with paradigm shifts in many areas. Thanks to the devices connected to the internet and the network infrastructure that provides high communication speed in our lives today, people are constantly connecting, producing, and

storing data, and creating meaningful information stacks from that big data, taking the steps of a hybrid life from physical to digital. Web technologies, as one of the most touching aspects of the mentioned digital transformation, have allowed some jobs to disappear by being automated and some jobs to emerge within the framework of new generation needs. These new jobs have also rapidly increased the need for new generation gray-collar workers, especially within the framework of information and communication technologies.

Socialization tools that have entered our lives since Web 2.0 have revealed jobs that require new generation skills such as blogger, influencer, e-sports player, and Youtube broadcaster. On the other hand, it has been instrumental in the emergence of employees who require many technical competencies such as backend development, frontend development, data analysis, and network management in terms of corporations. With Web 3.0, information has become a commodity that is not only a jointly produced and shared phenomenon but also digitally owned by the creators of that content.

With Web 3.0 tools, the technological infrastructure to support movements such as decentralization and intermediation has been achieved. This infrastructure is called blockchain technology at its core and has started to show its effect in many areas from new financial system trials to supply chains. The metaverse, which emerged in parallel with all these developments, has started to become widespread by making use of Web 3.0 tools and applications in a way that allows individuals to exist in a completely digital universe and independently from the physical universe. In our opinion, the spread of new generation digital businesses along with the demand for this digital universe should be discussed as a possible future scenario. As discussed in previous sections metaverse needs a new set of grey-collar workers who will handle various digital experiences including digital architecture, digital assets, digital companies, social environment, digital learning platforms, etc. Future studies covering these topics and the interaction and/or transitivity of these areas from physical to digital can be

beneficial. In addition, the effects of the technologies mentioned in the study in terms of creating new employment and economic development in the global sense should be questioned by researchers in future studies.

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GIG ECONOMY: PAST, PRESENT, FUTURE

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Recent developments in platform economy brings about both opportunities and challenges for the GIG workers. To help improve knowledge in this area, we have suggested a comprehensive review of empirical studies on GIG economy and gained a better understanding about theories, variables and findings in the previous research. For doing, we used 33 empirical papers from Web of Science. We present some descriptive analysis following a deep understanding of `GIG economy` in the literature. We also introduced a number of suggestions that could be considered in the future studies. As a result, this paper merges knowledge in GIG economy and highlights several ways to improve our understanding of the new way of working in today`s world. We also offer some suggestions for future studies.

Keywords. GIG economy, platform economy, GIG work, literature review

Introduction

Technological advancement has reshaped the way we find a job and the way we work. Although people used to chase yellow pages for job advertisement, GIG economy has made it much easier recently. GIG economy is usually defined as a platform where employees prefer short-term and on-demand contract and work as non-standard employees (Schroeder, Bricka, & Whitaker, 2021). Individuals do not have to work in a workplace in which is determined by an employer. People use applications such as Uber and UpWork to sell their labour (Taylor et al., 2017: 23). In this manner, it gives so much freedom to employees. In other words, autonomy over conducting a work activity is held by employees.

Although it becomes much faster to find a job in platform economy, it brings about some problems as well. Berg (2016) highlights that low payment and social security are one of the biggest problems that GIG workers face. On the other hand, the most significant benefit of GIG economy is that it enables employees to choose their working place and working time (Berg, 2016). It is more flexible and unrestricted. As employees do not have any managers or supervisor in this job model, what they need to please here is their customers (Wood et al., 2019).

While GIG economy has offered a new form of employment, a number of researcher has already started to get deeper in this phenomenon. Some propose new business models (Flanagan, 2019), others dig into the benefits and drawbacks of online platform markets (Schwellnus et al. 2019). In this paper, we review

previous empirical studies conducted on the topic of GIG economy and put forward some facts about the findings and methodology of past papers.

We are motivated to conduct this review research by two reasons. First, the literature on GIG economy is still evolving and attracts many scholars from various fields including organizational behavior, international business, employment relations, marketing, economics, finance, and entrepreneurship. By doing this research, we have been able to see different theoretical perspectives and various ways using platform economy as a setting. As a result, there is a clear need to bring together most recent papers together and clearly see exactly what we know and what still needs to be explored in this area. Past attempts to do so have, presented only a few theoretical issues used in GIG economy (Batmunkh et al. 2022; Malik et al. 2021). In contrast, this paper provides detailed information on all theories and constructs used in empirical GIG economy studies published in academic journals in the period 2014-2022.

Despite our rich knowledge of the traditional business models, more and more people prefer GIG jobs for either its flexibility or autonomy. Our understanding of how an employee favor this unconventional way of working is far less clear. Neither of the previous reviews of the GIG economy literature addresses the issue of variables and theories of past research and present the bigger picture in this area. Therefore, our review helps improve our understanding of previous empirical studies that can lead us to identify what knowledge is lacking.

To accomplish these aims, our paper is structured as follows. First, we provide a brief overview of the GIG economy. Following that, we represent our method explaining how we analyzed previous papers and present some facts about empirical studies in this field. Then, we focus on the theories and variables used in the area of GIG economy. Finally, our paper offer some future research suggestions about how scholars can extend the empirical studies in understanding of the GIG economy.

Background and Method

Employees could recently prefer GIG works for either to raise their income on a short term basis or gain more autonomy in their work (Uzailko, 2016; Tan et al. 2021) while it brings about some challenges as well (Caza et al. 2021). In general the choice of an traditional work versus a GIG work depends on both contextual and individual reasons (Berger et al. 2019; Watson et al. 2021). For example, research shows that the availability of internet, mobile, broadband subscriptions, and electricity connections and rising per capita income increase the number of GIG workers in India (Banik and Padalkar, 2021). One recent study also illustrates that Covid 19 causes an increase in the number of GIG works in the world (Umar, Xu, and Mirza, 2021). another study also presents that employment rates lead to a rise in the number of new business registration In Uber or Lyft (Barrios, Hochberg, & Yi, 2022).

While there is a rising trend in GIG economy both in the business world and the literature, we aim to review previous studies first. We began our investigation of the topic of GIG economy by searching online

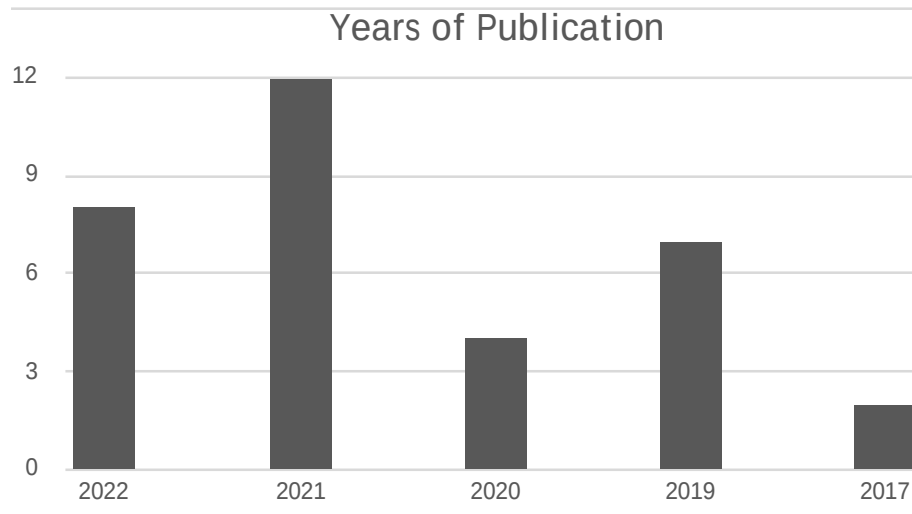
databases and article reference lists to identify all empirical papers published on GIG economy since any time when it is available. Among the key words we used were GIG economy, platform economy and GIG work. We decided to restrict our review to published only empirical studies, and therefore exclude theoretical, review or descriptive papers, Netnographic research, papers based on observations and experiments, case studies, papers without data. We included studies examining variables based on the context of GIG work or platform work. We excluded studies that did not have any empirical results. At the end, in total we identified 33 empirical papers which were included in our review.

Table 1. Sources of GIG economy studies

Journals	Articles
JOURNAL OF BUSINESS RESEARCH	3
NEW TECHNOLOGY WORK AND EMPLOYMENT	3
BRITISH JOURNAL OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS	1
COGENT BUSINESS & MANAGEMENT	1
DIGITAL ECONOMIES AT GLOBAL MARGINS	1
ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY	1
ECONOMIC POLICY	1
ECONOMIC RESEARCH-EKONOMSKA ISTRAZIVANJA	1
EUROPEAN JOURNAL OF INNOVATION MANAGEMENT	1
FORESIGHT AND STI GOVERNANCE	1
HUMAN RESOURCE MANAGEMENT JOURNAL	1
INDUSTRIAL AND CORPORATE CHANGE	1
JOURNAL OF BUSINESS ETHICS	1
JOURNAL OF ENTREPRENEURSHIP IN EMERGING ECONOMIES	1

JOURNAL OF FINANCIAL ECONOMICS	1
JOURNAL OF GLOBAL RESPONSIBILITY	1
JOURNAL OF MANAGEMENT	1
JOURNAL OF MANAGERIAL PSYCHOLOGY	1
JOURNAL OF RETAILING AND CONSUMER SERVICES	1
LEADERSHIP QUARTERLY	1
MANAGEMENT COMMUNICATION QUARTERLY	1
MANAGEMENT SCIENCE	1
PERSONNEL REVIEW	1
REVIEW OF ECONOMIC STUDIES	1
REVIEW OF MANAGERIAL SCIENCE	1
SERVICE BUSINESS	1
SOUTHERN ECONOMIC JOURNAL	1
TECHNOLOGICAL FORECASTING AND SOCIAL CHANGE	1
TRANSFER-EUROPEAN REVIEW OF LABOUR AND RESEARCH	1
WORK AND OCCUPATIONS	1
Total	33

GIG economy papers were published in 30 different academic journals (Table 1), mostly in the Journal of Business Research and New Technology Work And Employment. The year of empirical papers published ranges from 2017 to 2022. We downloaded the data on 20th June 2022. That is why the number of publications in 2022 seems lower even though it is more recent. We can see from the bar chart that the trend has been rising in publishing in the area of GIG economy. This shows a recent increase in interest in this topic, thus creating a greater need to examine what has already been done. Even though we tried to include all published empirical studies dealing with GIG work; we offer our apologies to those authors who are included in our review because we were not able to access their papers.



Graphic 1. Publication years of GIG economy studies

Another important descriptive information is the research area. As the subject of GIG economy has attract many scholars from different areas, there are many different research areas as can be seen Table 2. Mostly, researchers from Business and economics are interested in the GIG economy literature while there are published papers from also the areas of Communication, psychology and Sociology (see Table 2).

Table 2. Research Areas

Research Areas	Papers
Business & Economics	21
Engineering	3
Psychology	2
Psychology and Business	2
Operations Research & Management Science	1
Public Administration	1
Sociology	1
Communication	1
Social Sciences - Other Topics	1

What We Already Know ?

Apart from features of previous research papers, we also identify the theories that has been used in the GIG economy studies. As can be seen from Table 3, there is no consistency in creating theoretical background

of the past papers. This could be because our review covers many studies from different areas we obtained from WOS. There is a range of different theories which are not mostly related to each other. Additionally, 19 of the studies did not mention about the theory that their research was based on. We could assume that researchers need to dig further for the theory in order to understand the issue of GIG economy better.

Table 3. Theories used in GIG economy studies

Not mentioned	19
Neoclassical model of labor	1
Theory of social stereotyping	1
Equity theory	1
Goal-setting theory	1
Halo effect theory	1
Job demand-resource theory	1
Marx's theory of alienation	1
Mobilization theory	1
Self efficacy theory	1
Self-determination theory	1
Social cognition theory	1
Social exchange theory	1
Transaction cost economics	1
Warranting theory	1

We also looked at the countries where studies have been conducted. As can be seen from Table 4, some research did not mention the country names in papers. It has also become harder especially for papers which were written by scholars from different countries. Therefore, we identified them as unknown. Apart from this, Table 4 shows that majority of papers was administered in the GIG economy of United States. Following this, there are some studies that they have gained the data from more than one country. Therefore, we have called them as various countries. Generally speaking, most research comes from developed countries. It shows us that we need more studies from rest of the world in order to make the comparison.

Table 4. Countries where research was conducted

Not mentioned	3
USA	12

Various countries	6
Canada	2
India,	2
Russia	2
Australians	1
Denmark	1
Italy	1
Malaysia	1
Italy	1
Malaysia	1
Pakistan	1
United Kingdom	1

As can be found in Table 5, we were also be able to identify the platforms that scholars gained the data from despite the fact that some papers did not mention the platform that they obtained their data from, only indicating that they used a GIG market setting. Most studies have utilized M-Turk which is created by Amazon to bring businesses and employees together to carry out some tasks that computers could not do. Uber is also another popular platform that researchers prefer to gain the data. It is basically a service provider of which those who drive could connect with riders, operating in 72 countries. Table 5 also illustrates that some favor to use more than one platform for their study.

Table 5. Platform that was used in the study

Unknown	6
Mturk	5
Uber	4
Upwork	2
40 Online Job Platforms	1
Airtasker	1
Deliveroo	1
Fiverr	1

Food Delivery Platforms	1
Four Interconnected Cooperatives	1
Online Labor Platforms	1
People per hour	1
A Ride-Hail platform	1
Russian-Language Online Platform	1
Uber and Careem	1
Uber and Lyft	1
Nubelo	1

Previous Studies

As this present study is based on only empirical studies found in Web of Science, a large number of both independent variables and dependent variables have been found in previous studies of GIG economy (see appendixes for more information). They are mostly coming from individual level data based on the perception of GIG workers and customers. Berger et al. (2019), for instance, found that Uber drivers in London are mostly male immigrants with low income while they report that life satisfaction of GIG drivers is partly related to their preferences for flexibility and the autonomy by the platform economy (Uber). Barrios et al. (2022) examined the GIG economy in the USA and suggested that unemployment rate, population and income per capita might be lead to an increase in new business registration.

Healy et al. (2020) looking at the issue from marketing perspective, they found that if consumers are sympathetic to GIG workers' financial plight, they also see benefits in the work's flexibility. Acikgoz and Latham (2022) proposed a model based on goal setting theory using Uber as a research setting. They have shown that self-set learning goals positively influence a driver's improvised ways to provide customer service. Clauss et al. (2019) also looked at the issue from customer perspective and show that variables other than price determine loyal usage across platform economics by illustrating how customer perception of emotional value and quality value drive the platform.

According to Wood et al. (2021), worker anger, dependence and digital communication have an influence on contention in the platform economy. On the other hand, Aboobaker et al. (2021) conduct research on the relationship between workplace spirituality on employee loyalty. Belanche et al., (2021) found that customers' behavioral intentions is related to service quality and their perceptions of the working conditions. Keith et al. (2019) seeks to provide insights into the push and pull factors such as enjoyment and challenge that make workers engage in the GIG economy for two group of workers; ones who view GIG work as a

source of primary income and other group of workers who view it as a job (or not) and how it influences workers' life satisfaction.

Furthermore, Galperin and Greppi (2017), found evidence that if there is a lack of information about the ability of GIG workers, there is less likelihood of foreign GIG workers to work for Spanish employers based on a theory of social stereotyping. Banik and Padalkar (2021) examined the dynamics of GIG economy process and found technological infrastructure does not fully explain the unevenness of the penetration of the GIG economy in India. Fadzil et al. (2022) reported that the dependency on the GIG economy has a positive impact on tax morale of GIG workers whereas the level of education lessens the willingness of paying taxes. However, perceptual moral attentiveness positively influence motivation to pay taxes.

Umar et al.(2021) conducted interesting study and found that Covid 19 as an extraordinary issue influenced and increased the number of the new jobs in GIG economy. Doucette and Bradford (2019) investigated the difference of motivation among men and women in the GIG economy and found that men prefer GIG jobs for raising their income whereas women were motivated by insecurity in their main job. In addition, they also concluded that higher risk aversion decreased income from GIG work for men, but not women.

Glavin et al. (2021) studied the GIG economy from the perspective of psychological theories and found out that engagement in platform work showed a significant and positive effect sense of powerlessness and isolation. The findings in the study of Bogatyreva et al., 2021 also indicated that entrepreneurial intentions of GIG workers are higher than general population. They have also found that self-efficacy is related only to engagement into digital platforms. Furthermore, they assumed that experience of workers in GIG economy positively influenced entrepreneurial intentions formation.

Another study of Shevchuk et al., (2021) based on Russian-language online platform has shown that freelancers working in different time zones from clients have disadvantages because they have to work a greater proportion of nonstandard hours. According to the research of Maffie (2022) based on 330 ridehail drivers, acquired dependence leads drivers to experience off-app 'pirate' taxi operations. In other words, when they find out the real true cost of working as a GIG, workers start their own 'pirate' (illegal) taxi operations to lessen their dependence on companies such as Uber.

Moreover, Gleim et al. (2019), has categorized GIG economy into two: the sharing economy or direct selling. They found that sharing economy employees have much lower levels of self-congruence whereas direct sales employees with high levels of self-congruence and low levels of perceived commerciality express high levels of organizational trust and job satisfaction. Benson et al. (2020) also using an online labor system in the USA found out that employers with a better reputation could attract more GIG workers.

Wong et al., (2021) proposed a model based on the relationship between individual and collaborative job crafting and resilience and career commitment in the GIG economy. In this regard, the findings revealed

that higher individual job crafting leads to higher resilience. Furthermore, they found that collaborative job crafting promotes higher career commitment in the GIG economy.

Cook et al. (2021) explored whether there is any gender discrimination in the working environment of GIG economy. Based on GIG drivers' income, they reported that there is a nearly 7% gender income gap between male and female drivers. One of the past studies of Carr et al., (2017) has found evidence that photographic self-presentation could be correlated to employability. A study by Fest et al. (2021) has shown that monetary rewards to GIG employees increase quantity of work. Moreover, using a broad set of charismatic leadership techniques positively affects quantity of work as well whereas none of them have an impact on quality of work.

According to Ilsoe et al. (2021), segmentation tendencies in the traditional labor market are exacerbated when online revenue is combined with non-platform income sources like traditional work. Indicating a potential hierarchy of labor market groups in both the internet and traditional labor markets, a growing percentage of rich and poor people appear to use separate platforms.

The study by Bunders and Akkerman (2022) explored that members from four interconnected cooperatives in Italy, who have more divergent choices and less social integration with other members are less committed to their cooperative. These results show the prerequisites for GIG workers' dedication to cooperatives, which is essential for cooperative longevity.

Another study based on the sharing economy (Davlembayeva et al., 2021) shows that perceived reciprocity and subsequent coping strategies (such as emotion- and problem-focused strategies) are both predictive of relationship commitment. Additionally, it was discovered that linkages between perceived reciprocity, its antecedents, and its cognitive and behavioral effects are moderated by the value of exchange, social influence, response efficacy, and self-efficacy.

The findings of research by Nadeem and Al-Imamy (2020) show that customers' intentions to co-create value are unaffected by their ethical judgments, which are a second order construct made up of privacy, security, fulfillment/reliability, service recovery, and shared value. However, customers' intention to cocreate value is influenced by relationship quality, a second order construct that includes commitment, trust, and satisfaction. Furthermore, consumers' intentions to co-create value and their judgments of ethics are strongly mediated by relationship quality.

Based on a survey data from 250 GIG workers Zaman et al. (2020), the study's findings offer empirical support for the claim that the self-determination and job features of GIG workers have a significant impact on their happiness at work. Additionally, the association between self-determination and joy of GIG work, as well as job features and joy of GIG work, is considerably mediated by the intrinsic and extrinsic motivation of GIG workers.

Another study of Jun et al, (2021) show a significant and favorable association between organizational readiness, improvisational ability, and digital platform capabilities and innovation performance. The linkages between the ability to use digital platforms and the link between innovation performance and improvisational ability are completely mediated by organizational readiness.

Furthermore, Nadeem et al.'s study (2021) considers a multifaceted view of ethical problems surrounding consumers' engagement on sharing economy platforms by drawing on the marketing and business ethics literature. Findings suggest that privacy, security, shared value, fulfillment/reliability and service recovery are the strongest predictors of consumers' ethical opinions. These factors significantly influence customer intents to co-create value. The intention of consumers to participate in co-creating value is also predicted by their engagement, but this effect is higher when the consumer's ethical judgments play a mediating role.

Future Studies and Conclusion

For years, scholars have examined the factors that explain the traditional business models. Yet, GIG economy as a new form in economy science has recently attract both employees and employers. It becomes more evident especially all over the world after Covid-19. In this paper, we brought together the published empirical research on GIG economy in an attempt to advance our knowledge and see the recent studies more closely. As one of the contributions of this paper is that we helped identify what has been done in the literature and discovered issues that needed to be resolved by systematically presenting and analyzing previous papers. Second, we explored only empirical studies to show identify gaps in the literature and detected fields where more research is needed. We have mostly taken into consideration papers based on individual level data. Since, blue collared workers on a short term contract are preferred in the GIG economy.

Yet, much more work needs to be done in this area. As discussed by Clauss et al. (2019), platform-based business models have established themselves as a fundamental tenet of the modern economy, and the phrase "sharing economy" is now widely used to characterize digital work. A fundamental shift from an ownership society to a sharing society has occurred, as seen by the popularity of services like Uber, Blablacar, and Airbnb. A growing number of people are getting registered to find a GIG job in digital platforms such as M-Turk, Uber and Fiverr. However, few platforms are able to build up a sizable and devoted customer base and a motivated and committed employee pool. The success of the goods, services, and businesses on sharing economy platforms depends on both customer side and also employee side.

As Banik and; Padalkar (2021) suggests, the development of online communication platforms has given rise to the phenomenon of the GIG economy. A new economic model that embraces a variety of forms of short-term employment is rapidly spreading around the world, becoming an everyday reality and transforming the labor market. Therefore, future studies needs to focus on employee aspect more in order to attract more skilled workers. As there is a increasing number of new platforms for employees, platforms in the GIG economy need to consider a way of reducing employee turnover because of growing

competitiveness in the industry. Based on network theory, it could be examined the relationship among both employees and employers.

While the GIG economy has expanded rapidly in the last decade, few have studied the psychological complications in working for an online labor platform (Glavin et al., 2021). Just as employers face uncertainty when hiring workers, workers also face uncertainty when accepting employment, and bad employers may opportunistically depart from expectations, norms, and laws (Benson et al., 2020). For future research, it is crucial to investigate the GIG economy from psychological perspective. In contrast to traditional employment relationships within firms, the interaction between online workers and their employers are short and impersonal, which makes motivating online workers more challenging (Fest et al., 2021). thereafter, it creates a totally different working environment that needs to be studied in the next research.

Although recent studies indicate that multiple job holding is widespread in the digital platform economy, the interaction between people's engagement with digital platforms and the conventional labour market is rarely explored (Ilsoe et al., 2021). There is a number of employees who use both GIG economy and traditional economy. Future studies could look at this issue much closer in order to identify the drawbacks and benefits of working in two different working system.

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Appendix 1. Independent Variables

Gross Weekly Income
Income Change After Partnering With Uber
Working Hours
Flexibility
Type Of Platform User
Number Of Gig Economy
Dependency On The Gig Economy

Perceptual Moral Attentiveness
Reflective Moral Attentiveness,
Level Of Education
Anger
Communication And
Dependency
Meaningful Work
Sense Of Community
Alignment With Org.Values
E-S-Qual
Customers' Perceptions Of Better Working Conditions For Food Delivery Workers
Pull Factors
Mturk as their primary source of income
Mturk as a job
Foreign Worker
Foreign Penalty
The Availability Of Internet, Mobile, Broadband Subscriptions, and Electricity Connections
Rising Per Capita Income

Satisfaction With Main Job
The Set Of Ratio Nale For Working On Mturk
Gender
Covid-19 New Cases
Recorded Deaths of Covid-19
Platform Work
Unemployment Rate
Population
Income Per Capita
Perceived Self-Efficacy
Gig And Sharing Economy Experience
Gig Workers Vs General Population
Age

Entrepreneurial Social Capital,
Prior Entrepreneurial Exit
Intrapreneurial Experience
Increased Clients' Activity On The Platform
More Skilled And Experienced Freelancers
The Location Of Freelancers
Acquired Dependence
Self-Congruence
Perceived Commerciality
Perceptions Of Product Quality
Product Satisfaction
Perceptions Of Product Value
Type Of Gig Work

Employers With a Better Reputation
Individual Job Crafting
Resilience
Gender
Photographic Self-Presentation
Other-Generated Task-Relevant Information
Monetary Rewards
Output-Related Reference Point
Providing Praise
Pay Rate Of a Microprovider
Unverified Signals
Platform-Verified Signals
Self-Set Learning Goals
Job Experience
Improvisation
Probability Of Income
Preference Deviation
Social Embeddedness
Equity Sensitivity

Social Identity
Outgroup Comparison
Ingroup Comparison
Procedural Justice
Distributive Justice
Reciprocity Perception
Emotion-Focused Coping

Problem-Focused Coping
Relationship Commitment
Maximisation Predispos
Relationship Quality
Consumers' Ethical Perceptions
Intention To Co-Create Value.
Online Platform Work
Self-Determination
Job Characteristics
Digital Platform Capability
Organization's Improvisational Capability
Organizational Readiness
Privacy, Security, Shared Value, Fulfillment/Reliability And Service Recovery
Customer Assessment Of Value Proposition Design
Value (Co-) Creation Processes
Customer Assessment Of Value Capture Mechanisms
Emotional Value
Price Value
Quality Value

Appendix 2. Dependent Variables

Subjective Well-Being (Swb)
Life Satisfaction
Worthwhileness
Happiness
Anxiety
Custumer Use
Awareness

Tax Morale
Client Action
Collective Organisation
“State Regulation
Well-Being At Work
Intention To Stay
Benefit Insensitivity
Intention To Use The Service.
Intention To Recommend The Service.
Mturk Utilization
Being unemployed
Personal Incomes
Time On The Platform
Complete More Hits
Having a regular work Schedule
Engage In Online Communities
Push And Pull Motivations.
Life Satisfaction
Hiring Probability
Bid Amount
The Number Of Gig Workers
How Many Hours Per Week Worked i Job
Imputed Weekly Mturk Income
Oli New Openings
Oli Filled Jobs
Powerlessness

Loneliness
New Business Registration
Engagement Into Digital Platforms
Entrepreneurial Intentions
Nonstandard Working Hours Of Freelancers
Clients' Activity On The Platform
The Share Of Their Non- Standard Hours
Off-App 'Pirate' Taxi Operations
Perceptions Of Product Quality.
Product Satisfaction
Perceptions Of Product Value
Organizational Trust
Job Satisfaction
Job Outcome
Worker Attraction
Higher Average Pay
Resilience
Career Commitment
Pay Gap
Employability
Job Fit
Output Quantity
Output Quality
Local Wage Level
Improvisation
Service Performance
Labour Platforms

Capital Platforms
Member Commitment
Reciprocity Perception

Relationship Commitment
Problem- Focused Coping
Emotion- Focused Coping
Consumers' Intention To Co-Create Value
Relationship Quality.
Earnings
Working Hours
Joy Of Gig Work
Innovation Performance.
Customer Ethical Perception
Customer Participation
Emotional Value
Price Value
Quality Value

GREY COLLARS IN THE CONTEXT OF ADULT CAREER CRISES AND TRANSITIONS: A STUDY ON KALEIDOSCOPE CAREER AND PILOTS IN TURKEY

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Abstract

The purpose of this study is to explore the pilot's intention to switch to grey collar employee using the Kaleidoscope Career Model (KCM) as a commenting lens. Pilots continue to be an unstudied community of career success perceptions. Driven by the potential value of creating contexts that encourage pilots' career success after retirement, the KCM has been used as a framework to explore the meanings associated with career success in this community. structured and semi-structured interviews were conducted with a voluntary sample of 5 pilots in the easy and purposeful way. The data was analysed in a two-stage process, first identifying the features associated with the central parameters of the KCM and second, collectively collating them to determine the various sub-dimensions of each parameter to determine the associated meanings for the objective grey collar intent. As a result, the pilots' intention to transition to grey collar has been found to have the most impact on the transition, as well as on external factors such as family, income loss, responsibilities, and obligations. The challenge size of the kaleidoscope career model is not represented by pilot participants. Pilots are more concerned with the balance dimension of kaleidoscope career model. The findings also show that although the KCM is a useful tool, it does not provide the exact framework for pilots. The dynamics and harsh conditions of the piloting profession are not a suitable model to implement the kaleidoscope career model.

Keywords: Gray collar, pilot, career development, kaleidoscope career, career management

INTRODUCTION

The number of studies on individuals who have not chosen a career yet, who are at the beginning or middle of their career, is much more than the work done on individuals who have ended or ended their career (Pilipiec, et al., 2021). Career crises and transitions of individuals at the end of their career are a less interesting area of research (Mok et al., 2021). But the radical changes brought by new technological revolutions, the effects of epidemics like COVID 19, the fluctuations from other sociological, economic, and political crises have increased the importance of the issue.

For example, when looking at studies on Demographic Trends and possible impacts in OECD countries, one of the most important and up-to-date problems is seen as the subject of aging and declining population (Kuitto & Helmdag, 2021). To summarize the significant demographic

changes in OECD countries, the first is that life expectancy increases, which is that people live longer, depending on the improvements in health care and the rise of life standards. This means increased retirement time and the proportion of the elderly within the population (Rouzet, D., et al., 2019).

The OECD evaluation emphasizes that political reforms to reduce the impact of population aging on pension systems should serve the four main objectives outlined below (Rouzet, D., et al., 2019).

1. Increasing the working age population: The young population added to the labor force must be increased with immigrants or with an increase in fertility.
2. Extension of working life: On average 35% of the working age population in OECD countries is not employed. Most of this population is categorized as a statistically "inactive" population, even if it wants to work. However, older people and disabled people can increase employment and extend their working life. There are significant differences between countries in terms of operating hours and operating times. In addition, the age of actual retirement is often under the age of formal retirement. Incentives for early retirement need to be re-evaluated. It is necessary to extend the working life and reduce the time taken for retirement income.
3. Reduction of pensions: Many countries have made significant shortcomings in retirement gains, while some countries still have unrealistic retirement payments. In many countries, the parameters for pension payments need to be revised.
4. Diversification of pension income sources: The development of private pension funds to complement public programs has been frequently highlighted and supported in recent years. However, this should be supported with a good regulatory infrastructure and effective financial markets. There are reasons to be careful about this. Because private pension systems also face several major problems and challenges (Kudins, 2022).

China, which is a key part of the world's economy, has some of the youngest retirement ages in

the world, and that is becoming a major problem for an aging country. The official retirement age for men is 60. Women in executive positions have a retirement age of 55 and women in blue collar can retire in 50. In many other countries, it is norm to leave the workforce at 65; China's early and gender-based retirement has been in effect since 1951, when the country's life expectancy is less than 50 years old. China's pension systems are largely underfunded for the growing number of people preparing to retire in the coming years, and if people can continue to retire as early as they can now, the costs of maintaining this network will become exorbitant. Last year, China's 14. the five-year work plan has shown how it plans to solve the retirement problem, including increasing the age of retirement (The Economist, 2021).

The U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) shows that 10.6 million people aged 65 and older were in the workforce in 2020. And to make this number even lower, 26.6% of the people in the 65-74-year-old group are working, and the proportion of the 75-year-olds is 8.9% (The Economist, 2021).

The Median Age Map of countries is the age of the individual who is right in the middle when the age of the entire population is sorted from small to large. In this case, half of the total population is greater than this age and the other half is smaller. The following is a table of some countries according to the media age and age of retirement (<https://www.worlddata.info/average-age.php>, Access: 20.06.2022).

Table 1. Median Age and Retirement Age

Country	Median Age	Retirement age
Monako	53.1	65
Japan	47.3	63
Germany	47.1	66/67
Italy	45.5	66/67
Greece	44.5	67

Austria	44.0	Male 65/woman 60
Litvanya	43.7	63
Bulgaristan	42.7	Male 65/woman 63
İspanya	42.7	65
The Netherlands	42.6	67+3ay
Sırbistan	42.6	65
Finland	42.5	65
İsviçre	42.4	62
Macaristan	42.3	64
Portugal	42.2	66
Danimarka	42.2	61
Kanada	42.2	65
Czech Republic	42.1	63,83
South Korea	41.8	Male 71/Kadin67.9
Belçika	41.4	65
Fransa	41.4	67
İsveç	41.2	65
Romanya	41.1	Male 65/woman 61
Polonya	40.7	67
Ukrayna	40.6	60
United Kingdom	40.5	Male 65/woman 63
Russian Federation	39.6	Male 65/woman 63
Norveç	39.2	62
Australia	38.7	58

United States of America	38.1	65
New Zealand	37.9	65
Thailand	37.7	60
The people's Republic of China	37.4	Men's 60/Women's 50 (Office 55)
Cyprus	36.8	60
İrlanda	36.8	66
İzlanda	36.5	67
Armenia	35.1	63
Singapur	34.6	62
Şili	34.4	Male 65/woman 60
North Korea	34.0	60
Brazil	32.0	65
Argentina	31.7	65
Azerbaycan	31.3	65
Turkiye	30.9	61, 62, 63, 64
Kazakhstan	30.6	Male 63/woman 58
Vietnam	30.5	60
Indonesia	30.2	58
Israel	29.9	Male 67/woman 62
Meksika	28.3	65
Hindistan	27.9	60

GREY COLLARS

The definition for the grey collar employee side is as follows, a specific training that has grown from the blue collar that works in the production line or technical support departments of

businesses, has gained experience and is described as team chief, chief of staff, or shift chief, who knows all the technical characteristics of the work he does on the production line, they are employees who have one-on-one knowledge of the people they work with or manage, who work hard, who are over-middle age, or who are retired (Hewitt, 2015).

People who are not classified as white or blue collar are referred to as Gray collar employees. The grey collar is considered a term used to describe employees over the age of retirement. In some sources, the definition of pilots, firefighters, police officers, health workers, security guards, etc. that continue to work at the age of extended retirement occupational groups recognition is included. In this study, the expanded definition was accepted and, for example, pilots were addressed (Choughari, 2016).

"Medium-qualified" professions that require posthigh school certification but are less than their undergraduate degree constitute the majority of the U.S. labor market. These are positions that require a combination of physical and technical skills, make it difficult to fully automate and create a great opportunity for grey-collar employees in the United States (Rooth, 2011).

CAREER: TRADITIONAL AND CONTEMPORARY DEFINITIONS

A career is the full workday of an individual's working life. Beyond that definition, it also means that a person can move forward with the work they have, as well as the role they have defined in the workplace, to be trained to fulfill their expectations, goals, feelings and desires, and the knowledge, skills, skills and work they have gained through this training (Bachiochi, 1993).

Based on the work carried out on career exploration, it is often seen that career exploration is limited to the youth period (Super & Nevill, 1984; Enzor, 1991; Bachiochi, 1993). Recently, academics and practitioners have begun to adopt career discovery as a lifelong quest and as a tool for dealing with various career transitions (Blustein, 1997). The lifetime of career exploration also shines light on the backgrounds of individual career mobility and career

transitions.

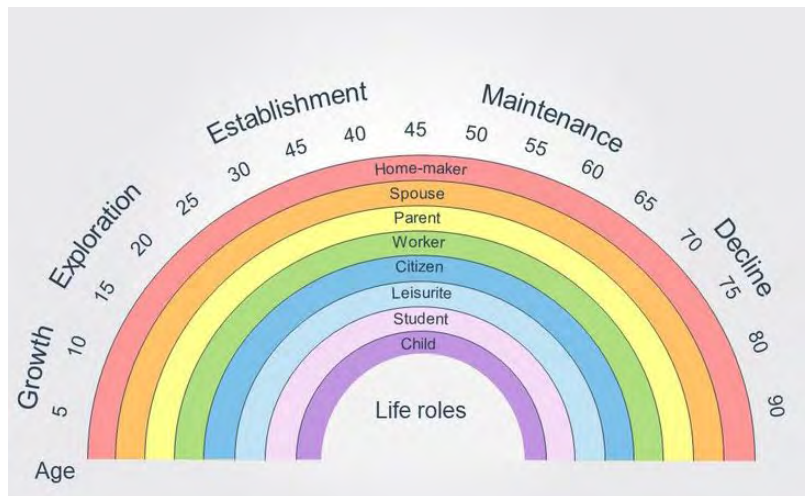


Fig. 1. five stages of life and career development.

As stated in the figure above, Super's (1984) five stages of life and career development together with their corresponding age intervals are the following:

- Growth: from birth to the age of 14. Development of self-concept, attitudes, needs and general world of work.
- Exploration: from 15 to 24 "Trying out" through classes, work hobbies. Tentative choice and skill development
- Establishment: from 25 to 44 This age interval is defined as the stabilization period, going through through work experiences and trials.
- Maintenance: from 45 to 64 the professionals are expected to have settled down and to continue their adjustment process to improve their position.
- Against: 65 Result process during the period when the outlook that is expected to work is ready for delivery.

The literature shows that there are several different classifications that have been covered by new career approaches. These; Portfolio career, global career, two-digit career, two-career partners, career mosaics are possible to express (Gilbert, 2014; Mallon, 1999; Moen, 2018; Suutari & Taka, 2004). The career of new approaches that are not traditional is often; Unlimited

(Arthur & Rousseau, 1996), versatile (Baruch, 2004), variable (Hall, 1996), transagency (Peiperl & Baruch, 1997), customized (Valcour et al., 2007) or kaleidoscope (Mainiero & Sullivan, 2005; 2006).

ADULT CAREER CRISES AND TRANSITIONS

Career transitions represent changes in the individual's career pattern. These transitions can be very comfortable, from career settlement to career preservation. The career crisis is more of a negative concept, and it refers to situations where a person needs to develop new ways to overcome a sudden problem (Schaefer 1986; Regehr, 2011). Schlosserg (2009) defines four career transition types: Predictions, unforeseen situations, chronic problems and non-existent events.

The foreseen circumstances are things that will happen in the lives of many individuals, such as graduation, marriage, starting a job and retiring. Unforeseen transitions include examples such as sudden deaths, layoffs, dismissal, reassignment. Chronic problems are situations like sitting too far, irrational managers, insufficient physical conditions. Events that do not exist are events such as never being able to get the promotion requested, and never having an expected wage increase (Reitman& Schnee., 2008).

Career events are classified in three areas: non-norm events, normative role transitions and permanent occupational problems (Maryhofer, et al., 2004). Retirement is a loss of role and a transition to a norm role. According to Super's rule, retirement can be interpreted as a transition from protection to collapse. Norm transitions tend to create a crisis only when they are not foreseen. For example, a person who ignores the upcoming retirement and does not plan can be shaken by the change of roles that come with retirement.

The rapid change of technology, the increase in inter-border mobility, the global impact of epidemics, the development of mass communication tools, the development of the world, has led to new ways of managing careers. There are three different career models that affect

changes within the labour market: A kaleidoscope (very changing) career, unlimited career, and a versatile career. In the Kaleidoscope career detailed below, individuals are authentic, acting on what is best for them; they seek ways of dealing with their balance and careers in their lives (Mainiero & Sullivan, 2005; 2006).

Kaleidoscope Career

Kaleidoscope Career Model - KKM (Mainiero & Sullivan, 2005; 2006) is a new model that is configured to show how men and women think about their careers and how they realize their career by understanding the changes that are happening in the new career age. A kaleidoscope career is a career defined by the individual's own values, their choice of life, built on the individual's own terms, not determined by a business (Mainiero & Sullivan, 2006). This new approach, which addresses the key factors that drive both women and men's careers, also points out that different factors play a role, especially in women's career mobility, other than family responsibilities.

The PPE includes a variety of components of the social cognitive career theory (Brown & Lent, 1996), which both carries different characteristics of limitless and versatile career models and explains career transitions for cognitive reasons (Mainiero and Gibson, 2018).

When looking at the working order of a kaleidoscope, it appears that one part is moving, and the other part is changing. Like a kaleidoscope that produces patterns that change when the tube is rotated and the glass chips fall into new regulations, women can change the patterns of their careers by changing their roles and relationships by changing their different aspects of their lives to regulate their relationship in new ways. Like a kaleidoscope, one's career is dynamic and moving. The individual may change his career to adapt to these changes rather than give up control of life as it changes and allow the institution to live on its own dictated life (Mainiero & Sullivan, 2006). From here it is possible to explain the point of movement of the KKM in parallel with the differences in the individual's life, as well as the sense of career

changes.

PILOTS IN TURKEY AND SOME OTHER COUNTRIES

"The pilot is the personnel authorized by the relevant authority, except for the pilot and/or the pilot of the captain responsible for the dispatch and management of the aircraft." the line pilot is used for the captain and the second pilot who personally performed the flight mission.

"During the flight, the pilot is responsible for all operations of the aircraft and has a specific driver's license." the second pilot is the pilot, except for pilots in the aircraft for license or authorization, who is acting as a pilot in an aircraft requiring multiple pilots. The pilots, in terms of position, are leaving the line pilot, the teacher pilot and the control pilot; in terms of status, the captain is subject to a distinction as a pilot and a second pilot (Civil Aviation Authority, 2010).

The number of retired pilots and airlines under the age of 65 between March 2020 and October 2021 are: THY: 28, THK: 1, Gökçen Aviation: 2, Atlas: 4, SunExpress: 2, MNG: 2, SKY: 1, TAILWIND: 1, PEGASUS: 3, DHMI: 1. In addition, the total number of pensioners leaving the sector compared to 2019, or preepidemics, is 59 pilots and only one person is under 65 years old (Boarding Info, 2021).

Being a pilot around the world is an expensive career journey. Pilots who undergo a long training process before they start operating on commercial passenger planes spend a lot of money in the process. It is another way to go to flight schools and pay in advance and become a pilot, as well as to train airlines through their own academies, to sign a long-term contract with the company and to pay the tuition fee with a specific cut in the amount of time. Since it is a labour intensive and costly profession, pilots want to continue their careers as health conditions are fulfilled. The ICAO has set the maximum age of the pilots' retirement to 65. Another authority, the FAA, adopts this rule. However, some local civil aviation authorities may make some changes in this rule in line with their own initiative, due to the lack of aviation

conditions, the lack of pilots in the market or for various reasons (Cullen et al., 2021).

For example, Japan's civil aviation authority increased the age of forced retirement for pilots to 67 in 2015. China is currently discussing the expansion of the law that has forced pilots to retire at 60. At this time, unofficial studies have been launched in the United States to raise the age to 67 due to pilot shortages of pilots due to compulsory retirement vaccines 65 and future projections. In Turkey, the pension age law, which was withdrawn to 63 for a period, currently allows it to be flown until the age of 65 (Van Benthem& Herdman, 2021).

Airlines can set a different retirement age rule for pilots within the specified limits to ensure they have enough pilots to support their operations. But they all have strict health and skill testing requirements to ensure pilots can fly regardless of their age (Cullen et al., 2021).

METHOD

This qualitative research has adopted a field survey based on where it is done, to be descriptive for its purpose, to set a model proposal or roadmap for future time, and to collect data with semi-structured interviews as a method of data collection. The data obtained has been analysed using the descriptive analysis method to classify it according to its themes and then interpreted. As it is known, “quantitative research” is generally abstract, does not deal directly with digital data, such as quantitative research, or even try to digitize verbal data. Because qualitative research is based on the qualitative research technique that is done, it is the primary source of data. Qualitative research is a type of research where qualitative data collection methods are used by conducting observation, interview, archive scanning and analysis, and events are reviewed in their natural environment (Burns, 1989; Creswell, 2013).

Semi-structured interviews are a collection of data tools that are conducted through individual interviews and used in qualitative research. With semi-structured interviews, the interviewer is collected with a comprehensive knowledge and data by asking them in detail about a research topic.

There has been no compromise on the scientific data collection and analysis ethics followed during the investigation. During these interviews, participants were informed about the research to be carried out prior to directing open-ended individual interview questions and the captains were not allowed to communicate among themselves to ensure the independence of the collected data. The data obtained with semi-structured interviews covered by qualitative data was first transferred to Microsoft Office Word, followed by Microsoft Excel program to digitize the data obtained, and to provide a numeric statement of the answers received in the questions.

Three basic concepts are highlighted in field writing for analysis of qualitative data. These concepts are descriptive, analysis and interpretation. In the survey, the data collected in the study is looked at what it reveals in relation to the research problem. Questions appropriate to describe what is going on in an observed environment, what individuals discussed say, what information the documents are working on reveal. In analysis, the main function of the analysis process is to uncover meaningful relationships between themes and themes through conceptual coding and classification, which are not directly visible in the dataset. The analysis will briefly look for answers to the “Why” and “how” questions. “What does this mean that is said or observed?” the answer to the question is searched (Burns, 1989; Creswell, 2013).

The descriptive analysis method is used to help analyse qualitative data obtained through the semi-structured interview, which is the qualitative research methods of this research, and to encode data based on themes. In the descriptive analysis, the data collected for research is classified and interpreted according to themes. Discussions include direct quotes to make the stated statements more striking and remarkable. In the descriptive analysis, the aim is to describe data systematically and openly, in other words, transfer data. Then these descriptions are explained and interpreted. The cause-and-effect relations are then examined, and the findings are reached. The resulting themes are associated, interpreted, and suggestions are

made for later (Clark, 2003).

The data obtained in this study was analysed by converting the data to written form, creating coding, finding themes, comparing coding, and obtaining the reliability and findings based on the answers given. At the beginning of the study, a deep literary study was conducted to provide basic information on career management and grey collars. In the rest of the study, the question was prepared, "the kaleidoscope is structured to match the Career Model and semi-structured interviewing". 5 expert and experienced captain pilots have been interviewed, and the findings from the results of these interviews have been synthesized with the information found because of the literature screening and a set of recommendations has been created. The interview questions were prepared openly, the opinion of the interviewer captains was tried to be obtained without limitation and the findings were found.

To ensure the validity of the research, as Creswell pointed out, the diversification strategy and member control strategy were implemented in part of the research. In this respect, the interviewing captains have been taken care to have different experiences of flying in different aircraft types and companies. To ensure the reliability of the work, Patton's research recommendations have been taken care of. In this context, the techniques applied primarily in data collection and analysis were meticulously applied, then questioned the nature of flight operations involving qualitative research, followed by a cumulative approach to both validation and suggestion (Creswell, 2013).

Finally, the ability of the interviewer and researcher to express their training, flight experience (each participant and author have 10000-hour flight and training experience), past performance, status and tasks has helped to complete the research in a healthy way. These features, based on the research, have resulted in a more concrete and realistic discussion of the human factor topic. Due to these facts, the research's career management literature is a unique contributor to the issue of grey collars.

The most important limitation of research is that it takes a certain group of professions. The lack of attendees does not allow the research to be generalized.

UNIVERSE AND SAMPLING

The study is made up of pilots in Turkey. as of the end of 2020, a total of 11840 pilots, 1581 of which are student pilots. According to the SHGM 2020 activity report, the ratio of foreign pilots in 2019 to domestic pilots was 7%, while in 2020 the ratio dropped to 4%. since it is not possible to reach all 11840 pilots, sampling was used during participants' detection (<https://web.shgm.gov.tr/tr/ucusa-elverislilik/450-veri-ve-istatistikler>). In the case, sampling is a non-random sampling method, which is determined by the researcher's judgment of the sample segment to be selected from within the main mass. In the case of sampling, data is collected from the main mass in the easiest, fastest, and most economical way (Malhotra, 2004:321, Aaker et al., 2007:394, Zikmund, 1997:428).

DATA COLLECTION

In the data collection section of the study, a semi-structured interview for evaluating the intention to switch to gray collar using the Kaleidoscope Career Model is the closest position to retirement. The study was done. Interview questions were asked by pilots who are expert and experienced in the field, who have a minimum flight experience of 10000 hours of military and civilian flight over 40 years and are actively flying in Airbus, Boeing and Special Jetlines (Business Jet). The only reason the interview questions are asked to Captain pilots is because of the captains II. They're more experienced than pilots,

In these interviews, the interpretation analysis technique was applied in the context of the content, structural and interactivity characteristics that the Creswell stated. According to this, four open-ended interview questions have been prepared, categorizing the subject content in accordance with the main items in the Kaleidoscope Career Model size. Then, data on what needs to be done at administrative and individual levels to improve the volatile performance is

collected by asking these survey questions through a structured and semi-structured interview path with the captain pilots. The questions are as in the table below:

Table 2. Questions

Career Crises and Transition					
Grey Collar Intention					
Will you continue your career after retirement? Why not?					
Do you have a retirement plan?	Yes		No		
Kaleidoscope Career Model					
1.Otanticism	1. That doesn't define me at all.	2. That kind of defines me.	3. That often defines me.	4. That describes me quite well.	5. That describes me very well.
1.1 I hope to find a greater purpose for my life that matches who I am.					
1.2 in my life, I'm starving for a greater spiritual development.					
I've discovered that					
1.3 life crises offer perspective that everyday life doesn't offer.					
1.4 If I could go after my dream right now, I would.					
1.5 I want to make an impression and give up my signature on what I've accomplished in life.					
2. Denge					
2.1 If I have to, I'll give up my job to deal with troubled family matters or concerns.					
2.2 I always organize my work according to my family's needs.					
If I don't have time					

**to be with my 2.3
parents, my job is
meaningless.**

**2.4 maintaining
balance between
work and family is
the most important
thing in life.**

**2.5 right now, there's
nothing more
important to me
than balancing my
family's work.**

3.Challenge

**3.1 I constantly look
for new challenges in
everything I do.**

**3.2 I see setbacks as
“challenges” that
need to be resolved,
not “problems” that
need to be overcome.**

**3.3 additional job
responsibilities don't
worry me.**

**3.4 most people
describe me as a
multi-purpose
person.**

**3.5 I am successful in
business challenges
and I am turning
business problems
into opportunities
for change.**

FINDINGS

Findings of the Grey Collar Transition

“Will you continue your career after retirement?” 4 of the 5 pilots said “no” 1 “yes”. They have explained the reasons why they continue their careers and do not continue their careers as follows. Pilot participants are coded P1, P2, P3, P4, P5.

- P1: No. I don't think I'll have the energy to continue after retirement because it's a very tiring, busy job.

- P2: Yes. Since I'm being pushed to continue my career, I'm going to continue working after retirement. I want to end my career and retire, but I am continuing because of my child's/children's school, the mortgage.
- P3: No. I've worked long enough in my life.
- P4: No. I don't plan on working unless I fly.
- P5: No. I'm not going to continue working after retirement because their post-retirement salary is going to be much lower than I'm currently earning.

“Do you have a retirement plan?” 5 pilots answered “yes” to the question. They said they wanted to spend their retirement resting and doing quiet work.

Findings of the Kaleidoscope Career Model

Table 3. Answers

Kaleidoscope Career Model							
1.Otanticism	1. That doesn't define me at all.	2. That kind of defines me.	3. That often defines me.	4. That describes me quite well.	5. That describes me very well.		
1.1 I hope to find a greater purpose for my life that matches who I am.	P1	P5	P2, P4	P3			
1.2 in my life, I'm starving for a greater spiritual development.	P1	P2, P3, P4, P5					

I've discovered	P1, P2, P3,								
that 1.3 life crises	P4, P5								
offer perspective									
that everyday life									
doesn't offer.									
1.4 If I could go		P1, P2		P3, P4, P5					
after my dream									
right now, I									
would.									
1.5 I want to make	P1			P2, P3, P4,					
an impression and				P5					
give up my									
signature on what									
I've accomplished									
in life.									
2. Denge	1. That	2. That	3. That	4. That	5. That				
	doesn't define	kind of	often	describes	describes				
	me at all.	defines me.	defines	me quite	me very				
			me.	well.	well.				
2.1 If I have to, I'll	P1, P2, P3, P4,								
give up my job to	P5								
deal with troubled									
family matters or									
concerns.									
2.2 I always	P1			P3, P4, P5	P2				

organize my work				
according to my				
family's needs.				
If I don't have		P1, P4	P3, P5	P2
time to be with				
my 2.3 parents,				
my job is				
meaningless.				
2.4 maintaining		P1	P2, P4	P3, P5
balance between				
work and family				
is the most				
important thing in				
life.				
2.5 right now,		P1	P2, P4	P3, P5
there's nothing				
more important to				
me than balancing				
my family's work.				
3.Challenge	1.	That	2.	That
	doesn't define	kind	of	often
	me at all.	defines me.	defines	me
			me.	well.
				describes
				me quite
				me very
				well.
3.1 I constantly	P1, P3	P4	P5	P2
look for new				

challenges	in						
everything I do.							
3.2 I see setbacks	P1,	P2,	P4				
as “challenges”		P3, P5					
that need to be							
resolved,	not						
“problems”	that						
need to be							
overcome.							
3.3 additional job	P1,	P2,	P4				
responsibilities		P3, P5					
don't worry me.							
3.4 most people	P2		P4,P5	P3		P1	
describe me as a							
multi-purpose							
person.							
3.5 I am	P3		P1, P2	P4	P5		
successful in							
business							
challenges and I							
am turning							
business							
problems into							
opportunities for							
change.							

CONCLUSION

This study aims to understand the intention of pilots approaching the end of their career to continue their post-retirement careers, their career transition intentions and causes, whether they have strategies to deal with retirement. In this context, the push-pull factors that affect the intention of switching to gray collar have been examined within the framework of the kaleidoscope career model. It has been attempted to discover whether or not this well-trained, highly qualified professional group can still be productive working among retirement plans in their retirement age. In developing countries, the role of well-trained, high-skilled workforce, especially in developing new workforce, is very important. Gray grabs are known to have positive contributions both in corporate and national terms.

Some of the world's pilot organizations are putting serious pressure on airlines so that experienced pilots with high-level flight time can serve longer. The reason for this is that the official pension income is considerably less than the working pilot's salary. In addition, these organizations seriously advocate the argument that keeping experienced pilots who have learned and performed this profession without the help of advanced digital systems is better for aerospace security. Even if such senior pilots are not directly in the cockpit, they think they should be kept in education departments. After retiring at present, many pilots continue their career as flight instructors, or in the aerospace industry, performing other tasks in different levels.

Most of the pilots involved in the investigation do not intend to go gray after retirement. The reasons why pilots decided not to continue their career as gray collar after retirement are as follows:

- Loss of income: The most important reason for separation is loss of income. The airline's half-wage application, but the demand for full-time can lead to forced forced forced

forced pilots to quit their jobs. Among these people, there are many who do not have any future concern, for example, no credit debt.

- Health: Standards have been raised in pilot exams recently. In any case, the pilot cannot fly for at least 6 months. It's a flight time where a pilot flies a significant portion of his income. A health problem or a subsequent problem causes pilots to retire.
- Tough conditions: Many new rules have been adopted during the Covid-19 period. For example, the Turkish Civil Aviation General Directorate has received additional authorization from the Turkish Civil Aviation Directorate and has made the flight without having to rest with more teams. A captain of many years of age would not risk such a thing.
- Liyakatinism and injustice: One of the common difficulties in airline companies is disbelief. It has been recorded that the inclusion of groupings, clots and favoritization forces experienced pilots.

The reasons why pilots decided to continue their career as gray collar after retirement are as follows:

- Long working time is also required by individuals or institutions in jobs that require long and challenging training processes. Pilots can choose to continue their careers to achieve the expected benefits in the high cost of labor, money, energy, and time.
- They don't want to settle for retirement income, so they want to continue their careers.
- They continue their careers in situations where they are required (epidemics, military crisis, etc.).

As a result, the pilots' intention to transition to gray crest has been found to have the most impact on the transition, as well as on external factors such as family, income loss, responsibilities and obligations. The challenge size of the kaleidoscope career model is not represented by participants. Pilots are more concerned with the balance dimension. The findings also show that although the KCM is a useful tool, it does not provide the exact framework for pilots. The

dynamics and harsh conditions of the piloting profession are not a suitable model to implement the kaleidoscope career model.

Policymakers, managers and human resources experts have to strategically plan to keep high-skilled employees engaged in the workforce with their knowledge and experience after retirement.

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HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF BLUE COLLAR WOMAN: BIBLOMETRIC ANALYSIS OF BLUE COLLAR WOMAN BASED ON WEB OF SCIENCE

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Abstract

In the study, 60 articles related to the concept of Blue Collar Woman published in the period of 1980-2021 and included in the SCI, SSCI and ESCI citation indexes were examined bibliometrically on the Web of Science database using the VOSviewer software. The purpose of the study is to essentially evaluate the studies conducted with the concept of blue collar woman and provide foresight for future studies. In this context, in order to evaluate the publications in the study, the changes in the number of publications and publication volume in the field were discussed. The developments in the field, the trends in the subject headings, the countries and institutions that make the strongest contribution to the literature, the field and the most cited ones in the field were examined. The results indicated that the number of studies on the concept of blue collars woman decreased in the 1990s. It is seen that frequently used keywords in the field of blue collar woman are "women health", "gender", "woman", "positive affect". Other keywords with high connection strength are listed as stress, blue collar job, industry, urban model and male dominated occupations. It is recommended that future researchers conduct empirical and conceptual studies on the reasons for the differences in the number of studies published by countries in the field of blue collar woman and the level of interest they show in the field.

Keywords: Blue Collar Woman, Social Network Analysis, Bibliometry, Network Structure

INTRODUCTION

In working life, different sectors and different types of work bring together different employee groups. These different employee groups are identified with colors and expressed as blue-collar, white-collar and gold-collar employees (Bayraktaroğlu et al., 2015). However, it is noteworthy that there is not enough research on blue-collar employees in academic studies in the field of management and organization, especially in the field of human resources management and organizational behavior. Looking at the local and foreign literature, there are studies on white-collar employees in the field of business management. However, due to the fact that it is based on labor and labor, it is seen that the current studies focus on blue-collar male employees. This situation constitutes the starting point of the study. In this context, the scarcity of studies on

blue-collar employees and the intense focus on male employees in the labor sector bring along an important gap in the field of business management regarding blue-collar female employees. For this reason, the aim of the study is to analyze the current situation regarding blue-collar female employees.

BLUE COLLAR WORKERS

The term “blue-collar work” is frequently used to describe working class jobs that require manual labor. These jobs are often both physically and psychologically demanding and have been linked with various adverse health outcomes (Catalano, Bruckner, 2006; Cullen, Baiocchi, Eggleston, Loftus, & Fuchs, 2015; Rieker and Bird, 2005). The blue-collar class of workers is so named because of their uniform-like blue-colored clothing as they mostly use their bodily strength. From a lexical meaning, the concept of 'blue collar', which refers to the workers who belong to the working class and receive the hourly wage for their manual labor, was first derived from the blue colored (denim fabric) work clothes worn by the workers on the production line in the USA (Kirkegaard ve Larsen, 2011). Depending on the technological developments, it is possible to say that there has been a change and development in the structure of the workforce since the 1970s. Particularly from those who use their physical labor, which we describe as the “blue-collar” workforce; There is a transformation towards a “white-collar” knowledge worker who mostly uses his mental labor. At this point, the differentiated structure of manpower, existing management models could not be effective in the changing structure and led to the development of a new human-oriented management model. (Keser, 2004).

At this point, blue-collar female employees appear as a neglected subject in the literature. In the last few decades, rates of increase among women in skilled blue-collar occupations exceed that of men (Andersen, 1988). While research on the attitudes of blue-collar workers has occupied an important place in industrial sociology, it has focused almost exclusively on men (Chinoy, 1955).

Much of the early literature on women's work was centered around middle-class, professional women (Bernard, 1964). While there is increasing interest in clerical and other women's work and women's experience in non-traditional jobs, there are few studies of female blue-collar workers (Beynon, Blackburn, 1972).

Blue Collar Woman's Problems

Rapid urbanization has been experienced with the migration from rural to urban that started in the 1950s. While trying to move away from the rural area and adapt to the urban life, mental changes, changes in the family and its structure were observed; however, the place of women in working life has changed. Women's employment in Turkey has decreased with the urbanization process, as a result of migration from rural to urban areas. It showed a decrease as women became housewives in the place where they migrated. (Ilkcaracan, 1998).

Generally, in families with low living standards, traditional and social beliefs do not favor women's participation in working life. Contrary to these uneducated women, women with high living standards and high education levels are observed intensively in working life. The higher the education level, the higher the labor force participation rate (Yılmaz et al., 2008)

When the use of educational opportunities all over the world is examined, great differences are observed between men and women; Although rapid steps were taken towards democratization, the inclusion of women in working life and the subsequent gender discrimination could not be completely eliminated (Kocacık and Gökkaya, 2005).

Several scholars have indicated that female workers in male-dominated careers often experience problems of segregation (DeFleur 1985; Hill 1986; Bergmann 2011). Bergmann (2011) indicated that employers often anticipate that hiring female workers “will reduce productivity and can create crisis situation”. Because of their gender, female workers in the workplace experience difficulties such as “sexual harassment and discrimination, including hostility and sabotage, withholding of training opportunities and supervisory indifference”

Women blue-collar workers are also often the victims of violence and sexual harassment. Some factories adopt a culture of control through violence that is carried over and becomes part of structures and systems within which such organisations operate, and women workers are an easy target (ILO, 2005).

Walshok (1981) also indicated that female workers in male-dominant careers face many obstacles, including lack of acceptance by male coworkers, lack of support from family and friends, and the necessity of adjusting to the dominant “male culture.

Compared to male workers, blue-collar female workers are referred to low wages, unmotivating work conditions and unpleasant employment conditions. These inequalities negatively affect human resource practices related to women, such as policies, decision-making, labor law, recruitment, training, wages and promotion (Stamarski, Son, 2015). Besides low wages and limited employment opportunities, there is a significant lack of HR interventions for female workers in terms of compensation policy, wage inequality, working conditions, leave and health benefits (Arnolds, Venter, 2007). In addition, occupational, psychological and physical stress is a common problem among female blue-collar workers and affects their physical health, job satisfaction and organizational commitment, and ultimately their performance. However, there is no human resources practice to reduce the impact of these conditions (Adler et al., 2000).

METHODOLOGY

A systematic review of the literature can be a guide for other researchers in order to have a holistic understanding of the studies carried out in a particular field. Qualitative and quantitative methods can be used in systematic surveys. In this context, the bibliometric analysis option is a remarkable and innovative method that has started to be preferred in comprehensive and complex systematic searches.

Bibliometry proposed by Pritchard (1969) instead of statistical bibliography; It has the potential to provide a systematic, transparent and repeatable review process based on comprehensive

measurement of scientific activity (Aria et al. Cuccurullo, 2017, p.959). Thanks to bibliometrics, many and different types of scientific publications or documents published in various periods can be analyzed by numerical methods by selecting certain criteria (Köse et al., 2020; Osareh, 1996). For this reason, it is important to create data sets carefully and carefully in order to conduct qualified literature reviews in bibliometric research (Gürler, 2021; Şimşir, 2021).

Bibliometric study is the examination of various elements of scientific publications (author, year, subject, title, citations, etc.) using statistical and analytical methods and obtaining results regarding scientific communication. Bibliometric reviews can either be in an explanatory nature of the number of articles published in a certain period or have an evaluative quality in a way that reveals how an article affects the studies conducted after it (McBurney & Novak, 2002).

Koehler states that researchers working on **bibliometric analysis** can be divided into at least four groups. These are (**cited from Koehler 2001. Al, 2008**);

- Those who work on citation analysis,
- Those who focus on co-citation analysis,
- Those who are interested in the productivity of people, institutions or countries,
- Those who work on information products such as books, articles and patents.

Within the scope of this study, bibliometric analysis was utilized in order to reveal the historical development of blue collar woman mentioned above, to predict which fields, disciplines and concepts it may be related to, to form an idea about which direction it will evolve in business life.

Data Source and Papers Selection

Successful critical review of the included knowledge is a crucial factor in the selection of research articles. The Web of Science database was used to reach the quality articles required

for analysis and to obtain all large-scale studies. In order to carry out the study, the articles published on the concept of blue collar woman in WOS between 1980 and 2021 were examined. The Science Citation Index Expanded (SCI-Expanded), Social Sciences Citation Index (SSCI) and Emerging Sources Citation Index (ESCI) were considered, and a total of 60 research were reached. Studies published in WOS are likely to fall into many different categories. For this reason, in order to reach meaningful studies on blue collar woman, selections were made among the categories. While determining the categories, multidisciplinary fields that contributed to the development of blue collar. The scope of blue collar woman is not limited to only conducting research within the framework of business administration and management.

Table 1 shows the categories used for article selection.

Table 1: Web of Science Categories

Sociology	Public Health	Environmental	Occupational	Psychology Applied
Industrial Relations Labor	History			Family Studies
Women S Studies	Law			Psychology Developmental
Area Studies	Political Science			Psychology Multidisciplinary
Asian Studies	Social Sciences Interdisciplinary			Psychology Social
Management				Medicine General Internal

Data Analysis

The Vosviewer software was used to visualize a total of 60 research downloaded from WOS with the necessary adjustments. VOSviewer is a scientific mapping software designed for the visualization of bibliometric networks. It can perform many bibliometric network analyses such as keyword co-founding analysis and co-authorship analysis, as well as visualization of citation networks. The program uses the VOS (Visualization of Similarities) algorithm for information visualization. With this algorithm, it creates network and density maps (heat maps) with the connections between clusters and key words, depending on the parameters determined within

the bibliometric datasets.

RESULTS

Fig.1. Top 10 Most Used Keywords



Fig.1. Top 10 Most Used Keywords

The most frequently used keywords in the works within the scope of the research can be seen in Figure 1. When these words are examined, it is seen that the most frequently used keywords are "women health", "gender", "woman" and "positive addect", which are frequently used in the upper sections where the blue collar woman concept is tried to be presented in general terms.

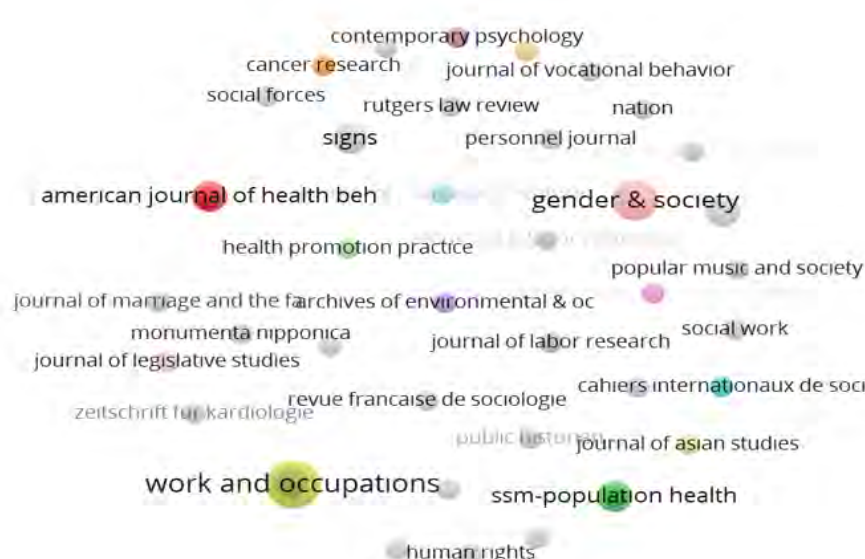


Fig.2. Number of Sources

It is seen that there are studies in the magazines "work and occupation", "gender&society", sex roles and "American Journal of Health Behavior". In this context, there are not many studies in the journals publishing in the field of management and organization.

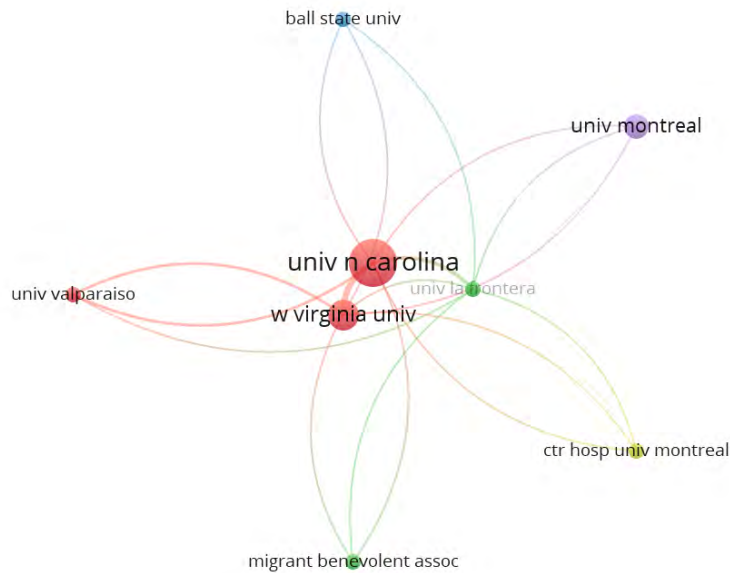


Fig.3. Institutional Cooperation

When Figure 3 is examined, the institutions with the highest number of publications on blue-collar female employees draw attention as "Univ n Carolina", "Virginia Univ", "Univ Montreal" and "Univ la Frontera". In this context, it can be said that there are more studies on blue-collar working women in universities.

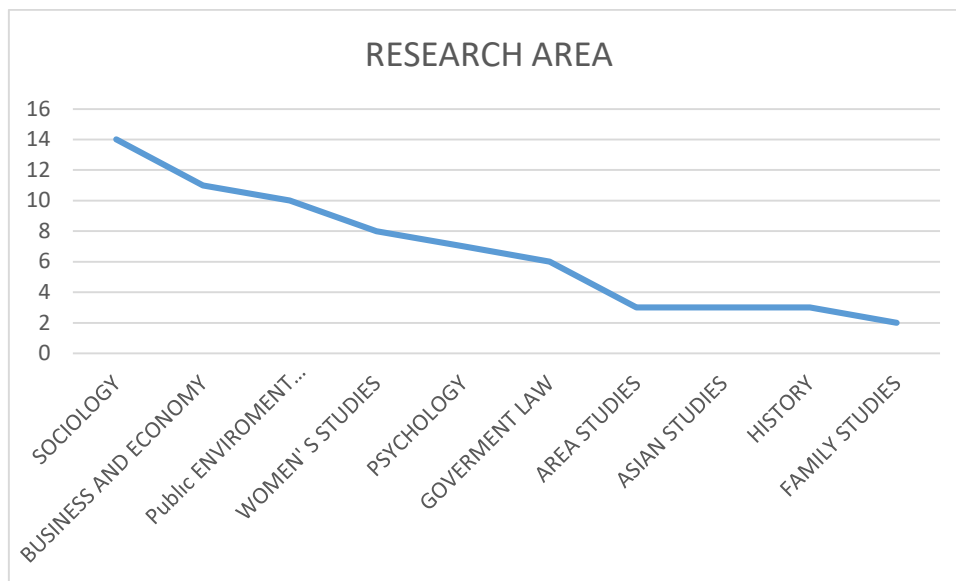


Fig.4. Number of Research Areas

It is seen that the study on blue-collar female employees is carried out in the fields of sociology, business and economy, public health and studies, and women's studies.

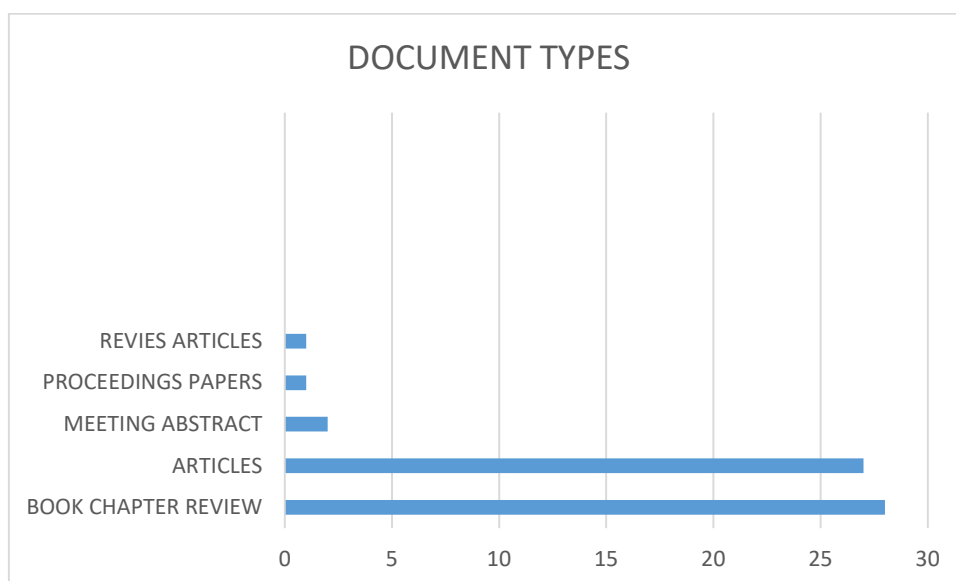


Fig.4. Number of Document Types

When it is looked at the types of work related to blue-collar female employees, the book chapter review is seen. The publications are followed by articles, meeting abstract and proceeding papers, respectively.

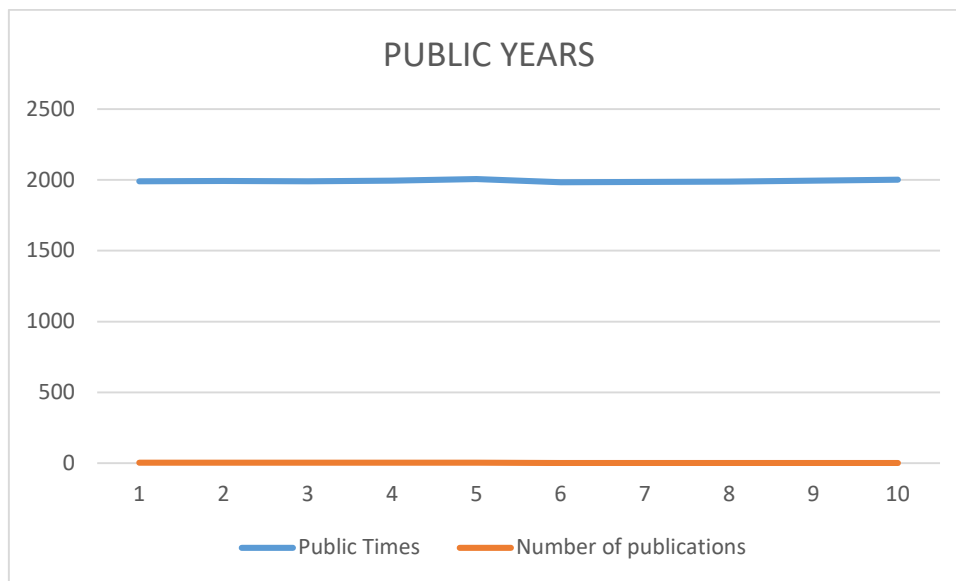


Fig.4. Number of Research by Years

When blue-collar employees are examined on a yearly basis, it is seen that not much work has been done. It is seen that the studies decreased after 1991. In particular, the change in business models and the change in the structure of the workforce due to the development of technology may have caused the focus to shift to white-collar workers.

DISCUSSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

The study should be viewed as a first step with opportunities for further investigation. In the light of the theoretical discussion and empirical findings, it is noteworthy that blue-collar workers are neglected especially in the field of management and organization and are not consciously or unconsciously preferred as a sample. Analyzing and examining the causes and consequences of this situation, to the extent permitted by the data; It gives us the opportunity to make sense of the current situation and make inferences about the future. From an empirical point of view, the selection of blue-collar students as a sample may not be deliberately preferred by academics for reasons such as the inability to use the classical and relatively easy data collection method, the questionnaires, reliably. Due to the definition and nature of blue collar workers; In addition to participant observation or in-depth interview data collection methods in order to collect data from this particular sample group, due to the relatively low academic and

educational conditions, it may be necessary to apply to advanced qualitative techniques such as ethnography and grounded theory (systematic comparison) in order to reach quality and meaningful data in depth. In future studies, the concern of scientificity and method should be overridden by the concern of easy access to the sample, and the choice of method and sample required by the nature of the subject should gain importance. In this context, empirical studies in the field of management and organization should be supported.

Especially in the field of behavior, the need for quantitative studies involving scale expressions is obvious. Empirical studies can be conducted on burnout, job insecurity, stress, work-life balance and human resource management practices.

There are some limitations regarding the study conducted. Articles after 2021 were not included in the study conducted with the data obtained on 01.01.2022. For this reason, the data to be obtained with new articles added to the WoS database dated and after January 1, 2022 may make a difference in the analysis. Selected publications in the study; consists of only English language articles in the WoS database. To researchers who want to do similar studies in the future; It can be suggested that they make more comprehensive analyzes by expanding the types of publications, languages and indexes related to blue-collar female employees.

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HOW AND WHY THE EMPLOYMENT RIGHTS BECOME AN IMPORTANT SUBJECT FOR GIG WORKERS?

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ABSTRACT

The current pandemic situation negatively impacts the economies. Moreover, the digital economy also suffers from major uncertainties, such as the spread of the virus, vaccination possibilities and restrictions. Today, several challenges for gig workers recently appeared, such as contract status and social benefits. The current pandemic highlights the gig workers' needs, such as sick leave and holiday pay. In this paper, sharing economy, also called the gig economy, is discussed as part of the digital economy. This research analyzes the main difficulties of gig workers, and employment status will be deeply analyzed as one of the crucial issues. The aim of this research is also to observe the government's role in the economies in the past and the sharing economy today. Furthermore, existing regulations and approaches for gig workers will be reviewed by comparing the countries.

Keywords: *employee benefits, employment status, gig workers, government role, sharing economy.*

INTRODUCTION

Gig worker's employment status varies county by country regarding its regulations. Some nations identify them as independent contractors, whereas other countries accept them as an employee. During the pandemic, gig workers faced many difficulties. Moreover, essential needs become more important among the workers. The governments also aimed to leverage these difficulties among workers.

This study also exposes how gig workers in the sharing economy are aware of their employment rights and benefits, especially during the pandemic. Readers will be able to obtain information about the employment contract statuses and different approaches for gig workers.

As Schwab, K., & Malleret, T (2020) summarizes, many sharing economy workers face difficulties obtaining government assistance during the pandemic. Their employment contract status also plays a crucial role. Gig workers are also part of the sharing economy that faces the same difficulties in receiving financial help during a pandemic.

METHODOLOGY

This study aims to look at reliable sources about the sharing economy and how countries and international unions deal with it. Different sources are used to find the most recent and up-to-date information, and "employment rights" and "employment benefits" have become the main terms for this study.

The research is based on qualitative research, and the most important part of the study is the literature review. But the topic is new and fresh, and not only books or articles have been written about it, but also most relevant journals and even practical fields, such as social media.

Most of the platforms in the database are from Google Scholar, Scopus, and Science-Direct. There are Gale and Ebsco sources for more literature review, and literature sources have only started to come out in the last 2–5 years.

SHARING ECONOMY

Beneficial Outcomes

Sharing economy brings several benefits as well as threats in the economy. This is essential to review these major impacts on the economy. The transaction costs in the sharing economy are lower than in conventional trade patterns. It also reduces resource use and positively impacts the environment. Literally, it results from utilizing inputs with fewer variables. Labour wages and/or taxes may cause it. Collaborative consumption generates numerous benefits. According to a quantitative study, persons who share their cars through ride-sharing platforms or also rent out their rooms through flat-sharing platforms make more than they would if they followed the basic notion of trade, such as hostels are car rental companies. In addition, the environmental impact is unquestionably favourable, as evidenced by the decrease in automobile usage on city streets (Ilhan, A. 2017).

Challenges

On the other hand, we cannot claim that the sharing economy is an excellent notion of the twenty-first century. It may create multiple dangers. Including an increase in unemployment, a shift in the primary economic structures, and, most significantly, challenges to the various sectors.

Furthermore, the sharing economy itself creates risks. It aimed at the disappearance of the sharing economy's boundary. Even though the concept of peer-to-peer business began with the concept of the peer-to-peer company, investors and companies have begun to act on behalf of individuals. For example, they invest in a building and rent rooms through Airbnb as a corporate company rather than a single person. Moreover, unemployment and/or employment. Even though the sharing economy appears to create issues for certain industries, it also generates efficient employment. In addition, Large organizations like Uber and TaskRabbit appear to be isolated regarding their financial needs and responsibilities. Currently, they are not governed by government policies and grow faster in the short term financing. Moreover, this rapid and increased profit applies not only to the owners of such businesses but also to their customers. Another difficulty is that individuals are unaware of their particular financial responsibilities. People are compelled by law to disclose their incomes. Consequently, they will be compelled to pay a certain percentage of the money as tax. At the end of each year, U.S. citizens are required to fill out an IRS 1099 form in order to declare their income. However, there are two distinct issues present here. First, individuals do not include the income if it is merely supplemental to their full-time employment. There is incorrect information regarding it. In other words, people are unaware that they must declare any incomes that may be subject to taxation. The second issue arises from gig economy companies. It is stated that these businesses typically accept payment via credit card services or PayPal services. By doing so, they can avoid sending IRS Form 1099s. Consequently, they became uninformed of the taxation requirements for potential incomes (Ilhan, A. 2017).

GOVERNMENT ROLE IN THE ECONOMY

In this section, the reader will find a couple of the main economic approaches that play an essential role in the economy. By doing so, there will be an opportunity to observe how government inclusion in the economy plays a role. The goal of this section is to understand fundamental approaches to the economy. Afterwards, there might be a healthy evaluation or comparison with the expectation of government roles, especially towards the sharing economy.

Adam Smith – Classical Economics

The primary reasoning behind the trust is quite familiar with the metaphor of Adam Smith's invisible hand theory as he emphasizes the one-to-one relationship between seller and buyer, without any third parties. He actually demonstrates that the relationship functions realize very well without intervention. The reason for this is the possibility of losses for both parties should they choose to take advantage of the trade. Such as self-interest and cheating attempts or reputation. It is easily vulnerable from any mistakes. The seller's poor reputation will probably result in diminished performance. Therefore, this fear produces a high level of agreement between buyer and seller. In other words, the third participant will not be required at all for controlling purposes. For instance, the prisoner dilemma. Both parties should completely agree on a single point. Otherwise, it will result in the worst possible outcomes. Overall, the Invisible hand is a controversial topic. However, the central idea here is the natural line between seller and purchaser, eliminating the need for third-party control. The same concept applies to the sharing economy. Individuals must rely heavily on mutual trust. Nowadays, social profile information, network connections, earned badges, etc., demonstrate the reliability of both buyer and seller. Regarding the sharing economy, both parties must exhibit confidence. For example, the BlaBlaCar

Community Platform. Visible comments, ratings, and information are applicable to one another (Ilhan, A. 2017).

Comparative Economics

Since decades, various scholars have debated the required role of the government. However, establishing the government's role permanently is difficult. Particularly, each nation has a unique structure. Consequently, the roles of government derive primarily from their particular needs. However, there are instances in which the government's roles diverge significantly from what they should be for the nation's benefit.

North Korea and Cuba, for instance, compared to Western Europe and the United States. Cuba and North Korea have established their primary government dominance. In other words, the government possesses essential authority in significant fields. Such as the economic system and the social structure. Moreover, governments can intervene in the economy quickly and easily because the government's position is sufficiently strong and dominant to make decisions. In addition, Western Europe has a larger economic impact. In some instances, the impact of the government on the economy can be readily observed. Such as government involvement in various fields. Such as the Hungary Lottery Company C. Keszthelyi, (2014) or a few government acquisitions of production companies (Ilhan, A. 2017).

Notwithstanding, a few instances demonstrate the existence of common boundaries and fields in which governments should play a crucial role within their respective nations. In this section, I will discuss the fundamental circumstances in which government involvement is required.

First, the need for a government is recognized after World War II. Stiglitz, J. E., & Stiglitz, J. E. (2000) explains that countries struggle to deal with crises. Not only did economic shocks occur,

but unemployment rates also rose, and inflation rates were relatively high. Due to social and economic factors, governments tend to require greater control. Governments had to play a crucial role in terms of economic recovery and national welfare. Indeed, these are the primary goals of government. However, in the 21st century, this ideology varies according to country profiles. There are instances of governments playing a supporting role, while others remain quite dominant. We cannot ignore the government's role in the economy. Governments have always played particular roles in the economy, and national structures always influence governments' perspectives. Consequently, government policies and perspectives that intervene in the economy continue to be diverse (Ilhan, A. 2017).

The most fundamental perspectives regarding the relationship between the market and the government are as follows:

- *Classic Liberal Perspective,*
- *Conservative Perspective,*
- *The radical Perspective,*
- *Modern liberal Perspective.*

The Classic Liberal Perspective

It supports the government's function as the best when it plays the smallest role. In other words, governments should not play a distinct role in the market. According to Adam Smith, the government is responsible for managing the money supply, printing currency, levying taxes to pay for public goods, and focusing on national defences. Including harbours, highways, and military strength. Adam's philosophy is referred to as the invisible hand. According to the new terminology, the function of the government is that of a third participant, which should not intervene in the economy in any way. Adam contends that the need for demand and supply can generate leverage

and, thus, equilibrium. In addition, as long as the government does not intervene, this strong integration and corporation can produce effective outcomes. According to Friedrich Hayek, the government's activities regarding the money supply led to devaluations. Therefore, currency controls were handled by private companies. Additionally, business liberalization is required. Privatization was expected to manage the education systems and judicial systems. Therefore, efficiency is the primary objective of the market, while the government has the least control power. Nonetheless, some gaps could not be filled without government intervention. Such as resource allocation, worker rights, and environmental protection (Ilhan, A. 2017).

The Radical Perspective

The radical viewpoint maintains that the common good always plays a crucial role. In other words, playing a part is always important. Government should therefore be held entirely accountable. Additionally, citizens ought to be able to participate in it. Non-Marxian viewpoints were in favour of this worldview. There were indications for a Marxian perspective, though, which saw less need for the government in the economy. Because of its constantly changing conditions, the government can play a role in any society (Ilhan, A. 2017).

The Conservative Perspective

Conservative viewpoints portray themselves as the powerful opponent of the people. In other words, the government ought to be prepared to deal with any challenges brought on by citizens it disagrees with. In this situation, the public's attitude toward challenging authority could lead to totalitarianism, fascism, or communism. Additionally, this worldview may be driven by self-interest, and governments, therefore, only aim to maximize its benefits (Ilhan, A. 2017).

The Modern liberal Perspective

The fourth viewpoint is the modern liberal viewpoint, which views the government's primary function as balancing economic requirements. In other words, it asserts that as the economy increases, so should the government's position. Therefore, an excellent and balanced partnership and relationship may be observed between governments and the economy.

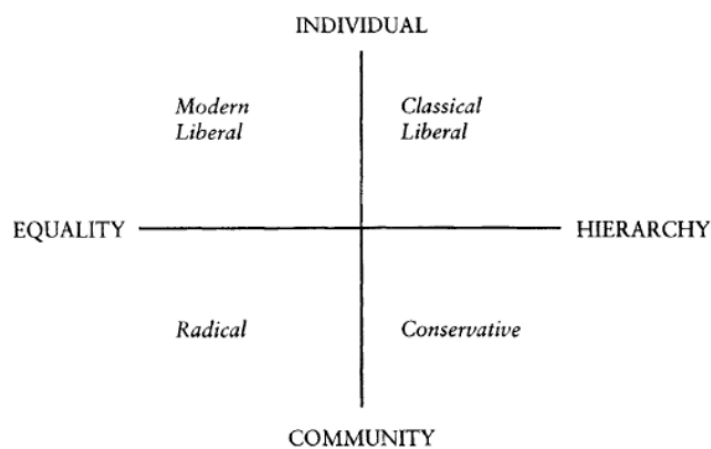


Figure 1 Course Material, Comparative Economics\ CUB

The figure above summarizes the four main market and government viewpoints based on four pertinent factors. The current dominating ideology is supported by modern liberalism because of the government's role, which focuses on preserving both the rights of individuals and businesses. Additionally, the government's involvement in the market and function within create economic equity (Ilhan, A. 2017).

UPCOMING APPROACHES BY NATIONS

The sharing economy grows inevitably, especially in the U.S. Codagnone, C., Abadie, F., & Biagi, F. (2016) highlight that the number of gig platforms continuously grows in the U.S. and the E.U.

at a smaller pace. The authors expect that the number of gig workers and platforms will increase, and this growth will get closer to traditional or long-term employment standards.

The number of gig platforms is also increasing in the U.K. and E.U. However, every country or union are not following the regularity issue of the sharing economy at the same time. The U.K. also debates the possible regulative approaches for the sharing economy in the court. The same Perspective applies to the E.U., whereas its practice and relevant discussions are slower than the U.S. and U.K. (Newlands, G., Lutz, C., & Fieseler, C. 2018)

Weili, L. I. U., & Khan, H. (2020) expose that sharing economy gets an important subject, especially in North America and Western Europe, which aims to identify the gig workers in the economy. Based on the given report Commission (2016a), the E.U. approach is also apparent in identifying the existence of the sharing economy where gig platforms facilitate the open market for goods and services based on collaborative platforms.

As Bonciu, F., & Balgar, A. C. (2016) highlight, the E.U. perspective plays an essential role in the global economy, especially regarding international trade agreements, such as World Trade Organization (WTO) and/ Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP). Therefore E.U. perspective is essential besides the rise of the gig economy. However, the gig workers' employment status plays a crucial role in receiving governmental assistance during this pandemic.

Newlands, G., Lutz, C., & Fieseler, C. (2018) highlight that the sharing economy is growing, and its need for control will be essential, especially regarding labour rights and relevant policies. However, the autonomy of the sharing economy is an essential factor where service providers are identified to be independent in the spread of the emerging economy. However, the policies and need for regulative approaches raise when platform economy workers are the main subject of their

rights and conditions. In this case, the E.U. approaches the sharing economy by observing “how much the sharing economy in Europe should be regulated”.

This approach is also discussed in Europe among gig economy users and traditional economy workers. The part of participants indicated that the sharing economy has to be regulated as in the traditional economy. However, slightly fewer people also indicate that there could be a different and more efficient regulative approach for the emerging market sharing economy (Newlands, G., Lutz, C., & Fieseler, C. 2018).

According to another survey, the U.K. is the nation that is most accepting of the gig economy. The U.K.'s Uber market is the fastest expanding compared to other nations, and it is aimed at avoiding excessive regulation. Positive expectations for new trends and economic platforms should be more cautious, including the sharing economy. The report refers to the U.K.'s viewpoint as London's laissez-faire strategy. Because it thinks that as long as the government and its policies can be corporate, the sharing economy may lead to better innovation and beneficial consequences. In other words, regulations for prohibiting may run into problems as the sharing economy expands significantly. As the gig economy is based on sharing, it must promote more fair competition. As a result, it thinks that the sharing economy could be a solution to the problem of an unfair monopolistic system and the application of antitrust laws to government programs (Balaram, B., 2016).

POTENTIAL ACTIVITIES

The most crucial point of this subject also depends on how other countries or unions perceive the sharing economy. The “clarity” is vital for understanding the dimensions between countries and their relationship with the gig economy.

Although Codagnone, C., Abadie F., & Biagi, F. (2016) exposes that the need of regulation is about how the sharing economy aims to be “self-controlled”. The research identifies that the elements of the sharing economy, such as “communication”, “sharing”, and “platforms”, are opting to be self-controlled where the sharing economy creates its position under legal approaches.

The two critical challenges for the gig workers could be listed as “misclassification” and “gig workers' benefits”. Firstly, gig workers still have unclarity about their employment status, making regulations and employment standards difficult. Moreover, gig workers are not treated as in the traditional economy regarding benefits, such as insurance, holidays, etc. (Newlands, G., Lutz, C., & Fieseler, C. 2018).

The Court's Perspective of the United States is that gig workers have to be classified as “employees”. Therefore, the same standards and regulations will be applied to employees in the traditional economy and gig workers in the sharing economy. However, this solution creates critical disruption inside the sharing economy. Because the main pillars of the sharing economy are not designed based on “employee” standards, therefore, the classification of “employee” would create additional costs for the gig platforms due to the different algorithms that sharing economy currently applies to the gig companies. The second possible solution is that universal benefits, such as specific employees, could be designed to apply universally without classification. However, this is also an extensive study that requires detailed research for its adaptability. (Newlands, G., Lutz, C., & Fieseler, C. 2018).

Another article also highlights that the consensus view shows that existing laws are insufficient to support the sharing economy workers' rights. Therefore, the classification of independent contractors has to be improved significantly for gig workers. Indeed, workers' flexibility should

be considered in employment status as employment protection is essential to the digital economy's growth. (Means, B., & Seiner, J. A. 2015).

Moreover, there are different approaches among E.U. citizens. According to Newlands, G., Lutz, C., & Fieseler, C. (2018), Uber users request the need for regulations, whereas Blablacar users prefer a less regulative approach. This dilemma shows how the need for regulation differs among different platforms.

Adversely, the emerging economies and new concepts lead many businesses to benefit from existing laws. Many companies recognize to diminish the employee responsibilities. In the sharing economy, employee classification as independent workers let business owners less responsibility. Moreover, this situation leads companies to shortcut their costs. For example, companies do not pay immense taxes or social benefits for sharing economy workers because these platforms classify them as independent workers. However, as the pandemics increase, social benefits become essential. Therefore, gig workers recognized their lack of rights while obtaining these benefits.

Consequently, research from Newlands, G., Lutz, C., & Fieseler, C. (2018) explains that there are no apparent supporters for the laissez-faire approach. However, there are also no signals that complete control or regulative approaches should be applied into the sharing economy. According to research, a quarter of the European Union citizens support the regulative approach compared to the no-regulation approach. Therefore, the enhanced regulative approach may opt for the sharing economy beneficially.

California Assembly Bill 5 (AB5)

California considers the gig workers' rights and obligates the gig platforms to treat the gig workers adequately. The so-called "California assembly bill 5" standard indicates that entire gig workers

have to be received the fundamental employment standards no matter their employment status changes. (California Legislative Information, 2019).

Furthermore, the employment rights of the gig workers are an essential factor that has taken place in International Labour Union (ILO) to examine the potential threats and solutions. (Rani, U., & Dhir, R. K. 2020).

Sustainable Development Goals

Furthermore, Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) also consider the existence of the sharing economy and by the united nations. The growth of the sharing economy is expected to impact the SDGs, and the governments have the robust tools to directly impact this growth with possible policies, such as, reducing taxes or campaigns and promoting communication channels). (Karbliene, V., & Pilinkiene, V. 2021).

It is essential and straightforward that the sharing economy begins to set its place as part of the emerging economy; therefore, its relation with SDGs becomes inevitable. As proof, the sharing economy creates added value to essential economic patterns, such as labour-power, job creation and, therefore, GDP (Boar, A., Bastida, R., & Marimon, F. 2020).

Shareable and Sustainable Economies Law Center

There is a significant source, a report made available by the Sustainable Economies Law Center in collaboration with two nonprofit organizations. The sharing economy is the main emphasis of the report. In addition, there are numerous recommendations for government regulations that could have a positive impact on the sharing economy.

Taxes are significant since they address the most important problem surrounding the sharing economy. According to the paper, the government should implement a policy of harmonizing the taxes with the regular taxes for other relevant services or products. Finally, it may favourably increase the use of sharing economy platforms.

The pricing mechanism creates another issue. In terms of the sharing economy concept, the policies should establish affordable prices for consumers. Consequently, a supportive government strategy is required. In other words, policy should encourage sharing economy items to compete with their traditional economy counterparts in the market.

The report's principal conclusion is that the policies mentioned above and others can also be helpful, such as by creating jobs, which is also vital for government objectives. For instance, these sharing economy activities might not only help people earn more money but also help the unemployed community by helping them start new businesses (Ilhan, A. 2017).

Fair Share

The key conclusions of the sharing economy from the government's viewpoint are outlined in this paper, which RSA created with the assistance of innovative U.K. The paper also highlights the importance of a solid relationship between the public sector and the sharing economy.

In order to benefit both customers and employees, the report primarily highlights the potential of underutilized resources. In addition, the research emphasizes the distinctions between the sharing economy concept and the traditional business environment. The paper discusses the major problem with the traditional economy as being the monopolization of power by large corporations. It raises concerns about the covert operations of large corporations that play significant roles locally and

dominate from an economic perspective. Government duties and laws are currently in place to alter this mentality through improved thought processes. According to the research, the old economic processes are to suspect for the monopoly power problem. That causes unrest and antitrust violations against the government. This results from large corporations colluding and exerting influence over one another. They thereby have a monopolized impact on the economy (Ilhan, A. 2017).

The sharing economy has limitations as well. Such as the legal rights of workers. The report recommends that governments offer gig workers with a specialized platform. Such as unions, people are permitted to discuss their rights and request support under legal conditions because the gig economy is new and has deficiencies in various areas (Balaram, B., 2016).

CONCLUSION

This study seeks the position of government roles in the economy as to which one is the most beneficial for both the economy and citizens. Introducing government roles is vital, and policies are supposed to leverage the economy equally. Moreover, the government instruments assist in protecting the economy through violations and ignorance, such as avoiding monopolization and considering employment rights and social standards.

Moreover, this study shows that the sharing economy is a growing subject and has to be considered in the economy critically. Moreover, the consideration should not be limited to nations but also to international unions and organizations as the study shows that the sharing economy's existence occurs in the economy, where it continuously grows day to another. Furthermore, the importance

of employment raises besides the growth of the sharing economy. Therefore, the new approaches are supposed to cover the need for employment needs and social standards.

Additionally, the study shows the need for representative initiatives for the employment standards of sharing economy players. The current employment unions or syndicates do not consider the gig workers' rights and their social rights. The study exposes the need for institutional representatives, and various initiatives were already taken in different countries.

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Imagining Uncertainties of Neoliberalism: Covid-19 Pandemic and (Im)Possibilities of Change in Turkey's Labour Regime

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Abstract

This study critically engages with the 'end of neoliberalism' debates which have peaked following the uncertainties that came into place through the globally detrimental impacts of the Covid-19 pandemic. Inspired by poststructuralism that highlights the contingency and indeterminacy haunting crises, the paper suggests that uncertainties of the pandemic predetermine neither the end of neoliberalism nor its regeneration. It is argued that 'death or resurrection' of neoliberalism is conditioned in the ways through which subjects experience and imagine uncertainties (of the pandemic) and translate them into particular modes of actions. On that basis, the paper focuses on Turkey's labour regime in order to reveal how the imaginings and political practices of the Turkish state, companies operating within Turkey, and blue-collar workers regenerate the enduring principles of neoliberalism including (global) market competition, deregulation, labour market flexibility, individualism, and status-seeking.

Key Words: Covid-19 Pandemic, Uncertainty, Neoliberalism, (Global) Market Competition, Deregulation, Labour Market Flexibility, Individualism, Status-seeking.

The Covid-19 Pandemic and the Return of the Life-or-Death Controversies of Neoliberalism

There seems to be a common agreement among scholars, intellectuals, as well as political and economic elites that globally detrimental impacts of the Covid-19 pandemic have flowed multiple systems of contemporary neoliberal hegemony into a period of *uncertainty* and *crisis* (see Buğra et. al., 2020; Van Barnaveld et. al, 2020; Akkan, 2021; Warf, 2021; *World Economic Forum*). Controversies regarding the 'death' or 'reanimation' of neoliberalism have been carried out especially through critically engaging with current conditions of the economic system it empowers. It has been suggested that the pandemic, which had emerged on the hard ground culminated by the 2008 financial crisis, further weakened the economic system of neoliberalism due to its damaging impacts on the flow of capital, production, manufacturing, labour regime, distribution of wealth, increase in energy costs, inflation rates, and supply chain.

'Uncertainty', as evident in its name, involves a potentiality towards change. Nevertheless, it is also a terrain in which the protean direction(s) and contents of change springs out of it, and, on that basis, the potential system of relations to be restructured in the near future is *unknown*. Whilst moments of uncertainties may involve productive political opportunities for the making of a more liveable, just, participatory, and egalitarian systems of relations, they may also contain risks for the restructuring of new socio-political and/or economic orders in which

complex regimes of inequalities and injustices of neoliberal hegemony are rigidified more extensively.

Prior to the pandemic, the 2008 financial crisis was the most recent example in which this latter possibility of neoliberalism's regeneration had been experienced. During that historical period of uncertainty, scholarly literature and intellectual debates were once again shaped by controversies regarding the 'end' or 'death' of neoliberalism (see Kotz, 2009; Jacques, 2016; Sitaraman, 2019; Stiglitz 2019a, 2019b). Nevertheless, as pointed out by Peck et. al. (2012: 265, emphasis is added), although "[n]eoliberalism may have lost another of its nine lives in the Great Recession of 2008–2009... it is still very much with us. In fact, *the most perverse legacy of the global crisis has been a further entrenchment of neoliberal rationalities and disciplines.*" Departing from a similar vantage point, Duncan (2022) comparatively discusses the politics of the United Kingdom (UK) administration during the 2008 financial crisis and the pandemic era in order to reveal how even the state-oriented welfare politics in both of these moments have paved the way for the restructuring of neoliberal hegemony in the country.

These analyses illustrate a literature trend striving for explaining the resilience of neoliberal hegemony (see also, Crouch, 2011; Mirowski, 2013; Babacan et. al., 2021; Šumonja, 2021). Whilst controversies on the 'death' of neoliberalism have reached their peak again during the uncertainties of the pandemic era (see Avineri, 2020; Cherkaoui, 2020; Golub, 2020; Wong, 2020), scholars of the abovementioned literature trend are more careful to not to make a quick jump into this conclusion. Instead, their findings raise doubts on the possibility that neoliberalism (with its core principles such as financialization, individualism, empowering free market competition, commodification, and deregulation) may have ended up with regeneration.

In the light of these scholarly and intellectual debates, it seems timely to conceptualise the notion of uncertainty and to develop theoretical perspectives regarding how to approach it. In so doing, we may have a better view not only to trace new political (im)possibilities that uncertainties of the pandemic open for near future, but also to explain the relationship between uncertainty and the endurance, resilience, stickiness or reproduction of neoliberalism. Neoliberalism is often used pejoratively both in the academic and public sites. It takes the form of an empty signifier (Laclau, 1996a: 36-46), encompassing and representing many of the values that democratic political ethos stigmatises. Welch (2012: 221, 222), for instance, identifies neoliberalism and the economic system it empowers as being built upon values that democracy demeans such as unequal property relations, exploitation of labour, oppression of working people on a global scale, colonialism, and imperialist plunder. If neoliberalism involves all these counter-democratic values, then how can we explain this stigmatised political ideology's capacity of resurrection? Why do we have to constantly pose ourselves the question "still neoliberalism?" (Peck and Theodore, 2019) in order to understand and explain the contemporary global conditions that we have been living in? How can we explain "the strange non-death of neo-liberalism" (Crouch, 2011) as well as its logics of production and reproduction, of generation and regeneration despite having been accused for a long time as the 'real kernel' of deep and complex regimes of inequalities?

Addressing the neoliberal logics of reproduction and their resilience is clearly a complex and challenging task. Having been aware of this complexity, this paper avoids conducting a

subsumptive approach. It does not claim to cover all neoliberal politics of social reproduction. In fact, a wide range of scholarly literature (but see Larner, 2000; Huber and Solt, 2004; Bohle and Greskovits, 2007; Mudge, 2008; Peck et. al. 2009; Connel and Dados, 2014; Madariaga, 2017; Tansel, 2019a; 2019b) have already comprehensively studied from various perspectives the diverse forms of structural-institutional patterns through which neoliberalism has been reproduced and institutionalised in various modes in different times and places. Instead, borrowing Dean's (2009) famous "neoliberal fantasies" phrase, I will limit myself with the ideological/fantasmatic dimension of neoliberalism. I will focus on the case of Turkey's labour regime in order to discuss how neoliberal values of (global) market competition, deregulation, labour market flexibility, individualisation, and status-seeking have been constantly imagined, practiced and reproduced by the Turkish state, companies, and self-employed and blue collar workers even in the moments of crises and uncertainties. In the light of this discussion, I will argue that the neoliberal fantasies that haunt socio-political imaginaries of these actors conceal the possibilities of change and produce opportunities for neoliberalism's regeneration.

Theorizing 'the Pandemic': Uncertainties and (Im)Possibilities of Change

Since the publication of Marx and Engel's *Communist Manifesto* in 1848 (1983: 203-241, see especially 203-217), Marxist political literature has been aware that crises can very effectively serve for the hegemonic reproduction and regeneration of (neoliberal) capitalism and its social systems. Therefore, it could be argued that crises are not purely exterior to the logic of (neoliberal) capitalism. For the latter involves the capacity of and toolboxes for taking advantages of crises to regenerate itself through reregulating socio-political relations in compliance with its enduring principles. Accordingly, global uncertainties of the pandemic could also be considered as a moment of crisis involving not only glimmerings of exit to a post-neoliberal age, but also remainders of its reproduction. Henceforth, the first task to analyse the opportunities for and threats against replacing neoliberal hegemony is to approach the notion of uncertainty as a moment that involve possibilities of change *and* of regeneration.

Poststructuralist thinkers such as Laclau, and Derrida draw on the concepts of dislocation and undecidability respectively in order to address the conditions leading to reproduction, dissolution, and/or transformation of hegemonic formations. These theoretical concepts highlight the productivity of approaching the pandemic conditions as a moment of uncertainty *with no predetermined possibilities following it*. According to Laclau (1990), *any* structural arrangement and/or political identity (neoliberalism, socialism, populism, conservatism, social democracy, etc.) is inherently dislocated due to their ontologically contingent, partial and relational characters. The notion of hegemony that he develops in many of his works (but see Laclau and Mouffe, 1985; Laclau, 1996b, 2000a, 2000b, 2000c) refers to a political logic to stabilise an already unstable field. Nevertheless, the notion of dislocation also involves a second locus in Laclau's theoretical framework. This second locus is related to the notion of 'event,' referring to a 'moment' in which the ultimately dislocated and contingent character of hegemonic systems gain visibility. In this secondary meaning of dislocation, protean mobilisations towards change as well as practices to reanimate hegemonic systems become political possibilities that are taking place on an undecidable terrain. As Laclau (1996c: 78) maintains: "Undecidability should be literally taken as that condition from which no course of action necessarily follows. This means that we should not make it the necessary source of *any* concrete decision in the ethical or political sphere."

In line with this theoretical perspective, this study identifies the pandemic as a moment of dislocation (in the second sense of the term) rupturing the normalised patterns of neoliberal socio-political relations preceding it. The conditions with regards to the regeneration or transformation of neoliberal hegemony in the post-pandemic era spring out of the undecidable terrain of this crises-ridden moment. Nevertheless, undecidability does not mean ‘anything goes’ and/or ‘everything is possible.’ On the contrary, the undecidable terrain is partly structured and confined with the previously structured (now visibly dislocated) socio-political conditions (Norval, 2004: 148). In a nutshell, hegemony-in-crisis refers to the emerging visibilities of the dislocated character of extant socio-political relations accompanied with the emergence of new modes of subjective experiencing and identifications. The crisis at stake can be politically productive or unproductive as possibilities of change emerge together with the remainders of the extant order. In such a context of uncertainty, ‘change towards new’ acquires protean forms whereas ‘reiterating the old’ through concealing or resisting possibilities of change cannot be ruled out.

Once dislocation and undecidability shape our theoretical perspective towards uncertainty and crisis, then our analysis also leads us to formulate the latter two notions as important terrains for discursive performativity (Butler, 1999: vii-xxvi; Staten, 1984; Austin, 1975; Wittgenstein, 1986). That is, the ways through which crises or uncertainties are subjectively and discursively experienced, imagined, and identified are coterminous with the ways in which subject (states, institutions, individuals, etc.) configures its modes of actions. Possibilities of certainties of the post-pandemic era follow from socially constructed imaginaries that have been springing out under the uncertainties of the pandemic era. Therefore, what needs to be analysed is the protean ways through which uncertainties of the pandemic are imagined by various socio-political actors within and in relation to a dislocated neoliberal terrain, and what sorts of actions do these imaginaries have led to.

Imagining Uncertainties of the Pandemic: The Case of Turkey

In one of his recent articles in which the pandemic is construed as a transitory moment from crisis *in* neoliberalism to crises *of* neoliberalism, Saad-Filho (2021: 133) indicates that “the pandemic has revealed the limitations of neoliberalism like never before, with adverse consequences for the legitimacy of capitalism itself, and opening unprecedented spaces for left political activity.” As outlined in the discussion above, these new unprecedented spaces for left (and right) political activity open the socio-political landscape to meaning construction and practical political engagement processes. The potentialities to transform and regenerate aspects of neoliberalism are contingently conditioned in these processes. Taking this contingency into account, following a contextualisation of the fragility of Turkish economy prior to, during, and after the pandemic, I shall turn to a discussion on the ways through which the Turkish state, companies, and blue-collar workers have imagined, experienced, and identified uncertainties of the pandemic and have configured their actions accordingly. Such an analysis on experiencing uncertainties of the pandemic provide us with an understanding on the relationship between regeneration of neoliberal fantasies and the reconstruction of neoliberal regimes of inequalities within the context of Turkey’s labour regime.

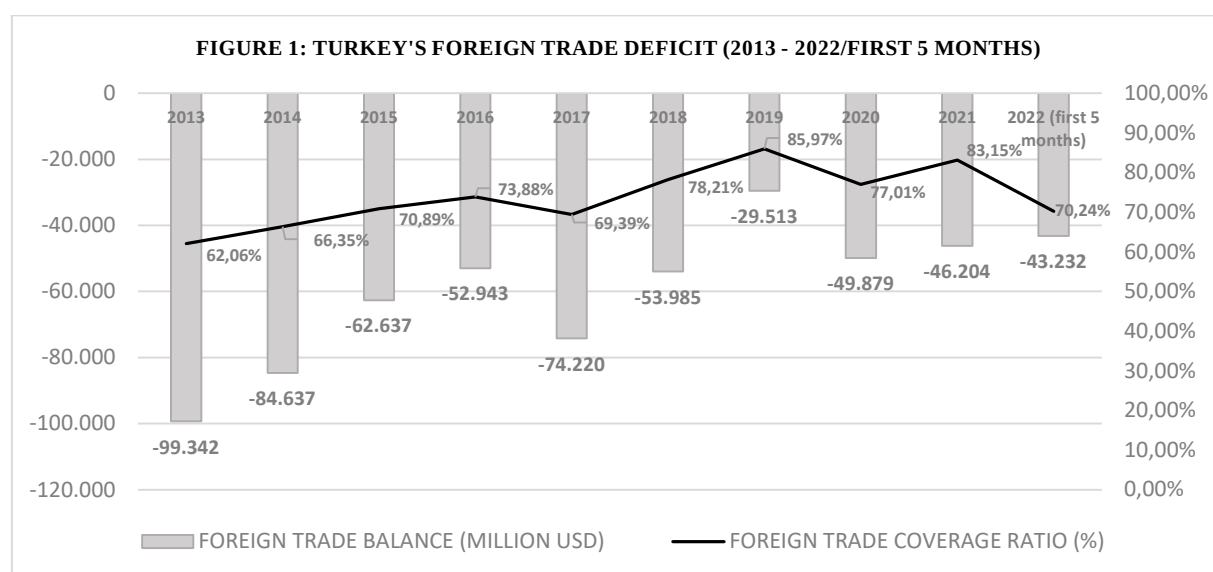
Contextualising the Pandemic: The Fragility of Turkey’s Economy

Although the pandemic hit the entire global context, its detrimental impacts on states, societies and societal segments diverge significantly. As global inequalities of neoliberal

hegemony had already been prevalent prior to the pandemic (Saad-Filho, 2021), some states were caught by it in a more disadvantaged position vis-à-vis others. The Turkish state was among these disadvantaged actors. The unnamed economic crisis in the country has begun to be experienced much more detrimentally during and after the pandemic. According to the official data provided by the *Turkish Statistical Institute* (TÜİK)¹, prior to the emergence of the pandemic in March 2020, the country had already been suffering from a relatively high rate of unemployment with 13.2 per cent (Table 1). This chronic problem of unemployment was accompanied with huge foreign trade deficit (due to the country's dependency on importing energy and natural resources) as indicated in the website of the Ministry of Trade (Figure 1). Having a GDP around US Dollar (USD) 720 Billion, which had gradually declined since 2013 from USD 957 Billion (The World Bank, 2022) (Figure 2), the foreign trade deficit creates an average of 8.5 per cent burden over Turkey's economy.

TABLE 1: UNEMPLOYMENT RATE IN TURKEY (MARCH 2013 - MARCH 2022)	
YEAR	UNEMPLOYMENT RATE (%)
Mar.13	10,1%
Mar.14	9,7%
Mar.15	10,6%
Mar.16	10,1%
Mar.17	11,7%
Mar.18	10,1%
Mar.19	14,1%
Mar.20	13,2%
Mar.21	13,1%
Mar.22	11,5%

Source: TÜİK (2013a, 2014a, 2015a, 2016a, 2017a, 2018a, 2019a, 2020a, 2021a, 2022a)



Source: The Republic of Turkey Ministry of Trade (2022)



Source: The World Bank (2022)

In addition to these two chronic problems of unemployment and foreign trade deficit, the constant decline in the currency value of the Turkish Lira (TRY) against USD and EURO (EUR) should be considered another key indicator to observe the fragility of Turkey's economy prior to, during, and after the pandemic (Table 2). According to the data provided by the Central Bank of the Republic of Turkey (TCMB), on March 1, 2019—that is, a year before the beginning of the pandemic and related policy implementations in the country—the currency value of USD 1 was TRY 5,3442 whereas EUR 1 bought TRY 6,0762. Prior to the beginning of the pandemic on March 2, 2020, the value of TRY suffered from a decline around 16 percent against USD, and 13 per cent against EUR. Following the first year of the pandemic (March 1, 2021), TRY had experienced another decline in its value against USD and EUR respectively around 17 and 27 per cents. Starting with the post-pandemic era on March 1, 2022, TRY had crashed against USD and EUR by losing its value respectively around 90 and 76 per cents. By the date of June 17, 2022, USD 1 cost TRY 17,2905 whereas EUR 1 bought TRY 18,1730. Overall, in slightly more than two years from March 1, 2019 to June 17, 2022, TRY gradually had lost value around 323 per cent against USD and 299 per cent against EUR. Such value loss has made significant impact on the rise of inflation due to the rapid increase in the prices of a wide range of commodities and sectors including petroleum, energy, construction, housing, rents, production, food, and transportation.

TABLE 2: TRY EXCHANGE RATES IN REFERENCE TO USD AND EUR				
YEAR	TRY/USD	TRY VALUE LOSS AGAINST USD (%)	TRY/EUR	TRY VALUE LOSS AGAINST EUR (%)
1 MARCH 2019	5,3442	N/A	6,0772	N/A
2 MARCH 2020	6,2192	16,37%	6,8903	13,37%
1 MARCH 2021	7,3029	17,42%	8,8059	27,80%
1 MARCH 2022	13,8854	90,13%	15,5556	76,64%
17 JUNE 2022	17,2905	24,52%	18,1730	16,82%
1 MARCH 2019 - 17 JUNE 2022	N/A	323,59%	N/A	299,03%

Source: TCMB (2022)

The final indicator to observe the fragility of Turkey's economy is the rapid increase in the inflation rates, which has concomitantly caused excessive increases in the cost of living. Based on TÜİK data, Table 3 demonstrates inflation rates in the country from May 2013 to May 2022. What seems to be striking in the data is the rapid rise in the inflation rates (73,5%) following the country's transition to the post-pandemic era from May 2021 to May 2022.

TABLE 3: INFLATION RATES IN TURKEY (MAY 2013 - MAY 2022)		
YEAR	INFLATION RATE % (YEARLY BASIS)	INFLATION RATE % (MONTHLY BASIS)
May.13	6,51%	0,15%
May.14	9,66%	0,40%
May.15	8,09%	0,56%

May.16	6,58%	0,58%
May.17	11,72%	0,45%
May.18	12,15%	1,62%
May.19	18,71%	0,95%
May.20	11,39%	1,36%
May.21	16,59%	0,69%
May.22	73,50%	2,98%

Source: TÜİK (2013b, 2014b, 2015b, 2016b, 2017b, 2018b, 2019b, 2020b, 2021b, 2022b)

Taken together, the negative changes in Turkey's foreign trade deficit, in the value of the TRY against USD and EUR, and in inflation rates accompanied with the relatively stable problem of unemployment in the country reveal that the pandemic era deepened the crises that the Turkish economy had already been suffering from. It was in such a context that various actors in Turkey encountered the pandemic and mobilised their actions in relation to the hard conditions stemming out of economic fragilities and vulnerabilities.

The Pandemic of the Turkish State: Taking the Advantage in Global Market Competition

The Turkish political administration's discourses and policies against the pandemic were partly constituted in relation to the economic bottlenecks that the country has been suffering from roughly since 2018. On that basis, the authoritarian administration of the Justice and Development Party (*Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi* – AKP) under the Presidency of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan had imagined the pandemic as an opportunity to fix the disadvantaged status of Turkish economy. The AKP administration implemented policies that were allegedly empowering Turkey's competitiveness in the global market. 'Keeping the wheels turning' was the major motto of President Erdoğan since the beginning of the pandemic. As early as March 2020, he delivered a speech that clearly revealed his intentions to mobilize the country towards production in order to improve its competitiveness in the global market:

"At this point we cannot know the impact the period we live in will have on mankind. It is very difficult to guess in which direction the world will evolve... It is clear, however, that nothing can remain as it is. We are entering into a period of radical political, economic and social change on a global scale. It is essential for Turkey to take an advantageous position in this photograph" (Erdoğan, quoted in Mouduros, forthcoming).

This passage is a clear illustration of the Turkish state's imagining of uncertainties of the pandemic as an opportunity to consolidate Turkey's position in compliance with the hegemonic patterns of neoliberal ideology. Concomitant with this, while policies of lockdowns and curfews to prevent the spread of the virus were implemented especially towards citizens who did not take part in the labour market (such as retired people and students), a wide range of other policies had been implemented towards the working segments in order to sustain production and economic growth in general. In his study, Öktem (2021: 6) states that labour market policy is at the heart of AKP government's social policy response to the pandemic, and identifies three major labour market policies: Short-Term Work Compensation, ban on firing workers for employment protection, and Unpaid Leave Benefit (*Nakdi Ücret Desteği*). In addition to these three, boosting consumer credits and bank loans to sustain consumption and production can be considered another major pandemic-related AKP policy. A review of these policies reveal the ways through which AKP policies during the pandemic were based on the logic of global market competitiveness, thus regenerated neoliberal hegemony in the context of Turkey's labour regime.

Short-Term Work Compensation (March 25, 2020 –June 30, 2021) is a policy in which the Turkish state takes the responsibility of paying 60 per cent of employees’ gross salaries unless the payment does not exceed 150 per cent of gross minimum wage (a maximum of TRY 5.336,25 equivalent to USD 614,75 as of 30 June 2021). Considering that the “unemployment benefits are set at 40% of the gross wage with a cap of 80% of the gross minimum wage... Short-Term Work Compensation is a comparatively generous scheme by Turkey’s standards.” (Öktem 2021:6). As indicated by the Minister of Labour and Social Security, approximately 3.8 million employees had benefitted from the Compensation (ÇSGB, 2021).

The ban on firing workers (April 16, 2020 –June 30, 2021) was the second policy of AKP administration and was aimed at keeping the already high unemployment rate relatively stable (Öktem, 2021: 6). The last policy, which is *unpaid leave permission with unpaid leave benefit* (17 April 2020 – 30 June 2021) aimed at rendering ban on firing workers acceptable to employers. The state paid the benefits of employees who were put on unpaid leave, and temporarily postponed their social security payments. However, as pointed out by Öktem (2021: 6), “benefits under the unpaid leave scheme were very low compared to wage levels, Short-Term Work Compensation and unemployment insurance benefits.” In order to maintain this policy scheme, the government increased the cost of employees’ withdrawal acts of their contracts. “[I]f employees quit their jobs, they would forfeit certain rights (e.g. severance pay, which can be substantial in Turkey)” (Öktem, 2021: 6). Under these circumstances, 3 million employees were put on unpaid leave during the pandemic (*HaberTürk*, 2021).

According to the data presented by the Minister of Labour and Social Security, a total of 8 million people had benefitted from Short-Term Work Compensation, Unpaid Leave Benefit, and Unemployment Insurance (which is a regular policy in Turkey) (ÇSGB, 2021). The cost of these policies to the state was around TRY 57 Billion (USD 6,5 Billion as of 1 July 2021). Given that the workforce in Turkey is estimated by TÜİK as 26.8 million in 2020, and 28.8 in 2021, it could be argued that approximately 30 per cent of the workforce had benefitted from these supports. To put that in reverse, more than 70 per cent (approximately 20 million) of Turkey’s workforce continued to regularly involve in the labour market in order to keep the wheels turning (for critical approaches to the working conditions of active labour force in Turkey during the pandemic see Sarıöz-Gökten, 2021).

In addition to these three policies, AKP administration also *boosted consumer credits* to keep consumption alive, which is considered by the government as a fundamental parameter of keeping the wheels turning. This could also be considered as a definite example of keeping state subsidies at the minimum by directing citizens and companies to the instruments of financial sectors. Whilst the ‘Economic Stability Shield’ package introduced by the government to cope with the pandemic contains a budget around TRY 100 Billion for social policies, the use of credit loans during the pandemic was around TRY 3.2 Trillion. The official data provided by the Risk Centre Branch of Banks Association of Turkey reveal the rapid increase in loan debts of companies and individuals during and after the pandemic (Tables 4 and 5).

TABLE 4: LOAN DEBT GENERAL						
	OVREALL MONEY LOAN		COMMERCIAL LOAN		RETAIL LOAN	
DATE	TOTAL (TRY TN.)	INCREASE IN YEARLY BASIS (%)	TOTAL (TRY TN.)	INCREASE IN YEARLY BASIS (%)	TOTAL (TRY TN.)	INCREASE IN YEARLY BASIS (%)

April 2019	2,708	13%	2,2	18%	0,548	-0,4%
April 2020	3,25	20%	2,6	20%	0,664	21%
April 2021	3,992	23%	3,1	20%	0,903	36%
April 2022	5,938	49%	4,8	55%	1,137	26%

Source: Banks Association of Turkey - Risk Centre (2019, 2020, 2021, 2022)

TABLE 5: LOAN DEBT OF INDIVIDUAL USERS				
DATE	NUMBER OF RETAIL LOAN USERS (MILLION)	INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF RETAIL LOAN USERS (MILLION)	AVERAGE CREDIT BALANCE (TRY 1000)	NUMBER OF FIRST TIME RETAIL LOAN USERS (THOUSAND)
April 2019	31,5	1,1	17,4	103
April 2020	32,4	0,9	21	920
April 2021	34,5	2,1	26,1	70
April 2022	36,1	1,6	31,5	132

Source: Banks Association of Turkey - Risk Centre (2019, 2020, 2021, 2022)

Overall, it seems clear that the Turkish state's and AKP administration's labour market policies under pandemic conditions stayed within the parameters of neoliberal capitalism. Concerning with the disadvantaged and fragile characteristic of the Turkish economy, uncertainties of the pandemic era were imagined as an opportunity to improve Turkey's global market competitiveness. To achieve this goal (though failed), the government policies targeted minimizing the detrimental impacts of the pandemic on labour market. Through this mode of engagement with uncertainties, AKP administration strived for keeping the wheels turning while at the same time keeping state subsidies at the minimum. Whilst majority of the labour market were mobilised by the government to ensure unhindered production, companies and individuals were directed to financial sectors in order to ensure growth, consumption and production. By the same token, the government strived for keeping—on paper at least—the unemployment rate at the minimum. From that lens, (global) market competitiveness as one of the core principles of neoliberal economy seems to be at the heart of the constitution and regulation of AKP policies. Hence, it could be argued that the Turkish state under AKP administration is one of the definite actors to regenerate the hegemonic patterns of neoliberal capitalism during and after the pandemic era.

The Pandemic of Companies: Seeking Profit through Deregulation and Labour Market Flexibility

As detrimental impacts of the pandemic were not experienced identically by all countries, the same could also be argued for economic sectors within countries. While some sectors such as tourism, transportation, and construction were hit hard by the pandemic (Voyvoda and Yeldan, 2020), food retailing market, e-commerce, and online food delivery services were affected either minimally (Dilek and Öztürk, 2021) or positively. Food and beverage sector is an interesting case to analyse impacts of the pandemic on market sectors. For this sector is related to other fields of market including e-commerce and platform-based economy, courier-

delivery services and gig economy in general, and restaurants and food retail sectors. A discussion on this sector will also enable us to understand that not only the Turkish state, but also companies imagined and practiced uncertainties of the pandemic in compliance with the principles of neoliberalism, among which deregulation and labour market flexibility are the most evident.

Lockdowns, curfews, and social distance policies were the main precautions taken by the Turkish state in order to prevent the spread of Covid-19 virus. These policies naturally put some branches within service sector, which comprises approximately 55 per cent of Turkey's labour force, into a very difficult position. Especially restaurants and cafes suffered from these policies (Gürçam and Güneş, 2021). The circular issued by the Ministry of Interior (2020) on March 21, 2020 required all restaurants and cafes to serve with limited number of personnel and only in the form of take away and delivery services.

At the same time, however, the digitalised and platform-based infrastructure of Turkey's service sector facilitated an opportunity to partially cover the negativities that restaurants and cafes had suffered from due to precautions to limit physical proximity. Among these digitalised services, the *Yemeksepeti* Company was the most prevailing one. Established in 2001, *Yemeksepeti* is the oldest online digital restaurant site in Turkey. Its business model works through increasing the numbers of member restaurants and cafes and by taking commissions varying from 8 to 12 per cent from each online order made by the users through its website or mobile application (*HaberTürk*, 2021).

Until recently, *Yemeksepeti* was a monopolising force given that no other company got involved into the sector it operates. Turning into a success story within the field of entrepreneurship, the company was bought by German *DeliveryHero* Company in 2015 for USD 589 Million (*CNN Türk*, 2015). Following the emergence of the *Getir* Company in the late 2010s, online food and beverage sector was diversified. Both companies have been delivering services on national scale, and operating in some other countries as well. Whereas *Yemeksepeti* established companies in the Middle Eastern region, *Getir* enlarged its field of activity by moving towards Europe and North America.

Prior to the pandemic, the operation fields of *Yemeksepeti* and *Getir* were segmented. Whilst *Yemeksepeti* dominated the field of online restaurants, *Getir* was specialized within the field of online food retailing services such as supermarket and grocery items. During the pandemic era, new players emerged within the online food and beverage sector. Largest supermarket chains (such as *Migros*, and *CarreFourSA*) have begun to provide online order and delivery services within the field of food retailing. Largest online shopping sites (such as *TrendYol*, and *HepsiBurada*) diversified their services by getting involved in online food retailing and restaurant orders. *Yemeksepeti* begins involving in online food retailing and grocery services by establishing two new sub-branches called *Banabi*' and *Yemeksepeti Mahalle*, whereas *Getir* gets involved in online restaurant services by establishing *GetirYemek*.

These developments could be considered as an example to see how companies operating within the branches of online food and beverage sectors experienced uncertainties of pandemic as opportunities to increase their growth and profit. Lockdown and curfews had made local restaurants and cafes dependent on digital platforms given that these platforms turned into their main sites of receiving orders. Concomitant with this, digital platforms of food and beverage sector had turned into sites for competition of growth and profit among

multiple companies providing online services. Thus, far from creating a dismantling effect over the enduring principles of neoliberalism, it seems that the inclinations of companies during the pandemic have led to the regeneration of (neo)liberal capitalist conception of civil society that Marx (1992: 221) identifies as ‘the war of all against all.’ Pandemic conditions did not only lead to the emergence of opportunities towards the ‘end’ of neoliberalism, but also facilitated the formations of new digital markets governed by the principles of neoliberalism.

Over the past two years, e-commerce has rapidly grown in Turkey. According to the data provided by the *E-Commerce Info Platform* (2022), which operates under the Ministry of Trade, the number of companies engaging with e-commerce activities had increased 275 per cent in 2020. While the number of companies engaging with e-commerce activities was 68.457 in 2019, in 2020 this number had increased to 256.861. Concomitant with that, the e-commerce trade volume had increased 66 per cent from TRY 136 Billion to TRY 226,2 Billion, whilst the number of online orders expanded from 1,36 billion to 2,29 Billion (68 per cent). The rapid growth of e-commerce also showed its impact on the online food and supermarket sector. While in 2019 the trade volume of the sector was around TRY 2,8 Billion, in 2020 it climbed up to TRY 5,7 Billion with an increase around 283 per cent. This growth trend is observed also in the first 6 months of 2021 as stated in the *Platform’s* website. The trade volume of digital food sector increased to TRY 6,1 Billion. Compared to the first 6 months of 2020, the growth rate was demonstrated in the *Platform’s* website as 198 per cent.

These growth rates in the sector could also be traced from the rapid growth of *Yemeksepeti*. As indicated by the CEO of the company (*Capital*, 2021), the real growth rate of *Yemeksepeti* in 2021 was two times higher than their expected growth rate. In the first year of the pandemic in 2020, the number of users increased from 15 million to 20 million, whereas 32,5 thousand new restaurants became members of the company’s website (*Dünya Gazetesi*, 2021). According to the data provided by the CEO of the company (*Capital*, 2021), by the end of 2021, *Yemeksepeti* has had more than 25 million users with more than 55 thousand member restaurants and delivering services in all of the 81 provinces of Turkey and 400 out of 522 districts.

The rapid growth of e-commerce companies in tandem with the increase in the competition especially within the field of food and beverage sector naturally brings new labour needs. Among these needs, the most crucial one is the empowerment of delivery and courier services. It is within this labour field that companies’ practices of deregulation as well as their implementations of new forms of control over labour can be observed. As the need for delivery and courier services increase, companies strived for finding new possibilities to minimize the cost of labour through developing new types of labour sector. The so-called ‘self-employed courier’ model (*esnaf kurye modeli*) is one of these new labour sectors.

Self-employed courier is a labour model which has been recently developing in Turkey in order to meet the increasing needs in the field of delivery and courier services following the rapid growth in the demands on online shopping. Although no well-structured statistical data exists, an estimated 100 thousand people are currently working as self-employed couriers (Üstün, 2022). Self-employed courier could be considered as an exemplary act, illustrating the interconnection between platform-based digitalised market economy, and the advancement of gig economy based on flexible, cheap and insecure labour.² More specifically, it is a

particularly illuminating example to track the central impact of companies' deregulation practices through which platform-based economy and gig economy are linked to each other. This model is based on bending and loosening the Turkish Labour Law no. 4857 and the Social Security and General Health Insurance Law no. 5510 in order to improve company profit through minimizing employers' responsibilities, and labour cost. According to these two legislations, employers are required to meet the social security payments and health insurances of employees. They are required to regulate their wage scales in compliance with the minimum wage arrangements based on the implementations of these legislations. Additionally, they are responsible to supply necessary equipment (vehicles, uniforms, helmets, etc.) and their maintenance. It is also mandatory for employers to arrange working hours and work conditions of employees in compliance with these legislations. In the self-employed courier model, however, employers are not responsible for any of these requirements. Requiring self-employed couriers to establish their own companies, to pay their own social security and health insurances, and to purchase and maintain all necessary equipment by themselves, companies avoid employment costs. Through this model, they also avoid employer responsibilities especially in cases of accidents, absences due to illness, criminal acts, and abovementioned legal requirements. Setting up contracts on piecework payment, they also avoid taking responsibility of regulating workdays, working hours, and work conditions of self-employed couriers. As indicated in a report written by Kıdak (2021) to the All Transport Workers' Union (*Tüm Taşıma İşçileri Sendikası –TÜMTİS*), the self-employed courier is a model through which employers not only avoid taking legal responsibilities, but also reduce labour costs and seize the surplus value provided by courier deliveries:

This model, which includes reducing the labour costs by eliminating the conventional paid labour order and seizing more of the surplus value produced, is known as “self-employed courier” or “entrepreneurial courier.” Companies encourage both the workers they employ and the job seekers to work in this model with slogans such as “be your own boss” or “take your car.” In this way, the employer gets rid of the responsibilities brought by the labour and social security laws through concealing its employer identity. (Kıdak, 2021: 44)

Finally, as this model is based on so-called ‘entrepreneurship’, by law self-employed couriers are not considered as labourers, thus cannot take part in trade unions (Ceviz, 2022; Kıdak, 2022, 2021).

On that basis, it could be argued that the self-employed courier is an unconventional type of employment model that enforces gig economy through the deregulatory acts of companies. While companies operating within the field of online food and beverages platform are ensuring their growth even more than they expected, part of this growth has been coming into place through their development of new employment models such as self-employed couriers that empowers gig economy. This model is a definite example to see how uncertainties of pandemic were imagined by companies not only as opportunities for growth and profit but also moments of enhancing deregulation and labour market flexibility through bending relevant legislations for cheap labour costs. Thus, apart from the Turkish state, companies in Turkey could also be considered as another set of actors that imagine and practice uncertainties of the pandemic in line with neoliberal vision through which they have actively regenerated its enduring principles of deregulation and labour market flexibility in order to ensure growth, profit, and cheap labour.

The Pandemic of Workers: Empowering Individualism and Status-Seeking

It is not difficult to see the social impacts of the crisis of Turkey's economy, which has deepened under the pandemic conditions. In the context of the crisis, prices of basic necessities such as rent and food are constantly increasing. Buying a house or a vehicle has become almost a dream for the great majority of the population. Gasoline and diesel prices change almost daily. Considering the increases in the costs of education, special care, and transportation fares, it is possible to argue that the poor and middle classes have been severely affected by the unnamed economic crisis in the country. Increases in the salaries of employees in the private sector are far below the inflation rates. What is more, over the past five years, the share of labour in the country's GDP has gradually decreased from 32 to 24 per cent (Evrensel, 2022b). Adding to this traumatic picture the increasing pressures over working conditions, and overwhelming workloads of employees during the pandemic, by the beginning of the post-pandemic era in 2022, the country had begun to hear workers' loud voice saying 'enough with this misery.'

"According to the report jointly prepared by the Labo[u]r Studies Community and daily *Evrensel*, Turkey saw 108 strikes in January and February 2022. At least 17 thousand workers joined the strikes" (Bianet, 2022). Workers from a wide range of sectors varying from iron mining (Akarsu, 2022: 19-26), sock factories (Ergine and Uysal, 2022a: 27-30), textile (Kar and Baylav, 2022: 37-45), metal industries (Kozan et. al, 2022: 53; Kazak, 2022: 57-58), and construction (İmrek, 2022: 59-67) to courier (Ergine and Uysal, 2022b: 31-36) and storehouses (Turgut, 2022: 69-73) rallied wildcat strikes against rapid declines in their life standards. As indicated by Birelma and Sert (2022: 8-15), these strikes involve similar and different characteristics. They had taken place in different provinces. Extreme majority of them (105 out of 108) were carried out by blue-collar workers. 96 of these strikes were rallied against low salary increases. Half of these strikes were carried out without the involvement of trade unions, whereas 26 of them were rallied by independent unions, and 30 of them were organised by unions that are members of large union confederations (such as DİSK, and TÜRK-İŞ). Although strikers have shared common demands and expectations such as better salaries and better working conditions, they also had different stories and experiences regarding uncertainties and crises of the pandemic. Having been aware of this diversity, I shall focus on the strikes of one particular workers' segment: the (self-employed) couriers of *Yemeksepeti*.³ Notwithstanding the productive opportunities these strikes carry out for the making of a more equal and just labour regime as they involve potentialities of collective act, demand for participating in the decision making processes, and solidarity among individual workers and unions, I will conduct a critical reading of this mobilisation in order to gain visibility to the social imaginings and practices among working-class segments that cultivate neoliberal principles of individualism and status-seeking.

A life of working 11 hours a day, 6 days a week, for minimum wage, with high risk of accident and pressure... This life is embedded in an insecure ground with self-paid social security and health insurance, and with no regulations on working hours and conditions. As if these were not enough, most self-employed couriers have bank loan debts and credits as they were required by *Yemeksepeti* to purchase their own vehicles and equipment. And this employment model has been growing amidst the economic crisis with severe increases in life expenses. Under these circumstances, a self-employed courier striker describes his everyday life in the following:

‘Before the pandemic, it wasn’t that hard... With the pandemic, our lives have become unbearable. I’m 28 years old. My life is a journey from home to work and from work to home. I work in 11 hours shift system, from 21:00 to 08:00. Shifts change on weekly basis. I have one day off, and I [had to] sleep that day. In the pandemic, there were days when I walked home for 1,5 hours after work at night. There was no service, the buses were also limited. So I had to walk. Our life is about work! I haven’t been to a cinema, a theatre or a concert for two years. I haven’t had a girlfriend for a long time; I forgot how to talk to women. We have no other life but to earn money to pay off debt. Our married friends cannot spend time with their spouses and children.’ (Ergine and Uysal, 2022c)

The ‘misery’ that courier strikers have been contesting is not confined to their social lives. As voiced out by other courier strikers, they have been suffering from pressures at work as well. Most notably, couriers complain about ‘low salaries,’ ‘speed-based performance,’ and ‘mobbing’:

We will face with sanctions if we cannot approve the package in 15 seconds. The Company asks us to constantly watch the app [which is an invitation to accidents]. Although our job is delivery, they ask us to do many other jobs including cleaning the toilettes. If we reject doing these jobs, they immediately take report on us. (Uslu, 2022)

At first, I was making good money. But at the beginning of the year, they pretended as if they had increased our salaries but actually they did not. They increased our gross salary to TRY 5.000. This means that our net salary was TRY 4.200, which is below the minimum wage.⁴ They told us that ‘if you deliver more, you will earn more.’ But how can I deliver more. I have already been delivering 600 packages per day, if I am fast enough. I cannot violate traffic rules. (Kardeşoğlu, 2022).

It is evident that (self-employed) couriers have been suffering from huge debts, low salaries, hard working conditions, being exposed to mobbing, and—following their resistances against these conditions—been identified ‘ungrateful’ by the CEO of the Company (*BirGün*, 2022). Focusing on the motivations through which couriers stand to these unbearable work conditions becomes an important issue. Structural reflections of economic crisis in the country such as significant unemployment rates, and increases in inflation and in daily living costs clearly create available conditions for the blue-collar workers to work at *any* job with or without social security, general health insurance, and union rights. Nevertheless, the qualitative research conducted by Kıdak (2021) as well as interviews of journalists with strikers indicate that self-employed couriers’ imaginings of individualism and search for status also contribute to regenerate this ambiguous employment model. Individualistic temptations such as ‘working for no one but for myself,’ ‘liberating myself from institutional constraints,’ or ‘being my own boss’ make demands for social security, health insurance and union rights secondary to the neoliberal fantasy of entrepreneurial life. As such, many self-employed courier strikers have reservations to interact with unions and blue-collar workers in general as evident from the following responses:

I do not think of being a member of any union. (*Evrensel*, 2022)

Unions tried to organize here, but [courier] workers do not trust unions. I didn’t become a member because I don’t like to be dependent on an institution. (*Evrensel*, 2022)

[Working as a self-employed courier] is much more attractive for me than working as a worker. If I were a worker, I have to wait the beginning of the month... In this way, at least I receive my money daily, so that I can meet with my friends outside. (Kıdak. 2021: 62)

Temptations on status-seeking, on the other hand, have led self-employed couriers to differentiate themselves from blue-collar workers, thus empower neoliberal hegemony through creating ruptures on class-based identification modes. Following responses illustrate the centrality of status-seeking on regulating the social imaginaries of self-employed couriers:

If I were a worker, I would hardly send my child even to public school. (Kıdak. 2021: 62)

If you were a worker, you would get stuck between the manager's lips. We are also like that, but at least we have our own job. (Kıdak. 2021: 62-63)

Conclusion

Uncertainties of the pandemic clearly involve dimensions and directions towards change. Nevertheless, these dimensions and directions are not predetermined by uncertainties themselves. Change is related more to the ways in which subjects experience uncertainties and ethico-politically relate themselves to the latter to organize their actions. Departing from a critical engagement with the 'end' of neoliberalism debates, this paper suggested that uncertainties under the pandemic gain visibility not only to ways out of neoliberalism, but also to its regeneration through intensifying regimes of inequalities. By focusing on the imaginings, experiences, politics and practices of the Turkish state, companies operating in Turkey, and working segments in Turkey, the study tried to reveal how these actors are complicit to regenerate neoliberalism's enduring principles of (global) market competition, deregulation, labour flexibility, individualism, and status-seeking in their engagements with uncertainties of the pandemic. Such an analysis also reveals that there is no single force that reproduces and regenerates neoliberal hegemony and its principles. On the contrary, the Turkish case allows us to see that the hegemonic production of neoliberalism and the creation of its ideological environment is a multi-sited phenomenon such that actors who regenerate neoliberalism vary from states and governments to workers. Although recent mobilisations of workers in the country open productive political possibilities for the making a participatory, equal, and just modes of socio-political relations, it does not conceal the threatening possibilities of neoliberalism's regeneration. Thus, it seems that how uncertainties are experienced, interpreted and mobilised into actions are more important than the emergence of uncertainties themselves given that neoliberalism has proved its endurance to these uncertainties over the past half-century.

Notes

1. It is important to note that the oppositional political segments as well as an important portion of the society in Turkey have recently contested the statistical data published by TÜİK as deflated, controversial and politically biased. According to these segments, having been exposed to heavy pressures of the authoritarian Justice and Development Party administration, TÜİK reports and bulletins on economy have been 'moderated' and 'manipulated' (NTV, 2022; *Cumhuriyet*, 2022).
2. There is a highly rich literature that covers various aspects of the advancement of platform-based economy, gig economy, and their interrelationships. For an excellent review see, Vallas and Schor (2020).
3. It is important to note that the self-employed or employed courier strikes are not limited among *Yemeksepeti* employees. On the contrary, from January, 2022 up to this date, courier employees at many companies organised strikes in various provinces. For a brief review of these strikes see, *İşçi Haberleri* (2022), and *BirGün* (2022).

4. Following the regulation of AKP administration on minimum wage in January 2022, the minimum wage raised from TRY 2.500 to TRY 4.250.

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MANAGEMENT AND ORGANIZATIONAL STUDIES ON BLUE & GREY COLLAR WORKERS INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS

IMPACT OF FAMILY-WORK CONFLICT ON JOB PERFORMANCE, WELL- BEING AND HAPPINESS AT WORK AMONG BLUE-COLLAR WORKERS

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Abstract

In this study, the effect of family-work conflict on perceived job performance, happiness at work and well-being among blue-collar workers in various sectors and positions in Istanbul was investigated. In addition, it was also examined whether family-work conflict differed according to gender. As a result, it has been seen that family-work conflict significantly affects job performance, happiness and well-being at work. However, no significant difference was found between men and women for family-work conflict.

Keywords: Work-Family Conflict, Happiness At Work, Job Performance, Well-Being

INTRODUCTION

The presence of women in jobs dominated by blue-collar men is very low (Cotter, Hermsen, and Vanneman 2004; England 2010). According to the research conducted using data from 25 countries, it is discovered that the discrimination in the blue-collar sector does not change according to the strength of vocational education and training (Torre, 2019). According to the International Labor Organization (ILO) Global salary report (2018-2019), the gender pay gap is 21.4% in the world and 12.9% in Turkey. In particular, the Covid-19 pandemic has a significant impact on women in the workforce. (Woodbridge et al., 2021). One year after the onset of the Covid-19 pandemic, female employment dropped by 5.6%. Female labor force participation in April 2021 was 57.2%, the same as in October 1988. Moreover, compared to the same journals in 2019, fewer journals with female first authors were published in March and April 2020. These statistics demonstrate that discrimination against women in the professional life still exists and that it became more evident especially with the pandemic.

The “blue-collar” sector includes a variety of positions that are relatively high-skilled and well-paid (e.g. craft workers, machine operators) and low-skilled (e.g. cleaners, assembly line workers) (Güngör and Biernat, 2008). However, most of the well-paid blue-collar positions are held by men, while women are concentrated in unskilled and low-skilled blue-collar jobs. Specifically, England (2010) argues that whenever possible, women usually avoid working in blue-collar jobs that is traditionally considered suitable for males. It is noteworthy that there are few studies on the family-work conflict of blue-collar workers, especially about family-work conflict experienced by blue-collar women. Since the beginning of the Covid-19 pandemic, the negative impact of family obligations on professional life has become more

significant. For this reason, the necessity of comparing family-work conflict between female employees and male employees has emerged. In particular, with the Covid-19 epidemic, the pressure and burden on women has increased. It is seen that women are 24% more likely to lose their job due to the epidemic than men (Dang and Nguyen, 2021). In addition, women spend 3 times more time on domestic care work than men (United Nations, 2020). In this context, there is a need for studies that provide solutions to these problems. It is anticipated that this study will indirectly contribute to the creation of solutions in this field by analyzing and revealing the current situation and problems. It is recognized that the number of studies examining the happiness, well-being and family-work conflict of blue-collar employees at work is few in number. In particular, since the issues of well-being at work and family-work conflict have gained importance after the pandemic, this research underlines that more studies are needed in this area.

Role conflict theory, social role theory and conservation of resources theory constitute the theoretical basis of this research. The role conflict theory, which underlines that people have limited time and energy, emphasizes that people who perform more than one role simultaneously may experience role conflict. Role conflict leads to psychological distress and burnout, reducing well-being. Social Role Theory proposes that stereotyped beliefs about groups (gender) are derived from seeing people in various social roles (Güngör & Biernat, 2008). So, this perspective emphasizes that, stereotypes about men and women constitute the basis of gender roles. Since men often take on the role of breadwinner, traits associated with this role are attributed to men (action, competence, dominance) and women's characteristics were shaped with stereotypes such as nurturing, caring, as women have historically been more involved in caregiver roles. Accordingly, a belief that women are less likely to be employed has developed. In addition, the Conservation of Resources Theory predicts that people strive to acquire, retain and protect resources and will feel stress if they lose or risk losing these resources (Avey et al., 2010). In this context, the acquisition of resources is both a means to achieve success and an outcome that includes adapting, coping and state of well-being.

CONCEPTUAL BACKGROUND

Family-Work Conflict

Conflict between family and work is defined by Netemeyer et al. (1996) as a two-way psychological state that includes family conflict and family work conflict. In this theoretical conceptualization perspective, work-family conflict is highlighted as a role conflict. Specifically, family-work conflict is a type of inter-role conflict in which the demands of the family, the time allocated to the family, and the strains created by the family prevent the fulfillment of work-related responsibilities (Barriga-Medina et al., 2021). In this case, the fulfillment of one role makes it difficult to perform the other role. It has been underlined that work-family conflict arises when attachments and experiences at work interfere with family life. On the other hand, family-work conflict occurs when family responsibilities interfere with work obligations. According to a previous study, family-work conflict causes deterioration in parental function and can lead to results such as anger, anxiety and depression (Barriga-Medina et al., 2021). In addition, it has been found that work-family conflict causes physical tension, burnout, job dissatisfaction, low job performance and intention to leave.

Happiness At Work

The concept of happiness has been defined in various ways in past studies. Happiness can be defined as a person's satisfaction with his or her personal life, the emergence of positive

moods and emotions, and a low level of negative effects (Kesebir & Diener, 2008). Happiness has been the focus of research for years because of its various benefits. This issue is particularly interesting for companies that aim to promote employee happiness and positive attitudes at work. Various measures are available in the literature to measure positive attitudes (Warr, 2007). For instance, job satisfaction is related to the evaluation of job conditions. Another similar example is passion and it serves to measure positivity and affectivity, such as work-related commitment, enthusiasm, and energy. Fisher (2010) highlighted the need for a scale that measures both the job itself (the affective emotions felt at work), its job-related characteristics (evaluations by job characteristics such as salary, management, and career opportunities), as well as feelings about the organization holistically. Thus, the need for happiness at work has been underlined in the literature. After the conceptualization of happiness at work by Fisher; 31-item scale of happiness at work was developed (Salas-Vallina and Alegre, 2021). Happiness at work (HAW) is based on three dimensions (Sallas-Vallina et al., 2017). The first dimension is job satisfaction, which is related to adequacy, competence, and satisfaction and assesses employees' feelings about job conditions such as salary and career opportunities (Salas-Vallina et al., 2020). The second dimension is engagement, which can be understood as a special sense of energy associated with excitement and passion in the workplace, which means the dedication of employees to their work. The third and final dimension is the affective organizational commitment, which expresses self-identification with the organization and emotional commitment to the organization.

Therefore, HAW consists of three essential dimensions that demonstrate happiness at the workplace. These three dimensions include the job itself (engagement), job characteristics (job satisfaction) and the entire organization (affective organizational commitment).

Employee Well-Being

There is an interdisciplinary interest in the concept of well-being. For this reason, the concept has been defined and measured in a variety of different ways. Positive mental health and positive psychology have recently found their way into workplace and organizational studies. There have been developments associating well-being with organizational factors. It can be defined as the overall quality of the employee's experience in the organization (Page & Vella-Brodrick, 2009).

Job Performance

Job performance can be defined as the total expected value of the behaviors exhibited by an individual in a certain period of time to the organization (Motowidlo and Kell, 2003). Employee practices programs and research in this area are aimed at increasing the performance of employees. To measure job performance, various measurements have been used in the past. Manager ratings, productivity indexes, turnover rate, salary, promotion, etc. might be enumerated as some of the measures. In this study, employees were asked to make self-assessment of their job performance.

DEVELOPMENT OF HYPOTHESES

Impact of Family-Work Conflict on Job Performance

Perceptions of insufficient time and insufficient energy to perform work and family roles have been associated with job and family dissatisfaction (Grandey & Cropanzano, 1999). It has been noted that work-family balance significantly and positively affects job performance (Bataineh, 2019). In Bird's (1999) study, the effect of domestic labor and its distribution on

the depression level of men and women was evaluated. The low contribution of men to domestic labor was found to explain some of the gender gap in depression. Also, inequality in the distribution of housework has a greater impact on boredom than the amount of housework (Bird, 1999). Compared to the employees at the headquarters, it was observed that those working in the job/site roles felt more work-family conflict and emotional fatigue. According to the study of Grandey, Cordeiro, and Michael (2007), blue-collar workers who work long hours in a family-supportive job feel less work-family conflict than those who work long hours in a non-family-supportive work environment. Hammig (2014) found that work-life conflict is less common in blue-collar workers than in white-collar workers, but it is equally or more harmful to health. For this reason, it was emphasized that work-life conflict should be considered as an important variable. Furthermore, it has been discovered that conflict between work and family affects life satisfaction, psychological distress and employee turnover rate (Obrenovic et al., 2020). Obviously, the number of studies evaluating the effect of family-work conflict on job performance, especially of blue-collar employees, is few in the literature. Based on this inadequacy in the literature, the following hypothesis is presented.

H1: Family-work conflict negatively affects the job performance.

Impact of Family-Work Conflict on Well-Being and Happiness At Work

Positive mood has been observed in previous studies to increase job effectiveness, collaboration and creativity. (Harrison, Newman and Roth, 2006). Therefore, it is important to investigate the antecedents of well-being. According to the role conflict theory, factors related to work and family can trigger role conflict. According to this theory, demands arising from performing more than one role simultaneously cause role conflict because people have limited time and energy. In addition, according to this theory, role conflict leads to psychological distress and burnout, which in turn reduces well-being.

It has been that being able to control work and family activities supports psychological well-being. In the study of Fotiadis et al. (2019), it was stated that work-family conflict leads to decreased employee well-being and increased psychological stress. The study of Matthews, Wayne, and Ford (2014) showed that work-family conflict is associated with lower subjective well-being. Likewise, another study demonstrated that both family-work conflict and work-family conflict were found to be negatively related to employee well-being. Furthermore, it has been observed that work-family conflict contributes negatively to both life satisfaction and employee engagement (Fiksenbaum, 2014). Similarly, poor work-life balance was found to be associated with poor psychosocial well-being (Yang et al., 2018). It has been discovered that the state of low well-being is related to low job autonomy, being blue collar status, working more than 53 hours a week, being over 50 years old, being a woman and low level of support at work. On the other hand, high well-being was associated with high-intensity work, being the second highest earner at home, and having a higher income. Parent-Lamarche and Boulet's (2021) study tested the effect of remote working on employee well-being during the pandemic with a sample of white- and blue-collar workers. As a result, it has been seen that work-life imbalance, marital tension and workload are determinants on the well-being of employees. In the light of previous studies, it is argued that family-work conflict in blue-collar female employees will have an impact on well-being and happiness at work.

H2: Family-work conflict negatively affects employee well-being.

H3: Family-work conflict negatively affects happiness at work.

Relationship Between Family-Work Conflict and Gender

Today, women are heavily involved in the professional life. However, working spouses do not share family responsibilities equally. Women are usually expected to take on most of the family responsibilities. For this reason, it is assumed that women feel will experience family-work conflict more than men. Previous studies also support this assumption. It has been shown before that in-role conflicts can vary according to gender (Yavas et al., 2008). While women give priority to their family-related roles, men prioritize their work-related responsibilities (Yavas et al., 2008). Due to the high level of work intensity, long working hours and the high priority they give to family roles, women experience more family-work conflicts (Yavas et al., 2008). In a prior study, it has been found that women with children experience more stress than men with children (Graham et al., 2021). Childless women experienced less work-family conflict than men with children, and women without children had less family-work conflict.

H4: There is a significant difference between women and men in terms of family-work conflict.

Impact of Family-Work Conflict on Job Performance

It has been observed that work performance and mental health improve in organizations that support work-family balance. It has been found that employees who have a heavy workload and cannot balance work-family roles feel emotionally fatigued, and as a result, they are less embedded in their work and perform poorly (Karatepe, 2013). Likewise, the conflict between work and family harms job performance and productivity by reducing job satisfaction of employees (Obrenovic et al., 2020).

H5: Family-work conflict negatively affects perceived job performance.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Measures and Sampling

To test the proposed hypotheses we utilized scales that have been developed from previous studies. Family- work conflict scale was taken from Netemeyer et al.'s (1996) research. Well-being was assessed using 5-item World Health Organization Well Being Index. Well-being was measured as it was in Charoensap-Kelly et al.'s (2021) work. Job performance scale was taken from Nguyen & Nguyen's (2012) article. For happiness at work, the scale that was developed by Salas-Vallina and Alegre (2018). 5-Item Likert scale was used in the questionnaire. Data was collected from blue-collar employees working in different industries in Turkey. 128 blue-collar employees participated voluntarily to this research. Demographic variables related to the sample are presented in tables below (Table 1, Table 2 and Table 3).

Demographic Characteristics of the Sample

Table 1: Distribution of the Sample by Gender

Gender	Frequency	Percent (%)
Female	91	71,1
Male	37	28,9
Total	128	100

Table 2: Distribution of the Sample by Marital Status

Marital Status	Frequency	Percent (%)
Married	66	51,6
Single	54	42,2
Divorced	8	6,3
Total	128	100

Table 3: Distribution of the Sample by Weekly Working Hours

Weekly Work Hour	Frequency	Percent (%)
0-29	3	2,3
30-39	5	3,9
40-49	84	65,6
50-59	23	18,0
60+	13	10,2
Total	128	100

Construct Validity and Reliability

A principal factor analysis with varimax rotation was effectuated on the scale items of family-work conflict, happiness at work and well-being. Following the factor analysis, Cronbach's Alpha reliability test were employed. The Cronbach's Alpha reliability coefficient was 0,929 for Happiness At Work Scale, 0,855 for Job Performance Scale, 0,901 for Family-Work Conflict Scale and 0,891 for Well-Being Scale. The dimensions and factor loads of variables are shown in Table 5.

Tablo 4: Factor and Reliability Test Results

Items	Factor loads	Cronbach Alpha
Happiness7	,851	0,929
Happiness9	,829	
Happiness6	,826	
Happiness8	,810	
Happiness4	,752	
Happiness5	,736	
Happiness2	,708	
Happiness1	,604	
Happiness3	,566	
JobPerformance2	,875	0,855
JobPerformance1	,840	
JobPerformance4	,775	
JobPerformance3	,755	
FamilyWorkConflict3	,869	0,901
FamilyWorkConflict1	,853	
FamilyWorkConflict2	,852	
FamilyWorkConflict5	,846	
Well-Being5	,827	0,891

Well-Being4	,790
Well-Being2	,748
Well-Being1	,725

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.

a. Rotation converged in 5 iterations.

Test of Hypotheses

In order to examine the impact of family-work conflict on perceived job performance, simple regression analysis were conducted on SPSS Statistics program. Regression analyzes reveal that, family-work conflict possess a statistically significant effect on perceived job performance among blue collar workers.

Table 5. Regression Test Results on the Effect of family-Work Conflict on Perceived Job Performance

Dependent Variable:	B value	Standart Error	Beta	T value	P value
Perceived Job Performance					
(Constant)	4,700	0,139		33,835	,000
Independent Variable:					
Family Work Conflict	-0,153	0,057	-0,232	-2,682	,008

Table 7 below shows the impact of family-work conflict on happiness at work. According to the results of the analysis, it has been shown that family-work conflict among blue-collar workers has a significant effect on happiness at work.

Table 7. Regression Test Results on the Effect of Family-Work Conflict on Happiness At Work

Dependent Variable:	B value	Standart Error	Beta	T value	P value
Happiness At Work					
(Sabit)	4,329	0,173		24,973	0,000
Independent Variable:					
Family Work Conflict	-0,292	0,071	-0,343	-4,097	0,000

Table 8. reflects the results of regression analysis between family-work conflict and employee well-being. According to the results,

Table 8. Regression Test Results on the Effect of Family-Work Conflict on Employee Well-Being

Dependent Variable: Employee Well-Being	B value	Standart Error	Beta	T value	P value
(Constant)	4,047	0,197		20,513	0,000
Independent Variable: Family Work Conflict	-0,278	0,081	-0,292	-3,428	0,000

In an attempt to investigate whether work family conflict differs depending on the gender, T-Test was conducted. As a result, it has been discovered that the family-work conflict does not differ between men and women. Results of T-test is displayed in Table 9.

Table 9: T-Test Results Related to The Relationship Between Family-Work Conflict and Gender

Group Statistics				Items		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		T-test for Equality of Means	
Items	Marital Status	N	Mean			F	Sig.	t	Sig. (2-tailed)
Mean Family-Work Conflict	Women	91	2,1648	Mean Family-Work Conflict	Equal variances assumed	1,142	0,707	0,223	0,824
	Men	37	2,1149		Equal variances not assumed			0,232	0,656

In short, as it was reflected in the results of analyzes hypotheses 1,2,3 and 5 were accepted. hypothesis 4 was rejected.

CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

In this research, family-work conflict, job performance, happiness and well-being at work levels of blue-collar employees in various sectors in Istanbul were examined. In a nutshell, it has been observed that family-work conflict affects job performance, happiness at work and well-being in blue-collar employees. Accordingly, the emphasis put by this research on issues such as family-work conflict, happiness and well-being at work among blue-collar workers is a practical contribution of this study. It was underlined that the managers working with blue

collar workers should attach more significance to family-work conflict, happiness and well-being at work. Furthermore, contrary to the assumptions put forward in the study, it was observed that family-work conflict in blue-collar workers did not differ according to gender. Studies on blue-collar workers on well-being, happiness at work, and family-work conflict are very few in number. Thus, this research aims to encourage more research on this subject. Employees participating in this research consist of blue-collar workers working only in Istanbul. For this reason, it is seen that the degree of family-work conflict between blue-collar female and male employees is close to each other in Istanbul. Since these research findings are limited to Istanbul, they cannot be generalized to Turkey or to the world. Therefore, future data collection in this area from a wider geography will enable the generalization of the findings. The sample size of this research remained limited to 128 due to the difficulty of reaching blue-collar employees face-to-face during the limited time and during the pandemic period. For this reason, it is recommended that future research should conduct studies with larger samples comparing female and male blue-collar workers on these issues.

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In the Twilight of the Pandemic: Digital Technologies and the Control of Labor

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The subject of this paper is to examine the labor control mechanisms operating through digital technologies during the pandemic process. With its features, digital technologies have been effective in the transformation of many fields such as production, reproduction, distribution, consumption and management all over the world, and in this process, new economic, political and social forms based on digital possibilities have emerged. Working and labor processes are among the areas most affected by this transformation. Because the control of labor is vital for the capitalist production process. The creation and maximization of profits depends on the control of labor. Digital technologies have become one of the most important tools in the process of organizing and control the work. On the other hand, new working practices based on purely digital technologies have emerged. Today, digital technologies occupy a central position in labor control and management processes in all blue-collar and white-collar sectors. This trend has intensified during the pandemic period, and in the environment of uncertainty and fear created by the pandemic, new practices and initiatives have emerged in the control of labor with digital technologies.

From this point of view, the main claim of the paper is that in the twilight of the pandemic the limits of labor control are gradually expanding, the possibility of negotiation has been eliminated and a rapid transformation has taken place in favor of capital in the process of labor control. In this respect, examining digital technologies and labor control mechanisms during the pandemic provides an important opportunity to trace the effects, trends and guiding forces that shape the future of work in capitalism and to discuss these processes.

It should be noted that today, control based on digital technologies has taken on a highly developed, interactive form compared to previous mechanical technical tools and has become directly immanent to both the labor process and the practices of the employees. Control is not limited to the workplace or the workday, but can spread to every hour and area of social life. The pandemic process has given a new impetus to this transformation and created a very favorable environment for the legitimization of new control systems.

On the other hand, it should be emphasized that the main factor determining the labor control mechanisms is not the technology itself. Today, the structure, characteristics and needs of the neoliberal labor regime condition how the opportunities provided by technology will be arranged in favor of which actors, and on the basis of which needs technology will be structured and used. The conditions of the pandemic have been an important leap point in the emergence of the destructive and unrestricted nature of the neoliberal labor regime in the control of labor. Practices such as isolated production facilities similar to concentration camps and electronic shackles attached to workers are critical examples of this process.

In this paper, on the one hand, the mechanisms that emerged for the control of labor during the pandemic process will be investigated and the relationship between the neoliberal labor regime and these mechanisms will be discussed. On the other hand, it will be examined how, in which ways, reasons and purposes digital technologies are used for the control of labor. The aim of the paper is to make a small contribution to the effort to investigate the positive and negative effects of technology on the common future of humanity.

Keywords: *Digital Technologies, Control of Labor, Neoliberalism, Labour Regime.*

LABOUR ORGANISATIONS SUPPORTING MIGRANT WORKERS IN TURKEY

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Abstract

This paper focuses on the politics and activism of labour organisations in Turkey towards migrant workers. By migrant workers, the paper does not necessarily refer to any one particular “category” of migrant such as a “refugee”, an “irregular migrant”, or a “guest worker”... that is developed by nation-state order of the past two centuries. Instead, the paper focuses on those people who cross international borders and work in the labour markets of the receiving country, i.e. in Turkey. By “labour organisations” the paper mainly refers to non-institutionalised, network type and social-movement like organisations that aim to protect/support migrants as workers in the first place among their various other migration-related official and unofficial identities (such as a refugee or an irregular migrant). The methodology of the paper will employ both a desk research and a field research based on in-depth interviews (which will be made in the Summer and Fall of 2022) with actors from labour organizations and the related experts.

Introduction

Currently, international migration is among those topics which attract the most of the attention in various public spaces from institutional politics to labour market, and especially during specific moments such as a pre-election campaign to an economic crisis. Generally, a migrant image in common-sense triggers concerns and ‘sensitivities’ regarding national culture, social cohesion, sovereignty, national security, unemployment and as such, which are conceived and articulated mainly in defensive and exclusionary nationalist tones. For example, a refugee who is forced to migrate to a country is generally considered as a potential “threat” for the well-being of ‘homogenously’ integrated national population and its ‘valuable resources’ such as culture, employment, language, and various others. Moreover, when the migrant is assumed to crossed the borders for purposes other than protection, for example for economic reasons, then the perception of threat increases. In other words, general public acceptance of migration decreases as it changes from forced to voluntary that in turn creates a scale of “deservingness” (Holmes and Castaneda, 2016) among migrants. Some migrants are

conceived as less eligible for protection and support whereas others not. Obviously, this conception has a gendered dimension as well, which label women (especially with children) as the “victim” of forced migration, who can benefit from (or ‘deserve’) the support of the receiving society, whereas men are considered mainly as “illegal” migrants. This gendered scale of deservingness seems to benefit women in the short run but actually what happens is the preservation of patriarchal institutions of modern society (Schrover and Moloney, 2013).

Moreover, the artificial dichotomy between a forced and voluntary migration also reinforce the scale of deservingness in a way to benefit “refugees” rather than “economic” or “irregular” migrants. However, the research shows that there is a large grey area between a forced migration and voluntary migration in which it is really difficult to label a migration as forced or voluntary (King, 2002). In the current world order, areas of political conflict, or war zones so to speak, include violence acts which target civilians and also create situations of economic dispossession both of which is not a legal criterion for becoming a refugee, i.e. a forced migrant. Thus, generally, mainstream public image of a migrant and international migration does not represent the actual complexity of international migration in the current world order.

Civil society organisations develop in such public spheres, where there are simplistic accounts of migrants and migrations that usually fail to reflect reality. Following that, there develop organisations which are anti-migrant. Dresden-based PEGIDA (Patriotic Europeans Against the Islamization of the Occident) is an example of such organisations. Nevertheless, organisations supporting migrants and protection of their rights are well developed in most of the migrant receiving countries. During 2015, when large numbers of people from the Middle East (mainly from Syria) crossed the borders of European countries, both anti-migrant organisations and pro-migrant organisations reacted to the situation in their own manner. The

hashtag “RefugessWelcome” has become popular since then within the pro-migrant public spheres.¹

The concern of this paper relates to those pro-migrant organisations with a specific focus on labour organisations and their activism towards migrant workers. By “labour organisations” the paper mainly refers to non-institutionalised, network type and social-movement like organisations that aim to protect/support migrants as workers in the first place among their various other migration-related official and unofficial identities (such as a refugee or an irregular migrant). Trade Unions as a formal and an institutionalised labour organisation is also a concern of this paper. And a brief review of existing activities and policies of trade unions is presented as well. However, the research on trade unions and migrants have a rather specific literature (for examples see, Milkman, 2000; Penninx and Roosblad, 2000; Ford 2004; Wrench 2004) that diverge from the literature looking at civil society organisations and migrants, and this paper mainly speaks to the latter literature.

Civil Society and Pro-Migrant Organisations

When studying pro-migrant organisations there are two important research-related points to ponder among various others. First of all, civil society organisations and their activism obviously change with the important developments concerning migration. Thus, the identification of “critical junctures” may help to better understand how civil society reacts to changes related to migration. For example, in the case of Turkey, the arrival of Syrians is a critical juncture (a change) for civil society activism. Obviously, civil society politics has changed since then. Pandemic can be considered as another turning point for civil society activism and how it influenced organisations is an important research question, which can

¹ ‘Refugees welcome here’: UK marchers take to streets with message of support, September, 12, 2015, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/sep/12/refugees-welcome-uk-marchers-un-warns-war-syria-million-displaced>, Accessed June 29, 2022.

start only now and then, so that one can observe the changes resulting from pandemic. Another way to determine changing politics at the level of civil society may be to focus on institutionalised politics, i.e. policies governing the state, and how it influences civil society in general and pro-migrant activism in particular. This paper especially refers to the first of these critical moments that is the arrival of Syrian refugees during the analysis of the labour organisations but also considers the others and discusses how these influenced the civil society organisations by giving examples from the previous period.

The second point affecting the research on pro-migrant organisations relates to the clarification of the theoretical position vis-à-vis civil society. How one conceptualises and/or theorise on civil society apparently influences the assumptions about, and expectations from civil society together with which organisations to analyse, how to analyse and so on. For example, a liberal approach to conceptualizations of civil society focuses less on the diversity (heterogeneity in terms of ideologies, policies etc.) within civil society but focus more on the conflict between state and civil society. Civil society is imagined rather as a homogenous group with an emancipatory and liberating force, acting against a potentially repressive state (Gencoglu-Onbasi, 2015). A fair summary of theorising on civil society is beyond the capacity (and motivation) of this paper as this requires an exhaustive literature review which will be even different for the fields of comparative politics and political theory. But, what I want to highlight is that it is significant to acknowledge and/or clarify the specific abstractions one had about civil society before presenting the findings/claims on pro-migrant activism. Following that, in this paper I adopt a more critical understanding of civil society, in the sense that civil society is conceived as simultaneously encompassing very many diverse voices, politics and ideological positionings not necessarily always emancipatory or liberating. Thus, civil society does not necessarily challenge status quo or state or its official ideology/ies.

Whereas certain actors can act as a conservative force sustaining the existing power relations, others in civil society may challenge these power relations.

As a matter of fact, currently the pro-migrant civil society in Turkey includes a heterogeneous group of actors with a diverse and sometimes conflicting discourses. For example, there exists a rights-based activism together with a faith-based one. The first one support migrants through a motivation based on a universal understanding of human rights. The latter one, on the other hand, support migrants with a religious motivation through an Islamic discourse of Muhajir and Ansar (Mackreath and Sağnıç, 2017). Moreover, there are “insider” organisations which have close ties with state in the migration policy-making, whereas there also “outsiders” who remain outside of the policy-making process and even some have conflicting relations with the state (Danış and Nazlı, 2018). Following from here, the aim of this paper is to depict such diverse politics of labour organisations on matters of migrant workers. Labour organisations are a group distinct from other pro-migrant organisations. Thus, below, I briefly explain pro-migrant organisations, so that labour organisations are clarified as a distinct category.

Pro-migrant organisations in civil society may be categorised in various ways (Ambrosini and Van der Leun, 2015). For example, there are organisations established by migrants themselves, i.e. migrant organisations and those formed by locals. Another categorisation may refer to the degree of institutionalization of organisations: On the one hand, there are institutional organizations, i.e. various kinds of non-governmental organisations with a building, formal members, and possible bureaucratisation and professionalisation (Rozakou, 2017; Sunata and Tosun, 2018). And on the other, there social movement like organisations, which are rather informal networks of activists (Laubenthal, 2007; Genç, 2017). A third categorisation may refer to the motivations of organisations, i.e. why to support the cause of migrants, and the nature of relation they form with migrants.

When conceived in that sense, some organisations are motivated by providing social services to migrants such as housing, health care, training courses and as such. Others' motivation may be to support the formal rights of migrants, i.e. rights advocacy, and/or to build solidarity with migrants. Across these motivations, there emerge different forms of relationships between migrants and organisations changing from professional (the migrants as “beneficiary” discourse) to more informal and equal (the migrant as a friend/fellow) (Rozakou, 2017; Şenses and Farahani, 2022).

Thus, this paper benefits from such categorisations of pro-migrant organisations in two distinct ways. First of all, these categorizations help to better clarify what kind of an organisation the paper is focusing on and how they are different from other pro-migrant organisations and also trade unions. Second, the paper employs the two parameters of these categorisations to better understand the politics and activism of labour organisations. More specifically, the paper studies (1) the motivations of labour organisations and (2) the nature of relations they establish with migrant workers. By this way, the goal is to depict an overall picture of the politics of labour organisations towards migrant workers in Turkey.

Pro-Migrant Labour Organisations in Turkey

The relationships between civil society and migration is extensively studied in the international literature (for examples see, Ambrosini, 2013; Chimienti, 2011). This is also the case for the trade unions and their policies/politics towards migrants (for examples see, Milkman, 2000; Hardy et. al., 2012; Gorodzeisky and Richards, 2016). In the case of Turkey, both of the research areas are recently developing. Although, there has been earlier work (for examples see, Gökbayrak and Erdoğan, 2010; Özgür-Baklacioğlu, 2006), civil society and migration nexus is being studied especially after 2015, with the increase of organisations and their activities (for examples see, Kaşlı, 2016; Mackreath and Sağnıç, 2017; Erdoğan, 2018).

The literature on trade unions and migration is developed relatively less, and a specific research concern on the politics of labour organisations (in the sense of social movements) is almost non-existent. This is apparently related with the relative silence of labour organisations in the migration related political context and among actors working on migration. Nevertheless, it is interesting and important to question if there are emerging actors and politics in Turkey that are working with/on migrant workers since there is a definite and apparent labour dimension to international migration. In other words, migrants (including children) work and their labour conditions shape their lives and also the migration related context in the country. Therefore, an activism relating to this labour dimension of migration is a legitimate expectation from civil society.

A pioneering research by Gökbayrak and Erdoğan on trade unions' actions towards migrants was published in 2010, and the research findings relating to the unions affiliated with three Confederations, TÜRK-İŞ, DİSK and HAK-İŞ, reveals that although the unions are aware of the presence of migrant workers in Turkey they lack any investigation on the issue of their own and the issue was not on the top of their agenda back then. As a result, there was “no union strategy ... for organizing; ensuring the active representation of such workers and helping them get organized” (Gökbayrak and Erdoğan 2010: 105). Later on, Erdoğan re-investigated the attitudes and actions of trade unions, first in a 2012 research (Toksöz, Erdoğan & Kaşka 2012, findings also presented in Erdoğan and Şenses 2015), and then again in a 2018 study (Erdoğan 2018) towards Syrians under temporary protection. The latter findings support the previous findings in the sense that, although there was not any negative attitude towards the migrant workers, the unions had “not developed organizational and/or solidarity activities” towards migrant workers (Erdoğan & Şenses 2015: 189). Additionally, Erdoğan (2018) also found that the three confederations (TÜRK-İŞ, DİSK and HAK-İŞ) had

“extremely limited” actions towards Syrian workers (p.845) but they did support the open-door policy of the government on humanitarian grounds (p.844).

Since then, according to my knowledge, no academic research has re-investigated the attitudes and actions of trade unions in a similar manner to Erdoğan. Additionally, there are not any specific research on other labour organisations’ actions towards migrant workers. Only the aforementioned research of 2012 (Toksöz, Erdoğan & Kaşka 2012) very briefly refers to labour organisations (other than trade unions) and their actions. More specifically, Evid-Sen, Güvencesizler Hareketi, İnşaat İşçileri Derneği, Geri Dönüşüm İşçileri Derneği are considered as social movement like organisations having activities also for migrant workers. Besides, in another study (Senses 2015), Umut-Sen appear as an organization emphasizing the precarious labour conditions of migrant workers. However, as it is stated above, the attitudes and actions of labour organizations, including the trade unions, towards migrants are studied relatively less in Turkey. That is probably because labour organisations are less visible when compared to other pro-migrant organisations in the field.

All in all, a specific research aiming to depict labour organisations’ motivations for activism and their relationship to migrant workers would fill a gap in the literature on pro-migrant civil society. Also, a knowledge on labour organisations are important because an emphasis on labour rights and conditions of migrant workers is not very well developed or a public image of a migrant does not immediately recall an image of a worker with rights. However, labour organisations have a potential to change this situation and a research in these lines can show whether or not these organisations can realise this potential in the future.

As a final remark, currently in Turkey, there are certain developments which can be considered as activities of such labour organizations, and thus above-mentioned research concern becomes more interesting. For example, in December 2021, a Migrant Syndicate Initiative (Göçmen Sendikası Girişimi) was established. The syndicate was formed with an

aim to fight together with migrants against numerous precariousness that migrants are exposed to and with an aim to raise class solidarity between local and migrant workers.² In addition to that, DISK, one of the largest confederations, organized a workshop in June 2021, titled “Refugee workers, syndicates and peace” where the participants stressed that “refugees” are part of the Turkish working class and they discussed possible strategies of common struggle.³ However, a more systematic documentation of existing activism of labour organisations towards migrant workers is necessary that would require a field research. Thus, the aim of this paper is to document the views of the actors in the field through in-depth interviews combined with a desk research in order to better understand the current state of politics and activism in relation to migrant workers in labour organisations of Turkey. The goal of the interviews and desk research would be to investigate the following questions: Which actors support migrant workers as labourers and/or as part of the working class in Turkey. What are the motivations/goals of these organisations in supporting the cause of migrant workers? Do they aim to develop a class-based solidarity among local and migrant workers, or is there any nationalistic tendencies which emphasize the difference between a local worker and a migrant worker? What kinds of strategies they employ? Through these and similar questions, the research will map out the actors and their attitudes and their actions towards migrant workers.

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³ DİSK: Mülteci işçilerle birlikte mücadele etmeliyiz, 21 Haziran 2021, <https://www.gazeteduvar.com.tr/disk-mul-teci-iscilerle-birlikte-mucadele-etmeliyiz-haber-1526187>

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MOBILIZATION OF BLUE COLLAR WORKERS IN TURKEY: THE UNAUTHORIZED STRIKE WAVE AT THE BEGINNING OF 2022

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Abstract

Since the mid-1990s lawful strikes have become increasingly rare in Turkey. This is not just a function of union hesitation due to shrinking clout. Governments have the right to prohibit an otherwise lawful strike. In parallel with the deepening authoritarianization, the AKP banned greater number of lawful strikes after the mid-2010s. 2017 and 2018 witnessed ban cases involving more than 150,000 workers poised to strike. At the beginning of 2022, Turkey has experienced an unexpected strike wave. We have identified a total of 105 strikes by blue-collar workers in January and February 2022, all of which were unauthorized. At least 18,000 workers participated in the these strikes, and in the half of these cases, workers won some of their demands. In Turkey, the Ministry of Labor and Social Security (MoLSS) provides the data on lawful strikes, while there is no data on unauthorized strikes. We have been exploring working-class protests in Turkey since 2015 using protest event analysis (PEA). Our data puts the intensity of the current unauthorized strike wave into some perspective and explore this form of working-class protest, which is almost totally hidden and unknown due to shrinking number of lawful strikes. This paper investigates the recent unauthorized strike way in January and February 2022 and contextualizes it within the unauthorized strike trends since 2015.

Keywords

Strike, Unauthorized Strike, Labor Movement, Labor Unrest, Trade Unions, Protest Event

Analysis

INTRODUCTION

Since the mid-1990s lawful strikes have become increasingly rare in Turkey. Declining strikes in Turkey are not just a function of union hesitation due to shrinking clout. Governments have the

right to prohibit an otherwise lawful strike if it threatens public health or national security. In parallel with the deepening authoritarianization, the AKP banned greater number of lawful strikes after the mid-2010s. 2017 and 2018 witnessed seven strike ban cases involving more than 150,000 workers poised to strike, which also implies a greater propensity of striking among workers.

At the beginning of 2022, however, Turkey has witnessed an unexpected strike wave. The strike by couriers at Trendyol, an e-commerce platform bought by Alibaba in 2018, has attracted the most public attention. Around 1,000 couriers, which the firm hires on a self-employed basis, “switched off” their vehicles for three days and won a pay raise. They were far from alone. We have identified a total of 105 strikes by blue-collar workers in January and February 2022, all of which were unauthorized. These strikes, with only two exception, were all in the private sector. At least 18,000 blue-collar workers participated in the these strikes, and in the half of these cases, workers won some of their demands.

In Turkey, the Ministry of Labor and Social Security (MoLSS) only provides the data on lawful strikes. There is no public data on unauthorized strikes, or the strikes which were banned by the government before even starting. We have been exploring working-class protests in Turkey since 2015 using protest event analysis (PEA). Our data is helpful to put the intensity of the current unauthorized strike wave into some perspective and explore the working-class protest, which is almost totally hidden and unknown due to shrinking number of lawful strikes and the lack of data on other forms of protest.

Lawful vs. Unauthorized Strikes

Just like the law it replaced, the 2012 trade union law, Law No. 6356 on Trade Unions and Collective Labor Agreements bans all strikes other than those organized in case of disagreement during collective bargaining. Slowdowns, solidarity strikes, general strikes, and strikes to enforce a collective agreement continue to be illegal. The new law also maintains the government's power to ban any kind of strike on the grounds of national security or public health (Caniklioğlu, 2013), and these terms are often interpreted broadly. One of the three main areas of concern of the *Joint Report of the EU–Turkey Joint Consultative Committee* about the 2012 law was the “continued limitations on the right to strike” (EU-Turkey Joint Consultative Committee, 2013: 4). The existing law also keeps the general ban on strikes in several industries such as public hospitals, production and distribution of water, electricity and petrol. All strikes which are not lawful according to the existing trade union law are dubbed unauthorized in this paper. Slowdowns are not included. All work stoppages which lasted for half an hour or more are defined as a strike.

METHOD

This research adopts the protest event analysis (PEA) method. PEA has been developed to systematically examine the frequency and characteristics of protests. PEA research uses sources such as newspaper reports and police records, applies content analysis and produces quantitative data as a result (Koopmans and Rucht, 2002: 231). Most of the PEA research is presented via descriptive statistics. In PEA research, a great and diligent effort is required to be devoted to form

a genuine data set. The end result would provide empirical ground for initiating prolific discussion on the subject matter (Hutter, 2014: 355).

In PEA research, it is an essential prerequisite to clarify the conceptual definitions, disclose the unit of analysis and transparently introduce the procedures of the collection method. Another critical clarification is needed to be made on which cases are included in and excluded from the scope of the research (Hutter, 2014: 359; Koopmans and Rucht, 2002: 236; Silver, 2003: 180). The central subject of this research is the blue-collar unauthorized strikes. Blue-collar is basically defined as manual workers, who are different than white-collar workers. The meaning of unauthorized strike is already explained above.

In Turkey, there are some early examples of working-class protest studies based on newspaper and trade union reports as well (Silier, 1971; Petrol-İş, 1989; Petrol-İş, 2000; Kaygısız, 2014; 2015). The data on blue-collar unauthorized strikes presented in this paper is gathered in a more broader research on all forms of working-class protest in Turkey since 2015.

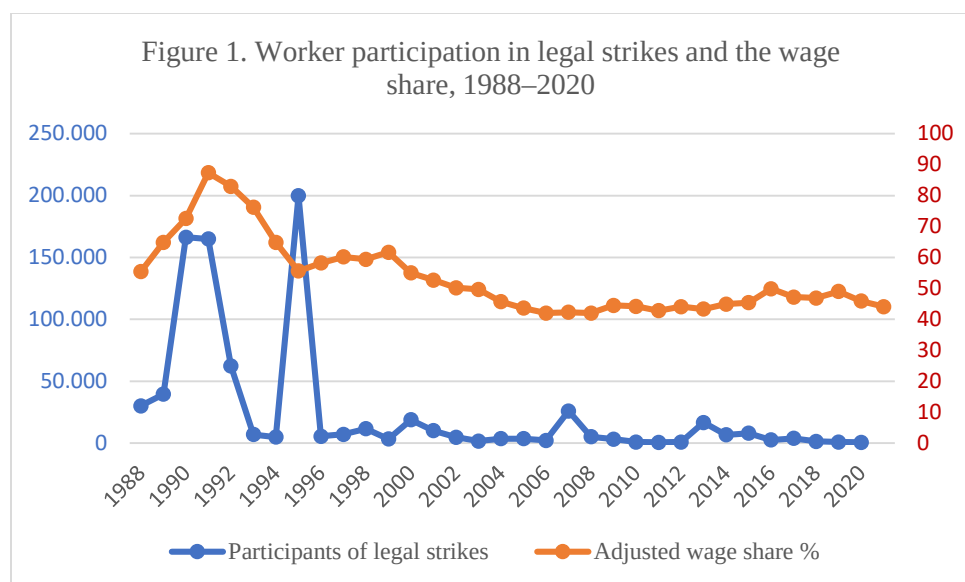
Data were mainly obtained via online newspaper scanning. Firstly, the sections of a national newspaper (Evrensel) and a website (Kızıl Bayrak) focusing on trade-union and labor issues are completely scanned and the ones which contain information about the protests are singled out. Secondly, the “worker” keyword is searched in all local and national imprinted media via the search engine of a professional media monitoring agency. The headlines of all the news were examined and those who had information on protest events were read for data aggregation. Thirdly, the missing data (such as on the number of participants of the protest) in some of the cases is

acquired by searching web and social media. Last but not least, to acquire the missing data which could not be found in this web search, we contacted with the unionists via phone who involved in the strikes.

We need to bear in mind that some protests, including the unauthorized strikes, escaped from the radar of the newspapers and online sources. Nevertheless, Koopmans and Ruth's study (2002: 250) compares protest events observed in newspaper sources and police records, and reveals that newspapers can be utilized as a highly reliable source for detecting the tendencies in the protest universe.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The MoLSS strike data does not include unauthorized strikes; however, it still provides an important indicator of labor power and militancy. Figure 1 below plots historical data for the number of participants in lawful strikes organized by unions and the share of wages in national income between 1988 and 2020.



As Figure 1 illustrates, strike waves in 1990 and 1991 saw significant increases in the wage share of national income in Turkey. The economic crisis of 1994 led employers to reduce wages, resulting in another strike wave in 1995, in which nearly 200,000 workers participated. However, this time their strikes were unsuccessful. Thus, 1995 marks the last period of mass strike by the labor movement in Turkey. In the following decades, lawful strikes were rare, and the wage share of national income steadily declined to 2006, hovering at between 40 and 50% of national income since then.

Table 1 below show number of workers who participated in lawful strikes for different periods as yearly averages. The fall is dramatic and it should be underlined that the number of workers in Turkey in this time period has increased tremendously. The number of workers in 1987 was 7 million, while it rose to nearly 19 million in 2020.

Table 1. Number of strikers in lawful strikes, yearly averages

Period	1987-1995	1996-2009	2010-2020
Yearly averages	78.250	7.516	3.833

There are two main reasons of this dramatic fall. The first one is the fall of union density and collective bargaining coverage. Since lawful strike can be staged only by workers working in a unionized workplace and only if the collective bargaining process ends with disagreement, it is natural that number of lawful strikes is strongly correlated with the number of unionized workers.

The union membership data provided by the MoLSS before 2013 was exaggerated and unreliable. Nonetheless, the ministry has provided credible data on the number of workers who have worked under a collective bargaining agreement since the introduction of that right in 1963. The industrial relations system of Turkey is reminiscent of the United Kingdom and the United States in the sense that there are no supportive mechanisms for collective bargaining, such as the extension procedures that exist in coordinated market economies like Germany (Frege and Kelly, 2004: 38). Turkish unions must organize workplace by workplace to enlarge collective bargaining coverage. Therefore, collective bargaining coverage is a good proxy for union density. It is safe to assume that the union density is a couple of points higher than the bargaining coverage as shown in Figure 2 below for the years after 2013.

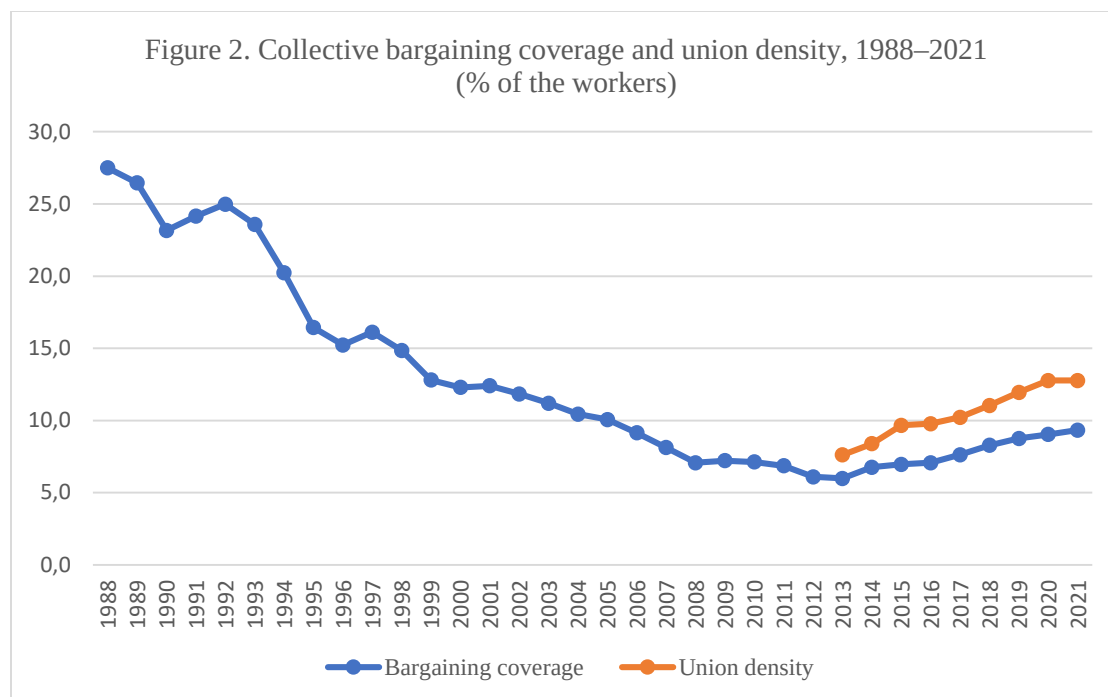


Figure 2 above displays the trajectory of workers' collective bargaining coverage in Turkey since 1988 and union density since 2013. The former is calculated by dividing the number of workers covered by a collective bargaining agreement by the total number of workers in the labor force. The total number of workers stands for all employees (including informal workers) except civil servants. A collective bargaining agreement protected one out of every four workers at the end of the 1980s when a decline in coverage began. The lowest ratio was 6% in 2013, while the coverage rose to 9% in 2021. As a result, after 1980, Turkey experienced one of the sharpest de-unionization trends among the OECD countries (Çelik, 2015).

The second reason behind the fall of lawful strikes is the repression of the labor movement by the AKP especially since the mid-2010s. Turkey has been experiencing rising authoritarianism since the beginning of the 2010s (Tuğal, 2021) and the labor movement is one of the specific targets of this authoritarianism. Five points will best summarize the AKP's repression of the labor movement.

1. After the coup attempt in July 2016, the AKP declared a state of emergency that continued until July 2018. During the state of emergency, nearly 126,000 civil servants were fired, 4,218 of whom were members of KESK, which is the left-wing civil servants union confederation.

2. A number of unionists and union member workers were detained and imprisoned in the last few years. In April 2017, the Turkish Court of Appeal approved the decision of the local court, and TÜMTİS (a left wing trade union) officials received prison sentences ranging from 1.5 years to 6.5 years “for recruiting new members and obstructing the freedom of conducting business” (ITUC, 2018: 27; Birelma, 2018: 222). This irrational reasoning was shocking even in the face of declining legal standards in Turkey. There are other examples such as the imprisoned leaders of Dev Yapı İş, a left-wing union of construction workers, KESK leaders and Renault workers who staged a wildcat strike.

3. Protesting and public demonstrations have become riskier for everyone, including workers. Our research found that police forces physically intervened (either limited or prevented the protest) in nine percent of working-class protests in 2015, while the ratio increased to 16 percent in 2016 and 21 percent in 2017.

4. The AKP fully supported pro-AKP unions at the detriment of left-wing, independent unions. The most dramatic example is the rise of Memur-Sen, pro-AKP civil servant union confederation. The share of Memur-Sen among union member civil servants was 6% in 2002; however, it rose to 60% in 2018.

5. While there were eight strike ban cases involving nearly 40,000 strikers in the fourteen years of AKP rule between 2003 and 2016, 2017 and 2018 witnessed seven strike ban cases involving more than 150,000 workers poised to strike. Overall in two decades AKP banned strikes of 194 thousand workers, while only 87 thousand workers could stage lawful strike. In terms of the number of strikers, this means that the AKP banned nearly 70% of lawful strikes.

Due to this rising number of strike bans, arrests of union leaders, and other problems, the International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC) has declared that Turkey has been among the ten worst countries for workers since 2016 (ITUC, 2016: 27; ITUC, 2021: 35).

UNAUTHORIZED STRIKE TRENDS SINCE 2015

Figure 3 below illustrates the number unauthorized strikes organized by blue-collar workers, hovering at between 67 and 135 as found by our research. MoLSS data reports that the number of lawful strikes was between 12 and 27 for the years between 2015 and 2020 (MoLSS did not provide the data on 2021 yet).

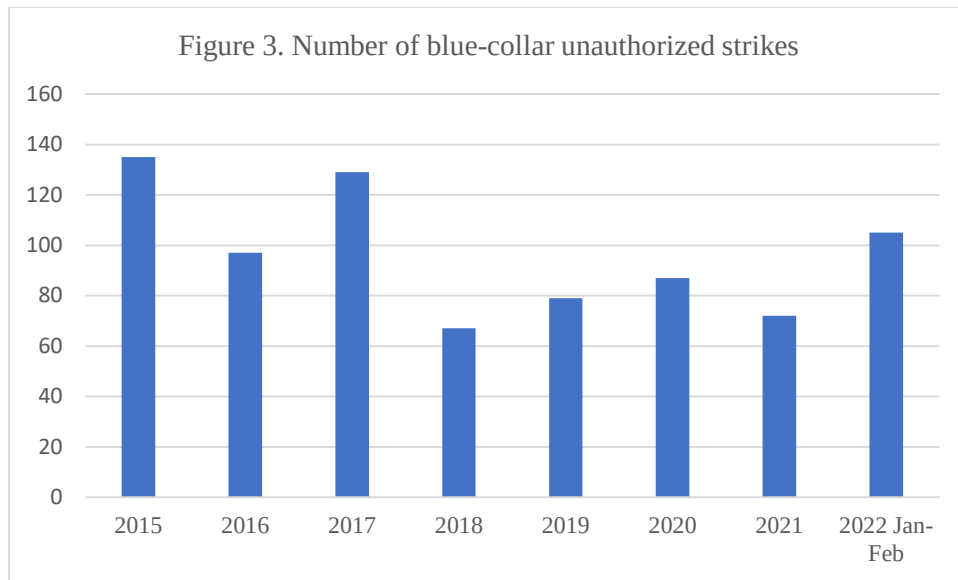


Figure 4 below reveals the number of blue-collar workers who participated in those unauthorized strikes. The number hovers at between some 12,000 and 51,000 workers. MoLSS data reports that for the years between 2015 and 2020 the number of lawful strikers was between 8,000 and 500 workers. The yearly average number of lawful strikers according to MoLSS data was 2,800 while the yearly average number of unauthorized strikers is ten times more than that, nearly 28,000. The data presented in these figures reveals that there is a significant unauthorized strike activity going on in contemporary Turkey, which is hidden behind the very low number of lawful strikes.

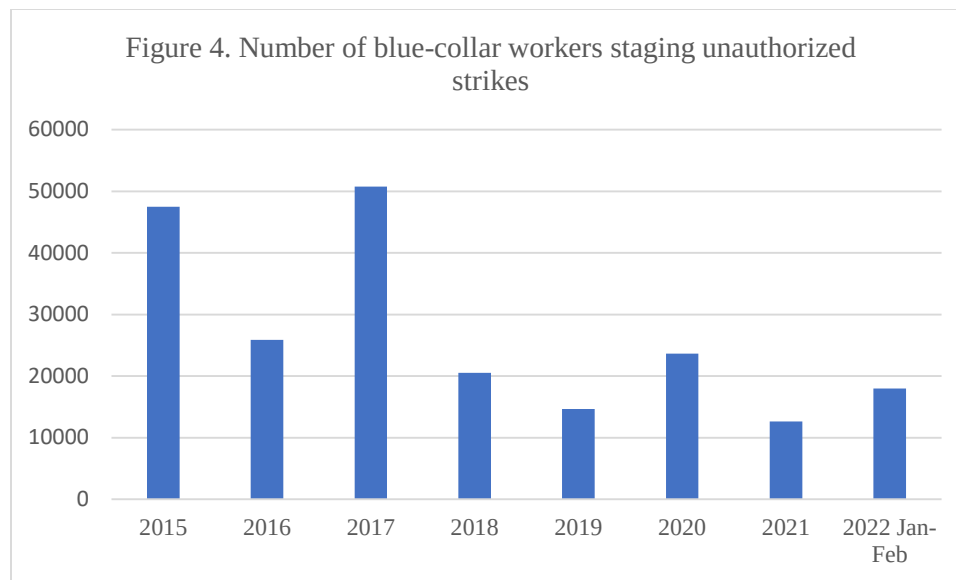


Figure 3 and 4 reveals that in 2015 and 2017 there were greater unauthorized strike activity. In May 2015, Turkey experienced wildcat strikes on an unprecedented scale when thousands of metalworkers walked off the job. Türk Metal is the biggest metal workers union in Turkey with some 220,000 members as of 2022, and according to the field research of Nichols and Sugur (2004: 165) it “embodies the worst aspects of the corporatist ideology and practice that characterised the early years of the Republic.” Nichols and Sugur underline the authoritarianism of Türk Metal vis-à-vis its own members and account for several cases in which Türk Metal workers tried to get rid of the union but could not achieve this due to union-employer collaboration. Indeed, in 2015, some 25,000 of Türk Metal members in nearly twenty five factories staged wildcat strikes to protest the union and the collective agreement it signed (Emek Çalışmaları Topluluğu, 2016; Korkmaz, 2015). This massive strike wave caused a spillover effect all over the country and inspired a great number of unauthorized strikes.

Birleşik Metal-İş, another union of metal workers, is a member of the left-wing DİSK and has nearly 35,000 members in 2022. Birleşik Metal-İş builds on Maden-İş of the 1960s and 1970s, which was the flagship of working-class militancy in the private sector with its clear class unionist attitude and practice (Şafak, 2012). However, Birleşik Metal has lost much of its power and membership base to Türk Metal due to the anti-DİSK attitude of the 1980 coup and employers' preference for Türk Metal over Birleşik Metal. Birleşik Metal-İş is arguably still the flagship of working-class militancy in the private sector, although its militancy is watered-down to a significant extent. Industry-wide collective bargaining between metal unions and employers is still the single most important and conflict-ridden arena of organized struggle between two classes in Turkey, and this is mostly due to Birleşik Metal-İş' relative militancy.

The high number of strikes in 2017 is once again directly related with metal industry. Wildcat strikes on an unprecedented scale by metal workers in May 2015, seemed to ignite some change in Türk Metal, which has become slightly more militant afterwards. Birleşik Metal-İş' has always been more prone to strike during the industry-wide collective bargaining between metal unions and employers. However, in 2017 this time Türk Metal also staged a greater militancy and organized unauthorized strikes during the bargaining, which is a tactic Birleşik Metal-İş has always used. Nearly half of the unauthorized strikes in 2017 was staged by Birleşik Metal-İş and Türk Metal on December 2017. Indeed both unions could not reach an agreement during the bargaining and (together with a third union Öz Çelik İş) they declared that they will stage lawful strike, which will be participated by a some 130,000 metal workers in February 2018. The AKP government banned this strike even before starting. Mass strikes by shoe-maker artisans and workers in September 2017 were another reason why the number of strikers was greater in that year.

Table 2 below presents top three industries of the unauthorized strikes between 2015 and 2021. As the discussion below implied metal industry is the first one, which is followed by the construction. While the unauthorized strikes in metal industry are mostly offensive strikes, in the sense that workers stage them to enhance their rights, the unauthorized strikes in construction sector is mostly due to wage arrears, therefore defensive in nature. The third industry, textile also witnesses mostly defensive strikes due to wage arrears.

Table 2. Unauthorized strikes by industries (2015-2021)

Metal	28%
Construction	22%
Textile	10%

Average duration of unauthorized strikes between 2015 and 2021 was 2,9 days, and 58% of them were defensive, in the sense that they organized to defend the existing set of rights of the workers.

2022 JAN-FEB UNAUTHORIZED STRIKE WAVE

Figure 5 below captures 105 blue collar strikes in January and February 2022 according to their starting days. The strike by couriers at Trendyol, which has attracted the most public attention, began on 24 January and lasted for three days. Around 1,000 couriers, which the firm hires on a self-employed basis, “switched off” their vehicles for three days and won a pay raise. In terms of the number of strikes the wave peaked in the first half of February.

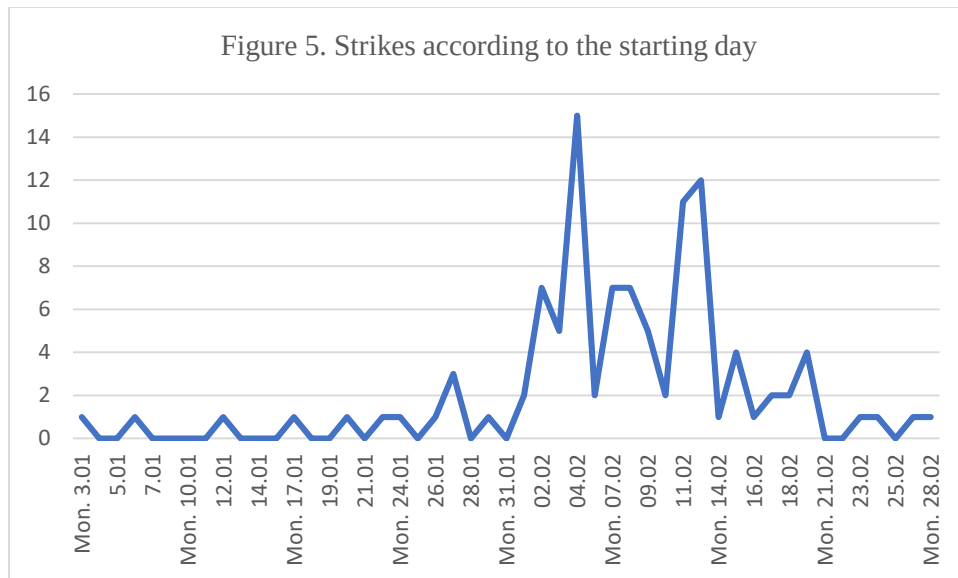
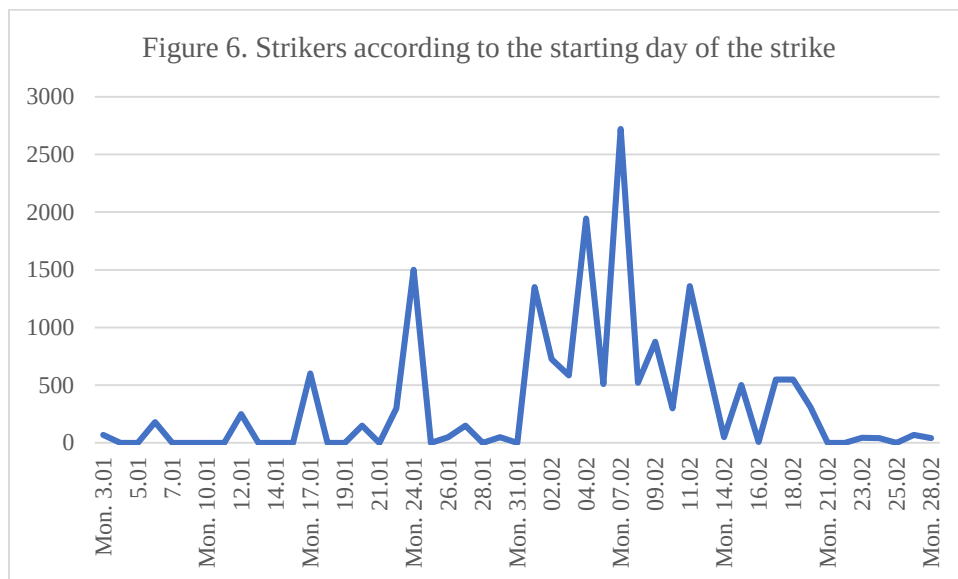


Figure 6 below provides the number of strikers according to the starting day of the strike. In this figure the strike by couriers at Trendyol on 24 January is much more noticeable. 7 February is the peak due to a strike of nearly 2000 workers in a big textile factory in Antep.



All of the 105 blue collar strikes in these two months were unauthorized.¹ 103 of them were in the private sector, while 2 were staged by workers of municipalities, therefore in the public sector. 95 were (90%) to increase low pay raise offered by the employers at the beginning of the new year. Therefore vast majority of these strikes were offensive, because they aimed to extend the existing set of rights, instead of defending them against a violation of the management. While 42% of the unauthorized strikes between 2015 and 2021 were offensive, the same ration for the unauthorized strikes in this wave was 93%.

Most of these strikes (60 of them) lasted for a day or less, nevertheless, the average duration was 3,1 days. Overall, some 18,000 workers participated in these strikes. In 53 of these strikes workers won some of their demands, which is a remarkable and unexpected ratio for the labor protests in Turkey.

The major groups are summarized below in the Table 3. Seven strikes among couriers were accompanied by 17 strikes by sock workers in İstanbul, 32 strikes in Gaziantep, an industrial city in the southeast of Turkey, 21 strikes by ship breaking workers in Aliağa, İzmir and many more strikes in different places and sectors. Gaziantep is not a city where labor movement is powerful at all, and almost all of the strikes there were staged by textile workers.

Table 3. Major groups among strikes

Gaziantep	32
Aliağa shipbreaking	21
İstanbul sock workers	17

¹ There was one ongoing blue collar lawful strike in this period, which began in 2021 and lasted until 1 February 2022. It is not included in this data because it began on 25 October 2021. This strike was not banned by the government, because it was staged on a municipality ran by the opposition party CHP, namely Bakırköy, İstanbul.

Couriers	8
Metal	7
Other	20

Another important feature of this strike wave was the fact that it was mainly created by workers who are not union member. Table 4 below summarizes the union involvement in the strikes. It should be noted that in some strikes more than one union was involved. Only 4 of 105 unauthorized blue-collar strikes staged in unionized workplaces (Three of these were metal factories where Birleşik Metal-İş was the authorized union and one was a municipality where Genel-İş was the authorized union. One strike in a Birleşik Metal factory was actually a wildcat one, that is despite and in protest of the union headquarters.). In 54 (51%) of cases there was no union involvement or support even after the strike was initiated by non-union workers. In other words 54 strike was staged by workers alone without the support of a formal union.

Table 4. Union involvement in the strikes (as organizer or contributor)

No union	54
Independent unions	26
Türk-İş unions	17
DİSK unions	11

In 26 of the cases (left-wing) independent unions either organized or supported the strikes, which is remarkable and interesting for the labor scene in Turkey. In terms of their membership independent unions are very small and weak in Turkey. The most important reason of this is the so-called industry threshold.

Union Law No. 6356 establishes 20 industry sectors and a given union may only organize in one of those defined sectors. Every workplace officially operate under a specific industry and all

workers of a workplace officially work under the industry assigned to that workplace. A union has to represent at least 1% of the total number of registered workers in the relevant industry to be authorized for collective bargaining. To give an example, a new union established in the metal industry has to obtain some 18,500 members to be authorized for collective bargaining. This is almost impossible given that it would not have the authorization until making that many members. Why and how would 18,500 workers become members of that union which cannot engage in collective bargaining? The industry threshold precludes new, independent unions from obtaining authorization.

Arguably for the first time in recent decades, independent unions made a significant impact on the labor movement in this strike wave. In most of these 26 cases, independent unions did not organized the strike from scratch, but had a less crucial contribution; however, their presence was important. In two high-profile and successful cases in İstanbul, namely Trendyol and Migros independent union Umut-Sen was leading. Their militant tactics on the shopfloor and their skills to mobilize public support for striking workers were crucial for the victories. Birtek-Sen, a newly found textile union in Gaziantep seemed to be essential in supporting and guiding the strike wave of textile workers in that city.

Deriteks was the only Türk-İş (the oldest, biggest and mainstream worker unions confederation in Turkey) union which was present in this wave. As a small and left-wing textile union based in İstanbul, Deriteks closely supported the strikes of sock workers in İstanbul.

The fact that DİSK unions fell behind independent unions and Türk-İş unions is interesting, since DİSK is the left-wing worker union confederation. Several left-wing and labor circles claim that DİSK has become less militant in the recent years. The weak presence of DİSK unions in the recent strike wave can be interpreted as another symptom of this tendency. Among DİSK unions Birleşik Metal-İş lead the way with 5 cases.

Industries of the strikes are presented in the Table 5 below. Industries are defined according to the 20 industry sectors as established by the Union Law No. 6356. Because of the sock workers in İstanbul and textile workers in Gaziantep textile constitutes almost half of the strikes. “Shipbuilding, warehousing” industry is an unlikely combination of different industries, which is not compatible with any international standards. Because of the strike wave of shipbreaking workers in İzmir, Aliğa, a basin of shipbreaking industry this industry followed textile. However, it should be noted that the high-profile strike of Migros warehouse workers in İstanbul also falls under this industry. The third industry, that is transportation mainly corresponds to 8 courier strikes. Metal workers is the most militant section of the working class in Turkey similar to many countries and they were also present, although with a minor role in this wave.

Table 5. Strikes according to industries

Textile	45
Ship building, warehousing	24
Transportation	10
Petrochemical	8
Metal	7
Construction	4
Food industry	2
Mining	2
General services (municipality)	2
Energy	1

ANALYSIS: FACTORS AT PLAY

Arguably at least 7 factors were at play in the emergence of this wave.

1. Inflation

Turkey is experiencing an ongoing currency and debt crisis resulting in high inflation, which is running at 48 percent according to the government, yet there are estimates as high as 115 percent according to independent researchers.² Facing an election in the summer of 2023 (at the latest), the AKP government has been forced to increase the minimum wage, upping it by nearly 50 percent in January 2022. In 95 (91%) of 105 blue-collar strikes, the workers' primary demand was higher pay raises than offered by their employers at the beginning of the new year. However, the mere presence of economic hardship is not an automatic driver of increased protest; it can also lead to despair and self-destruction. In fact, in 2018, when the current crisis began, the number of suicides or suicide attempts in public places driven by economic factors rose markedly. What, then, are the other factors that have given thousands the inspiration and power to strike?

2. Government had to be relatively more tolerant

² <https://www.dw.com/tr/enag-ile-t%C3%BCi%CC%87kin-enflasyon-rakamlar%C4%B1-aras%C4%B1ndaki-fark-nereden-kaynaklan%C4%B1yor/a-60759177>

As mentioned, Turkey is due to hold general and presidential elections in the summer of 2023 (at the latest). Polls show that the opposition has the upper hand in the presidential race, and the main reason of the declining popularity of the AKP is high inflation. This vulnerability of the AKP provides an opportunity for the labor movement. Government was relatively more tolerant towards the strike in January and February 2022 than it usually is. This doesn't mean that police did not intervene at all. Indeed, police intervened brutally in the unauthorized strike at the Farplas plant in January, taking nearly 200 workers into custody. Migros case was another violent one, in which police took workers into custody more than once. However, overall police was more tolerant compared to its performance since the mid-2010s and this was due to the mentioned vulnerability of the AKP.

3. Significant level of militancy/unauthorized strike activity in the last years

Despite the authoritarian context, Turkish workers have staged a considerable number of protests recently. As illustrated above, in our research, we identified 135 cases of blue-collar unauthorized strikes in 2015, 97 cases in 2016, and 129 cases in 2017. The number swung between 67 and 87 from 2018 through 2021. Many workers in Turkey are more or less familiar with the unauthorized strike as a form of protest. In sum, the current strike wave appears to be built on solid and ongoing working-class militancy.

4. Impact of pandemic for the couriers (and possibly other “essential” workers)

During the COVID-19 pandemic, e-commerce firms have grown substantially. While employers have preferred not to share their skyrocketing profits with their so-called “partners,” the overall economy and our daily lives have become much more dependent on the couriers’ labor. This increased dependency has boosted the couriers’ structural power (Wright, 2000). The same can be also valid for factory workers who kept working during pandemic with no or very moderate health protections provided by their employers. The unionists who later established Birttek-Sen prepared a report on the working conditions of textile workers in Gaziantep during pandemic.³ The report revealed the unbearable conditions workers had to endure and how the state officials, who were in open collaboration with the employers, turned a blind eye to the health risks workers were exposed. The current strike wave can be interpreted as a reaction of workers to the extraordinary oppression they experienced during the pandemic.

Another group of workers who have worked extra hard during the pandemic and lately exhibited pronounced militancy are medical doctors and health workers in public hospitals. However, because they constitute mainly a white-collar workforce they are not included in this paper.

5. Victories and Spillover Effect

Since the dominance of capitalism rests not only on force but on hegemony and manipulation, self-confidence and ideological fight over what is possible on the part of workers are crucial. As the most public case, the Trendyol couriers’ victory proved the point: striking is possible and can be

³ <https://sendikaorg.fra1.digitaloceanspaces.com/wp-content/uploads/2021/07/26132749/pandemi-gaziantep-osb-is%CC%A7c%CC%A7ileri-raporu.pdf>

very effective. For almost each industry which participated in the wave in mass, there was such victories at the beginning which created the spillover effect. The strike and victory of Alpin sock workers played such a role for sock workers in İstanbul. Similarly Zafer Textile and Melike Textile workers' strikes and their moderate victories served as examples for others to follow.

6. Socialist/independent unionism

More than half of the strikes were organized by workers alone without the support of a formal union. However, many high-profile cases — including those at Trendyol, Farplas, Yemek Sepeti, Migros, Alpin Çorap, and many others — were organized with the support of leftist/socialist unions. 22 strikes in Gaziantep were encouraged by a newly established, independent, left-wing union. In fact, socialists remain pretty active in labor organizing in Turkey (Birelma, 2018). It seems like socialists need workers as much as workers need them to succeed in their mobilizations.

7. Global context

Last but not least, global factors are at play. Several studies have found a growing number of protests and strikes among delivery workers all over the globe in the last couple of years (Trappman et.al, 2020). The working class as a whole seems to be in a more militant mood, and this is not only valid in prominent cases such as Chile and the US (Medel et.al, 2021; Press, 2021). Indeed, several studies have identified an uptick in global labor militancy over the last decade (Nowak et.al, 2018; Karatasli et.al, 2018). It may be way too early to talk about labor's "comeback," but it seems that the dog days of the 1990s and 2000s have passed.

As of March 2022, the number of new strikes appears to have subsided. Meanwhile, signs are growing that Turkey might finally be approaching the end of the AKP era. Labor can take advantage of the approaching critical juncture. Indeed, even a moderate democratization after AKP would open significant space for the labor movement to revitalize. All this enables us to speculate that an opportunity for a certain labor comeback in Turkey seems close at hand.

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Observing Abusive Supervision Among Restaurant Frontline Employees:

Does Industry Tenure Matter?

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Abstract

The current study develops a framework for examining how vicarious abusive supervision affects employees' affective rumination and subsequent behavior. We hypothesize that bystanders are more inclined to further deplete resources through varying degrees of affective rumination. We assume that bystanders who experience vicarious abusive supervision may engage in supervisor-directed deviance, remain silent, and reduce helping behaviors to the target of abuse. In summary, we propose that vicarious abusive supervision would indirectly influence bystanders' behavioral responses mediated by affective rumination, with the mediating effect moderated by bystanders' industry tenure. Data was collected from 51 restaurants in Turkey involving 233 employees.

1. Introduction

A survey conducted by Woolf (2021) indicated that 66% of employees have experienced workplace bullying in the U.S. 55% of workers have reported experiencing

one or more types of bullying in Turkey (Bilgel, 2006). The existing literature examined the consequences of abusive supervision, linking abusive supervision to a variety of negative subordinate outcomes, such as emotional exhaustion (Wheeler et al., 2013), decreased job satisfaction (Kernan et al., 2011), lower quality leadership-member exchange (Lian et al. 2012), reduced job performance (Xu et al., 2012), lower creativity (Liu et al., 2012), higher turnover intention (Aquino & Thau, 2009; Tepper, 2000), workplace deviance (Mitchell & Ambrose, 2007; Thau et al., 2009), work-family conflict (Carlson et al., 2011), and reduced organizational citizenship behavior (Rafferty & Restubog, 2011; Zellars et al., 2002).

Nevertheless, the literature on abusive supervision has shifted the focus by positing that abusive supervision is not only confined to the focal victims but also likely to exert a significant impact on those who witness the abusive supervision without being the direct targets, referred to as vicarious abusive supervision (Harris et al., 2013). According to the research conducted by the Society for Human Resource Management (SHRM), 48% of HR professionals said that they have either seen or witnessed violence in the workplace (2019). 79% of American employees have either indirectly experienced or witnessed bullying in the workplace (Woolf, 2021). Some iconic leaders in the business world have been recognized as 'bad bosses'. Steve Jobs was known for his harsh reprimanding of employees who did not meet his standards in the public area. Other employees witnessed him abusing his subordinates, thereby experiencing vicarious abusive supervision (Lashinsky, 2011). Furthermore, vicarious abusive

supervision is common in the hospitality industry given the characteristics of the hospitality work setting. First, the process of delivering a service to customers is regarded as service production (Spacey, 2017). The long service production chain in the hospitality industry, which involves operation, monitoring, facility management and quality control, necessitates close collaboration and coordination among colleagues (Hu et al., 2009). Teamwork is prone to employees observing colleagues being abused by their supervisors. Second, the hospitality service delivery operates in a public environment where customers, employees, and supervisors are all in the same space simultaneously (Pizam, 2009). In this regard, the interaction between front employees and supervisors is visible to customers and coworkers. As a result, the supervisors' abusive behaviors could be easily observable by coworkers, resulting in vicarious abusive supervision in the hospitality industry. In spite of the prevalence of the vicarious abusive supervision in the hospitality work setting, only one research examined the importance of vicarious abusive supervision in the Chinese tourism and hospitality industry and identified bystanders' reactions towards vicarious abusive supervision (Yu et al., 2022).

A few previous studies have examined bystanders' reactions following vicarious abusive supervision. Vicarious abusive supervision, for example, has been linked to bystanders' willingness to engage in peer abuse (Harris et al., 2013), pro-social behavior that confronts the supervisors to protect the victims (Priesemuth, 2013; Priesemuth & Schminke, 2019), decreased creative behavior (Jiang et al., 2017), and

decreased task performance (Porath & Erez, 2009). Those findings are mostly drawn on justice or social exchange principles to explain. Our research takes the Conservation of Resources theory (COR; Hobfoll, 1989) to understand vicarious abusive supervision, considering undesirable consequences as a result of resource depletion (Byrne et al., 2014). Given this information, the critical research question is how to influence bystander work behavior in response to vicarious abusive supervision from a resource conservation perspective. The COR theory recognizes that affective rumination is an empirical behavioral strategy in response to a loss of resources (Gross, 1998), thus we assume that vicarious abusive supervision as a stressor could lead to affective rumination by bystanders. In this case, affective rumination as a coping strategy may continue to deplete bystanders' resources, and bystanders can engage in work-related behaviors, including supervisor-directed deviance, silence, and helping behavior, to protect their resources. The purpose of this research is to examine the mediating role of affective rumination as a strategy for coping with resource threats. Finally, in a closely collaborative work environment, vicarious abusive supervision is more demanding for employees to minimize affective rumination as resource loss may prompt bystanders to engage in negative behaviors (He et al., 2021). We predict that the level of affective rumination can be influenced by individual characteristics. Therefore, we aimed to gain a richer understanding of the boundary conditions of the impact of vicarious abusive supervision on affective rumination.

Vicarious abusive supervision is conceptualized as a stressor that leads to resource loss (Thompson, 2022). Abusive supervision exhibits rudeness, intimidation, and public criticism of employees (Harrison et al., 2013). Bystanders who observe abusive behaviors need to consume cognitive resources to become aware of the incident and judge the aggression as abusive supervision. Moreover, bystanders may develop emotional reactions to stress in response to vicarious abusive supervision, which places additional burdens on the emotional resources of bystanders (Zhao & Guo, 2019). As a result, vicarious abusive supervision is regarded as a resource-loss incident for bystanders. COR theory proposes that the lack of resources leads individuals to act defensively to convert or compensate for their resources (Hobfoll, 2001). Drawing upon the COR theory, the present study claimed that one of the ways individuals cope with the stress of resource threat is by generating affective rumination following vicarious abusive supervision (Gross, 1998; Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). Affective rumination, as an experiential coping strategy in maladaptive situations, involves individuals regularly and passively reflecting on certain negative situations and potential consequences (Nolen-Hoeksema et al., 2008), caused by challenging circumstances and uncertainty (Smith & Alloy, 2009). However, consuming resources to cope with stress is itself a form of stress (Hobfoll, 1989). Individuals tend to deplete their resources in the process of coping with stress. Affective rumination on supervisory abusive behaviors can deplete employees' emotional and cognitive resources through negative reflection (Gailliot et al., 2007; Van Dyne et al., 2002). Furthermore, individuals who lack resources are more inclined to suffer further losses. Thus, vicarious abusive supervision

causes a loss of resources for bystanders, who lack the resources to compensate for the resource loss and are more likely to suffer from resource-draining affective rumination. Bystanders are unable to detach themselves from affective issues when witnessing the supervisory abusive behavior (Cropley et al., 2012; Querstret & Cropley, 2012), and repeatedly reflect on negative thoughts, thereby exacerbating and prolonging the process of affective rumination (Kinman et al., 2017).

Drawing on the COR theory, individuals' reactions to resource loss caused by stressors are influenced by individual differences (Hobfoll & Shirom, 2001). Individual characteristics may play roles in the ability to manage resources. Considering the individual boundary conditions of the impact of vicarious abusive supervision, we argue that the industry tenure serves as a resource to buffer negative reactions to vicarious abusive supervision. As employees gain experience in the organization, they can become more attuned to the pressures and demands at work (Bradley, 2007). Bystanders with longer tenure may be less susceptible to supervisory abusive behaviors toward coworkers, as they recognize that abusive supervision persists in the organization and are better able to deal with the vicarious abusive supervision as a stressor. Consistent with COR theory, industry tenure serves as a remedy for managing stress in the workplace (Hobfoll, 1989). Longer-tenure employees have gained significant work experience and are more mentally mature, leading them to be more aware of how they can preserve their resources and reduce losses (Bradley, 2007). In this regard, such employees may experience less cognitive processing, emotional

exhaustion, and justice advocacy (Karatepe & Karatepe, 2009). Employees who suffer from less resource loss are less likely to compensate for the depletion by reflecting on problems at work-after hours (Meijman & Mulder, 1998). Thus, bystanders may benefit from their long industry tenure to be able to cope with the adverse effects of stressors on affective rumination and work behavior.

As vicarious abusive supervision threatens bystanders' resources, the bystanders may engage in corresponding work-related behaviors in order to reduce the loss of resource. COR theory proposed that when faced with a loss of resources, employees tend to suffer a loss of future resources (Hobfoll, 1989). Thus, as vicarious abusive supervision leads to a drain on bystanders' personal resources, they are reluctant to invest additional time, energy, and other resources in discretionary actions such as helping behaviors in order to reduce further resource losses (Zhao, 2019). Bystanders are likely to minimize future resource consumption by remaining silent or reducing helping behaviors rather than acquiring new resources (Halbesleben et al., 2014; Hobfoll, 2001). Moreover, employees who lack options due to an inadequate supply of resources may attempt strategies that are costly and have little chance of success such as supervisor-directed deviance. Otherwise, they may further expose themselves to the harmful development of resources' spiral loss (Alloy et al., 1984). Therefore, we assume that vicarious abusive supervision is linked with more supervisor-directed deviance, less helping behaviors, and more silence. Identifying bystander work behaviors (i.e., supervisor-directed deviance, silence, and helping behaviors) resulting from vicarious abusive

supervision would refine the comprehension of these three constructs from a lens of COR theory.

Taken together, based on COR theory, we aimed to extend the mechanisms by which vicarious abusive supervision affects bystanders and explain the different reactions of bystanders to the observation of abusive supervision of their colleagues. The current study develops a framework for examining how vicarious abusive supervision affects employees' affective rumination and subsequent behavior. Vicarious abusive supervision can deplete bystanders' personal resources (e.g., Thompson, 2022). As resource gain and loss are characterized as the "rich-get-richer and the poor-get-poorer" phenomenon (Song, 2021), we hypothesize that bystanders are more inclined to further deplete resources through varying degrees of affective rumination. Repeatedly experiencing vicarious abusive supervision leads to the fact that employees with long industry tenure are more likely to find coping strategies and ensure that they consume fewer resources by accumulating a wealth of experience (Karatepe, 2009). Thus, the impact of vicarious abusive supervision on bystanders' affective rumination is moderated by the bystanders' industry tenure. As a result of the loss of resources and the lack of supply, bystanders stimulate work-related behavioral responses to conserve their resources. We assume that bystanders who experience vicarious abusive supervision may engage in supervisor-directed deviance, remain silent, and reduce helping behaviors to the target of abuse. In summary, we propose that vicarious abusive supervision would indirectly influence bystanders' behavioral responses mediated by

affective rumination, with the mediating effect moderated by bystanders’ industry tenure (see Figure 1).

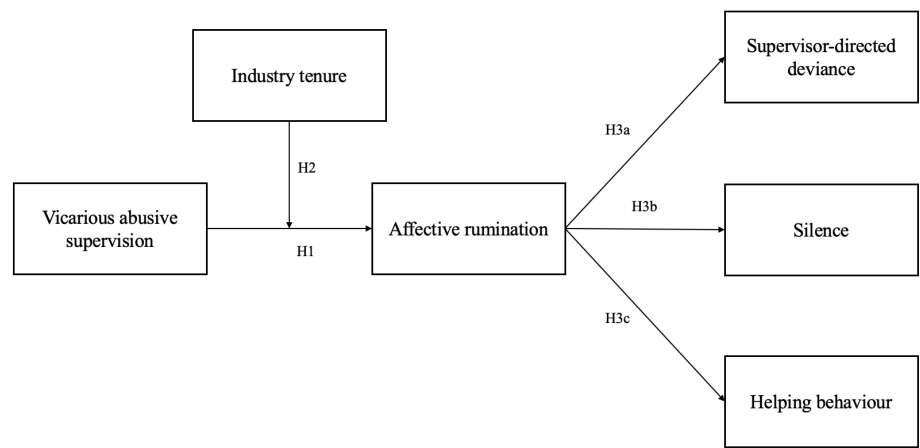


Figure 1. A proposed theoretical model

Our study provides three key contributions to the field of vicarious abusive supervision research. First, although the existing literature indicated that bystanders experience affective rumination when directly confronted with abusive behaviors by the supervisors, research on vicarious abusive supervision is scarce in this regard. Affective rumination represents a destructive form of introspection that depletes bystanders’ resources by forcing them to focus on the negative aspects of supervisory abusive behavior (Lyubomirsky et al., 2015). Based on COR theory, this study argues that vicarious abusive supervision leads to a constant depletion of resources due to passive reflection on abusive behaviors, thus resulting in affective rumination. Second, we posit that industry tenure as a resource may allow bystanders to buffer the stresses resulted from vicarious abusive supervision. Industry tenure helps reveal bystanders’ ability to reduce the loss of resources evoked by alternative abusive supervision. This study

identifies for the first time the moderating role of industry tenure in the effect of vicarious abusive supervision on affective rumination. Third, we combined vicarious abusive supervision with affective rumination to provide a new perspective on employees' work-related behaviors due to negative affective rumination. Drawing on COR theory, this study captures three behaviors associated with vicarious abusive supervision via affective rumination, namely supervisor-directed deviance, silence, and helping behavior. This study predicts that vicarious abusive supervision induces behavioral responses of bystanders to conserve their resources. On the one hand, vicarious abusive supervision elicits supervisor-directed deviance and silence, which help bystanders reduce resource loss. On the other hand, bystanders minimize helping behaviors that burden resources. Thus, we investigated affective rumination as a mediator of mechanisms that further deplete bystanders' resources and ultimately lead to behavioral reactions.

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REFLECTIONS OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT IN TURKEY’S POPULAR MUSIC OF THE 1970’S

Zeynep Işıl IŞIK DURSUN

Abstract

Music has a strong emotional impact on individuals as well as masses. Popular music, as a cultural artifact, is an important medium for conveying messages in a social context. The youth movement in the 1960’s was strongly reflected within popular music. The 1970’s Labor Movement in Turkey was engaged with the student movement of the 1960’s, which turned into a revolutionary discourse in the 1970’s. In this context, the labor movement was reflected in many popular music songs of the era.

Among many valuable songs that reflect the era’s labor movement, this article focuses on seven songs: a song that represents the class differences in a social realistic manner (Cem Karaca's “Tamirci Çırağı” (Repairman’s Apprentice) released in 1975); two songs that address economic issues (Timur Selçuk’s “Kasa Şarkısı” (Safety-Deposit Song) and “Kasa Can Çekişiyor” (The Safety-Deposit is Agonizing) released in 1977); two songs about the workers’ revolution (Cem Karaca’s “1 Mayıs” (May 1st) and “Durduramayacaklar Halkın Coşkun Akan Selini” (They Won’t Be Able to Stop the People’s Fiery Flood) released in 1977); and finally, two songs about economic-based migration (Selda Bağcan’s “Almanya Acı Vatan” (Germany, Bitter Homeland) released in 1976 and Ruhi Su’s “Almanya’da Çöpçülerimiz” (Our Garbage Men in Germany) released in 1977).

Keywords: Labor movement, popular music, political music, 1970s, Turkey

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Introduction

Music has a strong emotional impact on individuals as well as masses. Popular music, as a cultural artifact, is an important medium for conveying messages in a social context. According to Stuart Hall (1981), popular culture is the primary site where social changes take place within continuous negotiations. Pratt (1990) defines popular culture as a process in which preferences are transformed as a result of various tensions and conflicts. Jackson (2009: 8-9) reminds that popular culture, especially in young masses, enables them to move away from the socialization tools chosen by their parents, traditional rules, and continuity; while serving to create a culture with common values among themselves. In this context, popular culture is a means of socialization; while popular music, with its structural features, has an important place in youth cultures especially formed by young masses with common values.

The 68 Movement led to major changes in many countries around the world and had a significant impact on popular culture, among many others. Accordingly, the 1970’s was the period in which political messages and social movements were most reflected in Turkey’s popular music. In these years, left-oriented musicians used their music as a means of communication, thereby popular music became an important tool for conveying messages to the masses and reproducing political discourses outside the political arena. These political discourses reflected in popular music were mainly in the Anatolian pop and Anatolian rock genres. In addition, the centuries-old rebellion discourses in the Anatolian minstrelsy¹ tradition were reinterpreted and “modernized” in the Anatolian pop and Anatolian rock genres, thus being incorporated into popular culture and conveyed to a wider audience. This study carries a selection among the dozens of songs analyzed in the doctoral thesis titled “The 68 Movement and Musical Changes in Turkey: Popular Music Between the Years 1961-1980”². The tracks

¹ Original: *Aşık* (Turkish)

² Original: *68 Hareketi ve Türkiye’de Müzikal Değişim: 1961-1980 Yılları Arasında Popüler Müzik* (Turkish). Işık Dursun, Zeynep Işıl. PhD thesis. Hacettepe University, Ankara. May 2022.

discussed here serve as an introduction to how the discourses of the labor movement in 1970's Turkey was reflected in the popular music of the era. The originally Turkish lyrics and texts were deliberately translated into English, remarking the original song names and necessary terms in brackets and footnotes. This study doesn't only address the song lyrics but also addresses the discourses in the album booklets, handling them all together as rhetorical elements, and presents a discourse analysis on how the labor movement was reflected in popular music and its complementary elements of the era.

The 68 Movement of Turkey first started as a student movement with the slogan "Democratic university". However, as soon as the students experienced that a well-established revolution needed a system change, this led to the anti-imperialist struggle followed by the idea of fighting together with the peasants and workers. Founded in 1965 at Ankara University's Faculty of Political Sciences, the Federation of Intellectual Clubs³ (FKF) focused on class struggle and dealt directly with the problems of the working class and peasants; joining occupations, strikes, marches and rallies (Feyizoğlu, 2010: 42-43). After the FKF dissolved itself in October 1969, the Revolutionary Youth Federation of Turkey (TDGF)⁴ -widely known as Dev-Genç⁵-, was established (Feyizoğlu, 2010: 109; Karadeniz, 2015: 160). Shortly thereafter, the name Dev-Genç became widely known in many protests, transforming the "student movement" into a "revolutionary movement" with a wider target. "Worker-peasant hand in hand" became one of the important slogans of the movement, and the young people in the movement began to identify themselves as "revolutionaries" rather than university students Lüküslü (2015: 68). In various declarations published by the socialist and politically active youth of the period, it was emphasized that Turkey was semi-dependent on foreign powers due to its under-developed status and for its development; the industry, especially the national oil, iron and steel industries needed to be strengthened. It was stated that Turkey's development depended on building a non-capitalist system, terminating US imperialism, and taking the Turkish army out of NATO's command. In this context, the concept of "full independence" was explained in relation to the War of Independence and the spirit of Kuvâ-yi Milliye⁶. In addition, the necessity of organizing the workers for the developmentary revolution significantly shaped the labor movement of the period. Dev-Genç members travelled to villages in many parts of Turkey and took part in rallies

³ Original: *Fikir Kulüpleri Federasyonu* (Turkish)

⁴ Original: *Türkiye Devrimci Gençlik Federasyonu* (Turkish)

⁵ Abbreviation for "Revolutionary Youth". Original: *Devrimci Gençlik* (Turkish)

⁶ Irregular Anatolian military forces consisting of civilians in Turkey's War of Independence.

and resistances. Among the most prominent of these were the occupation of the Derby Factory, the olive oil rally in the Aegean region, the cheese rallies in Kars, the garlic rallies in Tosya, and the protests among the assembling industries, besides the iron and steel factories (Mater, 2012: 51-52; Karadeniz, 2015: 87-88).

Meanwhile, with the political freedom of expression introduced by the 1961 Constitution, various leftist movements became more visible in Turkey. In this environment of freedom, the National Balance System⁷ was implemented in the 1965 elections, which gave even the smallest political parties a chance to enter the parliament. The Turkish political scientist Toktamış Ateş underlines that the National Balance System made the struggle take place within the parliament possible (as cited in Feyizoğlu, 2010: 48). In this period, rather than carrying out political activities on the streets or underground, young people became involved in politics by taking part in parties and their subsidiary organizations according to their own political views. Feyizoğlu (ibid., p. 51) emphasizes that the abolition of the National Balance System in 1968 brought the youth to continue their struggle on the streets. Before the 1969 elections, the electoral law was amended and the National Balance System was abolished, making it impossible for Turkey's Labor Party (TİP)⁸ to enter the Turkish Parliament, as it had successfully done in the 1965 elections.

With TİP playing an active role in politics, the class issues became more visible both on social agenda and in popular culture from the 1960's onwards. While the topics of poverty and class issues focused on peasants and the problems of rural life in the 1960's; in the 1970's, working class issues and urban poverty became more prominent. Towards mid-1970's, the concept of poverty -which was mostly associated with rural areas-, was extended to the urban laborer and working classes in consequence of the increase in migration from rural to urban areas. From the second half of the 1970's onwards (until the military coup of 1980), the increasement of popular music songs about the working class became very visible. It can be said that TİP's failure to enter the parliament in the 1968 elections - despite its increasing votes -, and its closure from 1971 until 1975 consequently plays a role in this. The labor class, which was represented in the parliament by TİP in the 1960's, started making its voice heard through increasing protests after the loss of its parliamentary representation. Certainly, the economic

⁷ Original: *Milli Bakiye* (Turkish)

⁸ Original: *Türkiye İşçi Partisi* (Turkish)

crisis also played a major role in these protests. In addition, students belonging to the leftist movement realized the importance of joining the peasants' and laborers' struggle for a revolution, and accordingly, the problems experienced in rural areas entered popular culture - in this case popular music. From these years onwards, as TİP supporters made their voices heard outside the parliament on different platforms and the workers' strikes were intense; the difficult living conditions of the rural areas, as well as the problems and difficulties faced by those who migrated from the countryside to the city and mostly worked as laborers, were addressed in a social realistic manner.

Social Realism in Songs: “You are a Worker, Stay as a Worker!”

The socialist composer Hanns Eisler argues that music is made by people, for the people. According to him, music develops in class struggles because class struggles are the source of all kinds of productivity. The musical material has no development of its own. It develops only in its contradictory relationship with society (as cited in Onay et al., 2006: 67). The emphasis on social realism and “art for society’s sake” is frequently encountered in the writings of the leftist intellectuals of the period in Turkey, such as in the *Yön* and *Emek* journals of the 1970’s. Although these magazines did not give enough space to music, the motto “art for society’s sake” and the social realism movement were frequently emphasized in the fields of plastic arts, literature, and theater. On the inner sleeve of Cem Karaca's “Beni Siz Delirtiniz / Niyazi” (*Eng. You Drove Me Crazy / Niyazi*) 45er vinyl published in 1975, the following note appears:

“With these two tracks, we have taken another step in our own way of producing for our problems and emphasized once again that we do not make art for art’s sake, but for the society’s sake. The people of this land will not forgive those who deliberately lull the people of the country which was deliberately left underdeveloped; to sleep with songs of love and longing with roses and nightingales as if they were on opium, saying that art is for art, and calling these pieces art. [...]”

In Karaca’s note, it is also stated that Karaca’s music directly addresses the problems of the society and expresses the problems of the society. In addition to Cem Karaca, prominent musician figures of the 1970’s leftist movement such as Melike Demirağ, Timur Selçuk, Ruhi Su, Zülfü Livaneli, Selda Bağcan among others, frequently express their messages parallel to this discourse.

Among many popular music songs in Turkey that deal with the working class, Cem Karaca's “Tamirci Çırağı” (Repairman’s Apprentice), released in 1975, is perhaps the most well-known

and most discussed song in academic contexts. The cover of the 45er vinyl “Tamirci Çırağı / Nerdesin” (Repairman's Apprentice / Where Are You) features a photo of a crouching car mechanic while working in his repair shop, in gray monochrome tones. On the inside of the cover lays a gray monochrome image of a repair key on a black background. The key is labeled “Repairman’s Apprentice” in large letters, with the following note at the top left:

“Dear music lover,

In this record Cem Karaca - Dervişan presents a different approach to the poor boy-rich girl relationship that has always ended with a certain happy ending. It may be harsh because it is realistic, but this is the bitterness of reality itself. We dedicate this work to all the laborers of the nation. [...]”

The heterosexual “poor boy-rich girl relationship, which until [that day] had always ended with a happy ending” emphasized in these words, or the rich boy-poor girl relationship which also ended with a happy ending; is a subject that was addressed in many films of the period. An example of these movies presenting a popular musician, is the 1975 movie “Baba Bizi Eversene” (Daddy, Let Us Get Married) starring Barış Manço, a famous male Anatolian rock star. In this movie, Barış Manço, an intelligent and hardworking middle class young man working for a rich factory owner, falls in love with the factory owner's daughter. However, the factory owner is against this love. After various comedic events, the story ends with a happy ending in which the lovers come together. Another example is the 1971 movie “Adaletin Bu Mu Dünya?” (Is This Your Justice, World?) starring the female Anatolian pop singer Selda Bağcan, subjects the relationship between a rich boy and a poor girl. However, in this movie, rather than a stereotypical fairytale story with a savior male hero, Selda Bağcan works hard and becomes a famous and rich singer and gets to meet the rich man she is platonically in love with, yet the story has a dramatic ending. Returning to the song “Tamirci Çırağı” (The Repairman’s Apprentice); the mentioned sentences on the record cover also refer to the social realism movement that Karaca was a proponent of, and serve as an introduction to the story of “Tamirci Çırağı” (The Repairman’s Apprentice). “Tamirci Çırağı” (The Repairman’s Apprentice) is a progressive rock song which realistically expresses the class differences in Turkish society and is dedicated to “all the laborers of the nation” as Karaca puts it. The lyrics of “Tamirci Çırağı” (The Repairman’s Apprentice) approach the fairytale love stories between the upper and lower classes -which were frequently depicted in 1970’s Turkish cinema- with a social realist attitude:

“A fire has fallen into my heart, it burns, it burns, it burns
 Hope is the bread of my heart, it hopes, it hopes, it hopes
 Her hands are white, her fingernails with nail polish
 Where should my palm hide its calluses?
 She came to our garage yesterday to get her car fixed
 I started loving her, as soon as I saw her
 Long skirt on her feet, wavy hair
 My master called from afar, “My son, grab the tools!” (x 2)
 I read something like this in a novel
 It was an expensive book with a glossy cover
 Somehow or other, the young girl had fallen in love
 With the apprentice, in a similar situation
 I told my master that I wouldn’t wear the overalls today.
 I combed my hair in my hazy mirror
 She was supposed to come back today to pick up her car
 Maybe, to make the dream in that novel come true (x 2)
 Time stopped, the world stopped, she entered through the door (x 2)
 I just stood and stared (x 2)
 I opened the car door, to let her in (x 2)
 Her crescent eyebrows raised, she asked “Who is this tramp?” (x 2)
 She drove off and I choked on her exhaust fumes
 I sat up slowly with tears in my eyes
 My master came, slapped me on the back, and said “Forget the novels!
 You are a worker, stay a worker, wear the overalls (x5)
 You are a worker, stay a worker” (x8)

In this song, the contrasts in the lyrics “Her hands are white, her fingernails with nail polish / Where should my palm hide its calluses?” and “Long skirt on her feet, wavy hair / My master called from afar, ‘My son, grab the tools!’” strengthen the emphasis on class differences. The words “I read something like this in a novel / It was an expensive book with a glossy cover / Somehow or other, the young girl had fallen in love / With the apprentice, in a similar situation” emphasize that such stories can only take place in “glossy covered”, mainstream, mass-pleasing cultural outputs. The story continues with the master emphasizing the reality and the fact that the position of his apprentice will not change by the words “You are a worker, stay a worker”. The lyrics of this song do not address the issues of workers’ struggle, revolt, or revolution, as in many song examples subjecting the working class. However, carrying a social realist attitude, it reverses the mainstream stories that “end with a happy ending” mentioned in the prologue and in this respect, it is a revolutionary piece.

Economic Issues, Poverty and Cracking Safety-Deposits

As an output of class differences, the economic gap between classes was one of the most important subjects in 1970's leftist cultural outputs. "Kasa Şarkısı" (Safety-Deposit Song), featured on Timur Selçuk's 1977 album "Timur Selçuk", belongs to the soundtrack of Ankara Art Theater's⁹ play "Nereye Payidar?" (Where to, Forever?). The lyrics of the song emphasize that the economy cannot run without the working and producing peasants, laborers and civil servants; and the economic interests of the bosses depend on these classes:

[...]
If it wasn't you, me, him, working
If we hadn't created all these goods and values
If we hadn't shed the sweat of our foreheads
Would the water flow from the fountain?
If you, me and him hadn't run, if we hadn't gotten tired
If we didn't live on a morsel
If we didn't stay hungry while they ate
Would the handle of the safety-deposit turn?
[...]"

These words are followed by the lines "We are the ones who struggle so that the safety-deposits can be filled, We are the ones who are exhausted so that the safety-deposits can be overflowed, Some of us died for the profits of the safety-deposits, Enough is enough, let this robbery of labor end..."; emphasizing that the current order must come to an end with a revolution coming from the working class. The song "Kasa Can Çekişiyor" (The Safety-Deposit is Agonizing) from the same album is again a soundtracks of the play "Nereye Payidar" (Where to, Forever?). The lyrics of the song state that the systematic oppression and torture of the state is not enough to suppress the voices of the oppressed working class, that foreign debts have not saved the state again, and that the workers whose rights have been defeated will soon get their rights back:

"Neither oppression, nor torture
Did work
Neither exogenous help
Could save it

⁹ Original: *Ankara Sanat Tiyatrosu* (Turkish).

Today is such a day
O human butchers
The infringed are now
Keeping accounts

The tradition of many years
Won't work for us
No one's labor
Will enter the safety-deposit

Listen, it's crackling
It will crack up soon
The safety-deposit is dying
It has no strength.”

Looking for Justice: The Workers’ Revolution in Songs

Besides many songs from the era that describe the inequality, poverty and hard circumstances of the working-class in a passive manner, Cem Karaca's “1 Mayıs / Durduramayacaklar Halkın Coşkun Akan Selini” (May 1st / They Won’t Be Able to Stop the People’s Fiery Flood) released in 1977, makes a strong statement on revolutionary music and calls the workers to stand up and rise for revolution. The cover of this 45er vinyl carries a gray monochrome photograph of a crowded workers’ rally. The inner booklet of the record contains the following note by Cem Karaca, alongside the song lyrics:

“This record will not be played on your radios, nor will you be able to watch it on television. But it will be sung by hundreds of thousands in a march, by our workers, laborers, peasants and valiant people who will build tomorrow with calloused hands, brilliant brains and, when necessary, sledgehammer-like fists.”

This note indicates that despite state censorship, discourses of revolution will be transmitted and reproduced via songs and anthems, within the collective memory. Here, Karaca specifically refers to physical workers, laborers, and the peasant class. With the “valiant” title, Karaca ascribes a brave, strong, yet masculine adjective to the people, which reflects the male-dominant gender of the era.

On the back cover of the record lays a red star symbolizing the socialist revolution, and the following text by songwriter and composer Sarper Özsan carries a definition on revolutionary music:

“What is Revolutionary Music?

Revolutionary music is the reflection of the life and struggle of society with a revolutionary eye. This music also helps the development of the revolutionary movement. Because it adopts the revolutionary ideology and politics of the proletariat.

Revolutionary music today is against imperialism, fascism, feudalism and revisionism. This revolutionary content must be presented today mainly in the melodic structure and forms of folk music or in new forms to be developed on this basis.

To summarize, revolutionary music in the most general sense, is music that is national in its revolutionary content.”

This is the first time that the definition of “revolutionary music” appears clearly in the realm of Turkey’s popular music. Accordingly, the songs on this record feature an active revolutionary discourse. In addition, while popular genres such as Anatolian pop, Anatolian rock and progressive rock come forward in Karaca’s previous works; both tracks on this record are anthems.

The track “1 Mayıs” (May 1st) on the first side of the record is the soundtrack of Bertolt Brecht’s play that carries the same name adapted from Maksim Gorky’s “Mother”, which was being performed at the Ankara Art Theater at the time. The piece, which features a synthesizer in the foreground as well as drums and bass guitar and carries an anthem rhythm, subjects “May 1st, the holiday of the worker, the laborer” with a revolutionary discourse:

“What the days bring today is oppression, cruelty and blood (x2)
But this will not go on, the exploitation will not continue (x2)
A brand-new life comes to us and all (x2)
May 1st, May 1st, the feast of the worker, the laborer (x2)
The feast of the people on the glorious path of revolution (x2)
A brand-new sun rises from the peaks of the mountains (x2)
A happy life sprouts from the horizons of the fight (x2)
The happy days of my country are surely the upcoming days (x2)
May 1st, May 1st, the feast of the worker (x2)

The feast of the people on the glorious path of revolution (x2)
The thundering voice of the people shakes the ground and the skies (x2)
The calloused fist of the people explodes like a sledgehammer (x2)
The glorious wave of revolution covers our world (x2)
One day, one day, the tyrants will be gone (x2)
They will be scattered like ashes on the glorious path of the revolution (x2)"

The lyrics indicate that the oppression, cruelty, blood and exploitation of that period will be defeated by a glorious revolution and that a bright, new life will come to the country after the fight. The lyrics of the piece state in an internationalist manner that the revolution is being carried out all over the world by many nations and peoples and that the tyrants will disappear on the glorious path of the revolution. On the other side of the record, the piece “Durduramayacaklar Halkın Coşkunu Akan Selini” (They Won’t Be Able to Stop the People’s Fiery Flood) has its lyrics by Bertolt Brecht and composition by Sarper Özsan. This was again a composition for the play “Mother”, also performed by the Ankara Art Theater. The lyrics of this anthem-song are as follows:

“Their guards and judges and prosecutors
Are all against the people
Their laws, regulations, all decisions
Are all against the people
Their magazines, newspapers, all publications
Are all against the people
None of these will save them (x 2)
They won’t be able to stop the people’s fiery flood (x 2)
Their panzers, handcuffs, all weapons
Are all against the people
Their dungeons, prisons, torture houses
Are all against the people
Their stock markets and corporations and governments
Are all against the people
None of these will save them (x 2)
They won’t be able to stop the people’s fiery flood (x 2)”

As in the track “May 1st”, this track also carries an active revolutionary discourse. In Althusser's (2016) definition; the legal system and the media, which are the ideological apparatuses of the state; the police (panzers, handcuffs, guns in the lyrics) and prisons, which are the repressive apparatuses of the state; are the apparatuses that the state and those in economic power use

against the people in order to maintain their power. These lyrics emphasize that the people will rise up against all these devices like a fiery flood and those in power won't be able to stop the people. Because of this record; singer Cem Karaca, songwriter and composer Sarper Özsan, and producer Ali Avaz were prosecuted by the state for "making communist propaganda". After a short while, the group Cem Karaca - Dervişan disbanded.

Another similar anthem is "İşçi Marşı" (Workers' Anthem) from Cem Karaca's 1977 album "Yoksulluk Kader Olamaz" (Poverty Can't Be Faith), arranged in progressive rock style. The lyrics of the song hopefully suggest that the workers' struggle will reach its goal soon. The beginning lyrics "The weather has turned, the wind is blowing from the workers' side, The wind has begun to disperse the smoke, This storm is worth tomorrow's calmness, The spring is near, as the season became harsh"; identifies the increasing political violence in 1977 as a "storm" and suggests that this violent storm will be followed by tranquility and beauty as in spring. In the following sections, the lyrics "The hand which was opened up to God is now reaching for the switch / The weather has turned, the wind is blowing from the workers' side" indicate that the workers, who had previously tied their hopes on God, will now realize the revolution by "turning off the (factory's) switch" with their own hands: by a strike, with collective struggle. These words aim to motivate the workers that the revolution is in their hands, and if they continue their struggle without losing hope, they will soon achieve what they want, leaving the fatalistic mentality aside.

Songs About Economic-Based Migration: "Germany, Bitter Homeland"

Finally, the issue of migration due to economic difficulties found its way into popular music, as well as in the cinema and literature works of the 1970's. In these respective songs, the issue of migration focuses on migration to Germany, which has been ongoing since the 1960's after Germany's call for temporary workers. Respectively, a discourse in the context of the necessity of migration due to the economic difficulties in the country was developed, as well as the difficulties experienced by migrant workers in Germany and the suffer of the families left behind.

Among several others, I would like to emphasize the 1976 song “Almanya Acı Vatan”¹⁰ sung by Selda Bağcan, composed by Tahsin İncirci in the form of a folk song, based on a poem by Fazıl Hüsni Dağlarca. The song is a reproach to a man who leaves his family behind and goes to Germany as a laborer due to financial difficulties and starts a new family there. This piece was also performed in Ruhi Su's 1977 album “El Kapıları”:

“Germany, bitter homeland
Never smiles at a person
I don't know the reason why
Some don't return

Three girls and two boys
Who did you leave them to?
Such a beautiful home
You burned in fire and left

You've gone to Germany
You got married there
It's been exactly seven years
You didn't come home

You send more or less some money
What is this money good for?
Your family with five children
They all seek after you”

Another striking song about economic-based migration from the era is “Almanya’da Çöpçülerimiz” (Our Garbage Men in Germany), from Ruhi Su's 1977 album “El Kapıları”. This song is also an arrangement of Fazıl Hüsni Dağlarca's poem of the same name, in the form of a folk song. The lines “[...] As soon as the sun shines our destiny shines. Neither destiny, nor handwriting can we understand, we who are not even shown the light of primary school. We, the unhappy people of filthy rulers, We sweep the streets of strangers [...]” hold the government responsible for the economic circumstances and lack of education that lie at the root of migration to Germany. Both of these songs don't carry an active voice, but dramatically

¹⁰ A few years later in 1979, a movie with the same name was released, featuring the famous female movie star Hülya Koçyiğit and singer-musician Rahmi Saltuk. The film was written by Zehra Tan and directed by Şerif Gören.

describes the conditions of the migrated workers. They also serve as a medium to bring Fazıl Hüsni Dağlarca's social realistic poems into popular culture.

Conclusion

The social agenda of the 1970's was inevitably reflected to the era's cultural artifacts such as film, literature, plastic arts and music. Popular music, as the focal point of this article, serves as a reflector of many aspects of social life - whether mind numbing "songs of love and longing with roses and nightingales" as Karaca puts it in his 1975 album "'Beni Siz Delirttiniz / Niyazi" (Eng. You Drove Me Crazy / Niyazi), or a strong call for a revolt and revolution; the daily life, thoughts, emotions, tendencies, inclinations, orientations, desires, resentments, and many other elements reflecting the *Zeitgeist* find their place in the lyrics, as well as in the structural form of the music and visual elements such as the album cover. In Turkey, the 1970's were the years when the dissident voices of the centuries-old tradition of Anatolian minstrels, were most intensely featured in popular music through the Anatolian pop and rock genres. Different voices of the Turkish left found a place in the dissident music of these years, and of course many songs about the labor movement also took their place in this musical universe. Among many other examples in this musical universe; this study aims to make an introduction on how and in which concepts the 1970's labor movement was reflected in Turkey's popular music.

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THE EFFECT OF INDUSTRY 4.0 AND DIGITAL TRANSFORMATION ON THE PERCEPTION OF JOB INSECURITY of BLUE/GRAY COLLAR EMPLOYEES AND THE MODERATING ROLE OF JOB CRAFTING

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Abstract

Today, businesses struggle to keep up with the rapidly developing technology in an increasingly global competitive environment. Therefore, they make digitalization one of their main organizational goals, adopt innovative models in their business processes and invest more in digital technologies. The rapid and high-power digital transformation in the business world brings about positive and negative consequences. The organizational transformation that took place as a result of the integration of digital technologies into a vast portion of business processes has made it inevitable for employees to develop knowledge and skills in order to adapt. However, this mighty transformation may be perceived by employees as a threat to the sustainability of their jobs and may cause anxiety due to uncertainty. This state of anxiety, which is expressed as job insecurity in the literature, may cause some individual and organizational reactions. In the previous literature, job insecurity has been associated with individual reactions such as low job satisfaction, low job commitment and job stress. It has also been associated with organizational reactions such as not adopting the goals of the organization, low organizational commitment and negative work behaviors. As observed, there is a limited number of studies in the literature discussing the impact of digitalization on certain employee groups, and there are hardly any studies focusing on moderator roles that minimize the impact of job insecurity. In this study, the effect of digitalization on blue-collar employees was discussed and the moderator role of job crafting on the perception of job insecurity of blue and gray-collar employees was examined. It is evaluated that blue and gray-collar employees, especially work in the production sector, may perceive this transformation as a threat.

Keywords: Digital Transformation, Job Insecurity, Job Crafting, Blue/Gray Collar Employees

INTRODUCTION

There are many possibilities and conveniences that digital technologies take into daily life and the business world. Especially during the Covid 19 epidemic, this situation has been realized much better. Digitalization has played a major role in overcoming the Covid 19 epidemic period with minimal damage to economic and social life, and therefore has accelerated greatly during this process (TUBISAD, 2021).

With the accelerating effect of the Covid 19 epidemic period, digitalization, gaining more ground in society and business life, has caused businesses to consider revising the way they do business. Businesses investing in digital technologies have increased. In McKinsey's 2020 global survey, two-thirds of senior executives said that they have significantly increased investment in automation and artificial intelligence in the post-pandemic period (Lund et al., 2021).

However, processes in which businesses revised the way they do business in an integrated manner using digital technologies bring about many negative consequences as well as many opportunities, especially in the labour market, as well as many opportunity. According to World Economic Forum Report, by 2025, it is estimated that 85 million jobs may disappear by a shift in the division of labor between humans and machines, while 97 million new roles may emerge that are more adapted to the new division of labor between humans, machines and algorithms (Zahidi et al., 2020).

In order to adapt to the new business processes in the current industrial transformation era led by digitalization, it has become more essential for employees to re-skill or up-skill. Because digitalization has shaped and developed current business activities and tasks. Accordingly, high-skilled jobs became more necessary than before (Castellacci & Tveito, 2018). Thus, businesses that prefer to invest more in digital technologies should also invest in the skills of their employees that facilitate adaptation to recent technologies.

As Frankiewicz and Chamorro-Premuzic (2020) stated, “digital transformation is more about people than technology”. The ability of businesses to adapt to a digital future depends on their ability to bridge the gap between talent supply and demand, their employees having next-generation skills, and their potential to prepare them for the future. The technology that

businesses invest in will only be effective if combined with the right human skills (Frankiewicz & Chamorro-Premuzic, 2020).

In this manner, digitalization combined with the right human skills probably increase efficiency and save time, create new activities that provide both security and personnel control, enable individuals to obtain, access, process and archive information much more systematically and quickly, increase communication opportunities and ultimately encourage social capital and knowledge sharing (Bolli & Pusterla, 2022).

Digitalization has not only brought benefits for business processes and employees, but also increased the benefits of many physical goods and services that already exist. Web-based services offer more choices for consumers than ever before, thanks to consumer-friendly sites, and they are no longer difficult to reach (Brynjolfsson & McAfee, 2014).

It should be noted that digital transformation is not limited to the invested technologies. It is related to factors such as strategy, leadership and organizational culture. In fact, when companies are more digitalized, the real issue is not the technology. The real issue is factors such as human resources, cultural traditions, the resistance of employees to the change, and lack of motivation (Schwertner, 2017). In addition, not only financial and technological capital, but also human capital is required for digital transformation to be successful and harmonize with the organization (Grab et al., 2019). The human capital, which is the key point of adaptation to digital transformation, refers to the workforce having skills to work in harmony with digital technologies and using it. And blue and gray-collar employee groups constitute a major portion of this workforce.

Surprisingly, there are limited studies in the field addressing the effect of digitalization on employee groups and there are hardly any studies focusing on moderator roles that minimize the effect of perception of job insecurity. However, a growing body of literature has focused on issues such as organizational commitment, job satisfaction, and employee well-being in

organizations. In this regard, the effect of digitalization on employee groups and how it varies according to the different groups is discussed in this study. In addition, job crafting, which is thought to have a moderator effect on perceived job insecurity, has been examined.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Blue and Gray Collar

The concept of "collar", which is generally accepted to have emerged after the First Industrial Revolution, is used to define and classify the positions and qualities of employees. In terms of Human Resources Management, the concept of collar provides an administrative facility to develop a systematic management approach and to define the differentiating employee qualities in business life (Eriş et al., 2020). In order to define the most popular in labor market, blue and white collars are the most commonly used ones to describe the employee qualities that are different in business life.

Blue-collar employees are classified as a group of employees who use their muscle power while doing business, generally work in the production sector and therefore wear blue work clothes that show less dirt, sweat and stains, and receive generally hourly wages (Taylor, 1995).

However, the expansion of economic markets, the growth of the service sector and the rapid development in information and communication technologies have led to the emergence of gray and other new collars, apart from blue and white (Eriş et al., 2020).

But there is no unity of definition about the collars regarding the different classification of employees with different collars internationally. In the literature, there are opinions that define gray-collar employees as a working group that has higher qualities than blue-collar employees and lower than white-collar employees or as an aging population in the workforce (Hutchings et al., 2009). Mills (2002) defines gray-collar employees as "skilled technicians" who combine the duties of some white and some blue-collar employees according to their job descriptions.

Digital Transformation

As a concept, digital transformation refers to the transition of organizations to technology-based systems in order to gain superiority in today's competitive environment, respond to new customer needs, achieve higher efficiency, profitability and a greater market value. Some of these technology-based systems are big data, data analytics, embedded systems, cloud technology, social media and mobile applications (Fitzgerald et al., 2014; Schwertner, 2017; Sow & Aborbie, 2018).

The significant developments in internet technologies such as augmented reality, robots, artificial intelligence technology, sensors, The Internet of Things, cloud computing, and the digital media that occur as a result of the combination of all these technologies with cloud computing have brought the world to a very different point. (Ersöz & Özmen, 2020). On a global scale, the adaptation of currently demonstrated automation technologies is estimated to affect 50 percent of the world economy or 1.2 billion employees (Manyika, 2017).

The digitalization process begins with the use of personal computers in businesses in the seventies. Personal computers have given users the opportunity to digitize and process data. The creation of data banks and network technologies connecting computers were realized in this phase. With the emergence of the Internet, the second phase of digitalization began in the mid-nineties. The Internet has allowed businesses to access and share information. The third phase of digitalization is the social media phase, where Web 2.0 technology and mobile devices are routinely used in daily life. The fourth phase of digitalization and at the same time the initial phase of Industry 4.0 is The Internet of Things phase. The Internet of Things is based on cyber-physical systems, which is the principle of self-actualization of production independent of humans. All these phases continue to use the technology of the previous one and contribute (Bächle, 2016; Burmeister et al., 2016; Klein, 2020; Savić, 2019; Wigand, 1997).

At this present time, when the fourth phase of digital transformation is experienced, the integration of digital technologies in all business areas and the revolution of the business process of the organization are defined as "digital transformation of business processes". This process requires the integration of activities through a single platform (Schwertner, 2017). Moreover, it is estimated that the change in business and social life in the Covid 19 period will be permanent.

According to the "Turkey's Digital Transformation Index" prepared by the Turkish Informatics Industry Association (TUBISAD, 2021), leaders of the information and communication technologies sector in Turkey expect the change in business conditions during the Covid 19 outbreak to be permanent. Industry leaders surveyed plan to increase the working time from home (68%), make more use of online platforms (66%), increase the number of flexible staff (62%) and reduce office spaces (42%).

Digitalization is more common in production processes than other functions, as it provides advantages in developing new products, testing and reducing production costs (Schwertner, 2017). It is predicted that especially in the production sector; many jobs that require muscle power will be carried out more efficiently with digital technologies, new jobs that require different knowledge and skills will emerge, and outdated jobs will disappear (Bonekamp & Sure, 2015; Frankiewicz & Chamorro-Premuzic, 2020). It is estimated that approximately half of the employees overall will need new and more advanced skills to move into jobs with more decent wages (Lund et al., 2021). According to the World Economic Forum's "Future of Jobs Survey", the capabilities of machines and algorithms are expected to be used more broadly than before and on average 6% of employees are expected to be fully displaced by 2025 (Zahidi et al., 2020).

The impact of digitalization on low-skilled and low-wage employees, such as blue-collar workers, has been devastating. For example, a 2011 study by McKinsey's Paris office found that the Internet

had eliminated 500,000 people in France in 15 years, while also creating employment for 1.2 million people. In fact, the impact of current technologies on employment is expressed positively for only skilled employees (Manyika, 2017).

Moreover, as the quality and collars differ among employees in business life, the perspective on digitalization will also differ. Because the degree of exposure of different collars to digital technologies differ. Therefore, the perception of digitalization will also differ.

For example, automation of tasks in the workplace has the ability to bring productivity gains and benefits for highly skilled employees, but makes other working tasks disappear and accordingly increase job insecurity for lower skill employees (Caselli et al., 2021). In general, low-skill jobs are most exposed to robots and robots perform muscle tasks. Medium-skilled jobs are most exposed to software and software performs routine information processing. And high-skilled jobs are most exposed to artificial intelligence and artificial intelligence performs tasks that involve detecting patterns, making judgments, and optimization (Webb, 2019).

As stated in Caselli et al. (2021)'s study, the impact of technology on businesses varies. While some complement employees' activities, others establish claims-related compensation mechanisms or replace human employees. And machines which aimed at accomplishing tasks performed by human employees tend to be perceived less favorably than other types. But process innovation is associated with lower distrust because it is probably perceived as a sign of the company's intention to preserve and strengthen production.

In this respect, Nirit and Liad (2021) expressed that while only 3% perceive technology as an "enabler" that can enrich their jobs and expand human potential, 74% of blue-collar employees describe technology as a "replacer" that simplifies and reduces human work activities. Thus, employees' perceptions about job insecurity may be differentiated across types of technological advances (Caselli et al., 2021). If the adoption of technological innovation by a firm is perceived by employees as a sign of the firm's health and commitment to protecting production levels and

employees, it has a reassuring effect. But this perception changes negatively when employees realize that some of their former colleagues have been fired after the introduction of new machines and robots. It is important that why and how innovations are introduced. The development of specific training after the introduction of a technological innovation reduces the level of cognitive Job Insecurity (Caselli et al., 2021).

Examining the employees' perspectives on digital transformation and their motivation, Yıldırım (2020) concluded that blue-collar employees fear losing their jobs because they do not have enough knowledge about digitalization, and they do not trust the new business processes brought by digitalization. In addition to this, their motivation is also negatively affected.

Besides, rationalization of the workforce and automation of production processes can be added to the issues that cause low motivation and compliance problems in employees (Foerster-Metz et al., 2018).

The definition of the relationship between digitalization and job satisfaction in Bolli and Pusterla (2022)'s theoretical model is more explanatory at this point. According to the model, digitalization reduces job satisfaction by increasing time pressure in the workplace, increasing fear of losing a job, disrupting work-life balance, and smoothing the transition between working hours and leisure time. Conversely, digitalization increases job satisfaction by making work more interesting, reducing the proportion of repetitive tasks, increasing productivity and increasing autonomy at work (Bolli & Pusterla, 2022).

Based on the previous studies, it can be stated that blue and more skilled gray-collar employees may experience some perception differences in this process. It is expected that gray-collar employees respond to digital transformation more positively than blue-collar.

From another perspective by Orhan and Savuk (2014) suggests that technology does not cause unemployment. As a result of the decrease in employment due to automation, the workforce is

shifting from some sectors such as production and agriculture to other sectors such as the service sector.

Webb (2019) developed a simple, static task-based model in the spirit of Acemoglu and Restrepo (2020). In partially automated jobs, it is expected that the number of human employees will decrease, and fewer human employees will be needed to the extent that jobs can be automated. However, as a result of automation, it is expected that production costs will decrease, and accordingly, the final price of the product will decrease, and it will be more demanded by consumers. This increase in final demand is expected to offset the decline in labor demand per unit and even lead to a net increase in labor demand (Webb, 2019).

Bessen (2015) has similarly developed such a scenario in the literature. The author stated that ATMs, which automate some of the tasks of bank tellers, reduce the costs of opening new branches, the number of tolls per branch decreases, and the number of tellers actually increase as banks open enough new branches.

However, in any case, it is considered that blue and gray-collar employees cannot completely prevent the perception of job insecurity under the threat of unemployment brought by digital transformation.

While under-skilled employees believe their jobs are in danger, over-skilled employees are less afraid of being unemployed, especially when it comes to automation-related innovations and joint process-product innovations. This may indicate a kind of confirmation effect, where over-skilled employees appreciate opportunities that may be linked to upgrading the firm's production process (Caselli et al., 2021).

In the context of the optimistic approach, it is evaluated that the perception of job insecurity of gray-collar, who are defined as skilled technicians, employees may be lower than that of blue-collar employees.

Castellacci and Tveito (2018) points out four distinct channels that digitalization can shape well-being of individuals. According to the authors, digitalization can shape wellbeing by providing the individuals opportunity to use more available time in a more flexible manner, leading to undertake completely new activities, facilitating access to information in a more systematic and rapid manner than previously possible, and providing new communication tools (Caselli et al., 2021).

Based on the theoretical framework of Castellacci and Tveito (2018), Bolli and Pusterla (2022) identify ten channels through which digitalization affects job satisfaction concurrently. In all the channels mentioned by the author, digitalization primarily changes some features of the job. These are the following ten channels through which digitalization affects job satisfaction: Time pressure, fear of losing one's job, work-life balance, smoothness of transition between work and private life, interestingness of tasks, productivity, autonomy, working time flexibility, and the simplicity of interaction with colleagues and superiors. Understanding the channels helps companies and employees better evaluate the introduction of new technologies and helps firms better evaluate the consequences of emerging business practices (Bolli & Pusterla, 2022).

Job Insecurity

The concept of job insecurity, which was first reviewed by Greenhalgh and Rosenblatt (1984) as the perceived weakness of the employee in maintaining the continuity of the job under threat, covers situations that arise as a result of all kinds of legal or illegal organizational changes that will prevent the continuity of the current job and cause the employee to worry about losing his job based on the idea of uncertainty (Çakır, 2007).

The effect of digitalization varies according to the personal characteristics of each individual, such as their psychological functioning, abilities, culture, and beliefs (Caselli et al., 2021). And the perception of job insecurity varies according to individual characteristics such as age, education and gender, and personality characteristics include optimism and pessimism. This

issue has become more important with the spread of organizational change and restructuring processes. Role conflict and role ambiguity have emerged as a result of more flexible working arrangements in business organizations and workforce. This has caused employees to experience job insecurity and to find themselves in a more unsteady working environment (Çakır, 2007).

Individuals who are exposed to software and robots and work in jobs where the demand for labor decreases may be faced with the danger of low wages and unemployment, or they may switch to different jobs with high demand for labor (Webb, 2019).

By combining the previous studies and searches, the proposition created in line is as follows (in this proposition, the concept of industry 4.0 is taken in the expression of digital transformation):

Proposition 1 (p1): As digital transformation increases; it is expected that the perception of job insecurity of blue and gray-collar employees will increase.

In studies on the individual consequences of job insecurity; It is stated that it affects job satisfaction and job commitment negatively. It also causes job stress and problems that harm psychological well-being. On the organizational results; job insecurity weakens the sense of adopting the goals of the organization, negatively affects organizational commitment, causes negative changes in work behaviors and causes avoidance type reactions (Çakır, 2007).

It is seen that there are two different views in the literature on the effects of Industry 4.0 and the technological innovations it brings the labor market and employment. Optimistic researchers suggest that technological developments may cause unemployment in the short term, but they will actually compensate for unemployment in the long term as they increase productivity, reduce costs, create new employment areas and new business lines; pessimistic researchers, on the other hand, have revealed that advanced technologies will increase the level of automation, reduce the need and demand for human beings, and lead to technology-based unemployment by narrowing employment (Artar & Yeşiltaş, 2021).

In Demirel (2021)'s study, it has been revealed that the banks they work with offer the opportunity to develop themselves with in-service training programs and that the bank employees who update themselves with the support of the organization do not have the fear of being unemployed.

Şahin et al. (2015) revealed that technological developments create more flexible new ways of working and that employees find new ways of working beneficial for themselves. Most of the employees participating in the research think that being able to specialize and be successful in their job is possible with the capacity to adapt and use recent technologies.

Job Crafting

Job crafting is a concept first defined by Wrzesniewski and Dutton (2001) in 2001, and it is expressed as “the physical and cognitive changes individuals make in the task or relational boundaries of their work”. In this definition, the physical changes refer to altering the form or number of activities one works in while doing the job; cognitive changes is about altering how one sees the job and altering relational boundaries.

In fact, job crafting does not mean redesigning the job as a whole. Job crafting is about altering only certain aspects of the job within boundaries (Berg & Dutton, 2008). Because job crafting may give more autonomy to the employee, it makes the employee feel more responsible for her/his performance, and as a result, it can motivate her/him to put more effort in her/his job (Parker & Ohly, 2008). Caselli et al. (2021) state that, employees performing non-routine-intensive cognitive activities fear less the consequences of losing their jobs.

According to related theory and previous studies, the proposition created in line is as follows:

Proposition 2 (p2): As digital transformation increases; it is expected that blue and gray-collar employees act more autonomously.

Employees with job crafting skills can create a different job for themselves by staying within the context of the jobs defined for them, by changing the identity of their jobs and the meaning they attribute to their jobs. That is why job crafting is actually a proactive process. In this way, actually jobs do not change as a result of job crafting; job and employee identity all change when job crafting occurs. Therefore, job crafting can be mentioned as a psychological, social and physical act (Wrzesniewski & Dutton, 2001).

It is worth noting that Black and Ashford (1995) have shown much earlier that employees try to fit their jobs by proactively modifying them to fit their skills, preferences, and values.

Tims et al. (2012), who modelled the theoretical framework of the job crafting concept, have defined job crafting as the attempts by employees to achieve or optimize personal business goals by making spontaneous changes in their job demands and job resources. According to the model: job demands refer to any physical, cognitive and emotional effort or skill required by the job, while job resources refer to aspects that promote personal growth, learning and development, provide functionality in achieving job goals, and reduce the physiological and psychological costs associated with job demands.

Job demands and resources theory form a basis about how job demands, resources, psychological states and outcomes are associated (Konermann, 2012). In addition, the theory provides a perspective for dealing with the perception of job insecurity in situations of uncertainty among employees.

Slemp and Vella-Brodrick (2013) suggested that employees perform job crafting by changing the boundaries of their work in three dimensions: task, cognitive and relational. Task crafting involves the activities of changing the amount of effort and time spent on the task performed according to personal needs and abilities. e.g., assigning new tasks according to one's ability and interest. In cognitive crafting, employees reconstruct their perceptions of their work and change the cognitive representation of work. e.g., a hospital cleaner helping sick people rather

than just being a cleaner (Berg & Dutton, 2008). Relational crafting refers to the way an employee interacts with other employees in the workplace. e.g., making friends in the workplace with employees with similar skills and interests (Slemp & Vella-Brodrick, 2013).

Lu et al. (2014)'s researchers indicate that work engagement is positively associated with changes in skill demands that match changes in relational job crafting. Also, their findings show that this positive relationship is strengthened under the conditions of high job insecurity.

Job crafting is a method by which employees observe and modify the tasks and relational boundaries of their job. Studies have shown that employees are more likely to engage in a variety of proactive behaviors when faced with situations of uncertainty (Grant & Ashford, 2008).

Caselli et al. (2021)'s study, conducted on a sample of Italian employees, found that the adoption of technological innovations by companies tend to decrease the level of job insecurity perceived by their employees. And this study, it has also been revealed that factors such as specific training and significant changes in employees' usual activities play a mediating role.

By combining the theories and the previous searches, the propositions created in line is as follows:

Proposition 3 (p3): As digital transformation increases; task crafting differs between blue and grey collar employee.

Proposition 4 (p4): As digital transformation increases; cognitive crafting of blue and gray-collar employees is expected to increase.

CONCLUSION

Technology is advancing rapidly and increasing global competition is driving businesses into a corner. Organizations striving to gain competitive advantage want to feel more secure in an uncertain environment by investing more in digitalization during this process. In addition, the

transformation of change in business conditions, where digitalization is effective, is expected to be permanent during the Covid 19 epidemic.

In this study, academic studies in Turkish and international literature on digital transformation, job insecurity and job crafting were reviewed, and related theories, models and research were examined. Four different propositions have been developed within the scope of the effect of Industry 4.0 and digital transformation on the perceptions of job insecurity of blue and gray-collar employees and the moderator role of job crafting. As digital transformation increases, the perception of job insecurity of blue and gray-collar employees will increase, blue and gray-collar will act more autonomously, task crafting differs between blue and grey collar employee and cognitive crafting of blue and gray-collar employees will increase respectively.

When the previous studies are examined, it is revealed that impact of digitalization varies according to different employee groups and opportunities emerged by digital transformation do not serve for low-paid and low-skilled blue-collar employees. It is estimated that many jobs require muscle power will be done more efficiently with digital technologies and numerous of these jobs will disappear initially. And the tasks of low-skilled employees are seemed to be replaced mostly by robots. It is quite apparent that the use of robots, software and artificial intelligence is more widespread than before, and the demand for low-skilled labor is expected to decrease substantially. Therefore, it is inevitably required to develop the skills of the employees. This progress seems necessary especially for the blue-collar employees.

Furthermore, the degree of exposure to digital technologies in business life and the quality difference among employees effect the perspective on digitalization. It is evaluated that introduction of technological innovation to employees reduces the level of cognitive perception of job insecurity.

Moderator role of the job crafting is related altering the only certain aspects of the job within boundaries. It gives more autonomy to the employee, makes the employee feel more responsible for her/his performance, and as a result, motivate her/him to put more effort in her/his job.

Therefore, the business transformation is perceived as a threat by the blue and gray-collar. And this perception is non-negligible of its consequences especially for the personnel and organizations.

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THE EMERGENCE OF A NEW PROFESSION AT METAVERSE: ORGANIZATION DESIGNER

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ABSTRACT

In this study, the emergence of a new work place, metaverse, has been discussed and offered a new profession: organization designer. Since the concept of environment-strategy-structure harmony needs to be considered to make the assumptions concerning the organization structures and work places, the topic has been conceptualized in the context of contingency, configuration and population ecology theories. From this point we scrutinized that digital ecosystem has created new management and organizational understandings whilst affecting not only information processes but also all areas of organizations. This effect is pushing organizations to be in a hybrid structure which is to exist both in physical and virtual environments. From this perspective, it is foreseen that organizational design activities at the metaverse will gain importance and organizational creativity will turn into a work area for gray colour workers. In the study, existing literature has been synthesized to discuss the emerging technological effects on organizations.

Keywords: Digital Transformation, Organizational Structure, Metaverse, Blockchain, Organizational Designer

1. INTRODUCTION

Research on new technologies has long been central to organizational theory, with the early theorists treating technology as a fundamental shaper of organizational form and function (Chandler, 1962; Galbraith, 1977; Perrow 1967; Pugh et al., 1969; Thompson, 1967; Woodward, 1967). After the initial studies, the role of technology in organizational processes and structures continued to be studied by researchers with decreasing interest to reveal different effects of technologies (Zammuto et al., 2007; Orlikowski and Scott 2008). Since the changes in the technological development didn't create a breaking effect apart from automation, the existing explanations were largely seen as sufficient to explain the transformation in business and organizations (Donaldson, 2001).

On the other hand, it is stated that the digital transformation created by emerging technologies does much more than automation. With triggering one of the fastest developments in human history, digital transformation rapidly affecting all areas of life. Particularly in work places, we live in a period in which intelligence are transferred to robots from the period when we transfer physical activities to machines. For this reason, everything with an algorithm is now being done without the need of humans. As an immersive product of digital transformation metaverse is aggregating the new emerging technologies' capacities with human desire and new work areas. So, like any transforming phenomenon, organizations also encounter many novelties with the metaverse although the potential impact of the metaverse varies by industry. For instance, it is estimated that it may have a market impact of between \$2 trillion and \$2.6 trillion on e-commerce by 2030, depending on whether a base or upside case is realized. Similarly, an impact of \$180 billion to \$270 billion on the academic virtual learning market, a \$144 billion to \$206 billion impact on the advertising market, and a \$108 billion to \$125 billion impact on the gaming market is expected (Mckinsey Report, 2022). It is obvious that with digitalization, everything in the environment is increasing exponentially and accelerating. The environment

becoming more dynamic and complex which is bringing uncertainty for organizations. As a result, emerging technologies affect how, when and where work is done, while the metaverse transforms who does the work and for whom. In addition to business models such as flexible working, new facts about how the organization should be in the future emerges as the potential area for problems in which the existing literature gives not clear assumptions.

It has been obvious that the digital ecosystem predominantly pushes the organizations to increase their presence in the digital environment. In this situation, the organizations start to staff in the physical/virtual environment and become a hybrid structure to maintain their efficiency and effectiveness, as well as to survive. Metaverse is a new virtual environment in this transformation. As a result, it can be foreseen that organizations will expand their structures to the metaverse as well. Researchers are scrutinizing how to design an organization at physically from the beginning of the industrial evaluation. But the metaverse environment is extremely different and contains new understandings. So, it can be implied that organization designers will be needed to design organizations in the metaverse. This study aims to scrutinize the knowledge at the affects of technology on organizational structure to emphasize this challenging gap by asking questions like “How will the structure of organizations change with the effect of digitalization?” “How will the work places will change?”, “Which group of workers (white, gray, blue), will be dominant?” and “Who will design the organizations in the virtual environment?”

To answer the quests, the effect of digital transformation on organizational design has been examined with the support of contingency, configuration and population ecology theories to understand the change and need for new work areas. Since it is commonly used to formulize the organization design understandings with theories, Galbraight's (1977) Star Model is taken as a reference to reveal the organization designer's roles and responsibilities. Firstly, how the concept of organizational design will change is discussed and then digital transformation and

metaverse phenomena are explained shortly. At the evaluation part; besides offering a new profession, the hybrid structure, new emerging metaverse work area and the gray colour worker's importance emphasized.

2. ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE AND DESIGN

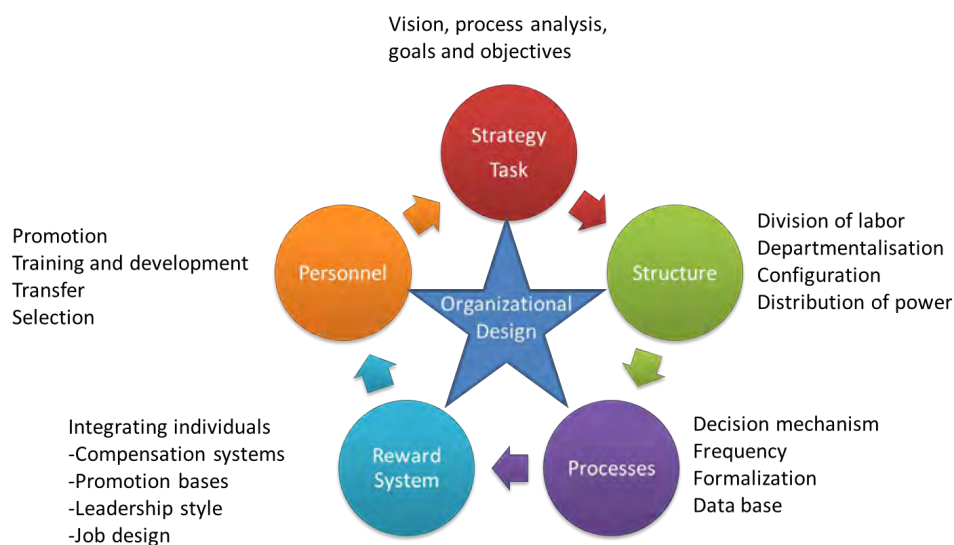
Organizational researchers have long focused their studies on experimenting with the ideal forms of organizing to achieve better and more successful outcomes, covering a range of forms from a universalistic organizational structure to those changing forms as per contextual requirements. In the early classical studies, it was accepted that there was only one organizational structure which is the most efficient and effective. Therefore, efforts towards the discovery of the best and most successful organization in dreams have gained momentum. For this, standard procedures and practices that can be used by every organization were tried to be developed, and it was aimed to reach as much as possible the most efficient job descriptions by analyzing business processes.

However, with the acceptance that organizations are prone to the effects of their environment, the way to reach effective and efficient organizations is to understand the internal and external contextual variables (technology, size, age, environment, strategy, etc.) which affect the organizations. On the other hand, with the contingency theory it is claimed that organizations do not exist in a single context, there is no single best organizational structure, and not every structure can provide the same effectiveness everywhere (Thompson, 1967; Galbraight, 1977). Therefore, organizations will be able to reach successful designs and implementations that are suitable for their own structure by analyzing their own conditions.

But how can we start organizational design and align it with the environment and other variables? Thompson' (1967) synthetic organization description can give some insight, which is self organized in extraordinary conditions such as earthquake. Even if the efficiency for a certain purpose is achieved at a high rate in the synthetic organization, the efficiency can be very low because the resources are not used in a planned way. Therefore, for organizations to be effective and efficient, they must be designed in a planned manner with a determined strategy, as stated by Chandler (1962).

At this point, it should be noted that the organizational design is a mechanism that focuses on the common goal to be achieved, covers the processes, relations, and harmonization of personnel rather than simple cadre study in which command and control relations are determined. Emphasizing that organizations should be viewed with a holistic approach, Galbraith (1977) examined how a change in a parameter would affect all the processes of organizations and developed the Star Model, which aims to formulize theories' approach to organization design.

Figure-1: Star Model for Organization Design



Source: Galbraith, J. R. (1977). Organization Design. Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, Business & Economics.

As seen in the model, strategy constitutes the first step of organizational design. In the second step, there is the work that will support the determined strategy and then the creation of the organizational structure / staff planning in which the division of labor is made. According to research, strategy and structure cannot be determined independently of each other. While strategy can rarely be successful without an appropriate structure, almost any type of organization can have an organizational structure that delays or hinders the implementation of well-designed strategic plans or prioritizes misjudgments (Eisenstat et al., 2012). For this reason, the strategy-structure relationship is the first element that should not be overlooked in the planning. After the staff structure has emerged, the coordination mechanisms that will make this structure functional and the recruitment and training of personnel come into play. For sustainable success in the created structure, a rewarding system should be established that will enable the personnel to work efficiently and effectively. As a result, according to the model; changes in the environment require strategies to be reviewed and dictate that they can be changed if needed. A strategic change will bring changes in the organizational structure like knowledge management, personnel system and reward system. From contingency and configurational theories' point of view, the alignment of the organization to environment needs a path like star model. However, to be holistic although the star model can be a useful tool to understand the mechanism of alignment to environment, it needs to be supported with population ecology theory, as which we tried in this study. In our topic to discuss technological development' effect and to reach some assumptions we first need to clarify the emerging technological context.

3. DIGITAL TRANSFORMATION AND METAVERSE

3.1. Digital Transformation

Since the 1980s, especially in the IT sector, computers started to become personal and with the 1990s, new developments were experienced in the sharing and processing of data. The 4th

industrial revolution, which we heard about for the first time at the Hannover Fair in 2011, revealed today that digitalization is not an ordinary phenomenon.

The process, which started as a technology change only within the organization as the development of information systems, has created a digital ecosystem around the organization with the spread of technologies with different functions based on the internet and smart systems. Developing technologies accelerate the transition to the information society in the 21st century and brought smart (artificial intelligence, augmented reality, 3D, machine learning, deep learning, algorithms, internet of things, etc.) and large data capacity (big data, cloud-based systems, etc.) and more independent authority (blockchain, metaverse, social media, Defi, etc.). According to many researchers, this process triggers a paradigm shift (Faraj, Pachidi, & Sayegh, 2018; McAfee & Brynjolfsson, 2012).

Digitalization refers to the digital form of many works, communication, and sharing between processes in organizations, social and individual life (Bloomberg, 2018). However, it should be emphasized that digital transformation is a process; and refers to the digital consolidation and integration of activities for organizations. The factor causing this transformation is the new technologies mentioned above. With a complete digital transformation, the concept of *digital business* should come to mind, with almost all processes digitized and transferred to a virtual environment independent of geography. The interaction between organizations that increasingly use technologies and transform their processes with digitalization creates the digital ecosystem, which can play a major role to digital disruption (Bloomberg, 2018; Koçel, 2020:364-368). It is clear that digital disruption is a mechanism that will constantly change techniques and tactics due to the novelties in the equipment used in the structures.

Digitalization leads to speed of work in organizations and ease of sharing, storage and agility in decision making, while increasing productivity, efficiency and effectiveness. Digital transformation, on the other hand, connects the user/customer and the service provider in the

shortest way by ensuring that all the processes of the organization can exist in the digital environment (Fitzgerald et al., 2014).

However, in this process toward the digital ecosystem, increasing digital transformations around organizations creates many changes in the social, economic and political environment with the effect of hyper-connectedness and cyber/physical systems. But at the same time, the transformation itself creates a serious source of uncertainty for organizations (Fitzgerald et al., 2014). Since the data volume doubles every three years, smart devices and their digital products are multiplying rapidly and their use is becoming widespread. For example, while long-standing technologies such as the telephone took 75 years to reach 100 million users, applications such as Instagram reached the same coverage in less than two years. Rapid collection and analysis of data ensure its transfer to decision-making mechanisms in a shorter time (Henke et al., 2016). As everything is smart and remote, this creates an environment that is independent of geography. With the help of blockchain technology, middlemen are getting out of the way (Alammary et al., 2019). Thanks to technologies the existence of dark factories in which only robots' work is increasing (Fitzgerald et al., 2014; Klein, 2020). However, because of everyone's easier access to these technologies, it is not enough to do the old work much better. The need for differentiation in every work increases in order to be superior and to survive. On the other hand we need to think about the work and workers as well. Since virtuality gaining importance gradually, it means work is shifting to algorithms and virtual environment. So, this means blue colour workers' jobs need to be amended and we will need some gray colour workers, whose talent will be essential to overcome this difficulty.

In the environment created by digital transformation, organizations are confronted with a presence in the metaverse field as a dynamic talent soon. Although it is currently an area where the game industry is heavily involved, soon, it is considered that with the business processes and design of the future are certainly emerging as a market in this new virtual world.

3.2. Blockchain and Metaverse

The concept of digital transformation can be explained from a different perspective with the development of Web 3.0, which expresses the access of digital media on the internet without intermediaries. Although the passive participant state of the users in Web 1.0 has been partially resolved with Web 2.0, which allows mutual interaction in today's internet, other newly developing technologies. But Web 3.0, especially blockchain technology offers users the metaverse as a completely different experience. (Dionisio et al., 2013; Goldstone et al., 2022; Kuş, 2022; Türk et al., 2022). Therefore, it would not be wrong to say that blockchain and the resulting metaverse will be the two main technological developments of digital transformation that will create a design change in organizations.

We can explain the blockchain as a distributed database where data is stored in blocks rather than structured tables. The concept of blockchain was first proposed as a research project in 1991 and became known with Bitcoin in 2009. Since then, the concept of blockchain cryptocurrency in various units has started to take its place in our daily lives with decentralized finance (DeFi) applications, non-tradable tokens (NFTs) and smart contracts. The basic philosophy of blockchain is to create an intermediary and decentralized storage area, in other words, a network of records (Goldstone et al., 2022). The data stored in each block of the blockchain is registered in chronological order. Users store blockchain data locally and synchronize it with other blockchain data stored on peer devices in a consensus model. Users are called nodes in the blockchain. Each node keeps a full record of the data stored on the blockchain after it is chained. If one node has an error, data is not lost as millions of other nodes store data to correct the error (Lee et al., 2022). The vulnerability caused by keeping data on a central server in the central internet system of web 2.0 is not experienced seriously in the blockchain. Blockchain adopts address-based transactions using cryptographic algorithms rather than personal identification (Ning et al., 2021). Each user can use one or more anonymous

addresses to access the blockchain network. Therefore, users' personal information, such as assets and transaction information are well protected. This allows the blockchain to be stored in an unbiased, reliable, auditable, and unalterable medium, just like a notary system. It is seen that blockchain technology, which is one of the main components of the metaverse, reveals a structure like the registration system made by the States with its listed features.

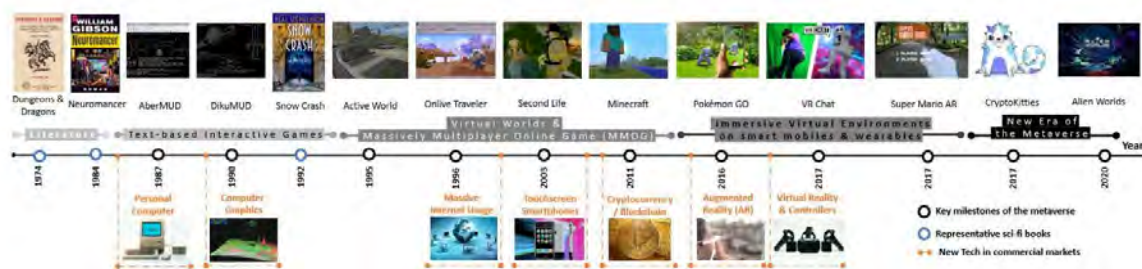
On the other hand, the metaverse, which emerged as a field in the virtual environment with the blockchain, has included the Z axis in our lives. When we look at the concept of metaverse from an etymological point of view, the prefix "meta" in Ancient Greek means "after" and "beyond" (Dionision et al., 2013). In the literature review that we conducted to understand what metaverse means; we found many works of scientists from many disciplines.

When we look at the studies conducted on the subject, some of the studies are addressing the technological point of view of the metaverse such as blockchain and augmented reality etc., (Dionision et al., 2013; Lee et al., 2022; Park and Kim, 2022), on the other side, we have seen that the production of large companies for metaverse (Gucci, Nike, Adidas, etc.) find buyers at a value well above their real-world price. This issue triggers the research on the market in the metaverse field (Goldsmith, 2022, Kuş, 2022).

In the studies focusing on the new economy and business processes, it is seen that decentralized structure of metaverse due to blockchain registry system is especially underlined the security of process and non-changeability are questioning. In order to understand the effects of the metaverse and its underlying Web 3.0 technology, it is important to understand the evolution of metaverse and its main features. In the study prepared by Lee et al. metaverse is seen as a virtual universe that blends the physical and digital world with Web 3.0 technologies and enhanced reality applications (2021:1). In October 2021, the announcement made by Mark Zuckerberg, CEO of Facebook which is seen as a social media giant that the Facebook Company has rebranded its name as "Meta" and this has accelerated the revival of the idea of

the other universe by many. In his speech, Zuckerberg defines metaverse as the next chapter of social connection, and for Meta, which will help create metaverse, he uses the phrase "a place to play and connect in 3D". In fact, the development stages of Web 1.0, Web 2.0 and Web 3.0 extending to the Metaverse last nearly 50 years. According to Lee et al. (2021), who stated that the seeds of the concept of metaverse sowed with the book "Dungeons and Dragons" in 1974. Metaverse is developed with 3D technologies, especially with the game industry and also with the influence of communication technologies in social life, it started to involve in the lives of individuals. Individuals can both communicate in the metaverse area and carry the crypto money they earn in this area to the physical world. Figure 2 below shows the process for the development of the metaverse field.

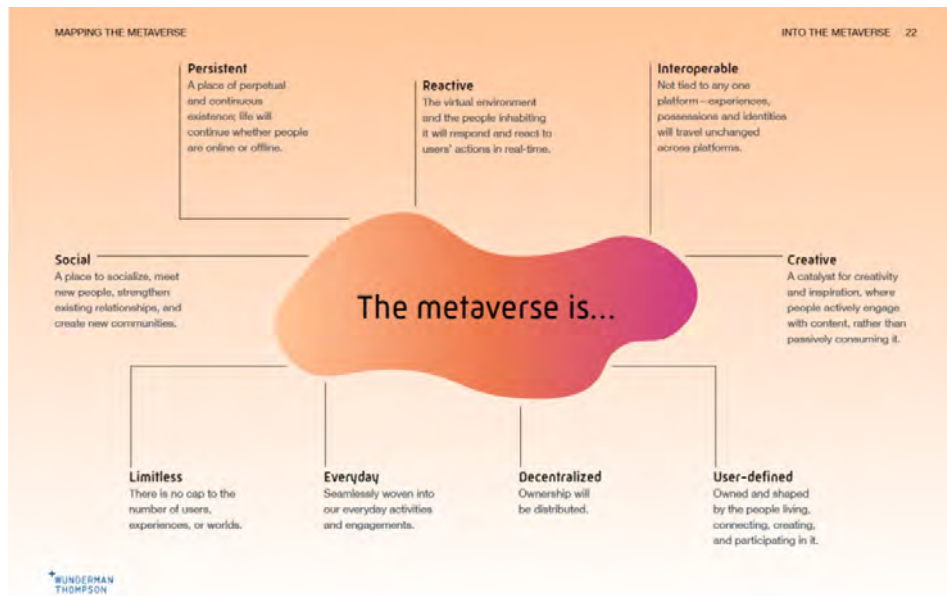
Figure-2 Metaverse Development Process



Source: Lee, L.H. et al. (2021). All One Needs to Know about Metaverse: A Complete Survey on Technological Singularity, Virtual Ecosystem, and Research Agenda. Journal of Latex Class Files, 14(8).

The features of a metaverse in the studies however take place in general with its form of unlimitedness, decentralization and intermediation (Kuş, 2022). Calandra (2021), on the other hand, comprehensively explains the basic features of the metaverse developed by Thomson, as in Figure 3. Looking closely at the classification; with the further development of technologies such as virtual reality, augmented and mixed reality, wearable technologies, blockchain, NFT and the internet of things, it can be said that a new dimension of the world has emerged for everyone (Türk et al., 2022:319).

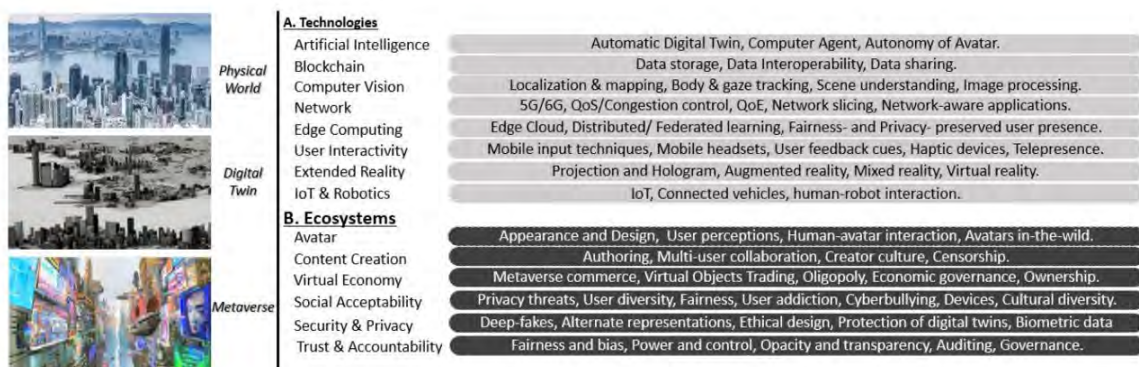
Figure-3 Properties of Metaverse Field



Source: Calandra, C. (2021). Entering the meta realm. Wunderman Thomson.
<https://equinoxailab.ai/shaping-the-metaverse/> accessed on 16.04.2022

According to Lee et al. (2022), who simulate the connection of the metaverse space with the real world, the metaverse is a new virtual universe rather than a digital twin of the physical world. Figure-4 shows the basic technology and ecosystem that establishes the connection between these universes.

Figure-4: Integration of Physical Space and Metaverse Space



Source: Lee et al., (2021). All One Needs to Know about Metaverse: A Complete Survey on Technological Singularity, Virtual Ecosystem, and Research Agenda. *Journal of Latex Class Files*, 14(8).

In the research, it is said that the metaverse field is still developing and to reach the structure in Figure-4, it is necessary to design the emerging field as a social structure as well as a technological development (Goldston, Chaffer, & Martinez:2022). As a result, digital transformation and the developing metaverse leave organizations alone with an uncertain environment as a process where the digital world merges with the physical world. In the emerging digital ecology; regardless of its size, history, tradition, location, number of employees and function, it is seen that every organization needs to be more “digital” and “smart” in terms of agility, flexibility and responsiveness to changes. The paradigm shift in the environment, referred to as a digital ecosystem, requires organizations to (re)think about their structures in a way that can foster a more dynamic networked ecosystem (Bonanomi et al., 2020:875). Based on the explanations made, it is seen that the effect of this situation on organizational designs is inevitable. In the next section, these effects are discussed and the need for a profession that will carry out organizational design in the metaverse has been revealed.

4. DISCUSSION

It is seen that digital transformation, whose presence is rapidly felt with the effect of globalization, is changing the basic process and business activities in organizations. It is obvious that organizations have to redesign their structures to adapt to this digital ecology. In this context; in some studies, it is argued that with the effect of digital transformation, organizational structures have become leaner to be more flexible and agile, faster information transfer among employees with more cooperation and coordination, information networking,

teamwork, and the organization has turned to a more proactive approach (Janićijević, 2017; Vrana and Singh, 2021).

When the subject is considered as the adaptation of the organizational structure to the environment and strategy, first we encounter the adaptation assumptions as come to the agenda under the contingency theory. According to the concept of harmony, organizations must not imitate others. They need to analyze their own conditions and harmonize the organizational structure with the variables in its environment and within itself to be successful (Chandler, 1962; Duncan, 1972; Thomson, 1967). Another theory on adaptation, configuration approach, states that strategy, structure, and environment bring the options that can be called “organizational configuration” (Drazin and Van de Ven, 1985: 515; Miller, 1987), like bureaucracy and adhocracy. From this approach, it can be stated that certain strategies and organizational structures may emerge with the effect of digital transformation. Therefore, organizations will analyze the emerging configurations while designing their own structures. On the other hand, in the population ecology approach, the concept of adaptation is formulated as the environment selects the successful ones and extracts the ones who are not in the suitable formation (Hannan and Frieman, 1977; Miller 1987; Dow 1988; Mintzberg 1979). Based on the population ecology approach, it can be said that more digital structures can gain strength in the digital ecosystem. It is clear that this situation will put pressure on old organizations for change. Based on the approaches of the theories, it is foreseen that; just as the only best-adapted species survive in nature, organizations that cannot achieve the digital transformation will not be successful in the competitive environment.

On the other hand, although the digital medium is extremely wide, it is not unlimited. It is considered that with the development of certain technologies, some organizations will be dominant in the digital environment. It gains more importance as this situation will affect the lifespans in the digital ecosystem. As a matter of fact, some organizations will not be able to

continue to live in this competition due to the process defined as digital disruption. Besides this organizations do not exist only in the digital environment. Therefore, the requirements of the physical environment cannot be ignored. Since organizations will continue to be dependent on the physical environment to varying degrees to continue their activities in a completely digital environment. For this reason, while organizations adapt themselves to digital transformation, they will either need to develop or transform some of their existing business models.

Based on the approaches presented above, for a successful organizational structure in the digital ecosystem, with the existing strategy and structure, it may be considered first to decrease or soften the impact of the environment (such as keeping digitalization only in certain units by establishing terminal units or digitalization of some functions in the entire organization) (Thomson, 1967). However, the existence of the virtual environment developing with the metaverse shows that this stage has already been passed.

In the metaverse, as the environment expands from physical to virtual, it is obvious that for the organizations it will be necessary to create new departments or platforms in the virtual environment (Snow, Fjeldstad, & Langer, 2017). As the environment is growing in the virtual platform, this requires a new organizational structure. Since it is expected from organizations to maintain their existing structures at the same time, for them to continue their effectiveness and efficiency, it may be expected them to shift some of their business processes and the works to the virtual environment. On the other hand, the role of the environment in determining the structure of an organization is increasing due to its dynamic nature and especially the hyper-dependency created by digital transformation.

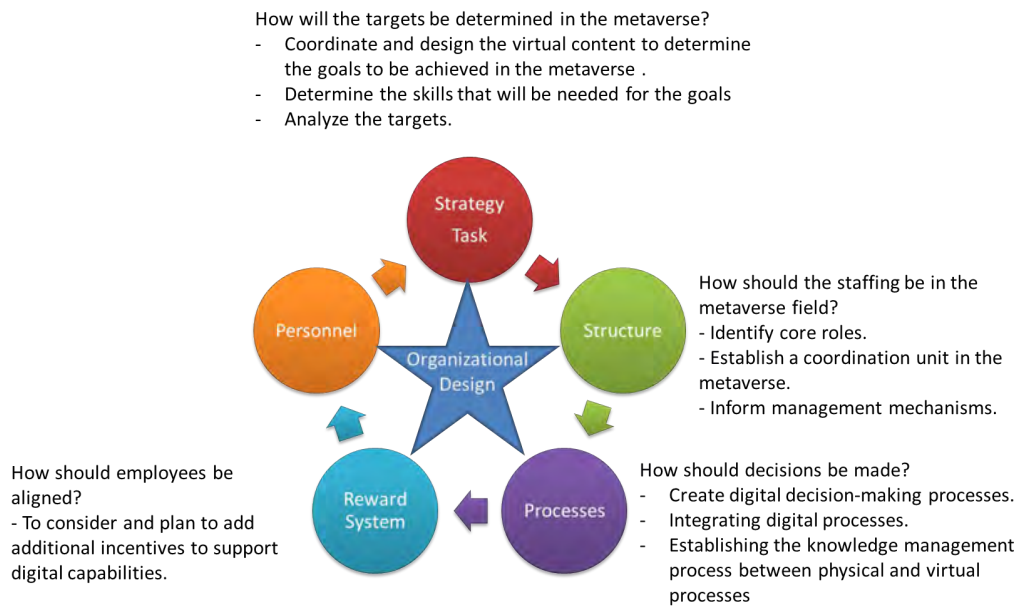
Digital transformation of an organization requires redesigning its vision, strategy, organizational structure, processes, capabilities, and culture; to integrate its internal and external resources using digital technologies. Therefore, in order to increase productivity and efficiency, to survive, support its processes, and encourage digital skills, organizations have to

go through a comprehensive digital transformation including the metaverse. So, they need to be structured in both virtual and physical environments. This results in two different organizational structures operating at the same time. This situation, as called by Staffen and Schoenwald (2016) “the ability to use two hands”, requires the flexibility and agility to maintain the balance between two different organizational structures (Klein, 2020). It necessitates a hybrid structure that will operate in both physical and virtual environments. As a result they are expected to understand “decentralized” processes.

It is clear that this situation will reveal various ways of doing business and leads to different professions. According to a study held by Mckinsey (2022); education, tourism, automotive, machinery, and assembly, media and entertainment, telecommunications, healthcare, financial sector and so on transforming themselves. However, it would not be wrong to say that current professions will also become more digital. In this context, we can say that the organization designers will come up to design organizations in the metaverse, as well. Briefly, the organization designers will design all processes in the metaverse and encourage participants, and stakeholders to come together on this platform, while contributing the use of automatic and decentralized governance of the content produced/created. They will also be responsible for the formation of creative cultures and the preservation of cultural diversity, content of different generations and the phased out content (i.e. digital heritage).

The tasks of the organization designers listed in Figure-5 at the Star Model, in which the stages of organization design are explained. According to this model, the first goal of an organization designer is to develop a strategy that starts with the analysis of the skills needed in the virtual environment and digitalization. After this stage, designing the necessary structure, determining the processes, and making the necessary changes in the personnel and reward system come to the fore.

Figure-5: Representation of the Tasks of Organization Design Producers on the Star Model



Source: Developed by researchers based on the Star Model.

5. CONCLUSION

Although there are differences, one of the basic facts that all organizations focus on is their effectiveness and efficiency that is the degree of fulfilling their goals. However, organizations cannot always maintain their efficiency and productivity at the highest level, especially if there is a dynamic and complex environment around them. Changes towards digitalization in the environment, on the other hand, carry this situation into more chaos and trigger change in all areas of life at dazzling speed. In the digital transformation process, organizations are forced to adopt new business models to be efficient and effective and adapt themselves to innovative organizational structures inherent to the modern digital age.

As stated in the resource-based approach, organizations acquire a structure that will provide a competitive advantage when they achieve their strategic integration and harmony between their functions (Barney, 1991). Therefore, organizational design necessitates for organizations to

select the strategy that guides the organization, to maintain its ties with the environment and to form the structure that will overcome the administrative bottleneck in the organization. The new hybrid organizational form brought by digital transformation requires a re-evaluation of our old technology approaches, as we try to emphasize in this research.

As seen especially in the Covid-19, digitalization is present in our lives as a new way of life, and the technological advances called in the past as “automation” is being carried out to a higher level with the development of the metaverse. This situation increases the variables in the environment that organizations need to be considered. It can not be expected that each new variable will have a counterpart in the organizational design. However, the fact that digital transformation which continues to bring many variables large and small together has an inevitable effect on organizations. In this context, since it is not possible for traditional bureaucratic organizational models to stay the same in digital transformation, it is seen as a necessity to keep up with a hybrid form. It can be said that organizations will change not only at the level of the IT department but also in their entire structure to follow the digital transformation. With the development of the metaverse, experts with different competencies are needed to design an effective organization in the virtual environment. For this reason, it is foreseen that virtual organization design, which will carry organizations to the future, will be a profession.

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Overview: Technology Roadmap of the Future Trend of Metaverse based on IoT, Blockchain, AI Technique, and Medical Domain Metaverse Activity

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THE IMPACT OF KNOWLEDGE MANAGEMENT ON CORPORATE SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY AND ORGANIZATIONAL PERFORMANCE: AN EMPIRICAL STUDY OF THE `EURO ZONE

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Abstract

Over the last two decades, knowledge management strategy continues to attract the attention of institutions from corporate bodies to academic establishments, as policy makers allocate priority position to knowledge management within their business strategies. Knowledge management help organizations to enhance operational efficiencies and boost overall performance. The central idea behind these studies is to call the attention of organizational stakeholders to take full advantage of the benefits of knowledge management by extending knowledge management practices within organizational compartments to external stakeholders. This call is due to the changing expectations of business from just meeting their economic objectives to meeting both existing and rising social issues. The concept of social capital should be used to increase the relationship between organizations and its social environment. In order to be able to integrate emerging social issues into their business strategy. The study examines the impact of knowledge management on corporate social responsibility and organizational performance, forty most sustainable corporations within the European zone was extracted and studied with quantitative research techniques. The result shows positive relationship among the three variables. The idea of extending knowledge management strategy beyond internal organizational processes to external stakeholders to enable knowledge re-engineering was a rare notion among researchers in the field of knowledge management.

Keyword: *Knowledge Management, Corporate social Responsibility, Organizational performance, Social Capital stakeholders, Knowledge re-engineering.*

1. Introduction.

The ever changing nature of the socio-economic environment impacted by forces of globalization, trade agreements, and international businesses has compel societies and organizations to define new ways of interactions. If organizations, societies and the environments want to continue to maintained peaceful co=existence, there has to be a mutual understanding between the trio, which is only achievable through an effective integrated

approached, capable of delivering a *two-way feedback mechanism*, combine with a practice that is beneficial to all stakeholders, and at the same time help firms to meet their economic objectives. Consequently, multinational organizations have adopted knowledge management (KM) into their business operations, this is due to the proven track record of knowledge management for helping organizations to attained sustainable development and maintained competitive position through innovative practices (Cavusgil et al, 2003).

Knowledge creations, acquisitions and disseminations is now a business strategy used by organizations to responds to current societal demands. Knowledge management system is now being installed and activated by global firms to effectively manage both internal and external organizational knowledge processes. This in turned drive innovations and sustainable development. These knowledge management processes can help corporations to maximize their operations and services and also help to fashion out ways of addressing social and environmental issues (Balogun and Jenkins, 2003). Furthermore, (Preuss, and Cordoba-Pachon, 2009), recognized knowledge management as an internal process of an organizations while corporate social responsibility is an external concern of stakeholders.

Therefore, this paper explore the scope and application of knowledge management, influences, and benefits to institutions. Knowledge management strategy is fast becoming an household name among policy maker in the knowledge economy, existing research in the field of knowledge management suggest, that there is a strong link between knowledge management, organizations innovativeness and sustained competitive advantage, knowledge management experts attributed this to the scope, structure and applications of knowledge managements. Thus, knowledge management encompasses knowledge generation, identification, location and sourcing of the right knowledge from both within the internal and external environments of organizations, and also the transfer of knowledge through an effective social network from department such as research and development, public relation units, knowledge workers etc.,

in order to intensify collaboration among stakeholders, this in turned lead to enhanced organizational performance.

The concept of organizational social capital that is, the intangible values found in a networks of relationships, which is one of the key term used in measuring knowledge management best practice, will be view as a “resource” deployed by organizational knowledge experts to advance the organization internal relationship, and also connect external stakeholders for establishment of social ties, thus, leading to improved performance. (Pfeffer and Salancik, 1978). Organizations utilized knowledge management to help measure, renewed and facilitate the development of material and human resources. Nonaka, (1994), in his researched on knowledge creation, Organizations are perceived as a system that processes information in order to find solutions to problems, central to his idea is how organizations processed information and decision making in an ever changing environments, he believe that the solution is in the input-process-output of the hierarchy of information processes, he further pointed a linked between the two concepts by stating that any organization that is able to deal with the “dynamics” occurring in the environments does not, only process information effectively, but also create knowledge impose by the environments, it is this continuous flow of interactions between the organizations and the environments is what transformed into innovation which eventually lead to competitive advantage because organizations are able to transform new knowledge into sustainable products and services.

In recent time, the aim of doing business has evolved from economic responsibility to include social and environmental expectations, the challenge for organizations is how best they can respond to these myriad rising issues of societal and environmental concerns fueled by local and international stakeholders, how organizations can develop and initiate a sustainable development roadmap, so that they can consistently innovate for a sustainable society.

Therefore, the researcher did not only focus on the internal processes of organizational knowledge used in daily office environments, but how knowledge management can spread its facts-finding and collaborative tentacles into the fabrics of sociocultural, economic, and political environments of its existence, thus, the researcher present a developed framework to help organizations managed both their internal processes and stakeholders demands, this is the foundation of this research to enable organizations responds to some of the salient issues of concerns. Consequently, knowledge management will be view as playing a bridging role between organizations and relevant stakeholders to ensure the continuity of the system.

2. Literature Review and Hypotheses Development

A comprehensive review of past literatures was conducted on the concepts of knowledge management, corporate social responsibility and organization performance, the most relevant papers based on the purpose of this research is thus presented.

2.1 Concept of Knowledge Management

The shifting transitions from products-based economy to knowledge economy have seen knowledge management maintained a prominent space in corporate environments, thus, different definitions of the concepts have been put forward by scholars in the field, however, based on the purpose of this studies, few of the most relevant definitions was considered

Davenport and Prusak, (2000), defined, knowledge as the know-how and experiences of individuals, which also include the norms, values and inputs from the surrounding environments, while Gamble and Blackwell, (2001), expanded this definition to include a collection of experiences, values, contextualized information, expertise, intuitions, these are coded in documents, repositories, and make up the organizational cultures. Thus, there are two types of knowledge which are residents in organizations-*tacit knowledge* is the know-how, experiences, un-codified knowledge embedded in people's mind, while *explicit knowledge* are

coded in documents, contextualized, store and retrieved for usage. As noted by Nonaka, (1994), both knowledge is transferable through social interactions and relationships. Therefore, knowledge management is a process through which knowledge is created, shared and used in organizations in order to achieve economic gain and further add value to all facet of life through the application of information technology and human capital. (Zack, 1999; Haggie and Kingston, 2003), also theorized, that knowledge obtained from different stakeholders can help organizations aligned their business strategy to CSR principles and offer corporations business opportunities.

Sagsan, (2006) and Sagsan (2007) developed a comprehensive knowledge management model called Knowledge management life cycle model, to effectively demonstrate how knowledge is managed in a global organizations, the model comprises of five stage in the knowledge kitchen, namely *knowledge creating*- which involves members of an organizations to enter into the knowledge kitchen to brainstorm, collate ideas, opinions and discuss relevant issues, while the second stage is called *knowledge sharing stage*-which involved sharing of the different forms of knowledge using social communication infrastructures like interpersonal; relationships and interactions and through Technical infrastructure which is aided by technology supported equipment. The third stage in the model is called *knowledge structure*- this comprises of 3 subdivision of *information mapping*-sources of information within the organization, then *Information storing*-aided by electronic support devices for easy storage and retrieval. The fourth stage in the knowledge kitchen is called the *knowledge Using*-knowledge is transform into tangible products and services, lastly, the *knowledge Auditing stage*-an evaluation stage where the amount of knowledge used is measured, new knowledge that need reintegration into the organization knowledge warehouse

Hypothesis 1- *Organizational Knowledge Management enhances knowledge re-engineering through the integration of Corporate Social Responsibility.*

2.2 Corporate Social Responsibility;

This means organizations are committed in meeting the triple bottom-line (TBL) responsibilities of economic, social and environmental expectations of all concern economic and non-economic stakeholders, by operating in alignment with legal and ethical standard in their business operations.

Business responsibilities have shifted from just economic-financial performance, to include Social and environmental responsibilities. One of such definition is provided by Jones et al, (2006) according to them, ethical principles should be the guiding footprint for business operations which is demonstrated by active involvement in community development, charity donations, corporate governance, social issues, improved products and service quality, respect for human rights, and compliance to social norms and environmental standard. Turker, (2009), identify four components of CSR, which is *CSR to society*, *CSR to employees*, *CSR to customers* and *CSR to government*. Portal and Kramer, (2002); identify corporate philanthropy, which is today known as corporate social responsibility (CSR), is when a corporation seek to aligned its values, behaviors and strategic operations to its various stakeholders such as employees, customers, suppliers, government, non-governmental organizations and special interest groups, who are directly or indirectly impacted by the action of companies. According to Carroll, (1991), pyramid of corporate social responsibility contains four components from *economic responsibility*- the sole aim of making profits, while the second is *legal responsibility*-which means businesses comply to established laws in their operations, while *ethical responsibilities*-means, business be socially responsible by doing what is right, just and avoid unfair dealing, the top component on the pyramid is *Philanthropic responsibilities*

meaning corporations contribute their resources for community developments, donations, and so on.

The definition provided by European Commission, Wonka, (2008), is most suitable for this research, which state that, CSR is when a company integrate social and environmental issues into its business operations on a voluntary bases, and not just complying to legal standards, but also going beyond to invest in human development, environment and increased interactions with stakeholders.

Studies have shown that, there is a strong correlation between CSR and a firm performance, this is one, out of many other drivers for organizations to engage in socially responsible business practices, however there seems to be a loophole or an effective approach toward the management of CSR activities. (Carpenter and White 2004). It is also important to note that, CSR activities evolve over time and differ from place to place, as a result organizations constantly are confronted with these changes and must quickly adjust their strategies to accommodate these forces of concerns, thus, this become a challenge for organizations, which is the single most important reason behind this research, to help with a model capable of addressing these varied issues of concerns.

Hypothesis 2-The mediating effect of corporate social responsibility positively impact organizational performance.

2.3 Organizational Performance.

This is a terminology that is used to measure how organizations are meeting set organizational goals and objectives or expected result, organizational effectiveness, innovativeness, efficiency, quality of work, products and service quality are some of the terms used to measure organizational performance. (Rolstadas, 1998; Rogers, 1990; Brewer & Selden, 2000). On a more elaborate form Luo, Huang and Wang, (2011), define organizational performance in

terms of economic and operational performance. *Economic performance* includes all financial and market result such as market share, profits, return on investment, and all economic metrics. *Operational performance* on the other hand includes customer satisfaction, loyalty, and organization's social capital and competitive position. (Jenatabadi, 2015), argued, that firms are perceived to be relevant when they are able to balance their internal capabilities and resources with environment and stakeholders demands, such firms have a higher tendency to performed better. Richard and Devinney, (2009), articulated, that organizational performance refers to financial performance, product market performance, shareholders return and organizational effectiveness which includes customer satisfactions, corporate social responsibility and other non-financial indicators such as products and service quality, products developments and level of productivities. Jianu, (2006), stated, that, a performing organization create added value for its shareholders, meet customer requirement, take into account opinions of stakeholders and protect the environments.

Both earlier and recants literatures have consistently used similar concept in trying to find meaning to organizational performance, but for the purpose of this research paper, it is important to consider Reynaud, (2003), definition of global organizational performance- The performance that integrate the Triple Bottom-Line (TBL) of economic, social, and environmental responsibilities which is the total outcome of global performance (Reynaud, 2003). This is a ‘‘holistic approach’’, to the definition of organizational performance given the shifting interplay between business-society relationships in recent time.

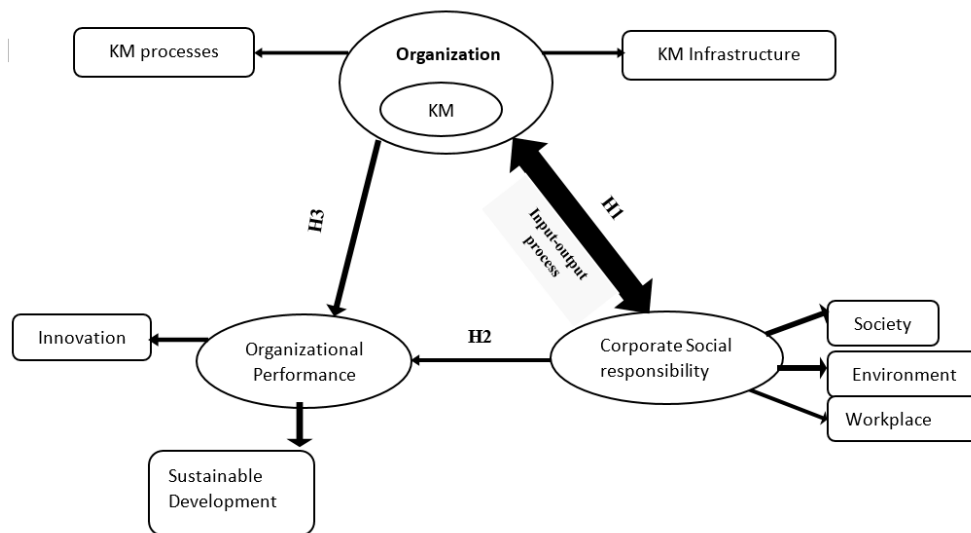
Hypothesis 3- Organizational knowledge management directly enhances organizational performance.

Related literatures has demonstrated severally, that, there is a consistent relationship between knowledge management, corporate social responsibility, and organizational performance, but

gap appear in both earlier and recent research on how organizations can continuously incorporate rising social and environmental issues into existing corporate strategy to meet the “Dynamism occurring in space” as Wickramasinghe, Tatnall and Bali (2009), pointed out that, “A trend or pattern in the environment occurring within a time frame” it is also important to note that, most of these publications only examine either two of the variables. Obviously, this will be the first research paper to investigate the direct linear impact of knowledge management on corporate social responsibility and the continuous indirect effect on organizational performance, thus, at this point, it is necessary to re-establish the key purpose of this research which is to.

Show how organizations can use knowledge management as a tool to integrate CSR initiative, innovate, and initiate sustainable development. Help companies who are already practicing CSR, but still find it challenging to integrate and address emerging social and environmental concerns into their business operations. Launch an investigation into the linear effect of KM on CSR and its continuous, indirect impact on organizational performance, this will be achieved through. Knowledge management re-engineering, Increase collaboration of stakeholders through KM and eventually improved performance through Km

Figure. 1. Research Model



3. Research Methodology.

This research followed a scientific process by first, defining the sampling frame such as Population, sample size, study area, participants and sample source and criteria for sample selection, secondly, the instrument used in data collection, and procedures for preparing and distributing the survey materials.

The study population comprises of 49 organizations within the European Economic Zone, extracted from the list of *corporate knight* in 2020 global ranking of the first 100 most sustainable corporations in the world being the criteria used to determine the suitability of the organizations who participated in the study. A structured questionnaire with six items each to measure the three variables of *organizational knowledge management*, *corporate social responsibility* and *organizational performance* with 5 point Likert scale of 5-Strongly disagree to 1- Strongly agree, which was distributed to 200 respondents from 40 sampled organizations with a simple random probability techniques deployed, in order to increase the number of participants and to also enable a broader view on the variables (McCombes, 2019).

3.1 Measurement.

Out of the 200 distributed online survey, only 143 respondents returned their questionnaire, further, the questionnaire was design in a way that makes it impossible for respondent to proceed to the next section until all section is fully answered, as a result there was no incomplete responses. Data collection lasted for a period of 2 months from 15-April-15-June 2021, the survey instrument collected data regarding demographic information, and the three latent variables of organizational knowledge management, corporate social responsibility and organizational performance. This details are further presented in Table 1.

Table 1: Description of the measuring instrument

Variable	Descriptions and Sources of Scale
Organizational Knowledge Management (Independent Variable)	This section includes 6 items, adopted from (Malhotra et al, 2001) It collect data relating to knowledge management implementation, application and practice in organizations
Corporate Social Responsibility Mediating Variable	This comprises of 6 items adopted from Siddiq and Javed (2014), to measure the extend of corporate social responsibility practices in an organization
Organizational Performance- Dependent Variable	It comprise of 6 items adopted from (Malhotra et al, (2001) to measure Organizational Performance

The information from the reliability test shows that, the internal consistency of the measuring items utilized in the study is acceptable and reliable, because the Cronbach's alpha of Organizational Knowledge Management is 0.628, Corporate Social Responsibility is 0.682 while Organizational Performance is 0.661, which confirmed a high reliability and validity of the instruments utilized in the study to further test the hypotheses, (Sekaran, 2003). Table 2 display this information

Table 2: Reliability and validity test

Variables	Cronbach's Alpha	No of items
Organizational knowledge management	0.628	6
Corporate Social Responsibility	0.682	6
Organizational Performance	0.661	6

4. Finding and Result

4.1 The Statistical Description of the Studied Variables

The Mean and Standard deviation of organizational knowledge management is 9.13 and 2.57 respectively, while the Mean and Standard deviation for Organizational Performance is 8.52 and 2.26 and the Mean and Standard deviation for Corporate Social Responsibility is 8.36 and 2.29 respectively. This overall mean values and standard deviation revealed that most of the respondents agreed or strongly agreed to each of the items of the 5 point likert scale utilized in the study.

In order to test the hypotheses, correlation analysis was performed to find out, if there is a relationship between the variables of *organizational knowledge management* (OKM Score), *corporate social responsibility* (CSR score), and *organizational performance* (OP Score).

Table 3. Correlation Analysis

Variables	1	2
Organizational knowledge Management (OKM)		
Organizational Performance (OP)	0.531**	
Corporate social responsibility (CSR)	0.313**	.0494**

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

N=143, $p < 0.05$

The correlation analysis suggest that there was a statistically significant positive relationships between organizational knowledge management and organizational performance ($r = 0.531^{**}$, $P < 0.05$), furthermore, there was also a statistically significant positive relationship between organizational knowledge management and corporate social responsibility ($r = 0.313^{**}$, $P < 0.05$), It also appears that organizational performance and corporate social responsibility have a statistically meaningful positive correlation ($r = .0494^{**}$, $P < 0.05$). Consequently, as organizational knowledge management increases, there will also be a corresponding increase in corporate social responsibility, and organizational performance. It must be noted that correlation does not imply causality but indicate that there was a relationship between variable A and B.

4.2. Hypotheses Testing

Table 4. Multiple Regression Analysis

Total effect OKM>OP H1			Direct effect OKM>CSR H2			Indirect effect on CSR>OP H3						
Coeff	Sig	R2	Coeff	Sig	R2		Coeff	Sig	SD	R2	95% CLI	
.531	.000 ^b	.282	0.313	.000 ^b	.098	OKM>CSR>OP	.364	.000	.068	.401	.207	.512

To answer the research questions, a regression analysis was carried out, table 4 depict the multiple regression analysis of the three variables, which is generated by the three hypotheses of this study, first, bivariate regression analysis was performed to determine the total direct impact of organization knowledge management, on organizational performance, the result show a positive statistical relationship ($p < 0.05$, $R^2 = 0.282$, $\beta = 0.531$) meaning that, organizational knowledge management significantly predict organization performance e.g. for every one unit increase in organizational knowledge management, there will be a corresponding increase of 0.531 unit increase in organizational performance, in addition, 28.2% variation in organizational performance is accounted for by organizational knowledge management.

Bivariate regression analysis was also performed to examine the direct impact of organizational knowledge management (independent variable) on corporate social responsibility the (mediating variables), the output shows a statistical meaningful relationship ($P < 0.05$, $R^2 = 0.098$, $\beta = 0.313$) suggesting that, organizational knowledge management significantly impact corporate social responsibility by 9.8%, consequently, every one unit increase in organizational knowledge management there will be a corresponding increase in corporate social responsibility,

A multiple regression analysis was further conducted to assess the indirect impact of organizational knowledge management, on organizational performance, via corporate social responsibility, the result also shows statistical positive relationship ($P < 0.05$, $R^2 = 0.401$, $\beta = 0.364$) meaning that the relationship between organizational knowledge management and organizational performance was partially mediated by corporate social responsibility, because organizational knowledge management was directly significant to organizational performance and also significant through the mediation of corporate social responsibility.

5. Discussion

Knowledge management strategy continues to gain a favourable position among organization decision makers, there is a large body of literatures covering the beneficial impacts of knowledge management system, “system” here refers to approaches that can lead to “best practice” of knowledge management implementation, multinational, small and medium enterprises have implemented or plan to install Knowledge management strategy, but how effective and consistent in meeting existing and emerging socio-economic expectations is a major challenge confronting organizations. Thus, different models have been developed by researchers, most, focusing on the knowledge creation and transfer within organizational boundaries (Nonaka, 1994; Salisbury, 2003; Sagsan, 2006). Recent literature has also explored the relationship between knowledge management, corporate social responsibility and separately on organizational performance (Valmohammadi and Ahmadi, 2014; Bofo and Kokuma, 2016),

However, gaps appear in the area of integrating emerging social issues, and stakeholders demand into the operation strategy of organizations, it is this lack of comprehensive model that birthed this research.

From hypothesis 1, organizational knowledge management directly impacted how organizations performed with a significant positive relationship as shown in table 4, ($r=0.531$, $P<0.05$) suggesting that at every one unit increase in knowledge management practice, there will be a corresponding increase of 0.531 unit in organizational performance, inspecting the model summary table under the R^2 the Pearson correlation analysis further revealed that, 28.2% variation in organizational performance is impacted by knowledge management. In practice, the more knowledge is effectively managed, the greater organizations are able to perform and respond to societal dynamism thus hypothesis 1 is supported.

Secondly, from the Pearson correlation analysis, organizational knowledge management have a statistical positive relationship with corporate social responsibility ($r=0.313$, $P<0.05$), this provide a useful information regarding the amount of effect organizational knowledge management has on corporate social responsibility e.g the 10% variation in CSR is influenced by OKM, predictably, the analysis also revealed that, for every one unit increase in knowledge management practices, there will also be 0.313 unit increase in corporate social responsibility engagement. This show the level of knowledge management engagement by these organizations higher level of Knowledge management engagement that engages all internal and external stakeholders, will invariably increase the impact of Knowledge management on corporate social responsibility, thus the second hypotheses of the model is also sustained.

Lastly, mediation analysis was also performed to provide answer to hypothesis 3, the multiple regression analysis shows that there is a statistical significant relationship between organizational knowledge management and organizational performance through the mediating effect of corporate social responsibility ($r=0.364$, $P < 0.05$), the 36.4% variation in organizational performance is caused by the indirect effect of organizational knowledge management through the mediating effect of corporate social responsibility, it means every one unit increase of organizational knowledge management through intensive collaboration with

organizational stakeholders will predictably cause 0.401 increase in performance of organizations, consequently hypothesis 3 supported.

5. Conclusion, Recommendation and Limitations.

This study proposed a new business model that provide insight on how organizations can continuously manage and integrate existing and rising social issues into its strategic operation, hence, organizations can maximize its business opportunities as it relates to stakeholder's expectations. Efforts should be made by decision makers to established collaborative platforms between relevant stakeholders to facilitate intensive knowledge creation and exchange, this will not only position a firm to perform better, but will provide platforms for stakeholders to share their knowledge, and experiences regarding environmental problems, quality of product and services, globalizations and human rights.

The central idea behind this research is, knowledge management based on definitions and scope should not only be limited to improving organizational processes, but should be used as interactive tool to strengthen external relationships through planting of *“bridging contacts” contacts that mediate between the organizations and external stakeholders*

The limitation of this paper includes sample size, due to the current pandemic, access to targeted respondents were limited to online survey, there were cases of automatic email responses of been out of office, as a result could not partake in the survey, secondly, the model appears too simple which in practices may require more variable.

Therefore, a call for further research into the extension of knowledge management strategy beyond the internal processes of organizations to external stakeholders enshrined in the larger society is needed, in order to expand their knowledge base, and report social issues, as it is in real-time.

Organizations should consider the integration of knowledge management system together with strategic management to help them responds promptly to social, environmental and political changes, taken place in social space, secondly organizations should explore the maximum potentials of knowledge management strategy and extend this beyond organizational walls to the involvement of external stakeholders to facilitate the creation of new knowledge and grant quicker access to information.

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THE IMPORTANCE OF THE GOVERNMENT ROLE AND ITS INTERACTION IN THE SHARING ECONOMY

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ABSTRACT

In this paper, sharing economy, also called the gig economy, is discussed as part of the digital economy. This research analyzes the main difficulties of gig workers, and their needs will be analyzed as one of the crucial issues. This research also deeply seeks to examine the government's role in prior economies and the sharing economy of today. In addition, existing legislation and procedures for gig workers will be compared across nations. Furthermore, fundamental economic strategies are discussed. Some of the most important initiatives to engage with the sharing economy are also investigated. Methods such as "work frequency inquiry" and "exploration diagrams," which are supported by Nvivo qualitative research software, are utilized in order to accomplish this research. In this study, the interview method occurs with an expert that is considered in order to observe both the government's stance on the sharing economy and its practical effects. Our research discloses that government engagement in the sharing economy is inevitable, and the adoption of existing policies is challenging.

Keywords: *gig workers, government role, policies, sharing economy, traditional economy.*

INTRODUCTION

Gig worker's employment status varies county by country regarding its regulations. Some nations identify them as independent contractors, whereas other countries accept them as an employee. During the pandemic, gig workers faced many difficulties. Moreover, essential needs become more important among the workers. The governments also aimed to leverage these difficulties among workers.

This study also exposes how gig workers in the sharing economy are aware of their employment rights and benefits, especially during the pandemic. Readers will be able to obtain information about the different approaches for gig workers. As Schwab, K., & Malleret, T (2020) summarizes, many sharing economy workers face difficulties obtaining government assistance during the pandemic. Their employment contract status also plays a crucial role. Gig workers are also part of the sharing economy that faces the same difficulties in receiving financial help during a pandemic.

The significance of the government's involvement in traditional economics and comparative economics are distinct from one another, and the conclusions are crucial for understanding the modern digital economy. Moreover, fundamental perspectives across economies and their comparison with the sharing economy reveal a bridge between the distinctions of the past and the present, such as classic liberal economy, conservative economy, radical economy and modern liberal economy. Consequently, readers will be able to determine the relationship between these approaches and the sharing economy.

Moreover, both governments and labor unions must take significant measures to interface with the expansion of the sharing economy. Therefore, some of the main initiatives are discussed to find out the common objectives with the sharing economy, such as California Assembly Bill 5 (AB5), Sustainable Development Goals and Shareable and Sustainable Economies Law Center Research.

The key players in the sharing economy are the primary sources for expressing the issues and balancing new government laws. In addition, the experts also explore the new developments and interconnections of the sharing economy from an external perspective. Hence, the interview part with an expert is taken in place to be partly exposed the interpretations at a glance.

METHODOLOGY

This study aims to look at reliable sources about the sharing economy and how countries and international unions deal with it. Different sources are used to find the most recent and up-to-date information, and "sharing economy" and "government role" have become the main terms for this study.

The research makes substantial use of the author's thesis materials by reinterpreting essential aspects of comparisons, particularly for fundamental economic approaches, such as the classical economy and comparative economics.

This study also includes Nvivo software, which specializes in exploring qualitative data in research-based studies. The two techniques are used as follows, "word frequency query" and "explore diagrams". These processes assist in combining the study materials efficiently and assist to analyze them elaborately.

In addition, this research incorporates semi-structured interview and personal interview techniques with an expert via video call performance. The predetermined but flexible questions are posed with the aim of specific interpretations within a given structure.

The research is based on qualitative research, and the most important part of the study is the literature review. But the topic is new and fresh, and not only books or articles have been written about it, but also most relevant experts as well as journals and even practical fields, such as social

media. Most of the platforms in the database are from Google Scholar, Scopus, and Science-Direct. There are Gale and Ebsco sources for more literature review, and literature sources have only started to come out from 2014 and the most recent reference states by 2021.

SHARING ECONOMY

Beneficial Outcomes

Sharing economy brings several benefits as well as threats in the economy. This is essential to review these major impacts on the economy. The transaction costs in the sharing economy are lower than in conventional trade patterns. It also reduces resource use and positively impacts the environment. Literally, it results from utilizing inputs with fewer variables. Labour wages and/or taxes may cause it. Collaborative consumption generates numerous benefits. According to a quantitative study, persons who share their cars through ride-sharing platforms or also rent out their rooms through flat-sharing platforms make more than they would if they followed the basic notion of trade, such as hostels are car rental companies. In addition, the environmental impact is unquestionably favourable, as evidenced by the decrease in automobile usage on city streets.

Challenges

On the other hand, we cannot claim that the sharing economy is an excellent notion of the twentyfirst century. It may create multiple dangers. Including an increase in unemployment, a shift in the primary economic structures, and, most significantly, challenges to the various sectors. Furthermore, the sharing economy itself creates risks. It aimed at the disappearance of the sharing economy's boundary. Even though the concept of peer-to-peer business began with the concept of

the peer-to-peer company, investors and companies have begun to act on behalf of individuals. For example, they invest in a building and rent rooms through Airbnb as a corporate company rather than a single person. Moreover, unemployment and/or employment. Even though the sharing economy appears to create issues for specific industries, it also generates efficient employment.

In addition, Large organizations like Uber and TaskRabbit appear to be isolated regarding their financial needs and responsibilities. Currently, they are not governed by government policies and grow faster in the short-term financing. Moreover, this rapid and increased profit applies not only to the owners of such businesses but also to their customers. Another difficulty is that individuals are unaware of their particular financial responsibilities, and people are compelled by law to disclose their incomes.

Consequently, they will be compelled to pay a certain percentage of the money as tax. At the end of each year, U.S. citizens are required to fill out an IRS 1099 form in order to declare their income. However, there are two distinct issues present here. First, individuals do not include the income if it is merely supplemental to their full-time employees, and there is incorrect information regarding it. In other words, people are unaware that they must declare any incomes that may be subject to taxation. The second issue arises from gig economy companies. It is stated that these businesses typically accept payment via credit card services or PayPal services. By doing so, they can avoid sending IRS Form 1099s. Consequently, they became uninformed of the taxation requirements for potential incomes (Ilhan, A. 2017).

GOVERNMENT ROLE IN THE ECONOMY

In this section, the reader will find a couple of the main economic approaches that play an essential role in the economy. By doing so, there will be an opportunity to observe how government

inclusion in the economy plays a role. The goal of this section is to understand fundamental approaches to the economy. Afterwards, there might be a healthy evaluation or comparison with the expectation of government roles, especially towards the sharing economy.

Adam Smith – Classical Economics

The primary reasoning behind the trust is quite familiar with the metaphor of Adam Smith's invisible hand theory as he emphasizes the one-to-one relationship between seller and buyer, without any third parties. He actually demonstrates that the relationship functions realize very well without intervention. The reason for this is the possibility of losses for both parties should they choose to take advantage of the trade. Such as self-interest and cheating attempts or reputation. It is easily vulnerable from any mistakes. The seller's poor reputation will probably result in diminished performance. Therefore, this fear produces a high level of agreement between buyer and seller. In other words, the third participant will not be required at all for controlling purposes. For instance, the prisoner dilemma. Both parties should completely agree on a single point. Otherwise, it will result in the worst possible outcomes. Overall, the Invisible hand is a controversial topic. However, the central idea here is the natural line between seller and purchaser, eliminating the need for third-party control.

The relation with the sharing economy

The sharing economy applies the same principles. People must rely largely on mutual trust. Today, multiple factors, such as social profile information, network connections, and earned badges establish the credibility of both buyers and sellers. Both sides are expected to have confidence in

the sharing economy. For example, the BlaBlacar Community Platform, where users share their thoughts, reviews, and relevant information with one another.

Comparative Economics

Since decades, various scholars have debated the required role of the government. However, establishing the government's role permanently is difficult. Particularly, each nation has a unique structure. Consequently, the roles of government derive primarily from their particular needs. However, there are instances in which the government's roles diverge significantly from what they should be for the nation's benefit.

North Korea and Cuba, for instance, compared to Western Europe and the United States. Cuba and North Korea have established their primary government dominance. In other words, the government possesses essential authority in significant fields. Such as the economic system and the social structure. Moreover, governments can intervene in the economy quickly and easily because the government's position is sufficiently strong and dominant to make decisions. In addition, Western Europe has a larger economic impact. In some instances, the impact of the government on the economy can be readily observed. Such as government involvement in various fields. Such as the Hungary Lottery Company C. Keszthelyi, (2014) or a few government acquisitions of production companies.

Notwithstanding, a few instances demonstrate the existence of common boundaries and fields in which governments should play a crucial role within their respective nations. In this section, I will discuss the fundamental circumstances in which government involvement is required.

First, the need for a government is recognized after World War II. Stiglitz, J. E., & Stiglitz, J. E. (2000) explains that countries struggle to deal with crises. Not only did economic shocks occur,

but unemployment rates also rose, and inflation rates were relatively high. Due to social and economic factors, governments tend to require greater control. Governments had to play a crucial role in terms of economic recovery and national welfare. Indeed, these are the primary goals of government. However, in the 21st century, this ideology varies according to country profiles.

There are instances of governments playing a supporting role, while others remain quite dominant.

We cannot ignore the government's role in the economy. Governments have always played particular roles in the economy, and national structures always influence governments' perspectives. Consequently, government policies and perspectives that intervene in the economy continue to be diverse (Ilhan, A. 2017).

The relation with the sharing economy

Given the above-mentioned discussions, it may be challenging to understate the importance of government engagement. Nonetheless, the justification for the sharing economy could be more distinct from earlier economic activities. D'Hauwers et al. (2020) state that the benefit of trust in government positively applies to the sharing economy, where the government's position is neutral, and the goal is to act as an economic activity facilitator. However, there are also negative aspects of government trust, such as the requirement that businesses share their data with the government. As a result of their data's sensitivity, firms believe their data to be concealed in this scenario. When there is a lack of trust in government entities, corporations are hesitant to support governments' efforts to play a regulatory role by utilizing original company data.

Nevertheless, Park, M. (2019) concludes that government action is unavoidable due to the nation's crucial position in the sharing economy. For example, the period of low demand for Airbnb rentals may increase hazards such as unknown neighbours, trust in temporary renters, and possibly

impending unanticipated problems. Nonetheless, government restrictions may be sufficient to bridge the gap between new activities and their associated risks.

Fundamental perspectives through economies

The most fundamental perspectives regarding the relationship between the market and the government are as follows:

- *Classic Liberal Perspective,*
- *Conservative perspective,*
- *The radical perspective,*
- *Modern liberal perspective.*

The Classic Liberal Perspective

It supports the government's function as the best when it plays the smallest role. In other words, governments should not play a distinct role in the market. According to Adam Smith, the government is responsible for managing the money supply, printing currency, levying taxes to pay for public goods, and focusing on national defences. Including harbours, highways, and military strength. Adam's philosophy is referred to as the invisible hand. According to the new terminology, the function of the government is that of a third participant, which should not intervene in the economy in any way. Adam contends that the need for demand and supply can generate leverage and, thus, equilibrium. In addition, as long as the government does not intervene, this strong integration and corporation can produce effective outcomes. According to Friedrich Hayek, the government's activities regarding the money supply led to devaluations. Therefore, currency controls were handled by private companies.

Additionally, business liberalization is required. Privatization was expected to manage the education systems and judicial systems. Therefore, efficiency is the primary objective of the market, while the government has the least control power. Nonetheless, some gaps could not be

filled without government intervention. Such as resource allocation, worker rights, and environmental protection.

The Radical Perspective

The radical viewpoint maintains that the common good always plays a crucial role. In other words, playing a part is always important. Government should therefore be held entirely accountable. Additionally, citizens ought to be able to participate in it. Non-Marxian viewpoints were in favour of this worldview. There were indications for a Marxian perspective, though, which saw less need for the government in the economy. Because of its constantly changing conditions, the government can play a role in any society (Ilhan, A. 2017).

The Conservative Perspective

Conservative viewpoints portray themselves as the powerful opponent of the people. In other words, the government ought to be prepared to deal with any challenges brought on by citizens it disagrees with. In this situation, the public's attitude toward challenging authority could lead to totalitarianism, fascism, or communism. Additionally, this worldview may be driven by selfinterest, and governments, therefore, only aim to maximize its benefits.

The Modern liberal Perspective

The fourth viewpoint is the modern liberal viewpoint, which views the government's primary function as balancing economic requirements. In other words, it asserts that as the economy increases, so should the government's position. Therefore, a balanced partnership and relationship between governments and the economy may be observed.

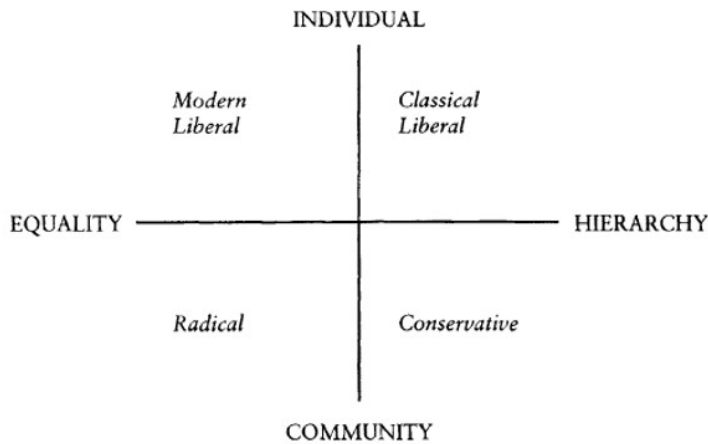


Figure 1 Course Material, Comparative Economics\ CUB

The figure above summarizes the four main market and government viewpoints based on four pertinent factors. The current dominating ideology is supported by modern liberalism because of the government's role, which focuses on preserving both the rights of individuals and businesses. Additionally, the government's involvement in the market and function within create economic equity (Ilhan, A. 2017).

The relation with the sharing economy

Similar circumstances apply to the sharing economy, where the need for government support in achieving a balance between businesses and individuals is stressed in light of the numerous economic patterns and strategies explored in this paper.

However, the rapid expansion of the digital economy's new sectors influences the basic distinction between the sharing economy and other industries. Consequently, established economic structures

may no longer satisfy consumer demands. Thus, the current economic policies may not be suitable for the rising digital economy.

UPCOMING APPROACHES BY NATIONS

The sharing economy grows inevitably, especially in the U.S. Codagnone et al. (2016) highlight that the number of gig platforms continuously grows in the U.S. and the E.U. at a smaller pace. The authors expect that the number of gig workers and platforms will increase, and this growth will get closer to traditional or long-term employment standards.

The number of gig platforms is also increasing in the U.K. and Europe. However, every country or union are not following the regularity issue of the sharing economy at the same time. The U.K. also debates the possible regulative approaches for the sharing economy in the court. The same perspective applies to the E.U., whereas its practice and relevant discussions are slower than the United States and United Kingdom. (Newlands et al. 2018)

Weili et al. (2020) expose that sharing economy gets an important subject, especially in North America and Western Europe, which aims to identify the gig workers in the economy. Based on the given report Commission (2016a), the E.U. approach is also apparent in identifying the existence of the sharing economy where gig platforms facilitate the open market for goods and services based on collaborative platforms.

As Bonciu et al. (2016) highlight, the E.U. perspective plays an essential role in the global economy, especially regarding international trade agreements, such as World Trade Organization (WTO) and/ Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP). Therefore E.U. perspective is essential besides the rise of the gig economy. However, the gig workers' employment status plays a crucial role in receiving governmental assistance during this pandemic.

Newlands et al. (2018) highlight that the sharing economy is growing, and its need for control will be essential, especially regarding labour rights and relevant policies. However, the autonomy of the sharing economy is an essential factor where service providers are identified to be independent in the spread of the emerging economy. However, the policies and need for regulative approaches raise when platform economy workers are the main subject of their rights and conditions. In this case, the E.U. approaches the sharing economy by observing “how much the sharing economy in Europe should be regulated”. This approach is also discussed among gig economy users and traditional economy workers in Europe. The part of participants indicated that the sharing economy has to be regulated as in the traditional economy. However, slightly fewer people also indicate that there could be a different and more efficient regulative approach for the emerging market sharing economy.

According to another survey, the U.K. is the nation that is most accepting of the gig economy. The U.K.'s Uber market is the fastest expanding compared to other nations and is aimed at avoiding excessive regulation. Positive expectations for new trends and economic platforms should be more cautious, including the sharing economy. The report refers to the United Kingdom's viewpoint as London's laissez-faire strategy. Because it thinks that as long as the government and its policies can be corporate, the sharing economy may lead to better innovation and beneficial consequences. In other words, regulations for prohibiting may run into problems as the sharing economy expands significantly. As the gig economy is based on sharing, it must promote more fair competition. As a result, it thinks that the sharing economy could be a solution to the problem of an unfair monopolistic system and the application of antitrust laws to government programs (Balaram, B., 2016).

POTENTIAL ACTIVITIES

The most crucial point of this subject also depends on how other countries or unions perceive the sharing economy. The “clarity” is vital for understanding the dimensions between countries and their relationship with the gig economy.

Although Codagnone et al. (2016) exposes that the need of regulation is about how the sharing economy aims to be “self-controlled”. The research identifies that the elements of the sharing economy, such as “communication”, “sharing”, and “platforms”, are opting to be self-controlled where the sharing economy creates its position under legal approaches.

The two critical challenges for the gig workers could be listed as “misclassification” and “gig workers' benefits”. Firstly, gig workers still have unclarity about their employment status, making regulations and employment standards difficult. Moreover, gig workers are not treated as in the traditional economy regarding benefits, such as insurance, holidays, etc. (Newlandset al. 2018).

The Court's Perspective of the United States is that gig workers have to be classified as “employees”. Therefore, the same standards and regulations will be applied to employees in the traditional economy and gig workers in the sharing economy. However, this solution creates critical disruption inside the sharing economy. Because the main pillars of the sharing economy are not designed based on “employee” standards, therefore, the classification of “employee” would create additional costs for the gig platforms due to the different algorithms that sharing economy currently applies to the gig companies. The second possible solution is that universal benefits, such as specific employees, could be designed to apply universally without classification. However, this is also an extensive study that requires detailed research for its adaptability. (Newlands et al.2018).

Another article also highlights that the consensus view shows that existing laws are insufficient to support the sharing economy workers' rights. Therefore, the classification of independent contractors has to be improved significantly for gig workers. Indeed, workers' flexibility should be considered in employment status as employment protection is essential to the digital economy's growth. (Means, B., & Seiner, J. A. 2015).

Moreover, there are different approaches among E.U. citizens. According to Newlands et al.(2018), Uber users request the need for regulations, whereas Blablacar users prefer a less regulative approach. This dilemma shows how the need for regulation differs among different platforms.

Adversely, the emerging economies and new concepts lead many businesses to benefit from existing laws. Many companies recognize to diminish the employee responsibilities. In the sharing economy, employee classification as independent workers let business owners less responsibility. Moreover, this situation leads companies to shortcut their costs. For example, companies do not pay immense taxes or social benefits for sharing economy workers because these platforms classify them as independent workers. However, as the pandemics increase, social benefits become essential. Therefore, gig workers recognized their lack of rights while obtaining these benefits.

Consequently, research from Newlands et al.(2018) explains that there are no apparent supporters for the laissez-faire approach. However, there are also no signals that complete control or regulative approaches should be applied into the sharing economy. According to research, a quarter of the European Union citizens support the regulative approach compared to the no-regulation approach. Therefore, the enhanced regulative approach may opt for the sharing economy beneficially.

California Assembly Bill 5 (AB5)

California considers the gig workers' rights and obligates the gig platforms to treat the gig workers adequately. The so-called "California assembly bill 5" standard indicates that entire gig workers have to be received the fundamental employment standards no matter their employment status changes. (California Legislative Information, 2019).

Furthermore, the employment rights of the gig workers are an essential factor that has taken place in International Labour Union (ILO) to examine the potential threats and solutions. (Rani, U., & Dhir, R. K. 2020).

Sustainable Development Goals

Furthermore, Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) also consider the existence of the sharing economy and by the united nations. The growth of the sharing economy is expected to impact the SDGs, and the governments have the robust tools to directly impact this growth with possible policies, such as, reducing taxes or campaigns and promoting communication channels). (Karobliene, V., & Pilinkiene, V. 2021).

It is essential and straightforward that the sharing economy begins to set its place as part of the emerging economy; therefore, its relation with SDGs becomes inevitable. As proof, the sharing economy creates added value to essential economic patterns, such as labour-power, job creation and, therefore, GDP (Boar et al. 2020).

Shareable and Sustainable Economies Law Center

There is a significant source, a report made available by the Sustainable Economies Law Center in collaboration with two nonprofit organizations. The sharing economy is the main emphasis of the

report. In addition, there are numerous recommendations for government regulations that could have a positive impact on the sharing economy.

Taxes are significant since they address the most important problem surrounding the sharing economy. According to the paper, the government should implement a policy of harmonizing the taxes with the regular taxes for other relevant services or products. Finally, it may favourably increase the use of sharing economy platforms.

The pricing mechanism creates another issue. In terms of the sharing economy concept, the policies should establish affordable prices for consumers. Consequently, a supportive government strategy is required. In other words, policy should encourage sharing economy items to compete with their traditional economy counterparts in the market.

The report's principal conclusion is that the policies mentioned above and others can also be helpful, such as by creating jobs, which is also vital for government objectives. For instance, these sharing economy activities might not only help people earn more money but also help the unemployed community by helping them start new businesses (Ilhan, A. 2017).

Fair Share

The key conclusions of the sharing economy from the government's viewpoint are outlined in this paper, which RSA created with the assistance of innovative U.K. The paper also highlights the importance of a solid relationship between the public sector and the sharing economy.

In order to benefit both customers and employees, the report primarily highlights the potential of underutilized resources. In addition, the research emphasizes the distinctions between the sharing economy concept and the traditional business environment. The paper discusses the major problem with the traditional economy as being the monopolization of power by large corporations. It raises

concerns about the covert operations of large corporations that play significant roles locally and dominate from an economic perspective. Government duties and laws are currently in place to alter this mentality through improved thought processes. According to the research, the old economic processes are to suspect for the monopoly power problem. That causes unrest and antitrust violations against the government. This results from large corporations colluding and exerting influence over one another, and they thereby have a monopolized impact on the economy.

The sharing economy has limitations as well. Such as the legal rights of workers. The report recommends that governments offer gig workers with a specialized platform. Such as unions, people are permitted to discuss their rights and request support under legal conditions because the gig economy is new and has deficiencies in various areas (Balaram, B., 2016).

Final comparison

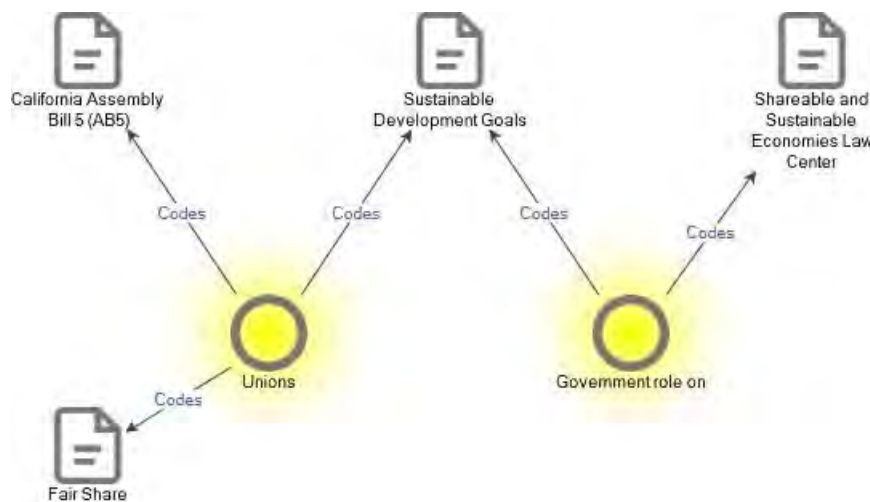
World Frequency Query



Ali Ilhan uses NVivo (released in March 2020)

This graph was produced with the qualitative data-specific software Nvivo, and the data represents a "word frequency query." The four potential sharing economy activities outlined above are combined to generate the most common words. Showing the need for proper policies, the four conceptions concur that the government's participation in the sharing economy is crucial, indicating the necessity for appropriate policies. By doing so, the labor rights and legal status of sharing economy workers will be addressed in an effort to aid them. Furthermore, governments must also examine taxation in relation to the traditional economy. The objective is not only to achieve economic equilibrium but also to eliminate obstacles to the sharing economy. *Exploring*

Diagrams

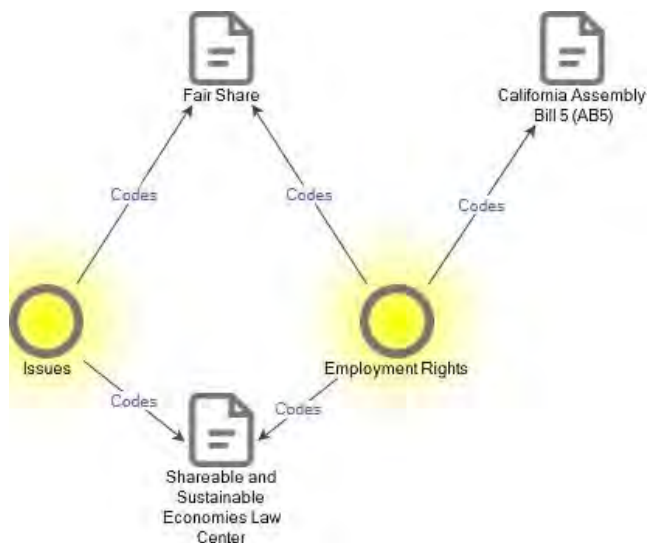


Ali Ilhan uses NVivo (released in March 2020)

The four topics were also coded in Nvivo using "exploration diagrams." The findings support the government's participation in the sharing economy. As taxation is a key issue, it is necessary to coordinate tax regulations in order to promote the sharing economy. The goal is for the sharing economy to be competitive with the traditional economy. The sharing economy is undeniably not

just a tool for developing future jobs in the economy but also a gateway for those who create additional income. Additionally, this expansion has an effect on the national GDP.

On the other side, workers in the sharing economy desire a forum where they may freely discuss their legal position and important questions. The necessity for a union might establish a strong tie between the sharing economy and the government. For example, the International Labour Unions and the United Nations may necessitate a sharing economy.



Ali Ilhan uses NVivo (released in March 2020)

According to a second "examine diagram," sharing economy employees' concerns are a crucial aspect of their employment rights. The primary objective is to support workers in the sharing economy under government rules that guarantee the same essential rights and benefits as the traditional economy. In the sharing economy, government laws could prevent monopolization of the market by major corporations. Today, workers in the sharing economy compete with individuals and huge corporations by entering the market as individuals under business umbrellas and altering the dynamics of the sharing economy.

INTERVIEW

The purpose of the interview in this study is to examine the research by offering expert opinions and approaches to the topics. The interview continued with semi-fixed questions to gain a broader understanding of the expert's methodologies and perspectives.

The person that interviewer currently being as a Commercial Attache of the Turkish Republic in Boston. Prior to this position, He was head of the Disruptive Technologies Department at the Ministry of Trade. Most importantly, he has an MBA degree from the University of Oxford, where he obtained several courses about sharing economy during that period. He is currently working to facilitate the exports of our country to the United States. The important with the interviewer is that he has theoretical and practical experiences in sharing economy based on his academic background and current position. Moreover, he plays an essential mediary role in the government in terms of disruptive technology.

As a member of the government, the first inquiry sought to understand his perspective on the government's perspective and related policies relating to the sharing economy. He emphasizes that governments must be conscious of consequences in terms of workforce, social fairness, and economic development. Governments must therefore manage the economy accordingly. Interacting with sharing economy companies is the most critical step. Because governments are aware that sharing economy may generate a number of issues and opportunities, including pensions, minimum working hours, and wages. The second-factor concerns permit, as Airbnb is exempt from the hotel and other facility-required permits when renting a property. Furthermore, these permissions have a purpose. For instance, the location must be secure in terms of fire, cleanliness, and sanitation. Consequently, there are potential hazards and issues associated with

the expansion of the new economy, in which governments seek to establish their position as quickly as possible. For instance, governments are in relation with the industrial leaders in that respect.

The second question concerned disparities between approaches by governments and international unions. The majority of evidence suggests that developed and developing nations are most likely to choose distinctive approaches. Because developing countries are more prone to foreign direct investments, so they would be more open to sharing economy enterprises operating in their nations than developed nations. On the other hand, they might really focus on the regulation because the other hand, they may place a strong emphasis that these new companies are not stopping the incumbent sectors. For instance, while developing nations could implement more relaxed regulations, the developed countries could be more strict in terms of taxes, in terms of workforce regulations, in terms of pensions. Therefore, today it only makes sense that the governments have a different approach to these problems. It has something to do with their approach, and it has something to do with their maturity level. Additionally, there are international bodies, such as OECD, that might be a good international body to regulate these companies.

Another question was asked to determine the interviewer's interpretation of the perspectives of gig workers in the sharing economy here, as the preceding two questions were asked from the standpoint of the government. According to the interviewer, gig workers might need that because of the security that the government provides for them, especially regarding minimum wage, health insurance, working hours or pensions. Therefore, it would be better for gig workers if the government intervened and regulated the industry. On the other hand, it is a different situation with the companies because they request fewer regulations so that they can operate more freely.

CONCLUSION

This study seeks the position of government roles in the economy by considering the most beneficial approach for both the economy and citizens. Introducing government roles is vital, and policies are supposed to leverage the economy equally. Moreover, the government instruments assist in protecting the economy through violations and ignorance, such as avoiding monopolization and considering employment rights and social standards. Especially the interview part also highlights that governments have to consider meeting with industry leaders from the sharing economy to create better interaction and engagement in the economy.

Moreover, this study demonstrates that the sharing economy is an expanding topic that must be seriously evaluated in the economic context. In addition, global unions and organizations should also be taken into account, where the sharing economy is continuously expanding. Moreover, the significance of employment increases as the sharing economy expands. Consequently, the new approaches are intended to address employment needs and societal standards. In addition, the study demonstrates the necessity for representative employment standards and relevant initiatives for sharing economy participants. Current employment unions or syndicates do not examine the rights and social rights of gig workers.

Moreover, The study reveals the necessity for institutional instruments and a number of initiatives that have already been undertaken in various nations. Especially, the main difference for national approaches appears between developing and developed countries. Therefore, it has to be also taken into consideration since evaluating the reasons beyond policies, such as imposing taxes or facilitating a freer market and FDI.

The government's role plays an essential role in the sharing economy to create a balance between the traditional economy, such as between traditional taxi drivers and Uber drivers. For this reason, nations consider that sharing economy brings new opportunities for the public to earn new incomes. Additionally, the government's participation is crucial to the macro strategy, as it aims to maintain a healthy level of market competition and prevent monopolies. Hence, not only from the governmental perspective but also through gig workers should be engaged in consideration to create balance in the economy.

Hence, the sharing economy is a mixed economy. Therefore, regulatory measures must adapt to regulate the new sector. The objective must not only be to leverage government intervention relative to the traditional sector but also to promote the digital economy in order to be a bridge between emerging economies and existing policies. We conclude that sharing economy can reveal both positive and negative economic results in the economy. Therefore, the government's role has to be taken to balance the economies as well as avoiding to create obstacles for the existing industries.

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APPENDIX

Interview questions

Q1

- Regarding introduction about himself

Q2

- What do you think about the perspective of nations and governments? What kind of government, government role should be applied to sharing economy, such as regulatory policies? Or what do you think about this topic?

Q3

- Why do different countries approach with different perspectives on the sharing economy, compared to Europe and the U.K. or the United States, both positively and negatively?
How do we evaluate this, or how do you see this point?

Q4

- What are the differences in terms of developed and developing countries regarding their approach to sharing economy?

Q5

- Do you believe gig workers seek for the government regulation?

Verbal Interview Transcription

00:00:01

Speaker 1: Hi, Mr Thank you very much for accepting this call. First of all, how are you?

00:00:06

Speaker 2: I am fine. I am fine, thank you. How about you?

00:00:08

Speaker 1: Everything's fine. Thank you very much. I will ask you a couple of questions from a big perspective. I want to hear your ideas about it. So, you know, I am working for the sharing economy, and the questions will be related about that. But first of all, can we know a little bit about you? I know that you had some special courses in the University of Oxford about sharing economy. And can you a little bit introduce yourself for us?

00:00:33

Speaker 2: Okay. My name is Muhammed Emin. I am the commercial of the sheltered public in Boston. And prior to this position, I was head of the Disruptive Technologies Department at the Ministry of Trade. I got an MBA degree from the University of Oxford, and I have got several courses about sharing economy in that period. Yeah. And currently, I am working to facilitate the exports of our country to the United States.

00:00:59

Speaker 1: That's amazing. Thank you very much. The first question I would like to ask your opinion about the sharing economy. What do you think by the perspective of nations and governments? What kind of government, government role should be applied to sharing economy, such as regulatory policies? Or what do you think about this topic?

00:01:20

Speaker 2: Well, that's that's the nice question. So in terms of disruptive technologies or in terms of these new concepts, governments have to be aware of the ramifications in terms of the workforce, in terms of social justice, and in terms of economic development. So we need to

understand what these new concepts offer, and then we need to regulate accordingly. And in order to do that, we need to have interaction with the industrial leaders in these aspects. And currently, as far as I know, many governments around the world are talking with sharing economy companies, and Airbnb and Uber were, you know, they were the most important ones in the near future. But a lot of companies are founding their businesses around that idea. So from a government perspective, the sharing economy could create problems as well as opportunities in terms of the workforce. So there are many regulations around the workforce, around the workforce. So for instance, pensions, hours that's like minimum hours, minimum wage. This is one aspect. And the second aspect is about the permits. So when Airbnb rents a place, they are exempt from the permits that are required by hotels and other facilities. And those permits are serving a purpose. The places should be, you know, secure in terms of fire, in terms of clean, in terms of cleaning and all that. So when you look at it the sharing economy, companies have a lot, a lot of different aspects that governments should look for, and it would be beneficial to start a discussion as early as possible.

And that's why we are talking with the industrial leaders in that respect.

00:03:24

Speaker 1: Yeah, yeah. Thank you very much. Once we talk about the government perspective, what do you think that the different countries approach the different perspectives for the sharing economy? Comparing to Europe and the U.K. or the United States is much different. I guess some of them are approaching like positive, some of them are not positive. How do we evaluate this or how do you see this point?

00:03:46

Speaker 2: But it only makes sense because different countries have different approaches to the policy problems all around the world. I am not sure if they I do not know like U.K. shouldn't be so much divergent from the other E.U. countries. And there are international organizations such as

OECD, the United Nations. United Nations maybe not would not be relevant in this case, but OECD sees they might be a good international body to regulate these companies. And it also the regulation of the countries could be affected by the development phase of the countries. For instance, while developing nations could employ relaxed regulations, the developed countries could be more strict in terms of tax, in terms of workforce regulations, in terms of pensions, so on and so forth. So it only makes sense that the governments have different approaches to these problems today. It has something to do with their approach, and it has something to do with their maturity level.

00:04:55

Speaker 1: Okay. Can you please once more tell me about the difference between developed and developing countries and their efforts.

00:05:04

Speaker 2: firstly like developing countries, they are more prone to foreign direct investments, so they would be much more open to sharing economy companies to operate in their countries rather than developed countries. On the other hand, they might really focus on the regulation because they want to make sure that these new companies are not stopped the incumbent sectors.

00:05:31

Speaker 1: Okay. Now it's.

00:05:32

Speaker 2: Multiple countries.

00:05:34

Speaker 1: Yeah, that's really important point. Thank you very much. So you shared your idea about the government perspective. A few questions for the like gig workers perspective. Just

wanted to hear your voice about it. Do you think as of gig worker, the worker in the sharing economy, do they think they need the government regulation?

00:05:57

Speaker 2: Gig workers might need that because of the security that the government provides for them, especially regarding minimum wage, regarding health insurance, regarding the hours that they have to work or pensions. So I think it would be better for gig workers that the government intervenes and regulates the industry. And on the other hand, it's a different story with the companies because they want less regulations so that they could operate more freely. That's my opinion.

00:06:30

Speaker 1: TWe can say the hesitations by the gig workers under the companies. Let's say that they also in other side hesitate to be regulated by government. In a sense. That's what you meant, I guess.

00:06:42

Speaker 2: Yeah. Okay. Yeah, yeah, yeah.

00:06:44

Speaker 1: These are these were all questions, actually. You explain very well. And these points are really important for me and for my research as well. Thank you very much. It will be really helpful.

00:06:54

Speaker 2: Okay. It's my pleasure. Thanks

00:06:56

Speaker 1: Thank you very much and wish you a great week ahead.

00:07:00

Speaker 2: Okay. You too. Bye-bye then.

The Labor Processes in Turkish Digital Gaming Industry

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Abstract

Digital gaming production is on the rise in Turkey, as if in the World. Since 2010, the yearly economic growth is about 11 percent. Similar to this trend, the number of gaming studios and the number of employees has also skyrocketed. Video game development has been discussed along with the concept of creative industries which is considered as the famous trigger of economic growth of the countries. Those kind of industries are dependent on digital technologies. They also require a new kind of workers' which is totally different from blue collar labor of conventional industrial production. Lazzarato defines this new type of labor as immaterial labor which means "the labor that produces the informational and cultural content of the commodity." video games act as a laboratory for the materialization of immaterial labor that fuses play with work, hacking, rebellion, and creativity, which has then financially been reterritorialized. Today, the modest laboratories have turned to highly colorful and profitable houses. Most of studio managers told me that both physical and emotional comfort of the workers are so crucial for the success. Unfortunately, precarious implementations can often be observed.

The paper tries to establish the framework of the Turkish digital gaming studios in terms of labor profile. The writer assumes that the labor processes have similarities with the global industry. As different from the global industry, Turkish studios develop mostly mobile games. PC or console

games, AAA games in other words, are not developed. Almost all firms are micro or medium sized enterprises. They employ 10 workers on average. Interestingly, the managers or founders of the studios also take role in development processes personally. They run both managerial and development duties at the same time. Freelance employment which can be considered as precarian type of labor, has also been used often. Video game development is seen as dream job for most of the workers. Unfortunately, this feeling hidden the exploitative and problematic of crunch working processes.

Key Words: Creative Industries, Video Gaming, Immaterial Labor

Creative Industries

Özellikle yeni milenyumla beraber “yaratıcı” kavramı ya da kültür endüstrisi kavramı yoğun bir şekilde politikacıların dikkatini çekmeye başladı. Artık geleneksel endüstrilerin yerini içerisinde daha fazla yaratıcılığın ve ekonomik getirinin olduğu sektörler almaya başladı. Özellikle, dijital teknolojiler firmalara daha müşteri odaklı ve spesifik ürünler geliştirebilmelerine olanak sağladı ve bu gelişme ülke ekonomilerine çok önemli katkılar yapmaya başladı. Bundan dolayı da birçok ülke yönetimi bu kavramla daha fazla ilgilenmeye başladı.

Bu bağlama tartışmamızın ana konusu olan yaratıcı endüstri (YE) kavramı 1990’larda ortaya çıkardı. İlk başta enformasyon teknolojilerindeki gelişmelerin kültürel aktiviteler üzerindeki etkisinden ve bununla beraber ortaya çıkacak değerinde ekonomik gelişmenin aktörü olacağı fikrinden yola çıkıldı (Moore, 2013). YE, ilk kez 1994’te Avustralya’da (DCA,1994) ve sonra 1998’de de İngiltere’de (DCMS, 2016) politika dokümanlarında yer aldı ve ekonomik büyümenin yeni aktörü olarak kabul edildi.2000’lerle beraber de Avrupa Birliği ve Birleşmiş Milletler gibi uluslararası organizasyonların ilgi alanına girdi. Ülkemizde ise 2010’la beraber tartışılmaya başlandı. Ancak diğer aktörler gibi henüz bir politika şeklinde kurgulanmış değil (Demir, 2016). Ne yazık ki ülkemiz, teknolojik konularda nasıl dünyayı sürekli takip ediyorsa ve bir türlü kendi milli teknolojilerini geliştiremiyorsa bu konuda da diğer ülkeleri takip ediyor. Her ne kadar YE’nin tanımına giren birçok sektör için genel destek uygulamaları olsa da bir öncelikli sektör haline gelebilmiş değil.

Yaratıcı endüstri kavramı bireysel yaratıcılık, vasıf ve yetenek kullanılarak sosyo-ekonomik değer yaratılan endüstri olarak tanımlanabilir. Burada üretilen ürünler kitle iletişim teknolojilerinin sayesinde kolayca pazara sunulabilir, saklanabilir ya da içeriği değiştirilebilir. Sonuç olarak yaratıcı endüstriler dünya ekonomilerinde yeri gittikçe güçlenen bir sektör olarak karşımıza çıkıyor. Yaratıcı Sektör'ün tanımlanması için önerilen Avrupa ülkelerine özgü bakış açısı; sanat dallarını, medyayı ve kültürel mirası, tüm bunlarla bağlantılı olarak kamu veya özel kuruluşlarda gerçekleşen profesyonel aktivitelerle (tasarım, mimarlık ya da müzikal çalgı aleti üretimi gibi yan dalları da içerir şekilde) bir bütün olarak değerlendirmektedir (Wiesand& Söndermann, 2005)

Türkiye'de ise özel sektör girişimcilik ve yaratıcılığı çoktan keşfetmiş ve bu alanda üretime başlamıştır. Türkiye özellikle 2010'dan sonra YE konusunda hızlı bir yükselişe geçmiştir (Şekil1)

Tablo 1. Development of Creative Industries in Turkey

	Employees			Number of Firms			Income (Billion TL TL)		
	2009	2016	Change(%)	2009	2016	Change(%)	2009	2016	Change(%)
Publishing	19967	27430	37.38	2504	4086	63.18	3.4	6.3	85.29
Software and programming	48457	84754	74.91	7151	14384	101.15	5.7	23.4	310.53
Design	1984	11473	478.28	713	4540	536.75	0.141	1.67	1084.40
Architecture	25554	44659	74.76	8302	12315	48.34	2.02	7.1	251.49
Advertisement and Marketing	75496	104366	38.24	20659	25808	24.92	10.271	24.801	141.47
Film making and video	8832	18799	112.85	1764	3741	112.07	2.17	7.3	236.41
Entertainment and art	5682	12444	119.01	2550	5271	106.71	0.616	2.1	240.91
Cultural Education	855	1855	116.96	245	730	197.96	0.015	0.082	446.67
Music	769	1322	71.91	335	609	81.79	0.099	0.326	229.29
Radio- TV	7902	10931	38.33	1228	1345	9.53	2.1	5.3	152.38

Source: DCMS, 2016; http://www.tuik.gov.tr/PreTablo.do?alt_id=1035 ; established by the writer.

Tablodaki rakamlar Türkiye’deki hızlı gelişmenin resmini çizmektedir. 3 ana başlıkta farklı derecelerde hep büyümeye doğru bir değişim görülmektedir. Ayrıca YE’de oluşan girişim başına üretim değeri ve katma değer, Türkiye ortalamasının üstündedir. Bunun yanında yaratıcı endüstride oluşan toplam cironun %17,88’i, toplam katma değer %36,81’inin bilgi teknolojileri, yazılım ve bilgisayar hizmetleri tarafından oluşturulmaktadır.

“Özünde bireysel yaratıcılık, beceri ve yetenekleri bulunduran ve fikri mülkiyetin üretilmesi ve kullanılması yoluyla servet ve istihdam yaratma potansiyeli olan” yaratıcı endüstriler; çoğunluğu KOBİ’lerden oluşan ve rekabetin yoğun olduğu, sürekli gelişen piyasalarda faaliyet gösterirler. Bu ortamda pazar paylarını büyütebilmek ve kârlılık oranlarını artırabilmek için en yeni dijital teknolojileri değer zincirlerine entegre etmek ve yeni iş modelleri geliştirmek zorundadırlar. Bu süreç aynı zamanda yaratıcı endüstrilerin, dijital teknolojilerle ilişkili yeniliklerin geliştirilmesine ve ekonomide/ toplumda yayılımına (spillover) önemli katkıda bulunduğu bir süreçtir. Bu şekilde yaratıcı endüstriler ülkenin ve bölgenin yenilikçilik kapasitesine geliştirdikleri yeniliklerle doğrudan, bu yeniliklerin ekonomide ve toplumda yayılımında oynadıkları rol ile dolaylı olarak önemli katkıda bulunurlar (European Parliament, 2016; Chapain vd., 2010 ve Müller vd., 2008). Yaratıcı endüstrilerde geliştirilen yenilikleri; teknoloji, iş modeli ve yaratıcı/estetik yenilik olmak üzere, üç grup altında toplamak mümkündür. Bu yeniliklerin kaynağında bilim, teknoloji ve sanat alanındaki bilgiyi, becerileri bütünleştiren, yaratıcı işgücü bulunmaktadır. Çok disiplinli doğası ile yaratıcı işgücü, endüstride üretimin miktarsal ölçeğinden farklı olan, ‘bilgiye dayalı artan getiri’lerin ortaya çıkmasını ve dolayısıyla firmaların/endüstrinin rekabet avantajı elde etmesini sağlar (KEA, 2019: 8-9 ve Antonelli, 2003). Diğer yandan “yaratıcı yayılım” olarak tanımlanan

yenilikleri yayma süreci, yaratıcı endüstrilerin (yaratıcı meslekler dahil) faaliyetlerinden kaynaklanan ve ekonominin diğer sektörlerini, toplumu etkileyen olumlu dışsallıkları, faydalar bütününe ifade eder. Kültüre dayalı yaratıcılığın diğer endüstrilere yayılmasına ve dolayısıyla ekonominin genelinde yeniliklerin artmasına katkıda bulunan bu yaratıcı yayılım süreci; bilgi, ürün ve network yayılımlarını kapsamaktadır (Tom Fleming Creative Consultancy, 2015). Yaratıcı endüstrilerin yukarıda ifade edildiği şekilde, dijital teknolojiler ile ilişkili yenilikleri yaratma ve yayma kapasiteleri, günümüz bölgesel politikalarının en önemli öncelikleri arasında yer alan verimlilik artışı ve bunun için geleneksel üretim yapılarının dijital teknolojilere dayalı yapısal dönüşümü sürecinde, önemli bir rol oynamaktadır. Bu süreç bölgenin varlıklarına ve bilgi birikimine dayalı akıllı uzmanlaşma stratejileri ile yürütülür (OECD, 2019d). AB genelinde 12 milyon kişiye tam zamanlı istihdam sağlayan yaratıcı endüstriler, AB GSYİH'sının %4,4'ünü oluşturmakta ve ekonomiye 509 milyar avroluk katma değer sağlamaktadır. Bu önemli katkıları nedeniyle, kamu otoritelerinin %80'i tarafından akıllı uzmanlaşma stratejileri kapsamına dahil edilmişlerdir (KEA, 2019). Yaratıcı endüstriler yenilik ve rekabet gücünün yanı sıra, bölgesel politikaların bir diğer önemli önceliği olan kapsayıcılık (bölgeler ve kişiler arası eşitliliği azaltma, refahı toplumun her kesime yayma) ile ilgili hedeflerin gerçekleşmesinde de önemli rol oynamaktadır. Yaratıcılık bir yandan kültürü beslerken aynı zamanda insan merkezli bir büyümeyi teşvik etmekte ve sosyalleşme, kültürel çeşitlilik ve çevresel sürdürülebilirliğe katkıda bulunmaktadır (UNCTAD, 2010; UNESCO, 2013 ve UNIDO, 2014). Birleşmiş Milletler raporlarında yaratıcı endüstrilerin, bir ülkenin ekonomik gelişmesi üzerindeki etkilerinin yanı sıra sürdürülebilir kalkınma üzerindeki etkileri üzerinde de durulmaktadır. Özellikle gelişmekte olan ekonomilerde, yaratıcı endüstrilerin bilgi-yoğun nitelikleri sayesinde kapsayıcı ve sürdürülebilir büyüme ve kalkınmayı destekleyeceği, bu nedenle önemli bir politika aracı olduğu belirtilmektedir.

(UNIDO, 2014 ve Palanivel, 2019). Bu ülkelerde yaratıcı endüstrilerin gelişimi, Binyıl Kalkınma Hedefleri'nin aşırı yoksulluğu ortadan kaldırmak, eşitsizliği azaltmak, cinsiyet eşitliği, sürdürülebilir kalkınma stratejileri, kalkınma için küresel bir ortaklık kurmak hedefleri başta olmak üzere gerçekleştirilmesine önemli katkılar sağlamıştır (UNCTAD, 2008 ve 2010). Birleşmiş Milletler çeşitli ülkelerde yaratıcı endüstriler aracılığıyla kapsayıcı ve sürdürülebilir büyümeyi teşvik etmek için, çoğunlukla bu ülkelerin hükümetleriyle birlikte çeşitli projeler yürütmektedir. BM, bu projeler ile özellikle kadınlar ve gençlerin kültürel, sosyo-ekonomik ve politik yaşama katılımını güçlendirmeyi, girişimcilik kapasitelerini ve istihdamını artırmayı ve bu şekilde sürdürülebilir, kapsayıcı bölgesel/kırsal kalkınmayı teşvik etmeyi hedeflemektedir (UNIDO, 2014).

Life Is a Game!

Doğumundan itibaren insanlar ve hayvanlar hemen çevrelerine uyum göstermeye çalışırlar. Çevreleri ile iletişim kurmaya çalışırken çeşitli yöntemler geliştirirler ve oyun oynamak bunlardan bir tanesidir. Yepyeni bir dünyayı anlamlandırma çabasıdır. Oyun kavramın yaşamın tüm evrelerinde insanlarla beraberdir. Hem eğlenceli, hem ciddi hem de öğreticidir. İnsanların kendini ifade etmesine yardımcı olur. Büyüdükçe içerik değişir ama anlamı ve etkisi değişmez.

Yani oyun kavramı hem fiziksel hem de sosyal bir olgudur ve insanlık tarihi kadar eskidir. Her oyun kendi kültürü içinde bir anlam ve yaşamdan biz iz taşımaktadır. Huizinga, kültür kavramının tüm toplumlar için oyun kavramından ortaya çıktığını ve ortak yaşam içerisindeki müzik, ticaret, sanat, din, dans, hukuk, şiir, bilim ve benzeri her insanın hayatına etki eden tüm unsurların ortaya

ıkmasında oyunun ok nemli bir yer kapladığını belirtir (Huizinga, 2013). Huizinga, insanlık tarihinde kullanılan Homo Sapiens ve Homo Faber kavramlarına Homo Ludens'i ekler. Yani oynayan insan.

Huizinga'ya gre oyunun tanımında  temel nokta var (Huizinga, 2013):

- Oyunun 'tam bir gnll bir etkinlik',
- 'ıkar' gzetilmeyen bir etkinlik' ve
- 'zel bir mekânda ve zaman diliminde yapılan yalıtılmış ve sınırlı bir etkinlik'

İnsanlar oyun oynamayı istedikleri iin oynarlar. Keyif aldıkları srece de devam eder. Peki, işin ierisinde teknoloji girince ne oluyor? Artık yaşantımızda dijital oyunlar da var. Aslında teorik açıdan baktığınızda Huizinga'nın vurguladığı  temel unsur dijital oyunlar iinde geerlidir. Tek farkı, teknolojiyi arkasına almıştır ve oyuncuya ok ve farklı seviyelerde ekici hikâyeler sunabilmektedir. (Binark ve Bayraktutan St, 2008).

Burada unutulmaması gereken nemli bir nokta daha vardır: Bu oyunların yaratılmasında ok nemli ekonomik drtler ve ıkarlar sz konusudur. Dijital oyunlarda ierikler ve teknoloji tamamen ekonomik sebepler n planda tutularak hazırlanmaktadır. Tabi ki keyif iin oyun geliştiren bağımsız geliştiricilerde var ama sektörn ok byk bir kısmı geimlerini oyun geliştirerek kazanırlar. ok şanslı oldukları kesin. Hem keyif aldıkları işi yapıyorlar bylelikle hayattan zevk alıyorlar hem de para kazanıyorlar.

Video oyunları, 20. yüzyılın son yarısında ve 21. yüzyılın başında yaratıcı endüstrilerin en önemli unsurlarından biri olmuştur. Yıllar geçtikçe gelişen teknoloji ile birlikte dijital oyunların içerikleri ve çeşitliliği de arttı. Hatta müşteri kitlesi oldukça genişledi. Geçmişte, oyun oynamak genç erkeklerin alanıydı ve oyun stüdyoları neredeyse sadece bu hedef gruba hitap ederdi. Ancak üretim maliyetleri arttı ve firmalar ayakta kalabilmek için yeni teknolojiler (konsol gibi) ve yeni müşteri arayışına girdiler. Bugünün oyuncularını arasında kadınlar, ebeveynler ve hatta oyun oynamaktan hoşlanan yaşlılar var: Arcade oyunlar veya ciddi oyunlar olsun ve şu anda kadınlar oyuncularını erkekleri önemli bir oranda geride bırakıyor (Kunnskapsverket, 2017).

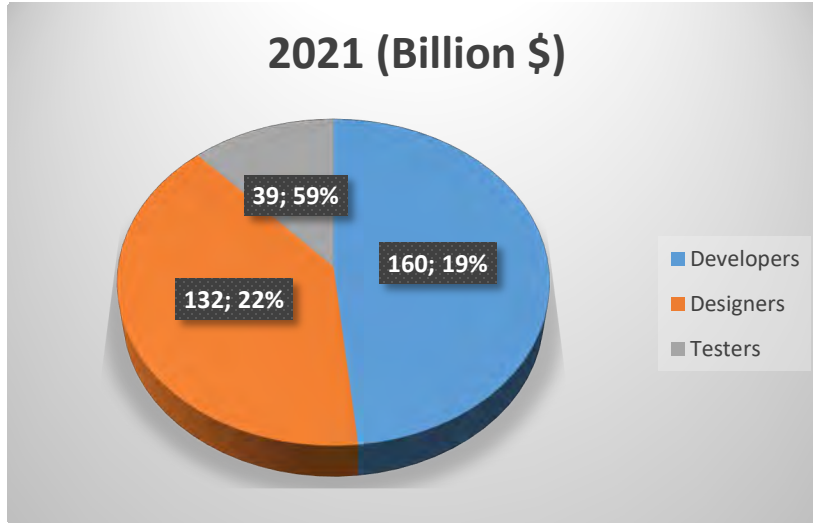
Bir tanıma göre dijital oyunlar, çevresel bir ses ve bir arayüz eşliğinde etkileşimli hareketli görüntülerin üretilmesidir (Clais & Dubois, 2011, p. 16). Rodriguez'e göre oyunlar, elektronik araçlar sayesinde yaratılan oynanış ve eğlence amacı taşıyan ürünlerdir. (Rodriguez, 2002).

Bu iki tanımda birkaç önemli bağlantı noktası bulunur: ilki, her oyunun bir arayüzü var ve ikinci olarak bir programla girilen etkileşim. Sonuç olarak oyunlar, göreceli olarak basit ve açık normlarla kontrol edilen bir mikro dünyadır. Bir oyun, kuralları önceden programlanmış bir ekranda bir bilgisayar ortamından oluşur.

How Big is the Digital Game Industry!

Şu anda dijital oyunlar dünyada en hızlı büyüyen sektörlerden bir tanesidir. 2021 yılında dijital oyun pazarının büyüklüğü 181 milyar dolar olmuştur. Yıllık yüzde 11 civarında bir büyüme oranına sahiptir. Mobil oyunlar pazarda aslan payını almıştır (Tablo 1).

Table 1: Market according to platforms in 2021 (billion \$)



Kaynak: <https://newzoo.com/insights/trend-reports/newzoo-global-games-market-report-2021>

Türkiye bu rakamın 878 milyon dolarlık bir kısmını yaratmaktadır. Ülkemizde yaklaşık 200 civarında geliştirici firma var ve bunların yüzde 90'dan fazlası son 10 yıl içerisinde kurulmuştur. Yani Türkiye'de çok çok yeni bir sektördür ama hızla büyümektedir.

Türkiye'de oyun endüstrisi 2000'li yılların başından itibaren yeşermeye başlayan ve özellikle mobil ve diğer dijital dağıtım platformlarının erişilebilir hale gelmesiyle şekillenen önemli bir potansiyele sahiptir. Türkiye'de 30 milyondan fazla oyuncu var ve bilgisayar başında geçirdikleri zamanın yüzde 70'inde oyun oynuyorlar. Bu oyuncular 1,2 milyar dolarlık bir hasılat yaratıyorlar. Bu rakam, 2015 yılında 464 milyon ABD doları pazar değerinden bahsedilirken, 2016 yılı sonu itibariyle Türkiye 685 milyon ABD dolar, **geçen** sene ise 810 milyon dolardı. (Gaming in Turkey, 2021) Bu rakamlara göre dünya pazarında 18. sıradayız.

Labour Processes in Video Games

Dijital oyun geliştirme süreçlerini anlamak bu sektördeki emek görünümünü görebilmek açısından oldukça önemlidir. Zira bu süreçler yaratıcılık, uzmanlaşma ve ortak çalışma süreçlerini barındırır ve bu da yaratıcı sektörlerde gayri maddi emek görünümüne en çok uygun gelen süreçler olduğuna inanılmaktadır. Aşağıda görüleceği üzere en basit oyundan türünden en zor ve uzun geliştirme süreçlerinde belirli uzmanlıktaki emekçiler bir araya gelirler. Ortaya en eğlenceli yaratıcı endüstri ürününü ortaya çıkarırlar. Tabi burada tartışılması gereken nokta klasik/konvansiyonel üretim ilişkilerinden çok farklı üretim ilişkisi ve emek süreçleri barındırdığıdır. Kimi zaman uzun erimli projeler (crunch working time) kimi zamanda preker uygulamalara da rastlanabilmektedir. Oyun türüne ve şirket ölçeğine göre emek üzerindeki problemlerin içerikleri de değişmektedir. Yani AAA oyun¹ üreten bir şirkette ortaya çıkan sorunlarda hyper casual üreten 3-5 kişilik bir stüdyoda sorunlar oldukça farklıdır.

Immaterial Labour

Maurizio Lazzarato (1996, p. 132) defines immaterial labor as “the labor that produces the informational and cultural content of the commodity.” According to him, this contains an informational content which is related to the fact that employable skills are “involving cultural and creative contents and digital capabilities” In that sense, programmers or designers or game designers would be workers who command those skills as highly valuable.

Interestingly, the cultural content, i.e. “the kinds of activities involved in defining and fixing cultural and artistic standards, fashions, tastes, consumer norms, and more strategically, public

¹ AAA oyunlar genel olarak PC ve konsol ortamlarında oynanan yüzlerce geliştiricinin birlikte çalıştığı derin hikayesi ve görseelliği barındıran oyunlardır. Örnek: FIFA serisi, Call Of Duty...

opinion”, refers directly to the activities that are traditionally thought of as non-work. (Lazzarato, 1996, p. 132).

As much fun as it might seem to belong to the club of above the line immaterial laborers, membership comes at a price such as “precariousness, hyper exploitation, mobility, and hierarchy” (Lazzarato, 1996, p. 136).

The immaterial workers have been generally considered as happy due to their creative processes and convenient firms’ working conditions, but Lazzarato cautions us to think that “despite the label of the independent ‘self-employed’ worker, what we actually find is an intellectual proletariat, but who is recognized as such only by the employers who exploit him or her” (Lazzarato, 1996, p. 136). In other words, the tendency towards precarity is so obvious.

First of all, video games act as a laboratory for the materialization of immaterial labor that fuses play with work, hacking, rebellion, and creativity, which has then financially been reterritorialized (Bulut, 2015).

Today, the modest laboratories have turned to highly colorful and profitable houses. Most of studio managers told me that both physical and emotional comfort of the workers are so crucial for the success. The workers should feel like they are producing something important while having so much fun. In that sense, it would be fair to state that workers in the video game industry are paradigmatic of the immaterial laborers of the Empire Glamor Above, Precarity Below (Dyer-Witheford and de Peuter, 2009).

Working in the gaming industry can be seen as dream job. Because, most of developers also were real gamers in their childhood and adult periods. They have always been looking for the best game of their lives. They like to wear studios' t-shirts. They like to show their job-identity in public and commitment to the company. But the funny thing is that the rate of inter-firm mobility is so high. Who, the firms, pays more can easily find skilled and creative workforce in the sector?

As it is understood, developing video games requires highly skilled and creative and dedicated workforce which is highly rare in Turkey. Almost in every field research, (ODTÜ Teknokent, 2012, AKA 2016, GİT, 2019, 2020, 2021) the gaming companies were asked what is the main problem of the Turkish Video Gaming sector?" and they replied as lack of skilled force.

Game developers throughout my interviews underlined the cooperative aspects of creating something "cool," seeing their final products on the shelves, and telling me they "look forward to" coming to work (Bulut, 2015).

On the other hand, game developers—despite crunch times, frictions with their parent company or the brutal materiality of temporary employment—love their work.

The creative lifestyle through which the developers feel as "the masters of the universe," does provide a material force for accelerating processes where the line between above and below immaterial labor is blurred.

Development Process of Digital Game

As it will be understood, game development is highly communicative process. Basically, the elements of the standart game development process can determined as below: (Walfisz, Zackariasson ve Wilson, 2006; Jethva, 2015, Kepenek vd. 2019):

Preparation

Oyun geliştirme süreci öncesinde önemli bir hazırlık dönemi bulunmaktadır. Bu süreç teknik olarak oyun geliştirmeye başlamadan önceki süreçtir. Oyunda olması gereken her içerik bu aşamada belirlenmektedir. Oyun geliştirme sürecinin tüm aşamaları da burada belirlenmektedir. Hazırlık dönemi, oyun tasarımı için en önemli aşamadır denebilir.

Bu hazırlık aşamasında pazarda nasıl oyunlar olduğu ve geliştiricinin kendi oyununda neler yapacağına karar vermesi de gerekir. Piyasa araştırması da önemlidir.

Story, Editing and game genre

Oyun geliştirmenin en önemli aşaması nasıl bir konusun olacağına karar vermektir. Oyun bize ne anlatmaktadır? Bir konu olmadan oyuna başlamak imkansızdır. Basit bir mobil oyun olsa bile her oyunun bir hikayesi vardır. Hikaye belirlendikten sonra türe karar verilmektedir. Hikâye ile oyun türü arasında uyum çok önemlidir. Aksiyonun çok fazla olduğu oyunlar için First Person Shooter (FPS) tarzı bir oyun iyi bir seçim olabileceği bu tür tercihler oyunun gelişim süresini ve pazarlama yönteminin ne olacağını da belirlemektedir.

Bunlara ek olarak hikaye detayında uygulanacak adımların belirlenmesi gerekir. Örneğin oyun mekaniği önemlidir. Buna Oynanış tarzı da denebilir. Örneğin bir bulmaca oyununda bölümlerin oynanış şeklinin belirlenmesi gerekir. Oyunu nasıl kontrol edecek? Oyuncu dokunarak mı, parmağını kardırarak mı ya da telefonu sallayarak mı oyunu oynayacak? Bu ve benzeri mekaniklerin belirlenmesi aşamasıdır. Daha sonra bölüm geçişleri nasıl olacak kararı verilmelidir? Bütün bu aşamalara karar vermek oyunun bütüncül bir şekilde tasarımının yapılması demektir.

Distribution of Tasks and Time Plan

Oyunla ilgili tüm adımlar belirlenmeli ve görev dağılımı da yapılmalıdır. Görevler içerisinde atılacak adımlar belirlenmelidir. Projelerde mutlaka bir yönetici belirlenmelidir. Yönetici zaman planına uygun olarak işleyişi kontrol edecektir.

Game Engine

Oyun geliştirme sürecinin üzerinde yükseleceği teknik yazılım aşamasıdır. Bu aşamada hazır bir oyun motoru seçilebileceği gibi geliştirici ekip sıfırdan bir oyun motoru da yazabilirler. Unity, Unreal Engine, Cryengine gibi birçok farklı oyun motoru vardır. Ancak hangi oyun motorunu seçileceğine geliştirilecek oyun türü belirlenmesi önem taşır. Bu tip oyun motorları geliştiricilere ücretsiz sunulmaktadır. Ancak ürün piyasaya çıkarsa o zaman belirli bir hizmet ücreti ödenmektedir.

Development Process

Tüm hazırlıklar yapıldıktan sonra yapım aşaması gelir. Geliştirme sürecindeki aşamalar bazen birbirleri ile bağlantılı olup devam edebilmek için diğer aşamanın tamamlanması beklenilebileceği gibi bazen de birbirleri ile eş zamanlı olarak sürdürülebilirler.

Graphics and Models

Oyun türüne göre içerisinde olması gerek tüm karakterlerin çizildiği ve modellendiği aşamadır. Oyunun türüne göre 2B ya da 3B modeller çizilir. Bu aşamada uzman sanatçı ve modelciler görev alır. Görsellik oyunların başarısında çok önemlidir.

Character Design

Gerekli grafikler ve modellemeler bittikten sonra sıra bu grafikleri hareket ettirmeye gelir. Animasyonlar grafikler kadar önemlidir. Bir oyun her ne kadar iyi görsellere sahip de olsa animasyonları kötü ise oyuncular tarafından beğenilmeyebilir. Aslında her ne kadar grafik ve animasyon yapılması aşamaları birbirleri ile bağlantılıdır. Aynı öneme sahiptirler. Animasyon konusunda kullanılan birçok teknoloji ve program oyun geliştirmede de kullanılır.

Programming

Grafik ve animasyonlarda tamamlandıktan sonra artık oyun programlanabilir hale gelmektedir. Oyunla alakalı tüm unsurlar arasındaki her türlü etkileşim bu aşamada yapılmaktadır.

Level Design

Oyun hikayesine göre oyunun nasıl ilerleyeceğini belirlendiği aşamadır. Bölümlerim tasarımı oynanabilirliğini artıracak kısımdır. Oyundaki haritalar, kahraman kaç kişi ile dövülecek ya da kaç kapıdan geçerek ilerleyecek gibi tüm unsurlar burada belirlenmektedir. Bu süreçte yeni fikirler oluşması doğal akışa uygundur. O nedenle proje ekibi proje süresi konusunda sürekli güncelleme yapabilmektedir.

User Interface and Game Play

Her şey bittikten sonra sıra menülerin ve ara yüzün tasarlanmasıdır. Görsel anlamda iyi ve kullanıcı dostu bir menü oyuncuları memnun edecek bir bölümdür. Ayrıca menüler arası geçişlerin akıcılığı da önemlidir. Bunun yanında oyun açılışı son kullanıcıyı çeken en önemli yerdir. Kullanıcı, sıkılmadan, keyifli oyuna başlamalıdır.

Testing and Publishing

Oynanabilir bir oyun ortaya çıktıktan sonra pazara sunmadan önce testlerden geçirilmektedir. Geri bildirimler sonucunda fikirler ve yanlışlar belirlendikten sonra geliştirme süreci yeniden başlamaktadır. Hataların düzeltilme bölümüdür. Geliştirme aşaması ile test aşaması bu noktadan sonra paralel olarak ilerlerler. Ayrıca bu süreçte ürünün artık sosyal medyada ve oyun platformlarında gündeme gelme durumu ivme kazanmalıdır. Bu kısım daha çok pre-release olarak adlandırılan, oyunun gerçek kullanıcılar tarafından geri bildirim alınması ve gerçek oyun sürümüne geçilmeden önce kullanıcılardan gelen hata bildirimlerini düzeltmesi olarak yorumlanabilir.

Alpha, Closed, and Open Beta Tests

Oyun oynanılabilir kıvama geldikten sonra kullanıcılar için test süreçleri başlar. Bunlardan ilki alpha aşamasıdır. Bu aşamada oyun tamamen tamamlanmamıştır. Eksiklikler ve optimizasyon sorunları olabilir. Bazı etkileşimlerde hatalar ve oyunu oynamayı engelleyecek durumlar meydana gelebilir.

Alpha aşamasından sonra beta süreci başlar. Beta sürecinde oyun artık tamamlanmıştır. Bu süreçte oyuna yeni şeyler eklemekten çok artık oyundaki hataların temizlenmesine odaklanır. Bu noktada son kullanıcının geribildirimleri çok önemlidir. Kapalı beta da sadece belirli bir kitle oyunu deneyebilirken açık betada oyunu herkes deneyebilir ve geribildirimde bulunabilir.

Advertisement

Test aşamasında reklamlara başlanabilir. Sosyal medya çok önemli reklam ve pazarlama aşamasıdır. Bu dönemde yayıncılar geliştirici ekibe destek verir.

Publishing and Sales

Dijital oyun sektörünün değer zinciri son yirmi yılda değişime uğramıştır. Daha fazla yayıncı merkezli bir yapıya dönüşmüştür. Ancak geliştiriciden son kullanıcıya kadar herkes geliştirme sürecine katkı vermektedir. Üretim sürecinin hangi noktasının daha değerli olduğu tartışılabilir bir konudur. Ancak yoğun ekonomik rekabet koşullarında yayıncıların daha fazla ön plana çıkması doğal karşılanabilmektedir.

Sonu olarak geliřtiriciler oyun geliřtirme sreleri ve daėıtım srecinde gerekli olacak finansal kapasiteden yoksundurlar. O nedenle yatırım sreleri de nem kazanmaktadır. Yayıncılar biten rn pazara ıkaran ve bařarı řansını belirleyen en nemli aktrdr. Yayıncılar nc parti, baėımsız vb. geliřtiricilerle alıřmaktadırlar. Portfolyo hazırlanma safhası tamamlanır. Buna ek olarak yayıncı oyunu sunulacak pazara adapte edecek deėiřiklikleri de belirleyerek geliřtiricinin dzenlemesini talep etmektedir. Bundan sonra tanıtım stratejileri devreye girmektedir. Bu stratejilerin belirlenmesinde parasallařtırma yntemi n plandadır. Yani oyun bedava mı ıkacak ya da paralı bir řekilde mi satılacak nceden belirlenmesi gerekmektedir. Ona gre reklam ve pazarlama stratejileri belirlenmektedir. Hangi platformlarda ne kadar sre boyunca reklam verilecek? Bu soru erevesinde oyun geliřtirme btesi kadar tanıtım btesinin de varlıėı nemlidir.

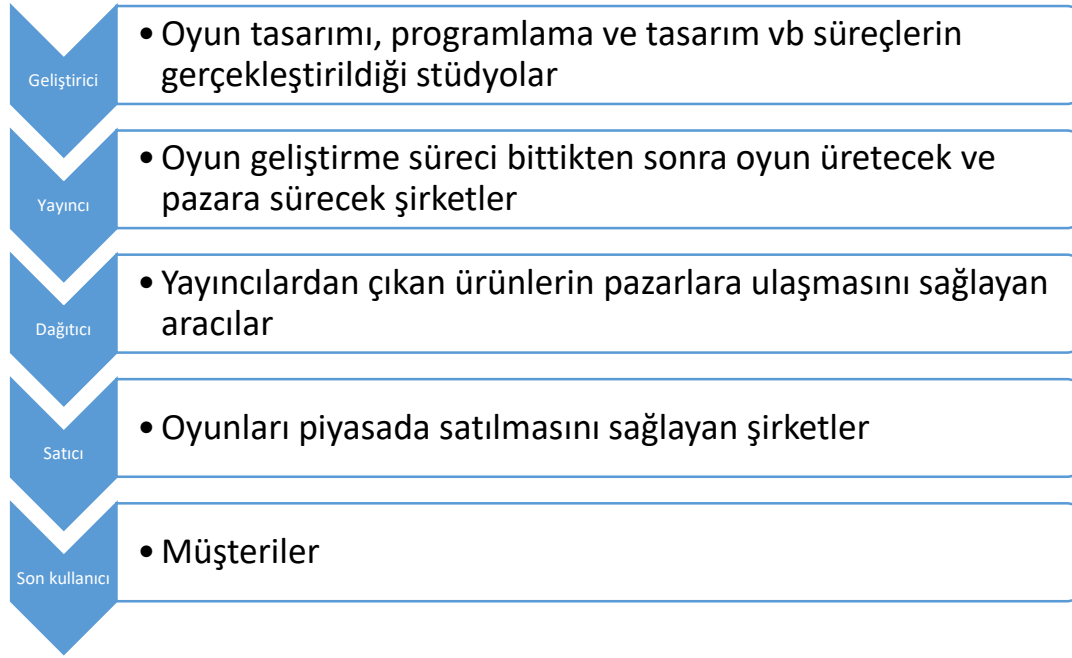
Value Chain in Digital Game Production

Dijital oyunların en byk zelliėi yapısı gereėi bir meta deėerinin olmasıdır. Diėer bir deyiřle ekonomik hedefler doėrultusunda endstriyel bir retim sonucunda ortaya ıkarlar. Oyunlar hakkında, řu anda insanlar iin en ucuz eėlence aracıdır denilmektedir. Dijital oyunlar hangi platformda olursa olsun ok temel sreleri barındırmaktadır (Dyer-Whiteford ve Sharman, 2005):

- Oyun geliřtirme: Oyunların yazılması ve tasarlanmasını ierir. Pazarda satıřa hazır hale getirilmesidir.
- Yayımlanma: Oyunun pazar iin retimi ve promosyonunu kapsar.
- Lisanslama sreci ise, oyun zerindeki fikri hakların belirlenmesidir.

- Son olarak oyunların dağıtım süreci gelir. Yani oyunu çeşitli araçlar vasıtasıyla son kullanıcıya ulaştırma sürecidir.

Table 2. Value Chain in Digital Game Industry



Source: Kunnskapsverket, 2017

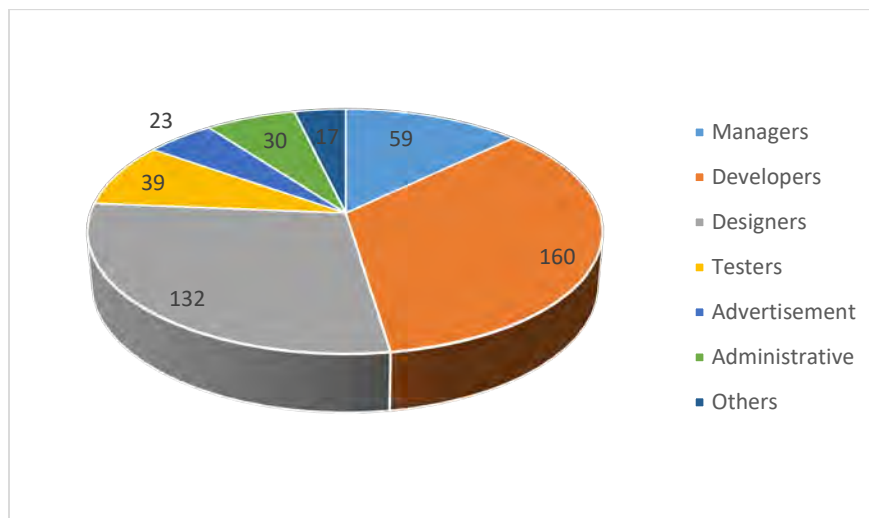
Bazı kaynaklarda en başa oyunları yaptırmayı planlayan konsol ya da diğer platform üreticileri de konmaktadır. Ancak yazar, oyun fikrinin olduğu süreci başlangıç noktası olarak kabul edilmesinin daha doğru olacağını düşünmektedir. Aslında bu zincir örneği mobil oyunlar için daha sade olarak düşünülmelidir. Mobil oyun üretim sürecinden sonra direk olarak belirli platformlarda (IOS, Android) internet üzerinden satışa konduğu için son müşteriye ulaşmada dağıtıcı ve satıcıların önemi kalmaz. Mobil telefonu olan her müşteri istediği an ve mekânda ürünlere ulaşabilmektedir.

The Labor Processes in Turkish Video Gaming Industry

There are some broad statistics than can be gleaned from surveys of the games industry to explore what games studios are like in the Turkey. There are approximately 200 game development companies in Turkey, (GİT, 2021, Kepenek 2019). The research covers 20 % of the firms.

- All the firms are small and medium sized enterprises.
- 460 workers are employed. On the average, studios employ ten workers. (Table 3)
- 413 of them are working in development and creative processes. The rest are working in administrative duties.

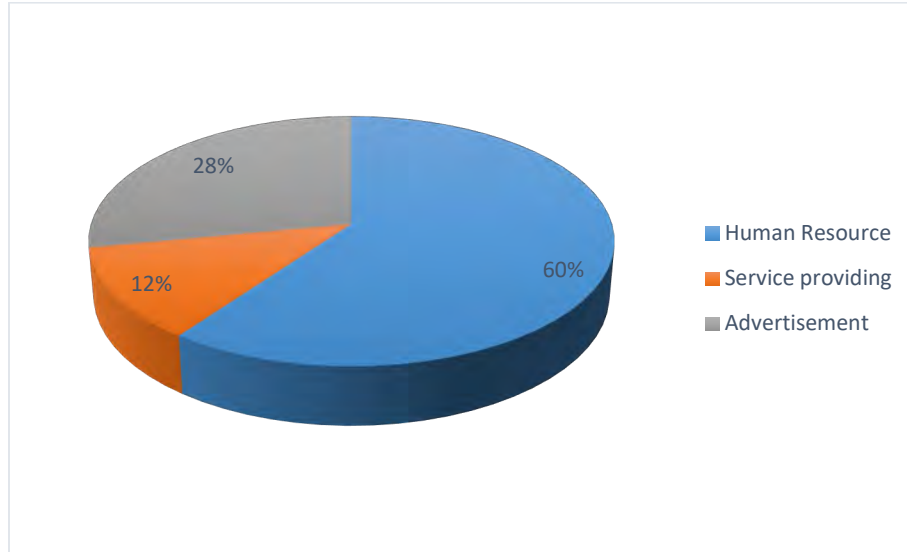
Graph 1: Distribution of Workers



Others: Content management, Statistician, Data manager...etc.

- The number of women workers are 113 (24,5%). This is 22% at global level.
- 14% of the firms uses freelance contracts for some development duties.
- 77% of the workers are university graduates. 15% are MS or Phd graduates.

Graph 2: Input Cost



Insights

Video gaming industry has increased enormously in the last 15 years. In 2010, there were almost 8 or 10 companies. But now the number is almost 200. The youngsters now interest in working in gaming studios. We can conclude that there is a rising immateriality in Turkish creative labour profile.

Under the shaky grounds of the gaming industry, the assumption that immaterial laborers are situated in cooperative joint processes with other immaterial laborers. While immaterial laborers do enjoy co-creative activities, they are also competitive workers. As it has been argued, “the emphasis upon affect as positive, which made it difficult for immaterial workers to see the real impact roles affect may play—not simply in resisting capital but binding us to it.

Conclusion

Consequently, with the struggle between capital and labor at its center, the Notion of immaterial labor productively complicates the discussion around labor practices in the game industry. As opposed to alternative useful terms such as creative labor (Hesmondhalgh & Baker, 2011) and cultural work (Banks, 2007), “immaterial labor” enables us to understand work beyond the dichotomy of “good and bad,” does not resort to such referents as dignity, and takes the discussion beyond ethics. Rather, it decidedly approaches work as a political matter, which has increasingly become private in the moment of biopolitical production, where subjectivity, desire, love, passion, affect, and fear are all put to work. Ultimately, as the narratives also reveal, the concept brings alienation and exploitation back into the picture, which again, powerfully attests to the multiform existence of the “line” between above and below.

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The Mediating Role of Self-Efficacy in the Effect of Perceived Organizational Support on Burnout: A Study on Gray Collar Employees

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Abstract

In the present study, it was aimed to investigate the mediating role of self-efficacy in the effect of perceived organizational support on burnout. The research was conducted on data collected online from 200 gray-collar employees. The results obtained revealed that there is a significant and opposite direct effect between perceived organizational support and burnout, as well as a partial mediating role of individuals' self-efficacy perceptions on this effect. The findings were evaluated in the context of the literature.

Keywords: Burnout, perceived organizational support, self-efficacy

1. Introduction

Today, working individuals constitute a significant part of the total population of developed and developing countries. These individuals, who are employed in various sectors, devote approximately one-third of their lives to sleep, one-third to business life, and the remaining one-third to other vital activities (eating and drinking, sports, socializing, etc.). Providing mental, physical and social well-being for individuals who spend one third of their daily lives at work is important in terms of performance increase, competitive advantage and reaching organizational goals. Factors such as tough competition conditions, time pressure, rapid advancement of technology, environmental conditions, and difficulty in accessing the right information due to the excessive production of information on a global scale affect the psychological state of people and cause the feeling of burnout. Burnout has long been recognized as an occupational hazard for various people-oriented services, education and health services (Maslach & Goldberg, 1998). It is stated that for whatever reason, burnout renders the person ineffective and passive (Basım & Şeşen, 2006) and this negative effect on the performance of the employees negatively affects the organizational performance and the success of reaching the goals (Çetin et al., 2013). When we look at the antecedents of burnout,

they can be grouped under two headings as individual and organizational reasons. Individual causes refer to factors such as age, gender, marital status, personality traits, personal expectations, and performance. Organizational reasons, on the other hand, are considered as factors such as the nature of the job, the occupation, the physical characteristics of the work area, the duration of work, the level of education, the degree of influence on the decisions taken, the support of other employees and supervisors, and the management structure of the organization (Izgar, 2001).

In this context, organizational support is very important in terms of its effects on the relationship between the employee and the organization. Many studies on perceived organizational support reveal that high levels of perceived organizational support of working individuals are associated with their tendency to exhibit positive organizational behavior (high job satisfaction, performance, organizational commitment, intention to stay at work, etc.) (Kenek et al., 2017; Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002). Studies examining the relationship between perceived organizational support and burnout reveal an inverse relationship between perceived organizational support and burnout, and state that the feeling of burnout decreases when the person perceives a supportive environment (Cropanzano et al., 1997; Karacaoğlu & Arslan, 2013; Walters & Raybould, 2007).

As an important individual factor in the relationship in question, the concept of self-efficacy, which expresses the belief in the individual's ability to exhibit the behaviors necessary to achieve the desired results and to organize the activities and perform them successfully (Bandura, 1986), comes to the fore. At this point, individuals with high self-efficacy are less likely to experience burnout, as they are more likely to show more proactive behaviors in meeting job demands and solving problems (Bakker & Costa, 2014). In this context, the main purpose of the study is to reveal the relationship between perceived organizational support and burnout and to discuss the role of self-efficacy in this relationship.

2. Theoretical background

Freudenberger (1974) and Maslach (1976), who made important contributions to the development of the concept of burnout, made remarkable studies on the subject. While Freudenberger (1974) discussed burnout in the context of emotional exhaustion, loss of intrinsic motivation and work engagement; Maslach (1976) evaluated it as a long-term response to work conditions that cause stress, and discussed it in three sub-dimensions: emotional exhaustion,

depersonalization, and decreased personal accomplishment. Studies that deal with the development of burnout as a process focus on these dimensions (Çetin et al., 2013; Yeniçeri et al., 2009). Emotional exhaustion, which is one of the main dimensions of burnout and arises due to organizational and managerial negativities, describes the physical and psychological exhaustion of individuals and the decrease in their energy. Individuals with emotional exhaustion show behaviors such as being late for work, leaving work early, frequently taking leave or report, and avoiding the work environment. The depersonalization dimension, which is related to the mood of the individual, expresses the negative attitudes and behaviors of the employee towards his work, colleagues and customers. Employees in this mood are less likely to participate in work, their ideals are lost, and their work-life balance is adversely affected. The feeling of decrease in personal achievement is expressed as the individual's perception of himself as inadequate and worthless. This situation creates dissatisfaction and displeasure in the employee (Basım & Şeşen, 2009; Yeniçeri et al., 2009).

In research on burnout, the opposite of this concept, the issue of work engagement, has an important place in the literature. It is important to prevent the feeling of burnout and improve the behavior of work engagement for the high performance and productivity that organizations expect from their employees. Demerouti et al. (2001) the “job demands-resources” model was developed to explain the antecedents of burnout. With this model, it has been stated that burnout is a situation observed in different sectors and occupational groups as a result of low job resources in response to high job demands in the working environment. It is claimed that with this model, the balance between demands and resources will prevent burnout (Demerouti et al., 2001; Güler & Çetin, 2019)

According to the model, job demands are defined as the physical, social and organizational effects of the physical and/or mental efforts required by a job on the employee. It is stated that the efforts made in response to these demands have a certain physiological and psychological cost (Alcan, 2020; Demerouti et al., 2001). It has been revealed as a result of research that the excess in work demands (eg workload, role conflict, role ambiguity, job insecurity, time pressure) causes various physiological and psychological disorders in employees and even burnout if these demands are above the capacity of the person (Alcan, 2020; Demerouti et al., 2001; Güler & Çetin, 2019).

The job resources considered in the model, on the other hand, express the opportunities that reduce the effects of excessive work demands, emphasize the physical, social, psychological and organizational aspects of the work, and ensure the success of the employees (Alcan, 2020; Demerouti et al., 2001; Güler & Çetin, 2019). Job resources; It is divided into subdimensions as factors that make the performance of the job functional, reduce the physical and psychological costs associated with job demands, and encourage personal development (Demerouti et al., 2001). It has been revealed by some studies that work resources are divided into subdimensions as social support, work autonomy, personal development and organizational justice with different perspectives. Social support from these dimensions; It is defined as the social and psychological help given by the people around them to individuals under stress or in a difficult situation (Alcan, 2020). In the organizational context, social support is expressed as organizational support (Halis & Demirel, 2016). The concept of organizational support, which has an important place in terms of the relationship of the employee with the organization, is based on the theory of social exchange and reciprocity. At this point, the working individual expects to see a response in the form of seeing the value of the effort he puts into the organization and considering his happiness (Kenek et al., 2017). Rhoades and Eisenberger (2002) state that employees respond to the value and support they see for the effectiveness of organizational activities by revealing their commitment to the organization and their job performance (Luthans et al., 2008; Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002). Tabacchi et al. (1990) stated in their study that high perceived organizational support functions as an important antecedent in the prevention of burnout, especially in its supervisory support aspects (Tabacchi et al., 1990). Kilfedder, Power, and Wells (2001) found that employees who reported a low perception of support reported symptoms related to the emotional burnout dimension. Therefore, they state that burnout may occur when organizational support cannot be perceived (Kilfedder et al., 2001).

From this point of view, the first basic hypothesis of the research is that perceived organizational support has a negative and significant effect on burnout.

H1: Perceived organizational support has a negative and significant effect on burnout.

In addition, individual factors come to the fore in the fact that some employees experience burnout in the same work environment, while others do not experience burnout at all or can effectively cope with burnout, which is one of the important antecedents of the burnout process. Different personality traits of people can cause them to feel different levels of exhaustion

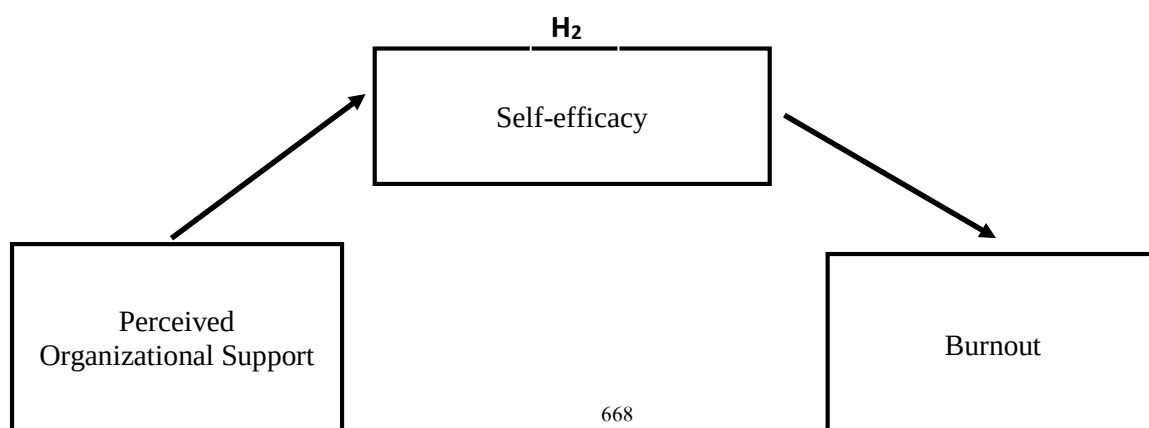
depending on the work they do (Süren et al., 2016). Individuals with higher self-confidence, psychological resilience and self-efficacy have the ability to manage negative situations better than other people. Among these, the concept of self-efficacy, which has both direct and indirect effects on individual behaviors through cognitive, motivational and emotional determinants, comes to the fore. Self-efficacy acts as a key that encourages people's sense of taking actions that can affect their lives (Bandura, 1997).

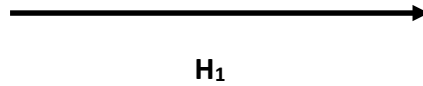
The concept of self-efficacy, which is claimed to be the concept that best explains the characteristics of positive organizational behavior, is a trainable personal resource that forms the basis of many positive employee outcomes, including motivation, performance and compliance (Luthans & Youssef, 2007; Stajkovic & Luthans, 1998; Bandura, 1997). Based on this, employees with self-efficacy in organizations are more diligent and achieve more successful outputs; It is suggested that employees with low self-efficacy tend to give up early (Stajkovic & Luthans, 1998). Luthans draws attention to five basic characteristics of people with self-efficacy (Luthans et al., 2007) and they are; It defines it as setting difficult and high goals, being patient and willing to work against obstacles, self-motivation, making the necessary effort on the way to the goal, and being able to resist against obstacles.

Considering the significant effect of the above-mentioned individual differences and personality traits in working life and organizations, the second main hypothesis of the study was that self-efficacy had a mediating role in the effect of perceived organizational support on burnout.

H2: Self-efficacy has a mediating role in the effect of perceived organizational support on burnout.

The research model created in the context of the theoretical justifications and hypotheses developed so far is shown in Figure 1.





3. Method

3.1. Participants

The universe of the research consisted of gray-collar workers working as technicians in the health sector. In the study, no sample selection was made, and the convenience sampling method was used. The sample of the study included 200 employees working in different provinces of Turkey who agreed to participate in the research. Research data were collected with a structured questionnaire consisting of two parts. In the first part of the questionnaire, there are questions about demographic information, and in the second part, there are scales that were previously developed to test the research variables and whose validity and reliability in Turkish were made. The questionnaire was prepared in the existing electronic environment and the data were collected electronically.

3.2. Measures

3.2.1. Burnout Inventory: In order to measure the level of burnout, the "Maslach Burnout Inventory", which was developed by Maslach and Jackson (1981) and adapted into Turkish by Ergin (1993), was used (Ergin, 1993; Maslach & Jackson, 1981).

3.2.2. Perceived organizational support scale: To measure the level of perceived organizational support, Eisenberger et al. (1986) and shortened by Stassen and Ursel (2009) and reduced to 10 statements, the short form 'Perceived Organizational Support Scale' was used. The 6th and 7th statements in the scale were reverse coded (Armstrong-Stassen & Ursel, 2009; Eisenberger et al., 1986).

3.2.3. Self-efficacy personality scale: The 'General Self-Efficacy' scale developed by Schwarzer and Jarusselam (1995) and validated in Turkish by Aypay (2010) was used in this study (Aypay, 2010; Schwarzer & Jerusalem, 1995).

3.3. Validity and Reliability Analysis of Scales

SmartPLS Algorithm was used for the validity and reliability analyzes of the scales used in the study. Internal consistency reliability, convergent validity and discriminant validity were evaluated. Composite Reliability (CR) value and Cronbach Alpha for internal consistency reliability and Average Variance Extracted (AVE) values for convergent validity were examined (Table 1). Fornell Larcker (FL) and Heterotrait-Monotrait Ratio (HTMT) (Table 2) values were examined to determine discriminant validity. Table 1 shows that consistency reliability and convergent validity were achieved.

Table 1. Internal Consistency Reliability and Convergent Validity

	Cronbach Alpha	CR	AVE
Burnout	.944	.953	.668
Perceived Organizational Support (POS)	.907	.925	.607
Self-efficacy	.949	.959	.731

F&L and HTMT criteria were examined for discriminant validity. Table 2 shows that the Fornell&Larcker and HTMT criterions are met.

Table 2. Fornell & Larcker / HTMT Criteria

F&L	B	POS	S-E	HTMT	B	POS	S-E
B	.818			B	.00	.00	.00
POS	-.483	.779		POS	.517	.00	.00
S-E	-.751	.309	.855	S-E	.786	.331	.00

4. Results

The participants of the study consisted of 133 male (66.5%) and 67 female (33.5%) employees. The average age of the participants is 37.04. (SD=9,364). Participants are associate degree graduates.

4.1. Testing the Research Model

Partial Least Squares Structural Equation Modeling (PLS-SEM) path analysis was used to analyze the research model. Data were analyzed using the SmartPLS 4 statistics software.

In order to investigate the mediation effect, firstly, the mediating variable was removed from the research model and the significance of the path coefficients was calculated. It has been determined that perceived organizational support has a significant negative effect on burnout. (Table 3).

Table 3. Perceived Organizational Support and Burnout Path Coefficients

	Original Sample (O)	Sample Mean (M)	Standart deviation (STDEV)	T statistics (O/STDEV)	P values
POS→B	-.490	-.498	.055	8.907	.000

In the second stage, the self-efficacy tool was added to the model as a variable and the significance of the path coefficients was tested. The structural equation model created to test the hypotheses of the research is shown in Figure 2, and the path coefficients of the research model are shown in Table 4.

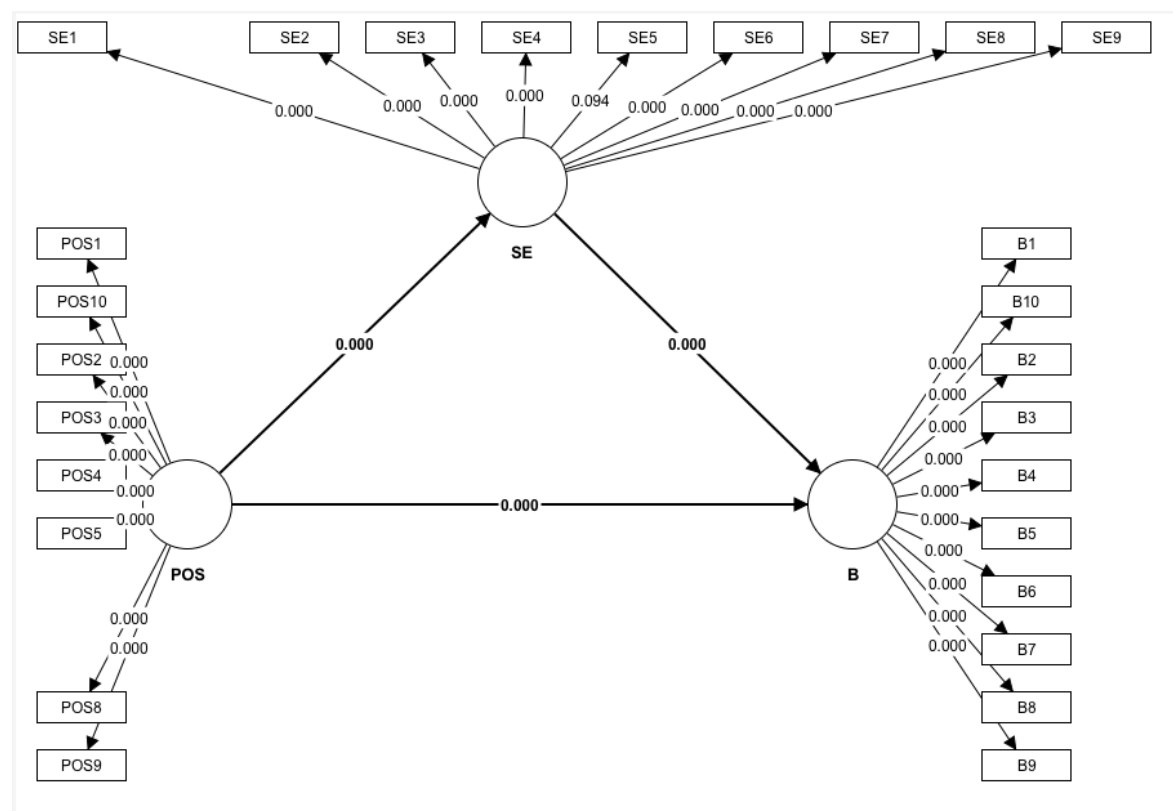


Figure 2. Research Model Path Coefficients

Table 4. Research Model Path Coefficients

	Original Sample (O)	Sample Mean (M)	Standart deviation (STDEV)	T statistics (O/STDEV)	P values
POS→B	-.277	-.281	.061	4.528	.000
POS→SE	.309	.311	.067	4.637	.000
SE→B	-.666	-.665	.048	13.910	.000

Since the indirect effect was determined in the research model, VAF (Variance Accounted For) values were calculated (Doğan, 2018). The VAF value of the research model is shown in Table 5.

Table5. VAF

	VAF	Mediation
Perceived Organizational Support → Self-efficacy → Burnout	0,42	Partial Mediation

As a result of the effect analysis for the research variables, R² values, which express what percentage of the dependent variables explain the independent variable, were calculated (Table 6).

Table 6: Effect Size (R²)

	Unmediated Model	Mediated Model
Burnout	%24	%63

When the R² values of the model are examined; It is seen that perceived organizational support explains 24% of burnout in the unmediated model and 63% of burnout in the mediated model.

5. Conclusion

This research was conducted on gray-collar workers employed as technicians in the health sector. Within the scope of the research, the relationship between the organizational support

perceived by the employees and burnout and the effect of self-efficacy on this relationship were analyzed.

As a result of this research, as a result of the analysis of the obtained data, it was found that the perceived organizational support suggested by the first hypothesis had a significant negative effect on burnout. However, it was determined that self-efficacy, which is thought to have an effect on this relationship and investigated as the second hypothesis, has a partial mediation effect on the relationship between perceived organizational support and burnout. In other words, it has been determined that perceived organizational support has a significant effect on burnout through self-efficacy perception. This result obtained and the quantitative data presented are important in terms of explaining the relations between these variables in the literature.

These results show parallelism with studies showing that employees supported by their organizations generally exhibit positive organizational attitudes and behaviors (Luthans et al., 2008; Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002). The result obtained in this study, that employee self-efficacy, which is a feature that can be changed and improved, has a reducing effect on burnout, which is also compatible with the literature. Employees with high self-efficacy are more diligent than others and have better coping skills with job stress (Stajkovic & Luthans, 1998).

The findings of this research show that managers who aim to achieve high level performance by working with mentally, physically and socially healthy individuals, increase their self-efficacy levels by supporting their employees, is a cost-effective management to prevent burnout.

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UNIVERSITY STUDENTS AND WORK LIFE: EXPECTATIONS OF GENERATION Z FROM THE WORKPLACE

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Abstract

The way we live and the way we work do not stay the same. In the societies change is inevitable and in the last three decades with the impact of globalization, improvements in technology, and the internet the pace of this change started to increase. This caused differences in the expectations and views of the new generations in their lives. This study aims to analyse the expectations of Generation Z from their workplaces.

With the help of interview forms consisting of open and close-ended questions send via google forms, we interviewed 15 university students and in order to analyse the answers discourse analysis method is used. The expectations of the generation Z from their work-life, and the relationship between the satisfaction of the students with the department they study and their expectations in work life are the main research questions of the study. The results demonstrate, Generation Z has the characteristics of the digital natives and changing trends for the wishes of their workplace. They mainly look for socially active, flexible, environmentally friendly, social, and multicultural jobs in which they are well-paid and given enough personal space to have time to relax.

Keywords: Generation Z, Future Workplace, digital natives, technology, environment and sustainability

INTRODUCTION

In today's world, there is rapid social change. In this period, where technology develops at a rapid pace, everything becomes digital and paradigms related to life are also changing. Generation Z, most of whom are university students today, was born into this changing world. The perspective of the X and Y generations, who are currently in business life, on work-life and work processes will be different from the perspective of the Z generation when they start working. It is important to try to understand the perspective and expectations of the Z generation, who will form the bulk of the labour force in the near future, on work-life and the workplace.

In this context, in this study, students studying at Başkent University and Istanbul

Commerce University were asked questions about their expectations of the future workplaces and work processes. In the study, after the concept of digital natives, the concept of workplace and expectations from future workplaces will be discussed. Following these discussions, the answers to the questions will be analysed with the discourse analysis method.

METHODOLOGY

Importance of the Study

In today's world, there is a tremendous change in every aspect of the societies. This has a domino effect in daily lives and expectations of the people from the future. With the effect of social change, people of Generation Z and people of different generations have different perspectives on daily life and expectations from the future. On the other hand, Generation Z youths, who are in their 20s today and studying at university, will join the country's workforce in the near future. Considering that most of these people will be different collar workers, their expectations from work-life gain importance.

Purpose and limitations of the study

The aim of this study is to understand the future expectations of university students, who are members of the Z Generation, from work-life and the workplace. For this purpose, open and closed-ended questions were directed to 15 university students. The study is a qualitative study and discourse analysis was applied to the answers. Interview forms were sent to the participants via google forms. Participant students are studying at Başkent University and Istanbul Commerce University. 13 of the students are studying sociology, one psychology and one is in American Culture and Literature Department. The study is limited to the students interviewed and their answers. A more comprehensive study may yield different results.

Research Problems

The main problem of the research is as follows:

- What are the expectations of Generation Z from work life?

The sub-problems of the research are as follows:

- What is the relationship between the satisfaction of the students with the department they study and their expectations in work life?

- How does the university life of the Z Generation students affect their expectations from work life?

GENERATION Z AND DIGITAL NATIVES

“The notion of generation is frequently used to understand the differences between age groups; we talk about the ‘generation gap’ or ‘old generations’ to define ourselves or the others within a historical time (Paköz Türkeli, 2016: 8). According to Mannheim (1952/The Problem of Generations), groups of people who lived at the same time, experienced similar experiences, and experienced the same historical conditions constitute generations. “A further idea suggested by Pinder is that each generation builds up an ‘entelechy’ of its own by which means alone it can really become a qualitative unity” (Mannheim, 1952: 283). On the other hand, according to the generation classifications of Strauss and Howe (1991 and 2009), a different social, political, economic and cultural period emerges in approximately twenty-year periods, and the living generation in each new period is shaped accordingly. As Mannheim also pointed the topic of generations is “to merit serious consideration. It is one of the indispensable guides to an understanding of the structure of social and intellectual movements. Its practical importance becomes clear as soon as one tries to obtain a more exact understanding of the accelerated pace of social change characteristic of our time” (Mannheim, 1952: 286-287). According to Robert Wohl (1979: 118), a trend emerged in the 19th century regarding the idea that society was divided into different categories based on age.

On the other hand, “Every moment of time is therefore in reality more than a point-like

event- it is a temporal volume having more than one dimension, because it is always experienced by several generations at various stages of development.” (Mannheim, 1952: 283). For this reason, different generations are affected in different ways by the event.

According to Mannheim (1952: 292):

The best way to appreciate which features of social life result from the existence of generations is to make the experiment of imagining what the social life of man would be like if one generation lived on for ever and none followed to replace it. In contrast to such a utopian, imaginary society, our own has the following characteristics:

- a) New Participants in the cultural process are emerging, whilst,*
- b) former participants in that process are continually disappearing,*
- c) members of any one generation can participate only in a temporally limited section of the historical process, and*
- d) It is therefore necessary continually to transmit the accumulated cultural heritage,*
- e) The transition from generation to generation is a continuous process.*

If we look at the classifications of generations in general even if they are specified differently in different sources: “Generation X, the age cohort born before the 1980s but after the Baby Boomers; Generation Y, or Millennials, typically thought of as those born between 1984 and 1996; and Generation Z, those born after 1997, who are next to enter the workforce.” (Bresman and Rao, 2017).

The year of birth of the Z Generation is stated differently in different sources. In this study, we consider people born after 1997 as the Z Generation, adhering to the above statement. Generation Z is the people who were born in a period when technology is developing at a great speed, everything becomes digital, and accelerated. They know digital technology well and

social media is a part of their lives. For instance, Özuz (2018) states in his research on primary school students that it is necessary for these children to have an account or channel on YouTube. A child who is not active in social media and YouTube feels socially excluded (Özuz, 2018: 183).

At this point, we can look at the concept of digital natives. Digital natives, the generation who were born after 1980, are a generation that has grown up with technology and the internet and they are able to use new communication devices and social media very well (Prensky, 2001:7). “A ‘digital native’ can be defined as an individual who has grown up immersed in digital technology and is technologically adept and interested,” (Bennett, 2010: 1). Prensky (2001) introduced the concept of digital natives in his 2001 essay. They “are all “native speakers” of the digital language of computers, video games and the Internet,” (Prensky, 2001: 3). “These young people having grown up with computers and the Internet are said to have a natural aptitude and high skill levels when using new technologies” (Jones et al., 2010: 722).

Digital natives are digital learners. For instance, they can easily learn algebra if you give the instructions through a video game. (Prinsky, 2005: 8). “Digital literacy should not only mean the ability to use technological devices, but it should also point out the consciously use of these devices for educational, cultural and developmental purposes. We should also consider that digital natives are a generation born into technology and that their way of thinking and understanding of the world is different from digital immigrants” (Coşkun, 2020: 492). Digital natives are also referred to with concepts such as “millennials, Net Generation, the gamer generation, next generation, n-generation, cyber kids, homo zappiens, grasshopper mind” (Pedro, 2006: 2-3). In this context, the participants of this study are both digital natives and Generation Z members.

WORK LIFE AND WORK PLACE IN THE FUTURE

The future of the workplace is an ongoing discussion point for many firms, workers, and

organizations. The workplaces and firms have experienced dramatic changes in the last three decades as globally the world entered into the post-industrial period, which is described as 'liquid modernity' in Bauman's words. Contrary to the solid modernity in which the employees have a permanent office, a long-term contract, and guaranteed retirement and future plans in the liquid world everything is fluid, and "undergo 'a continuous change' in shape when subjected to such a stress" (Bauman, 2000: 1). Therefore, the new era is named with various names by many scholars such as liquid, risky, and digital in order to emphasize the uncertainty, insecurity, mobility and irregularity the new age brought. With the increasing inequalities and uncertainties, the term 'precarity' started to be used a lot. It is defined as flexible in the new era. De Ruyter and Brown stressed that "flexible (or precarious) work has technology at its core." With the development of technology and new technological devices and mediums, the big factories left their places to small and medium-sized firms which multiplied in the new era and used the new technologies in their firms to reduce the costs and to be more effective and productive. New architectural solutions are also sought for the workplaces. According to the needs of the new workers and new ways of life the offices started to become more spacious, comfortable and diversified.

Big companies become more global and diversified. Increasing globalized markets and businesses pushed the firms to quest for "higher mobility requirements and widely distributed international cooperation. Customers of a product and talents needed to create a product or a service are globally dispersed. Products and services are getting more and more complex and are, to an increasing extent, being based on knowledge from different domains and disciplines" (Andriessen & Vartiainen, 2006: 3). With these demands and the introduction of faster apps and wifis into our lives, trends for Mobile and Virtual Work (MVW) increased day by day. Shortly after, even the Baby-Boomer Generation (people born between 1946-1964) started using mobile phones and computers regularly. For the Z Generation, it was the way of life.

Especially after the Covid-19 Pandemic, most of the people realized staying in the offices for long hours is either not productive as they think and that there are alternative office and working methods. During the Covid-19 Pandemic “The ones who can work from home and the ones who could not, or the ones who lost their incomes, totally started to feel the impact of the pandemic process more variedly in their lives” (Paköz Türkeli, 2021, 9). The period caused many to realize the inequalities on the one hand while on the other hand it also showed the variety of new or developing options and had a tremendous impact on the new generations and workers. It is also well-known that the generational differences in expectations from the workplace are also inevitable. Global changes in technology, lifestyles, education, and the pace of life transform the wishes, abilities and prospects of individuals. The Generation Y was the children of globalization while Z Generation is seen as more of a technology generation. “Since change remains the one constant in the workplace, all that is certain is the workplace of the future will be very different from that of today” (Saurin, Ratcliffe & Puybaraud, 2010: 46). After the Covid-19 Pandemic, some bosses tried to convince or threaten the people with the economic crisis, however; “[n]ationally, U.S. office occupancy rates are hovering around 44% [...]” (Gordon 2022). Some leaders and bosses on the other hand, see the advantage of new ways of working and encouraged and explored new ways to motivate and attract ‘the new talents’ and ‘workers’ to their offices.

According to Rattcliffe, the driving forces of change in the workplace are summarized as

- *the emerging trend of knowledge work;*
- *the changing demand for flexible employment contracts;*
- *the impetus for delivering action on sustainability accelerating worldwide;*
- *the growth of leaner organisations;*
- *the increased number of mobile and distributed workers; and*

- *the exponential rate of technological development* (Saurin, Ratcliffe & Puybaraud 2010 taken from Ratcliffe et al., 2009: 47).

According to another recent case study in Bangkok, “On average, Generation Z talent favours public workspaces, whereas Generation Y talent prefers travel-related attributes such as public transport and traffic density” (Wisuchat & Taecharungroj, 2021). It shows us that priorities are changing every generation, yet some characteristics can also remain similar such as both Generation X and Y gives importance to freedom and are self-reliant (Berkup, 2014). However, access to data is easier for Generation Z so, generally the scholars described them as more creative and innovative than their previous generations (Schwieger and Ladwig, 2018). Therefore, in the future workplaces, hi-tech devices are gaining more importance and this trend is expected to increase every year. Nowadays, technological devices are already an important asset for both individuals and firms.

It is among the main goals of humans to find a decent and proper occupation fitting their character and skills. For the Generation Z the workplace appearance is considered highly important as well as the public workspaces in which they can “work, meet and socialise such as co-working spaces and coffee shops and the overall visual appearance of the workplace location were important for younger generations of talent.” (Wisuchat and Taecharungroj, 2021, 275). Therefore, in the 2020s the offices have spaces for recreational activities, socialization, sports, and relaxation. As mentioned the architecture of the buildings, is styled in various ways to keep up with the expectations of the customers, employers, and employees.

Risks and insecurities are the other words that come into mind when we are talking about the new age (Beck 1992). Globalization also brought many risks with increasing mobility and technologies. It crashed some of the hierarchies and made everyone accessible and vulnerable. The whole society becomes a panopticon (Bentham 1995; Foucault 1991). The surveillance methods are spread into various areas in the society such as the workplaces,

governmental implementation and products we consume. The change in the surveillance methods also affected the work relationships, work processes and the behaviours of the workers.

ANALYSIS

This study aims to understand the expectations of members of the Z Generation for their future work life and workplace. For this purpose, open and closed-ended questions were directed to 15 university students. Participant students are all university students studying at Başkent University and Istanbul Commerce University. 13 of the students are studying sociology, one of them is studying psychology and one is in American Culture and Literature Department. The study will be analysed under three sub-headings: demographics, department satisfaction and future plans, and work-life and workplace expectations.

Demographics

The majority of the 15 participants are women. This situation coincides with the acceptance that the majority of students studying in sociology departments are women. The age range of the participants, as shown in the table below (Table 1), is between 21 and 25 years old. Although the universities they study at are in Ankara and Istanbul, most of them are from cities outside Ankara and Istanbul. When asked about the average income level of their families, it was seen that most of the participants gave a medium-level answer. Most of the participants live with their families.

Table 1

Participants	Age	Gender	Where They are From?	Family Income	Place of Accommodation

P1	23	Female	Kilis	Upper-middle	With Family
P2	21	Female	Didn't answer the question	Middle	With Family
P3	23	Female	Konya	Upper-middle	Alone at home
P4	25	Female	Adana	middle-lower	With Family
P5	24	Female	Ankara	Middle	With Family
P6	21	Female	Ordu	Middle	With Family
P7	23	Female	Siirt	Middle	With Family
P8	21	Female	Kastamonu	Middle	With Family
P9	21	Female	Erzurum	Upper-middle	With Family
P10	21	Female	Giresun	Middle	With Family
P11	21	Female	İstanbul	Upper-middle	With Family
P12	23	Female	Ankara	Middle	With Family
P13	25	Female	İstanbul	Middle	With Family
P14	25	Male	Didn't answer the question	Middle	At Dormitory
P15	24	Female	Elazığ	Upper-middle	With housemates

Department Satisfaction and Future Plans

The students were asked which department they chose in the university entrance exam. Nine participants said that the department they studied was their first choice. In this context, we can say that the participants (considering that most of them are sociology students) willingly preferred the sociology department (Please see Table 2). On the other hand, since Başkent University and Istanbul Commerce University are private universities, participants were also asked whether they received scholarships or not. Seven of the participants receive a 50% scholarship, four receive 75%, three receive total scholarships and one is fully paid.

Table 2

Department University Year at the Rank of

Participants		University		Department Choice at the University Exam	Scholarship
P1	Sociology	İstanbul Trade University	5	Changed the department	%50 scholarship
P2	Sociology	İstanbul Trade University	4	3	%50 scholarship
P3	Sociology	Başkent University	5	1	%50 scholarship
P4	American Culture and Literature	Baskent University	4	1	%50 scholarship
P5	Sociology	Başkent University	4	1	%50 scholarship
P6	Sociology	İstanbul Trade University	3	2	Total scholarship
P7	Sociology	İstanbul Trade University	3	1	Total scholarship
P8	Sociology	İstanbul Trade University	3	1	%50 scholarship
P9	Sociology	İstanbul Trade University	3	1	%75 scholarship
P10	Sociology	İstanbul Trade University	3	1	%75 scholarship
P11	Sociology	İstanbul Trade University	3	3	%75 scholarship
P12	Sociology	Başkent University	5	1	Full Paid
P13	Psychology	İstanbul Trade	New Graduate	1	%50 scholarship
P14	Sociology	İstanbul Trade University	4	-	Total scholarship
P15	Sociology	İstanbul Trade University	New Graduate	5	%75 scholarship

As we mentioned above, the department they study is the first choice of most of the students. In connection with this, the participants were also asked whether they were satisfied

with the department they read. While ten of the participants stated that they were satisfied with the department they read, five people answered this question as “Partially”.

The majority of the participants did internships during their university education. When we look at Table 3, we see that the participants have done internships in areas such as the Human resources department, family counseling centre, and municipal internships. We can also generalize that participants who are satisfied with the department they have studied and who have also done an internship or worked at the same time think that they will be able to find a job in less than a year after graduation.

Table 3

Participants	Satisfaction with the department	Did you work or did an internship while you were studying at university?	Where did you work or do your internship?	In how many months do you think you will find a job after your graduation?
P1	Yes	Yes	Human Resources Department/Internship	In more than a year
P2	Yes	Yes	Social Assistance Services/Internship	Within 7-9 months
P3	Yes	No	-	In more than a year
P4	Yes	Yes	Barista/Work	Within 1-3 months
P5	Yes	No	-	Within 4-6 months
P6	Yes	Yes	Human Resources Department/Work	Within 7-9 months
P7	Yes	Yes	Family counseling center/Internship	Within 10-12 months
P8	Partially	Yes	-Municipality/Internship -Computer Aided Design in a Textile Company/Work	Within 7-9 months
P9	Partially	Yes	Assistant student at the Institute of Social Sciences of the university/Work	Within 7-9 months
P10	Partially	Yes	Counseling Center/ Internship	Within 7-9 months
P11	Partially	Yes	Social Welfare	Within 4-6

			Department of a Municipality/Internship	months
P12	Yes	Yes	Ministry of Environment and Urbanization/ Internship	Within 4-6 months
P13	Partially	Yes	-Kindergarten/Internship -Hospital/Internship	In more than a year
P14	Yes	No	-	In more than a year
P15	Yes	Yes	Guidance and Counseling Department in an Educational Institution/ Internship	Within 4-6 months

Work Life and Workplace Expectations

Work-life and the workplace are changing with the effect of the unprecedented pace of change in the world. We are in a more technological, more mobile and faster life. The labour force is also a part of this change. “Generation Z (Gen Z) is about to enter the workforce by the millions, bringing with them new demands and challenges for companies and their corporate real estate (CRE) portfolios. This generation (born within the past 20 years) is more technologically savvy than any previous generation and more likely to collaborate with colleagues to complete a task.” (Knapp, Weber and Moellenkamp, 2017: 137).

In this context, it is important to understand the expectations of Generation Z from work life. The participants were asked about their expectations from their future workplaces. In the open-ended questions, their expectations and opinions were asked on subjects such as human relations, working hours, working environment, technology, ecology and environment, and wages. We asked, “What kind of an institution do you want to work at?” When we look at the answers given to the question, we can state that most of the participants want good social relations at work. For example, P1 said that she wanted to work in an “international company with diversity in social relations”. P3 said, “I would like to work in a school where respect is at the forefront, where I can use my foreign languages, where I can transfer what I have been

taught to others in a valuable institution that has had its share of work ethics and social morals.” P6 said, “I want that my ideas are respected at the place where I work. At the same time, not being prevented from improving myself is an important factor for me.” According to P8, “It should definitely be a place where I feel I belong and where I can create my own private space. This was the issue that I had the most difficulty with in my internship. I think that working while knowing that I will leave after a limited time reduces the productivity of the person. I want a workplace where parent-child relationships are not imposed and personal vacation and leisure time are respected. Of course, I would prefer an international workplace. Instead of spending years at a desk doing a single job, there should be a workplace where I can gain different experiences and can take me to the highest level in this regard.” An important part of the participants also stated that they want the institutions they want to work to be places that work internationally and follow international trends. From the answers it is also understood that the participants value their freedom and right to gain knowledge, they generally do not consider staying in the same position for a long period as satisfying.

We asked, “What kind of arrangement should be made in terms of space and technological development in the workplace where you want to work after graduation?” When we look at the answers given, as an example P5 said that “I want a workplace where people interact spatially. In terms of technology, it should be the latest technological products and equipment.” P9 said, “I would like to work in a place that is spacious as a place and has active social and cultural activities. I would like to work in a place that values the motivation of its employees. Technological developments also need to be quite good because today nothing can be done without technology.” According to P15, “The place should definitely be spacious. I believe in the psychological contribution of the space.” In this context, we can foresee that the participants expect the workplace they work in the future to be in the form of spacious spaces designed to promote human interaction. We can also state that they want up-to-date standard

technology in the workplace where they will work.

Participants were also asked about their expectations regarding wages and working hours. It was observed that the participants expect flexible working hours and reasonable wages. P5 stated “I would like it to be a hybrid working system. If a different event such as a pandemic occurs, it will not be difficult to switch to the home-office working system. Their wages should be distributed fairly.” P10 stated “I would like to work in a hybrid system where working hours can be flexible and not working on weekends. The home office provides a lot of advantages to people but working in the office also allows people to both socialize and learn about the work.” P14, on the other hand, said, “I want it to be sufficient for humane living conditions and wages should be sufficient for my arbitrary expenditures”. According to P15, “Working hours should definitely start at 10:00 in Istanbul conditions. In my opinion, the most important factor in adequate sleep and working efficiency is transportation. I think that this is the most ideal hour for transportation hours and sleep patterns. Wages must be above the minimum wage. I think starting to work with 7,000 TL wage is ideal.” These answers confirm generation Z's point of view on the concept of happiness. At some points contrary to the general beliefs about generational gaps the generations can seek for common qualities and similar values at work. (Wong et.al., 2008). “Promoting authenticity and transparency and focussing on work–life balance stands out as important qualities for all (Mahmoud et.al. 2021: 198) while also availability and practicality of hybrid working systems and income is also observed to become important characteristics for all. According to a study (Özkan and Solmaz, 2015: 480) “This [Z] generation is self-confident and wants to guarantee their future. They know that working has an important role to make true their dreams, and if it doesn't become they would be unhappy. Happiness is very important in the business area. If they cannot find this happiness on the place where they work, they will think quitting the job easily.” This trend also corresponds with the architectural changes in the environment of the offices. Especially, newly formed brands and

firms have fancy, attractive and comfortable offices in which people can have several experiences and chances to socialize while working. The buildings are organized in a way to encourage co-operation and interaction.

Participants were also asked about their thoughts on the environment, ecology and sustainability in work life. It has been observed that the participants want the institutions they want to work with to be active in environmental and sustainability issues. Actually, Generation Z's "'green' behaviour is becoming more and more prominent due to the new problems and challenges faced by the planet in terms of pollution and its effects. A serious concern of Zers is whether companies implement sustainability principles in their business strategies," (Dabija, Bejan, and Dinu 2019: 144). The answers given in this study also confirm this inference. For example, P3 said that "It is so sad to conclude that "Unfortunately, only one institution can't make a change when the world is in such a state." But I would very much like my place of work to be in a position to help people and more importantly animals in need, at least with environmental awareness. In fact, most effects are reversible in the long run if certain costs are not waived. (for example, an amount of over budget can be allocated to solar panels. Effective and good energy can be gained both to the institution and to the world in the long run)". Furthermore, P10, pointed out, "I would like the workplace where I want to work to have an agreement with nature and environmental protection organizations, to organize activities and to support the projects carried out". P11, on the other hand, emphasizes recycling: "Especially in large companies, large amounts of waste can be generated, so recycling is very important. In my opinion, being sensitive to the environment should be made a necessity in all areas of life in general and should not be left to the initiative of the person or institution. There should be studies to reduce paper and plastic consumption and recycling." According to P15, "The environmental gains are very valuable. These gains should be given importance in the establishment of social consciousness. Awareness and sustainability training should be

organized, people should reach the level to produce projects and be supported in this regard.” P8 said, “I think that the amount of plastic and paper used for eating and drinking in a classic workplace is harmful. Porcelain-glass products can be preferred instead of plastic-cardboard cups for beverages such as coffee, tea and water. During my internship, this issue caught my attention. In addition, I believe that paper copies spent in companies are a waste in a world where most things are now digital. As for the environment, I would like to have a greened outdoor or indoor-indoor workplace that gives importance to green.” Undoubtedly, generation Z members expect their future workplaces to be sensitive to the environment and sustainability. “The concept of "Green Economy" debated initially in specialized environments with reference to environmental economics, penetrated more and more the international debate on sustainable development and in the political discourses on Environment and Development.” (Ciobanu et.al. 2017: 226). The environmental issues became more apparent in the political, cultural and social space together with the environmental problems and disasters which also been disclosed one after another in the last two decades. This has also entered into the agendas of the Z Generation.

In sum, university student participants aged between 21-25 expect a future work-life and a workplace where human relations are good, equal conditions, technological, international and flexible working hours. They think that their work life should not prevent them from being happy. Participants with highly developed environmental awareness want the institutions they will work to be environmentally sensitive, recyclable and working on sustainability.

CONCLUSION

The change became an important aspect of our age and due to the ever-changing developments in the technology and society, the transitions have increased in every area. The workplaces in which the people spend half of their time in a day are no exception to this change. Z Generation has been born into an age of digitalization. From the interviews, it is acquired that almost all the interviewees have chosen the department they are studying willingly and are

happy to be in their department. They generally hope to find a new job not very later than they graduated. Thus, it can be concluded that they are not pessimistic about the programme they are studying and their future in business life.

It is well-known that the new generations can adapt to the new technologies and use of digital devices easier than the old ones. They like being free, flexible and the changes in the world forced them to be more environmentally conscious and friendly. These are also the main characteristics they look for in their future occupations. They give importance to their well-being and happiness, and for them their job should also add up to their health and satisfaction. This is why they generally expect well-paid, environmentally friendly and safe, and hi-tech, social workplaces in which they can learn from diversity and variety. They also look for comfortable working places which give importance to their personal time.

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VISUAL REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN WORKERS IN TURKEY: DİYET, ZENĞİN MUTFAĞI AND BİR BAŞKADIR

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Abstract

Inequality and class struggle are important issues in today's world as they were in the past. Especially low-class women workers face these problems seriously. Even when worker representation is mentioned, mostly male workers come to mind and when it comes to female workers, their existence is mostly denied, which reproduces gender blindness. This unequal positioning of women workers has been the subject of many studies in the feminist literature. The main objective of the study is to focus on the visual representations of women workers. In this context, this study will proceed through three examples that include female worker representations, prioritize class and gender inequality, and position female workers as active agents. These examples will be analyzed in three different periods. In order to analyze the representation of female workers in visual media in Turkey's social change process, three periods were determined, respectively pre-1980, post-1980 and post- 2000. For this study, considering that cinema films and series are the most suitable visual fields to examine the representations of women workers. For the pre-1980 period *Diyet* (1974, Director: Lütü Ö. Akad), for the pos- 1980 period *Zengin Mutfacı* (1988, Director: Başar Sabuncu) and for the post-2000 period *Bir Başkadır* (2020, Director: Berkun Oya) were chosen. *Bir Başkadır* has been released on Netflix. The reason for choosing a series for this study will be explained by the “Netflix effect”. The study will be conducted using the discourse analysis technique. In this context, four main themes have been identified: Class Consciousness, Feminist Consciousness and Women's Empowerment. In the study, firstly, the historical backgrounds of the determined periods will be examined on the basis of the economic and political conditions. Then, the intersections of capitalism and patriarchal system on female characters will be examined with socialist feminism approach. In the light of all this, the research question of the study is as follows: How were the representations of female workers in the selected examples shaped by the social change process of Turkey?

Keywords: Women workers, Feminism, Capitalism, Class Consciousness, Visual Representation

INTRODUCTION

The period we live in is one of the biggest sources of inspiration for filmmakers and/or producers. The task of the cinema is to reflect the patterns of daily life on the screen. Since the emergence of the working class, characters and events have started to be the subject of movies. Social problems in Turkey began to be reflected on the screen after the 1960s. The 1960 Constitution, workers' strike and lockout rights, or the establishment of the

Turkish Workers' Party led filmmakers to take their place in political structures, and as a result, themes such as "freedom", "equality", "justice" and "worker" were discussed in Turkish Cinema (Koluacik and Kula 2013). Considering the censorship policy of the period, it is possible to say that Turkish Cinema in the period until the 1970s remained within the framework of modernity-tradition. After the 1970s, with the influence of the student and workers' movements, examples of class consciousness began to be seen in the cinema, but the "worker identity" represented on the screen was fictionalized through male characters. Women workers, on the other hand, are characterized as individuals who protect their honor, wait for the man they will marry, and think that they can only move up the class with him (Boyar 2019).

Until the 1960s, the Republic of Turkey went through different political processes, but their reflection on the big screen was of course later than other countries due to the prohibitive and censoring policies of the country's agenda. Until the 1960s, the republican regime was adopted in 1923, and then, as a result of this democratic regime, multi-party life began after 1938, and as a result of the active agenda and due to the slowness of the industrialization process of the country, worker and worker problems found a place in the cinema at a time that can be said to be relatively later than other countries. In the period when the workers found their place in the movies, women workers were kept in the background and even ignored with a gender-blind attitude. Since the 1970s, we see that female workers have taken their place in the scenarios. This representation is mostly the existence of women not as the undertaker of livelihood but rather as a helper. We see the direct representation of female workers in very few examples in cinema. Some of these movies are included in this study as they represent different periods and focus on female workers. In addition to representing different periods, these movies focus on women's class consciousness, feminist consciousness, and women's empowerment based on the feminist consciousness. In the context of representing different periods, 1974's *Diyet*, 1988's *Zengin Mutfağı*¹ and 2022's *Bir Başkadır* were evaluated as examples that made female workers the focal point on cinema and screens on behalf of answering the research question of the study which is "How are the representations of female workers in the selected examples shaped by the social change process of Turkey?"

TURKEY'S POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC STRUCTURE

In Turkey's recent history, the ten-year period covering 1970 – 1980 is the cumulative sum of previous periods. The same period can also be considered as a time period, whose political, economic and social extensions are reflected to this day (Kongar 1998; Saktanber and Kanit 2012; Vaner 2009; Boratav 2010).

¹ Although *Zengin Mutfağı* represents events in the 1970s, the film was produced in 1988. Thus, the film was chosen for this study because it represents both decades.

It is possible to analyze the recent history of Turkey by dividing it into six periods:

- 1923 – 1938 Foundation Period of Republic of Turkey,
- 1938 - 1950 Transition to Multi-Party Life
- 1950 - 1960 Democratic Party Period
- 1960 - 1980 Planned Development Period
- 1980 - 2002 Period After 12 September
- 2002 - 2022 Adalet ve Kalkınma Party (AKP) Period

1923 is the founding date of the Turkish Republic. The first fifteen years of the Republic of Turkey, which was established with the War of Independence after the Ottoman Empire completed its mission on the stage of history, is the sum of the efforts made towards the establishment of a new country. The direction of the new administration, which radically broke with the past politically, is westward. In terms of economy, the most basic feature of the period was the determined implementation of statist economic policies. Aiming to survive with its own resources based on savings and making efforts to create its own private entrepreneur in the following years, Turkey is also a country that intends to make cultural changes to eliminate the negativities of feudalism. Abolition of sultanate and caliphate; acceptance of Turkish as an official language; granting women the right to vote and to be elected; this 15-year period, in which very radical changes took place, especially the making of public regulations by including the definition of a secular, democratic state of law in the constitution, ended in 1938 with the death of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk.

End of the 1930s is also the beginning years of the Second World War. Turkey, which is trying to continue its establishment efforts with difficulties, had serious problems arising from within the country and abroad. While the opposition movements towards the changes in the social and cultural structure under the leadership of the state increased their violence with the negativities of the Second World War, the demands for a multi-party system coming not only from the country but also from the allies is the situation where the current government had the most political difficulties. On the other hand, the balance that needs to be established in the relations between the USA and the USSR, the main actors of the world economy and politics, which were reconstructed after the Second World War, is one of the most important issues for Turkey in this period. Turkey's official political attitude, which sees Communism as a threat and entering the sphere of influence of its border neighbour, the USSR, brought with it a rapprochement towards the USA. While the period ended with the Democratic Party coming to power in 1950, the preferred political and economic policies were in favor of liberalism.

The power of the Democratic Party, which came to power in 1950 by rejecting statist approaches and overwhelmingly, can be analyzed in three sub-periods: "1950 -1954", "1954 - 1958" and "1958-1960". The period of 1950-1954, when Turkey got closer to the USA, received strong support from the USA, was accepted into NATO by sending troops to Korea, mechanization in agriculture was ensured, and socially, the cultural policies of the establishment period began to be abandoned gradually, economically relatively. It is a period of positive developments. In the years 1954-1958, on the other hand, a picture is encountered where the Democratic Party, which came to power with the claim of liberalism in politics and economy, gradually hardened against its opponents. The most prominent features of this period are the directing of limited country resources to persons and institutions close to the party, the deformation of the founding principles at an increasing rate, the gradually deteriorating economic situation and the social unrest that tends to increase in connection with it. The interval between 1958 and 1960 is a time period in which the dose of the aforementioned negativities increased. The military revolution on 27th of May 1960, on the other hand, marks the end of an era and the beginning of a new one.

The revolution that took place in 1960 is a great trauma for Turkey, the effects of which still continues today. What happened with the execution of the Prime Minister and two ministers is also the beginning of the traumas to be experienced later. The "1961 Constitution", which was prepared after the revolution, is regarded as the most liberal constitution of Turkey, especially with the freedoms granted to unionization, workers' rights, strikes, demonstrations, marches and press statements, and freedoms granted to the activities of non-governmental organizations to form associations. This period, in which the planned development approach, which is not based on coercion, is adopted in the economy, is a period that social justice approaches and policies can be implemented. Towards the 1970s, the first decade in Turkey and the second decade of this period, when the post-war wounds in the world were mostly healed and Keynesian economic policies were gradually abandoned and more liberal policies were built, are completely different from each other. Turkey's liberal constitution and the 68 movement, which influenced the whole world, caused the formation of a social and cultural climate that Turkey had not experienced until that day. However, new steps were taken in the world in line with the principles of free market with monetary economic approaches and Turkey was demanded to keep up with the changes. It is possible to argue that the liberal tendency, which is getting stronger, had important effects on determining the fate of 1970-1980 Turkey. In the newly established world order, it did not seem possible for Turkey to move forward with the 1961 Constitution, especially with the rights granted to workers and trade unions. All kinds of political, economic and social chaos were now dominant for Turkey, which was left alone with the US embargo as a result of the Cyprus

invasion in 1974. The most important step to ensure this transformation was taken on 12th September 1980 in Turkey, which was not able to implement the decisions of 24th January 1980, which included the steps of transition to open economy policies and free market order, with the 1961 Constitution. A period in Turkey was ended by a military revolution, and the 1961 Constitution was repealed.

12th September 1980 can be accepted as the starting date of Turkey's reformation with neo-liberal policies. Turkey has been trying to harmonize its economic policies with international capitalism since then. Although the political powers have different political views, politics in Turkey was shaped by the steps taken to strengthen the private sector by downsizing the state. Turkey's current economic and political preferences are one of the main reasons why its social structure has completely differentiated from before 1980.

METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

By using the socialist feminist approach as the starting point that explains women's subordinate position caused by two factors; capitalism and patriarchy, three movies were chosen as examples in order to answer the research question of the study, which is "How are the representations of female workers in the selected examples shaped by the social change process of Turkey?" Selected examples are, for the pre-1980 period; "Diyet" (1974, Director: Lütfi Ö. Akad), for the post- 1980 period "Zengin Mutfağı" (1988, Director: Başar Sabuncu) and for the post-2000 period "Bir Başkadır" (2020, Director: Berkun Oya) were chosen.

The three movies included in the scope of this study reflect the political, economic and social characteristics of the periods in question in the closest way to reality. Because of these features, they are accepted as cult productions by the public. The production date of the movie Diet, directed by Ömer Lütfi Akad, is 1974. In 1974 of Turkey, the phenomenon of migration from rural to urban areas is experienced intensely, slums were increased in big cities, problems related to "health, education, finding a job" brought about by internal migration intensify, arabesque culture was becoming more and more widespread, and those who came to the city experience different social problems due to their feudal and traditional habits. Describing the situation of the immigrant masses trying to hold on to urban life with low wages under difficult conditions from a social realistic perspective, the film Diet reveals the reality of workers in the mid-70s.

Zengin Mutfağı, written as a play by Vasıf Öngören in 1977 and released as a movie in the following years, looks at the Turkish Workers' movement from the kitchen of a mansion belonging to a wealthy family. The second half of the 70s differs from the previous period in terms of the increase in armed conflicts between right and left groups. The work, which deals with the state of being politicized, which increasingly affects almost every stage of daily relations, from the perspective of the people working in the kitchen of a mansion, tells with humorous

elements what kind of difficulties it is to be a worker in Turkey and the efforts to be made for workers' rights. One of the most important reasons why *Zengin Mutfağı*, which was transferred from the play to the cinema, still attracts attention both as a movie and a theatrical play, is that the negative and ungentle attitudes towards the pursuit of rights are still valid in the current period.

Bir Başkadır, which was released in 2020 as a Netflix-made television series, is the cumulative sum of the political, economic and social changes that took place between 1923 and 2020. The main reason why the TV series, in which the story of a conservative young woman with a gray collar going to clean the house was told with parallel stories, attracted great attention all over Turkey, is the mixing of the color tones of "white, blue and gray". "*Bir Başkadır*" is a production that invites its viewers to social self-criticism by showing the aspects of social, cultural, political and economic colors that are negatively affected by each other in the reality of 2020 in Turkey and the world.

Although the periods of the three films chosen are different, the common aspects of the women presented as the main characters of the films;

- Having the characteristics attributed to women in Turkey's traditional family structure,
- Although they are paid low and have a quality of life below the average standard of living, they do not complain,
- Seeing the current situation not as a result of a political or systemic process, but as "fortune or destiny",
- Despite all the negativities, they can resist more than men by going beyond traditional norms when necessary, both at home and outside.

The differing points are largely related to the characteristics of the period. For example, it is possible to see the traces of the political climate of the 70s in the transformation of the traditional attitude of the main character in the movie *Diet* into a rebellion and in their search for rights. This attitude is more clearly observed in the main female character in *Zengin Mutfağı* with the political and social changes experienced in the second half of the 70s. In Turkey, where neo-liberal economic policies have been in effect since 1980 and political attitudes completely different from the 1970-1980 time period, the profile of white-blue-collar and gray-collar workers has also significantly differentiated. "*Bir Başkadır*" draws attention to these differences based on the contradictions that people with social strata, lifestyle, identities and beliefs experience with their social value judgments. In this respect, the mass represented by the gray-collar main female character is gray because of their fate. However, the

main female character's way of resisting the difficulties, examples of which are common in Turkey, and her attitude towards understanding the facts and events appear before the audience as a familiar attitude.

“Bir Başkadır”, has been released on Netflix. The reason for choosing a series for this study will be explained by the “Netflix effect”, which can be explained as “when a new series catapults an unknown actor to fame - overnight - a result of millions of people binge watching a show”.² In other words, by the netflix effect, series can be evaluated as the feature-length movies. In order to analyze the movies with a feminist view, the study will be conducted using the discourse analysis technique. Discourse analysis is a technique to study written and spoken language in the context of the social background. The researcher should focus on the purpose of the different language and how they are used, cultural rules in the communication, communication values, beliefs and assumptions and how the language is used in the social political and historical context.³

In this context, three main themes have been identified: Class Consciousness, Feminist Consciousness and Women's Empowerment. In the study, firstly, the historical backgrounds of the determined periods will be examined on the basis of the economic and political conditions. Then, the intersections of capitalism and patriarchal system on female characters will be examined with socialist feminism approach.

RESEARCH FINDINGS

Scope of the Movies

Diyet (Blood Money)

Diyet is a film directed by Lütü Akad in 1974. It's an adaptation of Ömer Seyfettin's story with the same title. Hacer (Hülya Koçyiğit) immigrated from Afyon to Istanbul with her father and children and works as a worker in a metal factory. Her husband left Hacer years ago and went to Germany. While his father, Yunus Ağa (Turgut Savaş), was influential in his village, he could not find a job in the city. Hacer works and takes care of both her children and her father.

One of the workers in the factory, Mustafa (Günay Güner)'s leg gets stuck in a big machine and broken. Foreman (Erol Taş) treats the situation as if it is a very normal thing. Worker Mevlüt (Erol Günaydın) reacts by saying "It's not a machine, it's a slaughterhouse". Thus, we understand that this accident is not the first time. Workers want a new machine. But the factory owner Salim Bey (Güner Sümer) refuses. He says the worker, “The new one is 450,000 liras, can you count that amount if I put it in front of you?” Mustafa, who loses his leg, becomes crippled. Since he is not a union member, he cannot receive compensation. At the factory, Muhsin Usta (Yaşar

² <https://www.forbes.com/sites/blakemorgan/2019/02/19/what-is-the-netflix-effect/> (Erişim tarihi: 20.07.2022).

³ <https://www.scribbr.com/methodology/discourse-analysis/> (Erişim tarihi: 22.07.2022).

Şener) wants Hacer, who is very popular among female workers, to join to the labor union. Hacer, who has no knowledge about the subject, is frightened by it. She rejects it by saying “Excuse me, we are not ungrateful to the place where we eat good or bad bread. It is our manner.” While some of the workers are members of the union, some of them strongly oppose it. Meanwhile, some of the workers gathered under the leadership of Mevlüt and bought a wheelchair for Mustafa.

Instead of Mustafa, the foreman hires his fellow townsman Hasan (Hakan Balamir). He advises him to stay away from unionized workers. Hasan listens to this admonition. Hacer and Hasan, who met at the factory, start to like each other over time. Hacer learns that the slum where Hacer lives with her children will be demolished and an apartment will be built in its place. Hacer doesn't know what to do. Meanwhile, she loses his father. After her father's death, Hacer and Hasan get married. They build a new slum on an empty land. Hacer begins to fear that Hasan will also suffer a work accident at the factory. When new orders have come to the factory, workers start to stay on the night shift. Muhsin Usta says that the workers are very tired and that it is very dangerous for a tired person to use the machine. But his request is not accepted.

Following all this anxiously, Hacer goes to get information about the union without informing Hasan. She learns why it is important to be a union member. She becomes convinced that the only way she and Hasan can protect their rights at the factory is to become union members. Foreman learns that Hacer is a union member and tells this to Hasan. Hasan gets very angry at this, but Hacer does not give up on her decision.

Workers gather at the factory one day. The number of unionized workers has increased. Muhsin Usta gives Salim Bey a petition containing the wishes of the workers. Salim Bey, on the other hand, wants to intimidate the workers who are undecided about joining the union. He wants unionized workers to stand on one side and non-unionized workers on the other. Hacer stands by her unionized friends. Hasan asks Hacer to come beside him. Hacer experiences a brief moment of indecision. At that moment, she sees Mustafa and continues to stand by her unionized friends.

The foreman comes to Hasan and tells him that he cannot control his wife and swears. Hasan gets very angry and punches the foreman. Then he goes to the machine. Just then, a scream is heard. Hasan's arm gets stuck in the machine and broken. Hacer and all the workers run to the there. When Hacer sees that Hasan's arm is broken, she starts to shout. She takes Hasan's severed arm and shouts to Saim Bey and the Foreman, "Take your blood money! Who will pay for our blood money now? “Who?” She stops when she takes the sledgehammer and is about to smash the machine. Looking at the screen, she says “The fault is not on this machine, it is on us!”

Zengin Mutfağı (The Rich One's Kitchen)

Zengin Mutfağı is a film directed by Başar Sabuncu in 1988. It's an adaptation of Vasif Öngören's stage play with the same title. Lütfü (Şener Şen) works as a cook in a large mansion. Lütfü, a former wrestler, spends almost his entire life trying to please Mr. Kerim, the owner of the mansion, which we have never seen in the movie. Lütfü took the daughter (Nilüfer Açıkalın) of a friend, who passed away, with him as a servant at the mansion. We cannot learn the name of this character throughout the movie. The Girl is referred to as the Girl, the servant or the maidservant⁴. Other characters we encounter in the movie are driver Seyfi, Seyfi's older brother Ahmet, and The Girl's fiancée Selim.

The film begins with Lütfü, who is positioned as the narrator, telling the story by looking directly at the audience. Lütfü tells about the events that led him to decide to leave the mansion. From here, we pass to the kitchen, which is the main location of the movie. The date is June 15, 1970 and workers' protests started in Istanbul. No one was home that morning. Lütfü wonders where his bosses are. The Girl, on the other hand, is very fussy because she has her engagement that day. Lütfü is waiting for their boss and the Girl is waiting for her fiancé. In these scenes, we hear the sounds of helicopters and sirens coming from outside. The people that neither Lütfü nor The Girl are waiting for, do not come. Driver Seyfi arrives. He brought the owners of the mansion at the airport. When the events started, the owners of the house went abroad because they were afraid of the uprising of the workers.

The Girl's wait does not last long, her fiancée Selim comes. They cannot leave the house because of the events, so the Girl asks Lütfü to get them engaged. They get engaged while martial law is declared on the radio. Selim says he doesn't want Girl to be a maid in this rich one's kitchen. Selim's brother-in-law and older sister got the shares of his father's inheritance. They told Selim that they would give the shares when he married the Girl. The owners of the mansion return after a while. They also brought a dog with them.

One year has passed since the events of June 1970. We watch the reflection of the period after March 12 on the characters. Ahmet comes to the mansion and says that he was fired. Workers involved in the June 1970 events were dismissed. On the other hand, Selim's brother-in-law and older sister did not give his shares. The marriage plans of the Girl and Selim are foiled.

Meanwhile, Selim hears the name of Ali Kara while the names of the wanted people are read on the radio. Cash prizes will be awarded to those who report their location. Selim decides to report Ali Kara and get the prize money. Although the Girl opposes this, Selim says he did this so that they could get married. The Girl is convinced. Meanwhile, Lütfü complains that the dog Kerim Bey brought has started to attack people.

⁴ In this study, we will refer to the character as "the Girl".

Selim reports Ali Kara. The police raid their house. During the raid, everyone else is killed except one person. A person who can escape knows that Selim reported them. Selim is afraid and takes shelter in the kitchen of the mansion. Since the Girl insists, Lütfü talks to Mr. Kerim. He asks permission for Selim to stay there for a while. Mr. Kerim treats Selim very well. He sends him to a camp. Meanwhile, news comes that the Girl's brother has also been fired from the factory.

When the dog begins to attack many people, Lütfü poisons the dog. He puts the blame on the family of a person attacked by the dog. Returning from the camp, Selim does not believe this and decides to find out who poisoned the dog. After a while, he decides that it was the Girl who poisoned the dog. The Girl's older brother took part in the events of June 1970. Selim decides to kill the Girl. At first, the Girl thinks that Selim is suspicious of Seyfî. She breaks off the engagement when she finds out that the person he suspects is herself. This is the point where the Girl questions her stance, begins to reach class consciousness and, in a sense, opposes the patriarchal order.

The Girl leaves the mansion and starts working as a worker in a factory. Lütfi sees on TV that The Girl and Selim are fighting. He questions his own stance and makes the audience question as well. Is it difficult to leave, or to stay and serve Mr. Kerim?

In this study, it is aimed to make a reading of the character of the Girl in *Zengin Mutfağı*, as we want to follow the main female characters in the selected movies. The Girl who works as a maid in the mansion is actually still a worker. But she has not yet reached class consciousness and patriarchal system consciousness. In the first half of the movie, she, who wants to marry her fiancée, appears as a character who ignores many things going on around her because of this intention. As events progress, the Girl character also transforms. At the end of the film, we see that she has reached class consciousness and has turned into a strong woman standing on her own feet. At this point, let's examine the character through the themes we have determined for this study.

Bir Başkadır (Ethos)

Bir Başkadır is a Netflix series directed by Berkun Oya, released in 2020. Meryem (Öykü Karayel), the main character of the series, is a young woman who works as a cleaner and questions her life. Feeling the need for psychological support, Meryem goes to see Peri (Defne Kayalar). Their sessions with Peri will transform them both. We witness the stories of many characters in the 8-episode series. For this study, we wanted to follow the transformation of the character of Meryem. Thus, we chose the first episode and the last episode of the series.

In the first episode of the series, we watch the meeting of Meryem and Peri. Meryem goes to a doctor because of the faintings she experienced frequently, and the doctor said that the problem was psychological and

directed her to Peri. Meryem, whose life we watched in the first episode, lives with her older brother (Fatih Artman), her brother's wife (Funda Eryigit) and their children. She earns her life by going cleaning to houses. She is in love with Sinan (Alican Yücesoy), whose house she goes to clean. She is jealous that Sinan has girlfriends. But there is nothing she can do. She lives a very simple life in her life in her neighbourhood. But inside she is unhappy. Her sessions with Peri transform her. When we come to the last episode of the series, Meryem turns a self-aware character who has seen that she can stand on her feet and questions life.

Class Consciousness

According to Marx (1978: 193), “The alteration of men on a mass scale.... is the consciousness of the necessity of a fundamental revolution.” According to this (Marx, 1978: 193) “The class overthrowing [the ruling class] can only in a revolution succeed in ridding itself of all the muck of ages and become fitted to found society anew.” In this context, according to Marx, workers will be able to create a change and revolution only when they reach class consciousness.

In *Diyet*, we see that Hacer gradually gained a class consciousness after the work accidents in the factory where she works. Hacer, who already gets along well with her colleagues at the factory and is in unity, enters into a full union with the working class as a labor union member in the later scenes of the movie. At the beginning of the movie, she sees being a union member as a betrayal of the place where she earns money. Seeing the work accidents in the factory and fearing that the same thing will happen to her and her husband, she goes to the union to get information. What she learned in the union enables Hacer to reach class consciousness. As a matter of fact, in the scene where the boss wants the unionized workers to move to one side and the non-unionized workers to the other, she stays with the unionized workers. In this scene, we understand that Hacer will continue to preserve the class consciousness she has now acquired.

In *Zengin Mutfacı*, we see the Girl character gaining class consciousness as events unfold. At the beginning of the movie, it seems that the only wish of the Girl is to marry her fiancée and to be the lady of her own house. She also reveals this in the conversations they have with her fiancée Selim. For the same reason, she accepts Selim's denunciation of someone. She first objects to Selim's reporting of Ali Kara. But when Selim says that he did all this so that they could get married, she accepts the situation. As events unfold, Selim begins to change. The Girl gradually realizes that they can no longer marry. When the Girl learns that Selim suspects her as the person who poisoned the dog, she has a realization. She ends the engagement. Taking off her engagement ring symbolizes the quiet Girl also takes off her silence and takes control of her life. The Girl quits her job in the mansion and starts working as a worker in a factory.

Actually, “the woman question is marginal in Karl Marx's thought is a common perception of many feminists. Indeed, Marx is largely silent about women's issues. He does not specifically discuss the origin of women's oppression, nor does he give a prescription for their emancipation. Thus, many feminists claim that the woman question is only peripheral to Marx's theory,” (Haesook, 2014: 262). On the other hand, the fact that the Girl starts to work as a worker in a factory and participates in social movements shows that she has reached class consciousness as a female worker. Girl's reaching this consciousness causes Lütfü, the main character of the movie, to question himself and his class position.

In *Bir Başkadır*, Meryem is a cleaning worker. She does not work in any institutional company. She earns daily wages by cleaning the houses. Since she works daily, we think that Meryem does not have social security, although there is not much emphasis on this directly in the series. The lack of social security causes a young woman who works as a cleaning lady to have limited future expectations. As the series progresses, we see Meryem's effort to create herself and to rebel against the conditions she is in. As we mentioned above, the concept of patriarchy is conceptualized independent of capitalism but in interaction with it according to socialists feminists. Actually, the development of the patriarchal system and the capitalist system hand in hand has been theorized by socialist feminists. According to them, the capitalist system and the patriarchal system mutually feed each other (Hartmann 1981; Eisenstein 1979; Sargent 1981). Socialist feminism is more inclusive in that Marxist feminism develops new contents for the concepts of "class consciousness", "labor", "alienation" and explains women's lives and troubles. In this context, the concept of “capitalist patriarchy” has emerged and the oppression of women in both private and public spheres has taken its place in the literature as an explanatory concept within the framework of both ideology and gender (Berkay 2011).

In a sense, what Meryem experiences in *Bir Başkadır* is compatible with the concept of capitalist patriarchy. The house is in control of her brother. Although Meryem also works and brings money to the house, she does not oppose her brother's authority. Her brother is also in control of the household's budget. As socialist feminists say, working women serve two bosses. These are the male authority figure at home (his older brother) and his employer Sinan. As Meryem's consciousness and empowerment increase, she begins to oppose the boss in the house. She opposes what he says and expresses her own opinions. Her brother doesn't like this. He says Meryem, "Your tongue has grown long since you started going to that doctor!" In the last episode of the series, we see that Meryem makes herself as a working woman who goes to daily cleaning.

Feminist Consciousness and Women's Empowerment

If we make a general definition, “feminist awareness is an awareness of and sensitivity to the unequal and

gendered nature of society (empirical sexual equality) and a commitment to ending the inequalities (normative sexual equality) (Canover and Sapiro, 1993: 1084). In this context, being aware of the inequalities in patriarchal society and taking a stance against these inequalities is an important part of having feminist consciousness. On the other hand, gaining empowerment is an important step on the path to feminist consciousness for a woman. In the literature, women's empowerment is defined quite extensively:

The terms often included in various definitions refer to; choice, power, options, control, and agency (Van den Bold, Quisumbing, and Gillespie 2013). Moreover, it is not always clear whether terms such as "women's empowerment," "gender equality," "female autonomy," or "women's status" are refer to similar concepts (Narayan 2005). Although, literature has no single definition of women's empowerment, it is variously conceptualised as a process or outcome, an end-state or a means to an end, a capacity (Kabeer 2001; Malhotra, Schuler, and Boender, 2002; Alsop, Bertelsen, and Holland 2006; Martinez 2006; Njoh and Ananga 2016), a matter of gaining power, and as a matter of agency. (Sharaunga, Mudhara and Bogale, 2019: 2).

In Zengin Mutfağı, the Girl works in the mansion under the auspices of Lütü. In a sense, she is not standing on her own feet. Leaving the job in the mansion and becoming a worker in the factory means standing on her own feet and empowerment. At the end of the movie, we understand that the Girl will continue like this, fighting for her rights and her life.

We watch Hacer's transformation in Diyet film. She immigrated to Istanbul from the countryside with her father and children. Hacer, who started to work as a worker in the factory when she came to Istanbul, is starts the run the house by herself. In this context, there is a representation of a woman standing on her own feet in the film. After marrying Hasan, she does not need to inform him or get permission from him to go to the union. Despite the opposition of her husband in the factory, she stands by the unionized workers. In this context, Hacer, who grew up in a very traditional and patriarchal culture, understands that she does not need anyone's approval for her decisions and her life.

CONCLUSION

In Turkey, industrialization was started in 1960s and the movie makers started to use labor and factory concepts in their films after those years. We generally see the laborers as men in most of the movies and in some of them women workers were also used as the main characters. As socialist feminists argue, worker is always thought as a male concept and it is usually overlooked as female workers have different problems and agenda than their male counterparts. As it is mentioned in the study that patriarchy and capitalism work together in order to subordinate female workers, which in other words mean there is a double oppression for women workers; they are

oppressed first because of their class and then because of their gender. There are two bosses for women workers; their bosses in the place where they work and their husbands, whom they serve in the home.

The research problem of the study is “How are the representations of female workers in the selected examples shaped by the social change process of Turkey?” We have evaluated this question by making discourse analysis towards three selected movies (*Diyet*, *Zengin Mutfağı* and *Bir Başkadır*). We have focused mostly on three themes that are class consciousness, feminist consciousness and women’s empowerment. In three of the movies, it is possible to argue that the main female characters have both class and feminist consciousness. Empowerment, on the other hand, has been undertaken as a process starting from self-assertion to collective resistance and mobilization in order to change the existing power relations that include challenging the patriarchal gender order in the study. Empowerment of the female characters in the movies is also can be argued that was successfully fulfilled as a result of class and feminist consciousness.

In the context of the examples with a narrow analysis, for these three movies which may be the representators of specific political era of Turkey, it may be argued that female workers are represented similar to each other. They are similar in their consciousness levels, by their working class looks (outfits, etc.) and in their empowerment process. In sum it is possible to argue that, although the political situation is different between 1970s and 2000s in Turkey, women workers are represented, as workers who have different problems and needs than male workers, as socialist feminists argue. In three of the examples, we see that female workers’ conflict with both capitalism, because of their class and with the patriarchy, both at home and in the work place, because of their gender. In the examples, we observe that they develop class and feminist consciousness as women and as a result they gain empowerment in order to challenge the patriarchal capitalism.

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WHEN WOMEN CANNOT WORK FROM HOME: A STUDY ON COURIER WOMEN IN TURKEY

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ABSTRACT

The Covid19 Pandemic has immensely transformed the world and affected business life, economy and organizations. It has considerably increased e-commerce especially during lockdowns and platform workers, namely couriers acted like frontline workers and catered for the needs of the customers of online businesses as they were working from home. The current qualitative study which has aimed to shed light on how the covid19 pandemic has affected the working lives of courier women in Turkey, and to find out about the general working lives of these women seems to have provided important data that can be useful for organizational research and for e-commerce companies. Eleven courier women who have been working for the same e-commerce company took part in the study. Data has been collected through focus group discussions and one-to-one interviews. Detailed analysis of in-depth discussions and interviews revealed that the pandemic turned out to be an opportunity for the women who were either unemployed or dissatisfied with their prior jobs and women were initially happy with the freedom and flexibility offered by the job. Nevertheless, after the lockdowns and more into the pandemic, the conditions changed considerably. It was found out that women had to struggle with heavier parcels and suffered from the difficulties of working outside, male hostility, gender discrimination, gender-work identity conflict and sexual harassment. Thus, the logistics sector seems to be excluding women from the sector to a great extent. Moreover, it was found out that the 'sole proprietorship' employment model for couriers is leading to discontent among couriers and seems to be chosen deliberately to transfer the risks and losses to the couriers.

Key words: women couriers, platform economy, covid19 pandemic, e-commerce, supply chain

INTRODUCTION

Coronavirus disease, later referred as Covid-19, was first reported in China in late 2019. It spread all around the world quickly and it was declared ‘a pandemic’ by WHO in 2020. The unexpected outbreak of the pandemic led to a dramatic change all around the world and created unprecedented disruptions in various sectors globally. Many governments provided assistance packages during the pandemic, lots of people lost their jobs, some businesses had to shut down and lots of people struggled to make ends meet due to considerable decline in their incomes. . This can be regarded as a time of both ambiguity in our lives and change in our lifestyles. One of those changes was about shopping culture. People who had to stay at home due to lockdowns utilized online platforms to cater for their needs. Despite all these negative consequences, the pandemic seems to have created an opportunity for e-commerce businesses. When the majority had to stay at home, there were others who brought them what they needed.

According to the reports released by the Turkish Ministry of Commerce, e-commerce volume has increased 64 percent in the first half of 2020 and mobile retail sales have increased by 200 percent (Küçük, 2022). Companies which customers reach out through a website or app, supply customers’ needs and compete with each other for the best price and fastest delivery and they need ‘couriers’ to deliver what the customers purchase online. Hepsiburada, n11, trendyol, yemeksepeti, getir, gittigidiyor are some of many e-commerce businesses in Turkey.

The status of the couriers vary in terms of the vehicles they drive or ride, their working status (salaried or self-employed), working hours, days worked etc and thus the challenges they face are similarly various. Although it is possible to find some information about their working conditions and how the pandemic has affected their lives in literature, the studies focus more on couriers riding motorbikes. However, it should be noted that some companies do not work with couriers riding motorbikes and there are delivery employees that carry heavier and bigger parcels driving bigger vehicles. Moreover, women couriers who participated in the previous studies have not been studied deeply and exclusively in spite of the fact that they are physically different from male couriers, have multiple roles in the family and have to cope with different challenges they have to struggle with in society. Therefore, the current study sought to

investigate the effects of the COVID19 pandemic on the working lives of courier women in Turkey and put forward the challenges they face both in general and as a result of the pandemic.

Literature Review

Women Workforce in Times of the Covid19 Pandemic

It would not be wrong to call the Covid-19 pandemic, a once-in-a century shock which the economies around the world are trying to respond to (Gentilini et al., 2020). Although there have been differences in the way the pandemic has affected people and societies in general, it seems that women have been hurt disproportionately in terms of employment, health, the burden they have on their shoulders for the care of their children and income (Abraham et.al., 2021).

The figures reported by the US labor bureau indicate that the number of women totally leaving the labor force is too high. The number of employed and unemployed women who are 20 years or older in the labor force dropped by 865,000 from August to September 2020. On the other hand, the reciprocal decline of men is 216,000. Statistics also show that the number of women in the labor force in September 2019 was 2.4 million more than it was in 2020. The pattern seems to be the same in other countries too (Alon et al, 2020; Deshpande, 2020). Data gathered from a survey of six countries (China, Italy, Japan, South Korea, the United Kingdom, and the United States) has demonstrated that women were significantly more likely to lose their jobs due to the pandemic. Additionally, they also experienced a much higher fall in their incomes as well (Dang and Nguyen, 2020).

It is evident that school closures have had an influence on the decline of the number of working women because women are traditionally thought to be the ones who are responsible for childcare. When we consider single parents, four out of five single parents in the world happen to be women. Even before the pandemic, single mothers were disadvantaged socioeconomically. For instance, in the United Kingdom, it is more likely that single mothers work in sectors which are hard-hit, and mostly do not own a car or a house. As a consequence of the pandemic, they had to reduce the number of hours they worked or they completely left the labor force (Cotofan et al., 2021).

In terms of job loss and recovery, there seems to be indicative differences between men and women. When a high number of men in the workforce moved to either self-employment or

daily wage work, women did not have this opportunity to move across different jobs or industries. Sadly, women had to totally exit the labor market while men had the chance to change industries or jobs (Abraham et.al., 2022).

When the situation of women in Turkey has been studied, it has been found out that as the percentage of women in an organization increased, the rate of unpaid leave in that organization went up as well. Approximately 50% of women had to leave the labor force and found themselves in a vulnerable situation; 26% of these have been fired and the other 25% went on unpaid leave. The percentage of men who lost their jobs, on the other hand, is 42%. 21% of men were fired and the remaining half went on unpaid leave. Also, the number of women who took time off work is higher than men since the pandemic broke out. Unpaid leave means the suspension of employment contract and the fact that unpaid leave is higher in companies where there are more women employees seems to be indicating inequality in terms of the domestic chores and responsibilities that women have to fulfill. Unfortunately, unpaid leave due to other responsibilities at home calls a halt to women's career and delays their retirement (UN Women, 2020a; Covid19 Salgınının Kadın Çalışanlar, 2020; İlkaracan and Memiş, 2020).

One of the most important challenges reported in one study is that working hours increased as a result of working from home in 97% of the companies that took part in the study and this has led to anxiety, stress and burnout. Different research findings also indicate that during the pandemic, women suffered from stress and anxiety more (UN Women, 2020a).

As the findings above indicate, the global pandemic has had a substantial impact on the labor force, and women in particular seem to have been affected by it immensely. Although some women lost their jobs and some went on unpaid leave, there were also women who were employed during the pandemic as a result of the increase in e-commerce. Due to the change caused by the global pandemic, people had to stay at home and they utilized certain applications or the internet to supply their needs. This led to the rise of the platform economy and the need for delivery workers also rose accordingly.

Platform Work and Platform Workers

The workers in the platform economy are generally referred to as 'platform workers'. In general, the term refers to people working via platform companies no matter what their

employment status is. De Stefano (2016) refers to this as ‘crowdwork’ and it is also known as ‘gig work’ (Wood et al., 2018) .

According to Stewart and Stanford (2017), four main attributes of platform work are changing working hours and work periods, no furnishing of equipment in order to carry out the job, no workplace that the company provides and the job requires the use of digital technology; either apps or software. When various platform companies are analyzed, it can be seen that they often depend on solo self-employed as a workforce, instead of employees. In fact, even though platform companies exert substantial control on the labor force in terms of their working conditions and pay levels, they label them as self-employed (Berg, 2015). So far, it seems that the term platform work has not been legally defined. Yet, the concept resembles ‘atypical work’, such as on-call, zero-hour contracts or temporary agency work (Jesnes, 2019). This employment status might pose some threats and the situation of the workers should be taken into account cautiously as the platform economy continues to gain more strength.

According to Rubery et al. (2018), standard employment relationship (SER) embodies a stable wage income, sufficient pay, stable employment, decent procedures to dismiss workers, boundaries between work and nonwork periods, room for competence development, modifications necessary for individuals, chances for workers to express their ideas and requests, and social security benefits (Rubery & Grimshaw, 2016). Precarious work, that is, atypical forms of work such as zero-hour contracts, part-time and temporary work, and solo self-employment and platform work, on the other hand, suggest inadequate and changing working hours, insufficient pay and constrained rights for labor and social protection. (Rubery et al. 2018). This looks like handing over the possible risks and the social costs of labor such as sick-pay and vacation pay to the workforce (Moore and Newsome, 2018). Moreover, In some OECD countries, self-employed workers are not allowed to negotiate collectively over pay due to antitrust rules. If self-employed workers form associations, they would be considered a cartel (Schwellnus et. al, 2019).

For the reasons stated above, studies to investigate platform work in more detail with a careful eye on laborers' working conditions seem to be fairly important in this era where the economy is becoming more and more digital and various employment models emerge in response.

Couriers and the Pandemic

Due to the fact that the pandemic has altered our lives dramatically, there has been a significant increase in e-commerce. Many people started to resort to websites or some applications on their phones to purchase services or products. E-commerce businesses carry out business using a particular online platform and couriers are the people who enable retail sales to reach customers.

In the year 2020, there has been an increase of 41,53 percent in courier employment in Turkey. The overall employment growth rate from 2005 to 2020 is noted as 37,7 per cent and it is 298,3 per cent for couriers. The results indicate that the pandemic has led to a dramatic increase in courier employment. For instance, the number of moto couriers only in Istanbul is thought to be more than 10 thousand even though there is no official number and it is estimated that the number is around 900 thousand in Turkey together with unregistered moto couriers (Küçük, 2022).

A study conducted by International Labor Organization (ILO) in order to find out about the psychosocial risk analysis in delivery sector employees in Turkey has provided us considerable data regarding moto couriers and how they have been affected by the pandemic. Although the study was mainly about moto couriers, findings might provide valuable information about delivery employees in general (Küçük, 2022).

Out of 150 moto couriers included in ILO's study (75 from Izmir and 75 from Istanbul), 28 of them were female couriers (18,7 per cent Turkish female and 81,3 percent male). In terms of employment status, it has been found out that moto couriers' employment can be classified as either salaried or self-employed. The rate of the moto couriers who work as self-employed is 46,7 per cent, whereas the percentage for couriers who are salaried is 53,3 percent. If we compare the employment status of couriers by gender, while 71,4 percent of female moto couriers work as self-employed, 28,6 percent of them work as salaried. The percentages differ for male moto couriers; that is, 41 percent of male moto couriers work as self-employed and 59 per cent work as salaried/wage. While the majority of Syrian moto couriers (76.3 per cent) work as salaried moto couriers, 23.7 percent of them work as self-employed moto couriers. Although we do not know the exact number of women working as moto couriers in Turkey, it is estimated that the number of female moto couriers has also increased after the pandemic (Küçük, 2022). However, when the literature has been analyzed, it has been noticed that research on delivery employees overall and specifically on women is scarce. Thus, the current study and findings obtained as a result seem to be helping to close this gap.

Research Methodology

Participants

Eleven courier women working for the same e-commerce company were interviewed for this research. Because the number of women couriers is already limited, convenience sampling had to be preferred. The women were working for two different branches of the same e-commerce

		N	%
Marital Status	Single	1	10
	married	7	70
	divorced	2	20
Education	High shool	8	80
	University	2	20
Number of children	0	1	10
	1	3	30
	2	6	60
Experience	1	4	40
	1.5	1	10
	2	2	20
	2.5	1	10
	3 months	1	10
	8 months	1	10

company. The demographics of the participants is given in the table below:

Table 1: Demographics of the participants

The table above shows that the majority of the participants who took part in the study were married, while there was only one woman who was single. The number of divorced women was 2 out of 10. Both of the women who were divorced had two children and they were taking care of their children as single mother. 6 out of 10 women had two children, 3 of them had 1 child and one of the women is single and has no child.

In terms of their education backgrounds, the majority of the women are high school graduates (8 out of 10) and two of the participants graduated from university.

The participant who has worked as a courier the longest has an experience of 2,5 years. Majority of the women, that is 4 out of 10, have been working as couriers for 1 year. 2 of the women couriers have been doing the job for two years and 1 participant has an experience of 8 months. One of the participants only started working as a courier 3 months ago..

Procedure

With the aim of understanding the working life of female couriers before and after the pandemic in Turkey, qualitative research design has been employed because this type of research seems to explain attitudes, feelings, and perceptions of humans thoroughly (Tong et al., 2012) and it aims to fathom puzzling human related issues rather than generalize the findings to larger populations (Vanderstoep & Johnston, 2008). As the number of women

couriers is already limited, convenience sampling was utilized and data was collected from 11 courier women who worked for a particular e-commerce platform as sole proprietors. When the participants were approached initially, they were reluctant to take part in the study. However, as the aims and the method of the study were clarified and their consent was taken, it was decided to hold focus group discussions (FGD) with them as FGDs are effective in clarifying an issue deeply (Prasad & Garcia, 2017) and are more effective to create an authentic environment where participants affect each other (Casey & Crueger, 1994) and this interaction creates synergy on participants (Stewart & Shamdasani, (2014).

FGDs were conducted through Zoom video streams online due to the relative ease on the part of the participants and the meetings were recorded with their consent. The FGDs and semi-structured individual interviews took place in April 2022. Initially two group meetings were planned; one with female couriers from the same delivery station and another one with female couriers from different delivery stations working for the same e-commerce company. During the second focus group meeting, a few interviewees were observed to be wanting to say some things but did not feel comfortable enough to speak up amongst other interviewees who were foreign counterparts. Therefore, those couriers were approached later on and interviewed individually. The first group meeting was with 5 women and it took 90 minutes. The second meeting was with 6 women and took 80 minutes. Then, the additional individual interviews with two participants took about 50 minutes.

During the FGDs and semi-structured interviews, besides gathering data on some demographics (age, education, marital status, children, working members of the family, and seniority in the job), participants were asked why and how they became a courier, their typical workday, the difficulties and good sides of the job, how they feel about the job, how people around them see and react to them on the job, what the pandemic brought to the job conditions and their relationships, whether the pandemic changed their attitude towards the job, whether there were any positive effects of the pandemic in their lives, and if there were any safety issues in performing the job. The women were also asked whether they experienced sexual harassment or abuse and the future they see on this job.

After the FGDs and individual interviews, all the recordings were transcribed and we utilized codes for participants as A, B, C.... while reporting the qualitative data. The data gathered has been analyzed using content analysis technique and the content of the discussion has been divided into certain categories which express the same meaning (Moretti et al., 2011). After the patterns were diagnosed and the categories were formed, content codes were utilized.

The researchers compared the categories and codes of new texts with the existing categories and codes to attain quantity (Barnett, 2002).

Findings

Before giving an account of the findings, we would like to note a few things. All of the participants of our study were self-employed and worked only for the same e-commerce company. Additionally, during the group meetings and interviews, almost always the participants seemed to be in agreement with whomever was speaking.

The views, perceptions, and experiences of the participants revealed by the content analysis are explained under two main titles: women in the courier job, and the effect of covid-19 pandemic on courier women.

Women in the Courier Job

Under this title, the advantages together with the reasons for becoming a courier is discussed first. Then, the difficulties of the job will be discussed together with its negative features. The discussion of this group of findings will end with how the job is viewed by others and by the courier women themselves.

Due to the shortage of couriers during the pandemic shutdown period, the major reason for the participants' becoming a courier was that it was one of the few job openings available for them. Two participants told us that they were simply 'unemployed' and 'looking for a job'. One of them was working in a pharmacy which closed down during the pandemic. Three other women became couriers to earn more. One of them, who was a physical training teacher in a private high school, quit her job because it was a low-paying one. Another one of those three, worked as a secretary for five years in a construction firm. One woman was motivated by her teenage son to establish a courier business. Lastly, there was a self-motivated woman, who was

a homemaker before. As an overall evaluation of these reasons, it can be stated that the high number of job openings in courier jobs was an important factor encouraging these women to become couriers.

When specifically asked, two major advantages of the job were pointed out: freedom, and flexibility. Four women said: “It is nice to be your own boss”. Being able to work outside, get some fresh air rather than being stuck in an office for long hours was noted by two other women as another perk of the job. The courier women seemed to enjoy some degree of freedom in adjusting their working hours to their private lives (flexible hours). A woman who was a mother, specifically chose this job to be able to take care of her children after school. In other words, with a courier job, these women were able to achieve a better work-life balance.

When it came to talking about the difficulties of the job, the number of issues brought to the table were so much more than the advantages. These issues were heavy parcels, the difficulties of working outside, daily extra slots of parcel delivery, difficulties of running a sole proprietorship, male hostility, gender-based discrimination, and sexual harassment. Explicitly stated by four women, ‘heavy parcels’ was the most cited difficulty of the job. Initially (about a year ago) 20 kg. was the limit on the signed contract, but at the time of FGDs and interviews they were expected to carry even 60 kg. Recently, one woman was given a parcel which consisted of four vacuum cleaners. Another woman said that it was the gardening season and they were expected to carry big packs of soil. She was dragging those packs but with the fear of tearing them. When some female couriers raised their voices on this issue, they were told to call the customer and to tell him/her to take the heavy parcel from the delivery van, but this was something hardly found acceptable by the customer.

The second most cited issue which presented a number of challenges was about working outside. One major challenge of working outside was finding a toilet, which became a bigger problem when menstruating. They dealt with this problem by using the toilets in various places. Besides the toilet issue, one woman drew attention to the costliness of eating out. She said that eating out would take away half of her earnings. Another woman complained about the cold in winter and the hot in summer.

The third issue mentioned by the participants was a new problem. For the last couple of months, they were required to drop by the station at least a second time and to do at least two rounds of deliveries, which they called the “second slot”. The addition of at least one more round brought them heavy work days during which it became almost impossible to have a lunch

break, to pick the kids from school, and to run other personal errands. Beside the time crunch, the additional tours meant rising costs of doing business, such as fuel, and day-care expenditures. Together with the increased heaviness of parcels, and increased pressure on them by frequent checks through Whatsapp or phone calls, the participants viewed this as “mobbing”. They came to a conclusion that they, as women couriers, were being forced to close down their micro businesses, because they were specifically informed by the company that a big surplus of couriers (about 2000 in Türkiye, in general) accumulated due to the gradual abandonment of the precautions taken for covid-19 pandemic. Two participants indicated that, in order to protect its public image, the company was not terminating high numbers of couriers, and mobbing was a relatively more feasible solution to the company’s surplus problem. According to a participant, the mobbing was also a punishment for winning the strike for higher pay in the early months of 2022, as it painted a bad public image of the company. She said that she was coming from the almost sudden increase in harsher treatments at work after the settlement of the strike.

Fourthly, the women couriers were also complaining about the courier business system that was constructed. Being self-employed, they were not bound by the Labor Law, they did not have the rights that workers had, and they were the ones to cover all expenses.

The fifth issue challenging the female couriers was the astonishing hostility of the male members of delivery fleets. From time to time they would be openly told by a male courier that the courier job was not a job for women. The body language of male couriers was interpreted by women couriers as disturbance by their presence. Despite observing the female couriers’ struggles with some parcels sometimes, male couriers would refrain from giving any help. Sometimes a male courier would hold on to a cart used in carrying the parcels unloaded from the truck to the vans, even though that cart was not in use at the time. When there were heavy parcels, even with the carts, women couriers would have hard times taking those carts off and on the pavement. One female courier said that there was a male courier constantly measuring the time it took for women couriers to carry their parcels to their vans. She added in bewilderment that for the first time, after 34 months on the job, she received help from this man.

According to another female courier, the profanity and horseplay among some male couriers was a typical, more generic pattern of behavior which was to be found among people who had not taken enough years of formal education. She said: “I don’t believe some people even graduated from primary school there (station). They are just literate”, and added that she

stopped believing in the job advertisements for couriers that require high school or university diplomas.

A third participant summarized the attitude of male couriers in these words: “As a woman, how many days will she be able to last?! They think that we won’t be able to pull through.” The temporariness attached to the female couriers’ working in this job by their male counterparts seems to be a reflection of the hierarchical symbolic order (Gherardi, 1996; Gherardi and Poggio, 2001; de Souza et al., 2022).

Unfortunately, the disrespectful behaviors were not confined to male couriers. A participant mentioned verbal abuse on the phone more than once by some male customers, just because their parcels could not be delivered at the time they expected. Another participant mentioned the male bullies in traffic.

The sixth challenge of the job was the issue of gender-based discrimination. One participant said: “Men’s voices come out louder. As a woman, I can't raise my voice very high. Even if I do so I am not being listened to. But if a man expresses his discomfort once, twice or thrice he eventually gets what he wants, but a woman’s voice is ignored”. Similarly, another participant said that they were not taken into consideration by the male managers of the firm in decisions about redesigning their work. There was one participant though, who was quite happy about the nice working relationship she had with a considerate female manager of the company.

When discrimination was specifically asked, three women brought positive discrimination to the table, and they claimed that they did not want any of it. One of them said that in many stations, women would not get into the trucks to instantly classify and distribute the parcels to the remaining members of the fleet, which was a decision made by the station manager. Thus, male couriers were making this an issue. They would argue that female couriers should do anything that male couriers do as long as they get paid the same. In order not to make them continue to talk like this, the female couriers in this participant’s station were climbing into the trucks.

The seventh and final challenge in carrying out a courier business was sexual harassment. There were two participants who specifically named their experiences as sexual harassment and gave us their accounts. One of them told her story in these words: “As couriers we also go to suppliers - some of them stores - to pick up parcels to be taken to delivery stations. I experienced harassment two or three times and when I told this to my station manager he did not accept it and continued to send me to that store one more week. In the meantime the harasser

kept calling me on the phone and asking me when I would go to the store to pick up their parcels for delivery, even though my visit had a clear predetermined time slot. I told these too, but it was not accepted. They (managers) got scared when it came to carrying this incident to higher level managers, and my visit to that store was dropped. By the way, we faced problems like these many times.” Without specifying the harasser - whether a customer or a male courier from her station - the second participant said that she experienced it through a WhatsApp message and cried herself out for a month. By the end of a month she told her teammates and warned them, and later told the incident to the station manager.

Not sure whether it counted as sexual harassment, a third participant, said that, a few times in a year, a half-naked male customer opened the door to get his parcel, which she found inappropriate. A fourth participant, who was given the task of collecting returned parcels, a mostly unwanted task by any courier, would always feel uneasy about doing that when she had to collect those parcels from distant male-dominated places. We have interpreted this as fear of being sexually harassed.

Moving on to how the job is viewed, we categorize the subject groups into three as public in general, customers, and the courier women themselves. Starting with the reactions of people out on the streets, in traffic, one participant said that being appreciative all the time, people told them that they were happy to see them in a male job. About the reactions of customers, four participants told us that especially female customers were very happy to have their packages delivered by them. Some female customers kept telling the female couriers that they were smiling more. Complaining about male couriers throwing packages, female customers were also telling them that women couriers were doing a better job than their male counterparts. There were even some female customers, and their neighbors asking them how they could always get their packages delivered by female couriers. This admiration of women as couriers gave us an idea about the gender differences found in one OCEAN personality dimension, namely ‘conscientiousness’ (Schmitt et al 2008; Kajounius & Mac Giolla 2017; Mac Giolla & Kajonius 2019; Bunnett 2020) which is about doing a job in the best way by being orderly and disciplined.

In addition to being praised, women couriers were also pampered by their female customers. Being served food and drinks, being invited home, having a chat on the doorstep were not off-limits. One participant underlined the high level of trust by telling us that from time to time a female customer would leave the door open while she would go inside and pick up her phone.

Coming to the male customers, two participants said that they did not have any problems with the way they had been treated by them. Another participant though, mentioned male customers' surprise at seeing them and questioning the difficulty of the job for them with these words: "Don't you find this job difficult?!"

Besides being a source of motivation to start a business, people close to the women couriers, their views of the job, and the level of their support were also deemed important. Out of the six participants who talked on this, one said she had full support from everyone in her close circle. Three participants mentioned their spouses as great support, and two of these three participants said that their mother also was a supporter. One participant who found support from her spouse and her mother, told us that her father was against the job at the beginning but through time he had gone into even helping her with the job. In her account for his father's disapproval she said: "It is not about you. Opinions of other people affect him too much. In the beginning, my father pushed me too hard (to drop the job), but later came to help me a lot". Another participant said that with the exception of her mother, all her relatives were proud of her. She said that knowing her reaction (seemed to be disapproval), she hid her courier business from her mother for about 6 or 7 months. Then, she opened up to her mother gradually, by telling the good things about the job, such as driving-delivering packages-then leaving, pays good. In this way, she was able to convince her mother. Different from what four participants said about the support they received from close ones, the fourth participant told us these: "After 23 years of a desktop job no one around me believed that I could pull a job on the streets. My siblings kept calling me to find out whether I would be quitting this week or the next".

Being influenced to a great extent by people around, it was not surprising to find out that doing a courier business made these women proud of themselves. They seemed to develop a strong sense of achievement. However, three participants told us that they were unhappy because of the way they had to dress at work. One of them conveyed her thoughts to us as follows:

"One day my boyfriend visited me at work. I had cargo pants - you need its pockets as you can't carry a bag - and an ugly t-shirt on, with the company's logo which was too big for me. Then, they were giving anyone the biggest male size. My boyfriend said 'you look like a boy'. I was so sad that day. Especially more after this, I was not feeling like a woman when I saw stylish, well-groomed women with make-up, opening the doors of the houses we went to. This makes me sorry. In fact, our work and clothing neutralize our female identity. From that day on, I've never seen my boyfriend during working

hours. If we were going to meet after work time I would carry spare clothes, slip into them and then meet with him. I miss the clothes with which I feel like a woman. Not being seen as a woman and not being admired affected my self-confidence negatively”.

The gender-neutral work uniform which was ripping their femininity off has also been found to be an issue in two recent studies - one on police officers and one on firefighters (Veldman et al., 2017; de Souza et al., 2022). It should also be noted that the above quote shows the existence of a ‘gender-work identity conflict’, which can only be alleviated through the construction of a positive diversity climate (Veldman et al., 2017).

Overall, the findings about the courier job/business show us that the logistics sector, just like any other male-dominated sector in business life, is systematically excluding women and there is still a long way to go for reaching a more egalitarian gender role view in this sector and in Türkiye (Çarkoğlu & Kalaycıoğlu, 2009).

The Effects of the Covid-19 Pandemic on Courier Women

During the Pandemic

When we analyze the impact of the Covid19 pandemic on courier women, it can easily be concluded that the pandemic has had an unexpected consequence and turned out to be an opportunity for the women who were either unemployed or dissatisfied with their jobs before the pandemic. As stated earlier, women who were unemployed before the pandemic or who lost their jobs due to the shutdown of some companies eventually became couriers; that is, they invested in the job by using whatever they already got (money or even personal jewelry) or by getting loans from the bank. Due to the high demand for delivery of parcels, income was unbelievably high during the pandemic, especially during shutdowns. The swift increase in e-commerce and platform economy has obviously carried the women into the sector and created a new opportunity for them.

Nevertheless, the experiences of women during the pandemic and especially during the shutdowns was arduous. As couriers work outside and spend almost all their time in or outside

their cars or vans, they have to use the toilets in cafes, restaurants or gas stations. During the shutdowns, they could only use the gas stations and when they were not close to a gas station, the only option they got was the mosques. One of the women interviewed reported the difficulty faced as follows:

‘One day, I went to a mosque to use the toilet. There was no other place I could go. The toilet was locked. I took a piece of paper and wrote on it ‘Please I am begging you, at least leave the toilet of the mosque open. I am a courier, we are outside when you are at home, please!’ Even the mosques were closed, everywhere was closed, I used to go home just to be able to go to the toilet around like five times a day and this lasted for at least two months. It was incredibly hard. After two months, I contacted the security workers of a shopping mall. They were also women and I started to use the toilets of the mall thanks to them although the mall was also closed’

Similarly, eating outside was another challenge during the pandemic. Sadly, it was reported by women that eating outside is not an option for them owing to economic reasons anyways, but during the pandemic they could not even find a place to at least get a drink. The company provided them with tea/coffee bags and they used to carry hot water with them in a thermos bottle. Although these points might seem to be minor issues at first glance, they are serious as they are basic needs and affect people’s productivity and motivation significantly in the workplace.

Besides creating a new career opportunity for women, the women had to work incredibly too much during the lockdowns. They reported that on some days, they worked until about 22.00-23.00, and got up around 04.00- 05.00 a.m. to pick up their parcels. One woman said ‘On some days, we were supposed to deliver 400 parcels, it was implausible! But we made a ton of money too!’. Despite the increasing workload during the pandemic, the women do not seem to complain about the situation since the economic gain during the period made them very happy. Another courier woman stated as follows:

‘It was raining parcels! I did my job eagerly because the pandemic increased my income and because we earn per the number of parcels we deliver. Delivery rate was 100% because everyone was at home. People did a lot of shopping when they were at home. Also, the number of couriers was lower at the time’.

In spite of the fact that the women were particularly content about making a substantial amount of money, the fear of catching the virus was one of the negative effects highlighted by the women interviewed in the study. As they were knocking on different doors, using toilets outside, touching hundreds of packages everyday, they stated that they were prone to catching the virus and were very much scared of spreading the virus to family members. They said that they were extremely careful about personal hygiene during and after work and they tended not to touch loved ones even at home, and tried to isolate themselves as much as possible. The women also all agreed while talking about how the customers or the people they came across looked at them. They said that they sensed some disgust and fear in the eyes of the people they encountered as if they were spreading the virus.

After the Pandemic

During the FGDs and individual interviews, it was found out that things have changed for the worse for all the courier women. The major problem expressed is that after the lockdowns, as life slowly turned back to normal, the number of packages to be delivered dropped significantly. They began to start late in the morning (around 9 am) but they were still called back to the center to unload the second truck (they refer to this as the second slot). This seems to be a very serious problem for them and has been highlighted multiple times during discussions and individual interviews.. Especially the women who initially started the job thinking that they could have flexible working hours and could pick their children up from school expressed their concerns about the future. A woman who has two children going to school explained her situation as follows:

'If there is no one to look after your children, there is no advantage of working because then you need to take care of everything by paying money; you need a nanny or a daycare center. My children are first and third graders. They need me so much. When I first started doing the job, I could pick both of them up at 3 pm. But then working hours changed, so we started to work for longer hours. One of them uses the school bus now. I pick her up, drop her off at somebody's home. The other one goes to a course after school. It finishes at 5.30 pm. Then, I pick both of them up and leave them home.'

It is just so difficult. On Saturdays, I prepare their breakfast and leave them home alone. I try to check on them frequently by phone. and rarely, i ask my sister for help’.

It was very easy to understand her frustration and concern as she was talking about the situation with her children. Nonetheless, similar to other women, she felt very much trapped in the job as they invested a lot of money initially to even start the business (all the papers required, the van etc). Actually, it can easily be said that because of the investments they made they only have a calculative and continuance commitment to the organization.

Lastly, when the participants were asked about what kind of a future they saw in doing the courier business, almost half of the participants said that they were not able to see any future in it as the job became overwhelmingly tiring for them. Two participants said that they could bear at most a year. Being hit more by the worsened working conditions, we can put forward that women in particular faced ‘indirect discrimination’. The term ‘indirect discrimination’ refers to the policies and practises which treat all workers the same. Hunter (1992) uses the term ‘institutionalized or structural discrimination’ to talk about organizations where the rules and norms have been shaped around the dominant group in society. Unfortunately, workers who have family responsibilities or who need to look after their children suffer from structural discrimination in the work place (Berns, 2018). However, despite all the difficulties faced, participants pointed out that it would not be easy to drop out of the business because they had a few more years of credit payments for the vehicles they were driving. They were unfortunately trapped in a “once lucrative but now burdensome” job.

Conclusion

The current study which aimed at finding out about the working lives of courier women in Turkey and how they were affected by the covid19 pandemic has yielded useful findings which we believe are meaningful both for the field and for e-commerce companies employing women couriers. It has been found out that there are two major reasons why women chose to do this job and these are freedom and flexibility which women believed would lead to better work-life balance. However, in spite of the fact that it was initially the case for women especially in the first months of the covid19 pandemic and the lockdowns, the situation has

changed considerably towards the end of the pandemic. Therefore, women mostly expressed their dissatisfaction with the job and complained about the difficulties of working outside and the heavy parcels they had to carry.

Another finding that has struck us in this study is the employment model chosen by most e-commerce companies. It has been stated that women couriers who work as sole proprietors, in fact do not have the freedom as self-employed workers; rather they are the ones who are to face all the risks and losses associated with the job such as injury, unpaid days off etc. Although the couriers initially liked the idea of doing their own jobs and the freedom associated with it as 'sole proprietors', it seems they do not have any freedom as self-employed employees. Thus, telling these people that they are not employees but are 'business partners' does not really reflect reality. On the contrary, it seems to be the discourse chosen on purpose to transfer all the risks and losses (sick leave, accidents, days off etc) to the courier. Therefore, in order to better the working conditions of all the workers and women couriers and provide them with humane, just, gender sensitive working conditions, this employment model has to be seriously questioned.

The study has also revealed that women couriers are suffering from gender-work identity conflict. The behaviors they confront at work and the uniforms they have to wear are neutralizing their identity as women. It can easily be said that the logistics sector is highly dominated by males and women are systematically excluded from the sector. Also, the women interviewed in this study talked about male hostility, gender discrimination and sexual harassment they have been trying to endure. The logistics companies seem to fail in creating gender-sensitive work environments where women can actively take part.

With regards the impact of covid19 pandemic on courier women, the study has revealed that the pandemic has led to the emergence of a new job opportunity for women and especially during lockdowns, couriers earned a lot of money, towards the end of the pandemic, they started working longer hours, carrying heavier parcels, having less time for family, children and themselves.

By the time we completed writing this paper, we had been informed that two of the women who took part in this study quit their jobs stating that 'they cannot take it anymore'. One of them totally stopped working and stated that with two children, it was almost impossible

to find a suitable job, and the other woman started working in a rival company as a coordinator due to the fact that she was physically unable to handle the job anymore. Together with the findings stated above, this seems to highlight the need for creating gender sensitive working environments. Even though especially women customers are very much comfortable with women couriers and trust them more (based on the statements of the women couriers) , e-commerce companies might soon lose women couriers unless their sensitivities and needs are taken into account. If these companies sincerely want to employ women, and women couriers in particular, they should genuinely take action and consider daycare centers for the children of their employees or maybe turn to shift work so that women who have to take care of their children after school can still work and benefit the company, their families and the economy overall.

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WORK-FAMILY CONFLICT IN INFORMAL CAREGIVERS: A RESEARCH ON WOMEN IN BLUE-COLLAR JOBS

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Abstract

The number of employees who provide informal care to their family members due to illness, disability, and especially elderliness has been increasing daily. Role theory and work and family balance focus on white-collar workers who continue to care for children while neglecting family caregivers. Besides, these studies also ignore care responsibilities that differ between socioeconomic and demographic groups, disproportionately placed on women and low-income individuals. Based on the discussions on role theory and the care burden, the research aims at understanding the experiences of work and family roles of blue-collar women who continue their working life by taking care of the sick, elderly, disabled, and family members who need special care at home. For this purpose, the qualitative phenomenological approach was used. Based on the purposeful sampling method, four women who experienced the phenomenon were reached through the social networks of researchers in Isparta province. As a result of the analysis, themes and sub-themes were created. According to the results of the research, six main themes have emerged: the new role of caregiving experience and its effects, the essence of the caregiving role, the effects of the caregiving role, the supports related to the caregiving role, the caring role, and the expectations of the workplace and caregivers. The research findings were discussed within the study's limited

sample, and the increasing number of informal caregivers in the context of elderliness and illness were evaluated through the theory of work-family conflict.

Keywords

Blue-Collar Worker, Work-Family Conflict, Caregivers, Role Theories

Introduction

Work-Family balance is one of the up-to-date discussion topics in the field of management and the print media. The challenge of pursuing a career goal, obtaining, and sustaining that goal has been one of the essential pillars of the debate; however when considering the responsibilities of housework and raising children, there are some issues which are overlooked and missing.

The social government instruments, which have been handed over to the market and benevolent rock stars, have neglected the women. As part of traditional rhetoric, the responsibilities of home and children have been assigned to women who need to care for the elderly or family members in need of special care.

As it has been mentioned in the reports of national and international statistical organizations, especially in developed and developing countries with changing social norms, declining population growth rates, reliable birth control methods, and improvements in health that increase life expectancy have brought a rapid increase in the population of 65+ in recent years (WHO, 2018, TÜİK, 2021a). As a result, the number of caregivers who care for the elderly, children, sick or disabled family members. Although the reality of caregivers has been an important phenomenon, it is highly neglected both in management science studies and in particular work-family balance contexts.

Calvano (2013) states that the first and even the biggest problem of researchers working on caregivers is the lack of consistency and clarity in the definition of caregiving, and it is unclear who can be included in this group depending on what kind of care is provided.

The second problem in this area is that caregiving difficulties are different (Duxbury and Higgins, 2017). Although childcare is considered a long period of time, it is subjectively predictable, and the need for care decreases over time, however care for the elderly, sick and disabled may be perceived as a less predictable situation and the burden of care increases over time (Pavalko and Gong, 2005). Moreover, parents who have 9 months to prepare for childcare may have this role without preparation or plans due to a sudden illness or an accident. In addition, although emotionally ill, elderly, and disabled care cause the caregiver to face disturbing realities and reveal feelings of guilt and sadness, childcare, although challenging, can be a source of purpose that gives joy and happiness while parents watch their children grow and develop. This subtle difference points to a gap in the literature in terms of understanding the effects on both the caregiver and the employer in studies conducted in the context of work-family balance. White-collar workers, who have more economic and social opportunities, may have more chances to reduce their care burden, such as caregivers (Duxbury and Higgins, 2017). However, workers with lower income and longer working hours compared to white-collar ones may experience more challenging situations and what challenges they have been facing is the unanswered question. These socio-economically lower workers have still been attempting to find solutions to their inevitable expenses, such as caregiving and how to balance their work and family life. This study aims at understanding the work and family roles of the blue-collar working woman who continues her working life with the care of the sick, elderly, disabled, and special needs family members at home.

Theoretical Background

A growing body of research on work and non-work life often focuses on the conflict between an individual's work and life roles and offers prescriptions for improvements. Kahn et al., who made the first conceptualization on the dynamics of conflicts between roles has defined "simultaneous occurrence of two (or more) sets of pressures such that compliance with one would make more

difficult compliance with the other" (1964, p. 19). Role conflict occurs as a result of a series of role pressures and incompatible with the other pressure group (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985). The conflict between roles is a form of role conflict in which opposing roles emerge as pressure while performing different roles (Barnett & Hyde 2001). In this context, the pressure caused by the worker's long working hours and not being able to deal with family issues adequately can be given as an example of inter-role conflict.

Work-Family Conflict

Work-family conflict refers to a kind of inter-role conflict in which role pressures from work and family are mutually incompatible (Greenhaus & Beutell 1985). Literature claims that work-family conflict occurs in three basic forms. These are called as time, strain, and behavior-based work-family conflict (Allen et. al., 2013). Time-based conflict refers to the conflict that occurs when the time allocated to one role makes it challenging for the individual to participate in the other role (Nordenmark, 2002). Strain-based conflict refers to role-based strains. Roles that cause job stress, tension, anxiety, fatigue, depression, apathy, and irritability make conflict on work or family inevitable as a result of the pressure on the other role (Allen et. al., 2013). Finally, behavior-based conflict is when certain in-role behavior patterns are incompatible with expectations about the behavior in another role. For example, if an authoritarian and competitive manager cannot adjust his/her behavior to meet the expectations of different roles, such as being compassionate and docile in the family, he/she is likely to experience conflict between roles (Rothbard, 2001). Research on the antecedents of work-family conflict can be categorized into three groups. The antecedents sources of the conflict can be stemmed from the work, family and individual. The type of job, responsibilities, and duties as well as manager and coworkers etc. can be the reasons of work-related conflict. Values, gender role, personality, etc. variables, on the other hand, can be the cause of individual-based conflict. Family-related reasons can be the number of children, the stage of

childcare and care responsibilities (Ashforth, Kreiner & Fugate, 2000). Regardless of the cultural contexts, being a “woman” in all conflicts of work, family and personal resources often exacerbates the conflict. Thus, women who are culturally the representative of the only responsible individual of child and care duties, can stay away from business life. As a matter of fact, women, whose duty has already been determined in accordance with the rhetorical nature of gender construction, have problems in common related to labor markets. These issues are low labor force participation, informality in employment and wage inequality, respectively (CDS, 2022). These problems can deepen and become serious from time to time. Women, who could not benefit equally from the opportunities during the economic growth periods, are among those who experience more challenges and suffer more during the pandemic period when the economic conditions are reversed. According to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), employment participation rate in our country takes place at the bottom of the member countries’ list. While this rate is 77% in Iceland, 73% in Germany and 59% in the OECD average, it is only 26-29% in Türkiye (OECD, 2021). In a similar cultural context, it is seen that Türkiye has maintained its current position over the years and ranks second among the Middle East and North African (MENA) countries, and after Israel with a rate of 47%, Türkiye has become the second with a level of 30% (MENA, 2021). It can be said that providing childcare or being a caregiver are not only the reasons not to participate in employment, however, these potential reasons contribute to an undeniable rate for not taking a part in employment.

As an extension of Work-Family conflict, women who stay away from employment often prefer part-time jobs in order to manage the time-based conflict. (Barnett & Hyde, 2001). The current study of TUIK also reports the similar results. According to the results of the household labor force survey, in 2020, the rate of employed people aged 15 and over in Turkey was 42.8%, while this rate was 26.3% for women and 59.8% for men. According to the results of the household labor

force survey, while the rate of part-time workers in employment was 12.4% in total in 2020, this rate was 19.5% for women and 9.3% for men. In other words, while 26 women out of every hundred participate in employment, 6 of them work part-time (TUIK, 2021b).

Overall, researchers have a consensus on the idea that work-family conflict is a complex, and multidimensional construct. Work-family conflict can be bidirectional (work-to-family and family-to-work), multiple forms (time-based, tension-based, and behavior-based), and multi-life role based (e.g., spouse, parent, care for elderly, home care) (Allen et al. .2014). Empirical studies that confirm the prevalence of work-family conflict and its negative consequences often focus on workload (Cardenas et. al., 2004). However, there are fewer empirical studies in which role conflict due to family demands and responsibilities affects the individual's well-being and job performance (Karatepe & Tekinkus, 2006; Park & Jang 2017). Besides, Edwards et al. (2002) found that caregiver who feels overwhelmed in the family was positively associated with more conflict, anxiety, and stress at work.

Caregiver Burden

A caregiver is defined as an individual who takes the responsibility of care for another individual who cannot perform daily living activities due to mental or physical illness (illness, disability, elderliness, or any condition requiring a special condition) is defined as a 'caregiver' (Zarit, 2004). Caregiving function is mostly classified in two ways as formal and informal (FCA, 2022) in the literature. While formal care is carried out by professionals at home or health institution with a specific payment, informal care is provided at home by family members, relatives, friends, and neighbors without any payment (Van Houtven et. al. 2013).

Caregiver burden is defined as the degree of perception of the social, economic, physical and psychological effects of caregiving on the individual (Schulz & Tompkins, 2010). Caregiver burden is divided into objective care burden, which describes the caregiver's duties during care,

and subjective care burden, which describes the psychological burden perceived by the caregiver. Scales developed on caregiver burden mostly assess subjective caregiver burden (Bastawrous; 2013).

It is widely accepted in the literature that being an informal caregiver increases an individual's risk of mental (Pottie et. al., 2014) and physical health (Capistrant et. al., 2012). Although there are studies that do not have a consensus with this (Roth et. al., 2015), it still highlights the reality of the stressful experience of being an informal caregiver in many ways (Revenson et. al., 2016). In studies from different disciplines and research areas, it is found that subjective or objective care burden negatively affects the subjective well-being of the individual (Calvano, 2015).

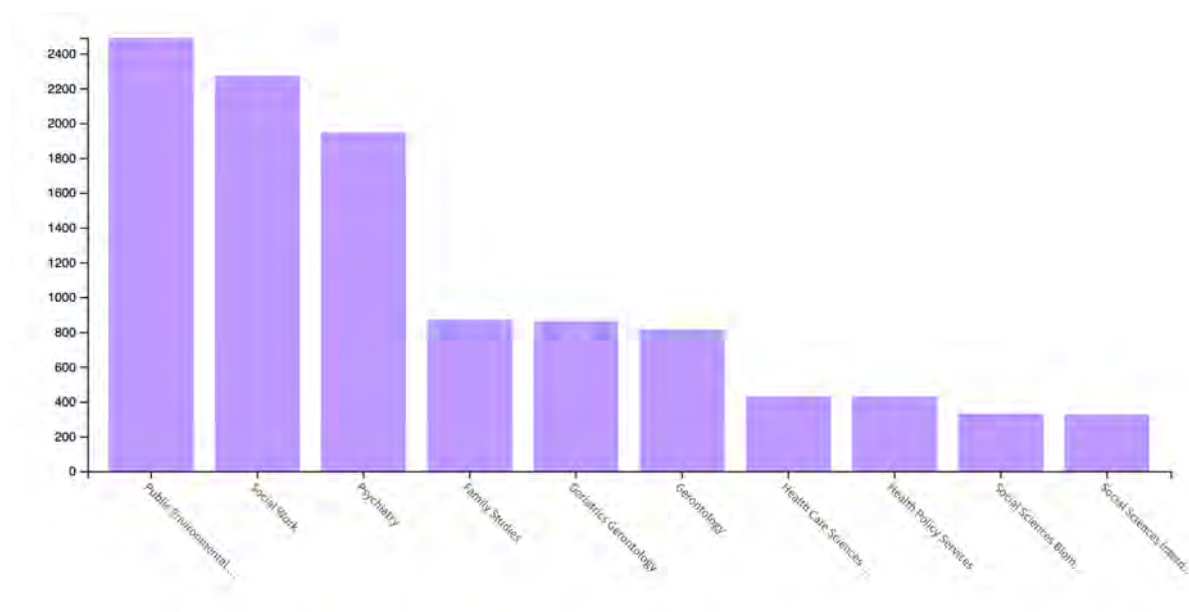


Figure 1. Studies from Different Disciplines on Caregivers

It has been found out that the research on the concept of caregiver using the keyword "caregivers" on the Web of Science (WOS) database shows that different disciplines have been conducting research on the subject (Figure 1). Among the disciplines of healthcare services, elderly, and family studies, management is one of the least studied areas. Using the same database, by doing a simple search using the keywords "caregivers", "work", "employees" without stating time limits, only 32

studies are found. It seems that in almost all of the empirical studies, neither the model nor the sample on the blue-collar or low-income group have not been established. An exceptional study can be given as an example. The striking results indicate that 52% of female caregivers in the US with a national median income of \$35,000 have still been spending more than 20 hours each week to be able to provide care. Besides, it has also been reported that caregivers who work with low-income are half of those likely to receive help to provide support or relief for their care functions as compared to high-income caregivers (Navaie-Waliser et.al., 2002).

Although the reasons for home care are often due to economic reasons, its importance in the social and cultural context is incontrovertible (Taşdelen & Ateş, 2012). The caregiving responsibility, which is considered as "one of the basic duties" of the family, is also assigned to women. Women provide care in the family (72%). 43% of female caregivers are wives and 29% are daughters. Wives and daughters take a more active role in daily living activities in care (Buckwalter et. al., 2002) and they experience much more burden than male caregivers (Akpınar et. al., 2011).

METHODOLOGY

In this research, qualitative phenomenological approach has been adopted to understand the experiences about work and family roles of blue-collar women workers, who continue their working life by taking care of ill, elderly, disabled, and family members who need special care at home. A phenomenology is an approach that enables the researcher to explore the experiences that occur in lives of individuals (Polit & Beck, 2017). Phenomenology revolves around the problem of how we make sense of the daily world. It offers opportunities to uncover some of the concepts, ideas, frameworks, and structures of meaning which exist in the daily world of human interaction. The research was based on a phenomenological approach in order to examine the caregiving process in its context (Seymour & Clark, 1998) to examine and gain new knowledge about the roles of caregivers.

The research was carried out in Isparta province in May-June 2022. Purposive sampling method was used to determine the participants. In this sampling method, participants who have experienced the research subject phenomenon were determined. The inclusion criteria of the participants are as follows; caregiving for at least one family member, being a woman and being a blue-collar worker. The sample was reached through the social networks of the researchers, using informal networks to reach the participants. The participant group consisted of 4 caregiver blue-collar female workers. Participants are between the ages of 35-45 and all participants care for their first-degree relatives (mother, father, and child). Participants were given information about the purpose of the research, data collection method, voluntary participation in the research, the right to withdraw from the research at any time, and the right not to answer any question they wanted. The time and place of the interviews were determined by the caregivers, and interviews were held with one participant at home, two participants in a cafe, and one participant in a park close to the workplace.

In-depth and semi-structured face-to-face interviews were conducted in order to understand the caregiving experiences of the participants and to encourage discussion. The open-ended interview guide was prepared by the researchers. In the interviews, the participant was first asked to describe the person he/she cared for. In the interview guide, a natural speaking environment was provided as much as possible. “Can you please tell us what your experience of caring for a person was like?” in a way to understand the caregiver's caregiving experience. Afterwards, more direct questions were asked in order to get feedback on specific issues as defined in the literature section of the research (for example, “How does caring as a caregiver affect your work life and your life at home?”, “Can you please describe anything that comes to your mind during this process?”).

The interview questions included how all of the participants only remembered their negative experiences with care at home and at work and how they coped with these negative experiences. To encourage clarification, when necessary, to obtain a clear answer, follow-up questions were

asked at the end such as “Could you please explain a little more? Can you give an example?” follow-up questions were asked. Interviews ended with the question “Is there anything we did not ask, and you would like to add?”. The interviews lasted between 25 and 70 minutes, were audio-recorded and transcribed with the permission of the participants.

In order to provide the data confidentiality, each participant was given a number and no personal information was included in the transcripts.

Written interview transcripts were entered into a qualitative software package (MAXQDA 18) to facilitate the analysis of interview content.

The data was analyzed in 4 levels (Kenya et.al., 2012)

Level 1: This level included the parts that were highlighted, and initial observations were recorded. Also, it includes the repeated readings of each transcript.

Level 2: The codes that emerged for the transcript were defined, and keywords or expressions were determined that reflected the meaning of the participants' explanations in the context of the interview. A list of codes emerged at this stage was recorded and additions were made during each reading of subsequent transcripts. Keywords and phrases representing the participants' experiences were then grouped into categories.

Level 3: A final comparison of the transcripts was done to see if there were any unconfirmed cases that required reinterpretation.

Level 4: Finally, the categories were organized into clusters, and themes were determined according to both the prevalence of the categories in the interviews and the individual importance of the categories in the interviews. In validity and reliability studies, credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability criteria were tried to be provided based on the procedure of Lincoln and Guba (1986). In this study, consensus among researchers on findings, participant

validation, the opinion of a faculty member who work in similar fields, and contextual explanation strategies were used as reliability strategies.

FINDINGS

In this study, which was carried out to reveal the experiences of an individual who cares for a family member regarding work and family roles, a framework will be presented on the caregiver's role as a caregiver and their role in the workplace. Findings from interview transcripts are as follows: the caregiving experience as a new role and its effects, the essence of the caregiving role, the effects of the caregiving role, the supports related to the caregiving role, the care role and the expectations of the workplace and caregivers. Themes, categories, and some participant statements that form the basis of the themes are given in Table 1.

Theme 1. Caregiving as a New Role and Its Effects: This theme refers to the caregiver role that the participants assume after starting to care for a family member. With this role, some additional duties and responsibilities that the role requires, changes were experienced in the relationships of the participants, and although there was a feeling of not accepting and guilt at the beginning, they also made efforts to adapt to this new task.

Category	Sample Items of Participants
Additional Duties and Responsibilities	“My father also died of cancer. Now I have the same duty that my mother undertook, there is nothing to do.” (P1) “So, I have to earn money by working alone. I also have to look after my father. I also have to deal with my own illness. I have to try to be fair towards my coworkers because sometimes they may need to work more for me.” (P4)
Changes in the Relationships and Being Complicated	“And lots of complaints about my daughter, fights when she gets aggressive, mischief at school, she can't get along with her friends, we can't get along. I mean, there is always complaint every day.” (P2) “I don't want to spend too much time together. Because the things we talk always come back to my father's illness and my permissions. I'm trying not to ask for permission anymore, I'm trying not to, but when I need to leave from work early it is hard to ask, I am worn out. And I keep a little distant from my friends.” (P4)

Loss of Identity	“Our world has changed after my father’s illness. We do not live, we do not eat, we do not drink. We don't have a meal because he doesn't eat. We do not sleep because he does not sleep. In fact, we are disconnected from life. We don't go out because he doesn't go out... Believe me, as we are a family, we also suffer from that disease together. It is as if we took that chemotherapy as well” (P4).
Feeling of Guilt	“I feel sad when I see him. I've wanted to walk away for more than a year. I wanted to punish myself... Now I blame myself for his illness, I am the one who is guilty” (P3).
Not Acceptance	“You know, when I heard from the doctors, I thought no no they are lying to me. No, I thought they didn't know. No, they don't know, they don't have any idea. I thought” (P3)
Efforts to Adapt the Caregiving Role	“After all these bad experiences like my grandmother’s illness, my mother’s illness, I unintentionally feel the same of sadness. I feel like I must change my mood. But I am panicking, and saying Come on mom, let's go to the hospital. I say”. (P1)

Theme 2. Essence of Caregiving Role: This theme consisted of expressions that included both the reasons for taking on the caregiving role and the meaning attributed to the caregiving role.

Category	Sample Items of Participants
Feeling of Responsibility	“You know, I'm an only child, and I don't want to leave my mother, even if there is a foundation for these elder and ill people, in Isparta the idea of taking your parents there does not sound good among the community I live”. (P1)
Societal pressure and Expectations	“Is it a bit of social pressure or what? And also, hah, it has a great impact on you, of course, unintentionally. Look, one thing how can't you take care of your mother? My mind is always full of thoughts of what the others say”. (P1)
Adding Spiritual Meaning	“I say this is gift of God to us”. (P3)

Theme 3. The Effects of Caregiving: In this theme, tension, stress, using time, reflection effects, psychological exhaustion, inability to focus on work, and economic effects of caregiving role on the participants were included.

Category	Sample Items of Participants
Psychological Exhaustion	“I also lost my father to the same illness. I'm really tired of having the same disease for the third time. You know the same hard processes. Well..The thing is like it is happening again and again, it's coming hard”. (P1)

Tension/Stress	“There is no problem, nothing, but your mind is always with your child. Like, of course my child is playing with other kids in the garden but again I always try to keep an eye on my child.” (P2)
Use of Time	“So, it's like that, after a while, even only I hear the words of the children's saying mother. Sometimes, how can I say... that you are so confused, the children ask for something, I say sure, of course to my children without knowing why I said it. I cannot spare time for my children” (P1) “Now I come at twelve o'clock. Well. .. I took my child for a walk last night. Because I can't spend time with my child on weekdays. I'm going to work at two now. I will come at midnight” (P2)
Reflection	“So, the patient does not suffer alone. Believe me, his/her relatives also suffer from that disease together.” (P4)
Inability to Focus on Work	“As a body, half of my mind is with my mother and half of my mind is with children” (P1)
Economic Effects	“How can I tell you? You spend more than you earn because we go to Antalya every two months and Denizli every four months. You have to pay for these expenses, you need to pay to the doctor in Denizli. You do not pay the fee at Antalya Akdeniz University” (P3).

Theme 4. Supports Provided to Caregiving Role: This theme consisted of expressions describing the support of the participants that alleviated this burden while bearing the burden of caregiving, and how they coped with this burden. In this theme, the participants mostly stated the support they received from their close family (such as spouse, sibling, mother).

Category	Sample Items of Participants
Family Support	“Thanks to my husband. You know, my husband helps with the housework. He says it will pass; we will get over it. He says I am here. Either he is trying not to offend or upset me. I don't know, he hasn't made me do any housework for at least eight months” (P4)
Professional Psychological Support	“I am currently undergoing treatment. I am receiving psychological treatment” (P3).
Coworker Support	"Every time I come, for example, your mother is ill, why did you come here? ... my friends also call me all the time and ask about my situation" (P1)
Social Environment- Friend Support	“I have wonderful friends... For example, when I say I have some work to do today. Can you take Zeynep? At least ten of my friends can take her from school” (P2)
Manager/Employer Support	“I mean, my pharmacist found me the drugs that people couldn't find during the blood search process, medicine search process, etc. He brought it up, he brought it on time. He is such a great blessing; may God bless him. I will never forget these favors. He called me day and night. What do you need? “Do you need money?” he asked. While my own relatives did not ask me about this, he

called me in the middle of the night and said I am coming, you don't have any money in your pocket. This is a great blessing for me" (P4)

Caregiver Support

"For example, I have problems taking him to the hospital. So, I couldn't take him to the hospital, I couldn't take him to rehabilitation. After that, I found a caregiver. Thanks to my caregiver, she takes him to the hospital and rehabilitation" (P3)

Theme 5. Caregiving Role and Workplace: This theme includes the challenges experienced by the participants in the workplace due to their caregiving role and the reflections of this role in the workplace.

Category	Sample Items of Participants
Trouble to obtain permission	"...obtaining permission in the private sector is a huge problem. Yes. I cannot help my father. Because I can't obtain permission from my employer... How long can I ask to obtain permission?" (P4)
Managers' Behaviors	"But our manager shows reluctance. I mean he grumbles" (P3)
Relationships with coworkers	When I need to ask for permission from my manager, my coworkers say that if you have someone to look after, you cannot prevent our work. Here, your absence causes us a workload". (P4)
A workplace as an escape from the role of caregiving	"You know, at least I'm getting away from the environment, a little bit of children's stuff, it relaxes me a little bit, when I come here, I may forget a little about my troubles. I'm busy with work. I'm visiting my coworker's office for a nice chat. My friend comes to my office for a cup of tea. It is like a break for me. I stay away from the constant exposure of sadness" (P3)

Theme 6. Expectations of Caregivers: This theme represents the efforts that caregivers expect and hope to be done in order to alleviate the current burden of caregiving and at the same time to overcome the challenges of caregiving.

Category	Sample Items of Participants
Establishment of Health Support Units	"If only there is a unit as a helper who is in charge of taking the patient to a doctor saying Ok. Let us take your patient to the doctor today. Let's get him/her treated, let's take him/her home. It's a great blessing to me. It is an unbelievably great blessing." (P4)
Manager/Employer Support	"I expect him/her to say that we should at least support him/her. Yes. Of course, you are right sometimes you may have to work a bit more for your

friend, but this is also a process which will take time. This period cannot be overcome easily but as human beings, we have to help.” (P4)

Changes in working conditions/ Regulation “So, for example, mothers of children with autism can work half a day. They can work part time” (P3).

“I wish I had the chance to take a leave and stay with my father for a while like those who work in the government office” (P4).

CONCLUSION

The populations of developed and developing countries have been aging rapidly and family members undertake and become the caregiver for the needs of individuals who require special care (disabled, ill) especially due to the elderliness related diseases. The current and new situation of the employees who provide informal care to their family members due to social, economic, and cultural reasons is getting more and more attention in the literature. There is an increasing number of studies have been appearing using the keyword "Caregiver" on Web of Science (Figure 2).

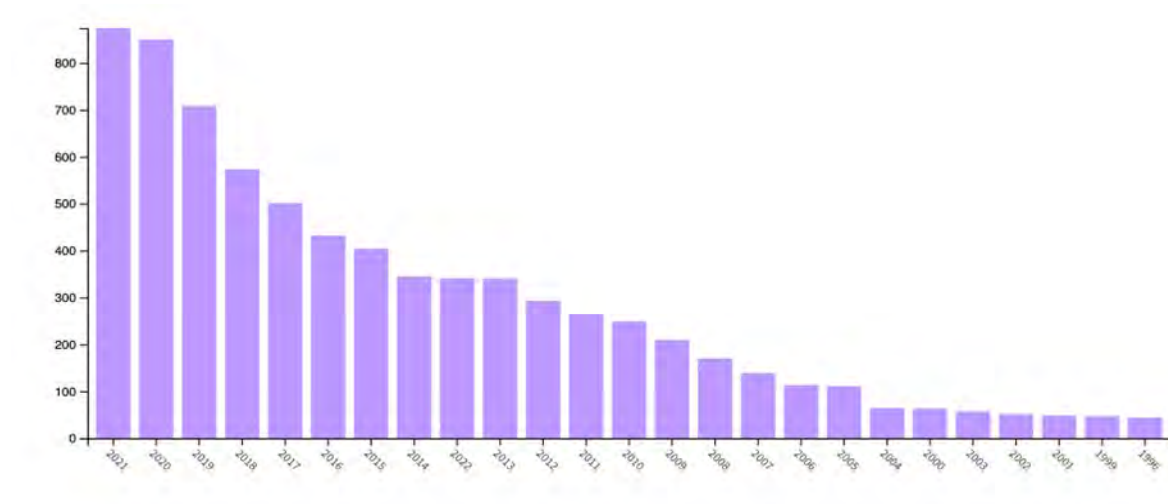


Figure 2. Number of Historical Research on Caregiver

The increase in research on the concept focuses on the white-collar worker who carries out the work-care balance together and neglects the female workers who naturally take the caring responsibility. This phenomenon observed in our work environment has been facilitated by

opportunities such as professional care services for employees with subjectively higher salaries and flexible working hours (this situation includes many emotional and physical problems regardless of income difference). Also, this situation presents a new life and many problems for blue-collar workers with low income and long working hours. The limited sample of this study, which was difficult to reach, also supports this prediction.

According to the results of the research, the statements of the participants were gathered under six themes. These are the experience of caregiving as a new role and its effects, the essence of the caregiving role, the effects of the caregiving role, the supports related to the caregiving role, the caring role and the expectations of the workplace and caregivers. Participants have been trying to cope with many problems such as stress, which is an inevitable result of work-family conflict and excessive role expectation. Those who receive support from their employer or coworkers manage the process subjectively easier. However, female caregivers, especially with low-income jobs, can consider going to work as an escape. In fact, this can be seen as a paradox. Beyond economic concerns, choosing work to staying at home can provide a peaceful version of family rhetoric to get work done and establish strong bonds with coworkers or employers. Or, on the contrary, the conditions at work increase the potential problems at home and make the things at work worse.

In this context, themes are important in the work-family conflict literature in order to define the new roles created by the increasing number of workers who give care to their families. In empirical studies on work-family conflict, women, caregiving status and work context should be included in the model. The findings of a large-scale study conducted in the USA also supports the findings of the current study. 43% of caregivers stated that they are distracted, worried, and focused on care rather than their work. More than half of the participants indicated that their supervisors were not as supportive as they needed to be in their caregiving responsibilities outside the work. One-third

of the participants stated that their work habits had changed as they were noticeably under stress due to their caring responsibilities outside of work (FCA, 2022).

The last theme of the research includes the expectations of the participants. Women caregivers who expect from the employer or manager to at least understand their situation and expect health units to support their current situation and legal regulations to regulate working conditions from the lawmakers. According to the reports of TÜBİTAK, providing the public investments to increase the supply of social care services has been recommended to reduce the unemployment by producing new employment opportunities to women. In addition, the aforementioned increase in the integration of women into labor market has been considered to close the potential societal gender gap by enhancing women's participation in the workforce of the organizations (Karakaş et al. 2020).

The current research has some limitations. The first one is the number of samples. Although researcher saturation has been obtained as a result of long interviews due to the nature of qualitative research, data collection but it was limited due to the structure of the study's sample. Isparta, where the data collected, has a low population density and a strong village-urban connection compared to other provinces. This situation results in the socioeconomic support of the caregiver woman by her family members. In addition, women who work despite this situation, mostly hide this situation from the work environment.

Another limitation of the study is the cross-sectional structure of the data collection. Longitudinal studies are required to determine the complicated cause-effect relationships in caregiving, burden of family roles, and worker behaviors. Finally, these research data have gathered on a self-report feature. Other family members can also be interviewed to overcome participant bias.

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WORKFORCE DIVERSITY AND DISCRIMINATION: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF BLUE-, GREY-, WHITE-COLLAR EMPLOYEES' PERCEPTIONS AND EXPERIENCES IN A LARGE ORGANIZATION

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Diversity is defined as the distribution of differences among employees according to some qualifications in organizations (Harrison and Klein, 2007), and left to their own devices, still a number of employers and managers do not prefer a diverse workforce. This is quite understandable, because the more diverse a workforce, the more difficult it becomes to manage that workforce (Avery and McKay, 2010). However, due to the increasing participation of women and ethnic minorities in business life, globalization and outsourcing, workforces have inevitably become more heterogeneous, in other words, diverse (Garnero and Rycx, 2013; Tamunomiebi and John-Eke, 2020). Moreover, if appropriately promoted, diversity is even claimed to provide a competitive advantage, superior job performance, increased positive employee engagement and increased job satisfaction (Hauret and Williams, 2020; McCuiston et al, 2004; Noe et al, 2014).

The personal attributes that constitute diversity have been divided into various categories by different researchers. For example, an important distinction regarding diversity is visible and invisible features (Salomon and Schork, 2003). Age, race, and gender are referred to as visible features of diversity, while religion, culture, political view, personality and so on are invisible. Moreover, according to Harrison and Klein (2007), there are three distinct types of diversity: diversity as *separation*, diversity as *variety* and diversity as *disparity*. While ‘diversity as separation’ emphasizes value, belief and attitude differences between group members, ‘diversity as variety’ focuses on information and experiences they have. Lastly,

‘diversity as disparity’ underlines group members’ assets and socially valued resources. Another distinction made by Harrison and his colleagues (1998) is *surface-level* and *deep-level diversity*. While surface-level diversity consists of age, gender, race, functional background and so on, deep-level diversity stems from personality, attitudes or beliefs. As these names of diversity dimensions imply, surface-level features are immediately recognizable, but deep-level diversity is not so easy to spot.

According to classification made by Loden and Rosener (1991), the primary dimensions of diversity consist of the innate and unchangeable features. The secondary dimension consists of the features that are acquired later and can be changed by the individual's own will. Gardenswartz and Rowe (1994) enhanced Loden and Rosener’s (1991) diversity dimensions by adding personality as a core dimension, and organizational dimensions as the outermost layer. According to their “The Four Layers of Diversity” model, diversity consists of *personality*, *internal*, *external* and *organizational* dimensions. Personality is defined as relatively consistent behavior patterns, intrapersonal processes, traits and characteristics (Burger, 2015: 4). The organizational layer is comprised of items that are mostly about membership in the organization, such as seniority, organizational unit, union affiliation. The diversity research generally focuses on ‘diversity as separation’ or ‘diversity as disparity’, and primary or visible dimensions (Triana et al, 2021).

Especially through the studies conducted on diversity in multinational corporations and creativity in diverse teams (Man et al, 2020; Urbancová et al, 2020; Wang et al, 2019), despite its being a difficulty, a challenge, diversity should be seen as a richness, a competitive advantage. However, this understanding of diversity is still hardly found in many organizations, because still a number of studies show that diversity with respect to certain attributes unfortunately become areas of discrimination.

Defined as differential treatments of individuals on the account of diverse characteristics such as gender, ethnicity, religion, and disability, discrimination can be seen in hiring, compensation, job allocation, promotion, access to training and staff benefits (Davey, 2014). Besides these decision areas, discrimination also takes the form of negative behaviors toward others, such as exclusion from social activities and bullying. Discrimination impacts many important conditions in organizations negatively, such as mental health (Vargas et al, 2020), job turnover and career dissatisfaction (Nunez-Smith et al, 2009) and organizational commitment (Ensher et al, 2001).

Dimensions of diversity and bases of discrimination may be different for different groups of employees. The typical and classical classification of employees has been done with respect to their collar colors, namely white- and blue-collar employees. Typically working in an office, wearing “white collars”, the white-collar employees perform professional, managerial, or administrative work (Marandi and Moghaddas, 2013). On the other hand, a blue-collar employee is physically active and performs manual labor (Marandi and Moghaddas, 2013). Then, since the early 2000's, research has begun on grey-collar employees (e.g. Hanley and McKeown, 2005; Allen, 2005). Grey-collar workers are talents with high knowledge level and proficient professional skills (Zhu et al, 2014).

Depending on collar colors, people's work experiences and how they perceive these experiences may differ, but very few studies examined these differences between the workgroups. Therefore, the main purpose of this study is to examine any differential experiences of discrimination among white-, blue- and grey-collar employees.

LITERATURE REVIEW

1. Diversity Carried Over to Discrimination

The dominant dimensions of diversity that have been studied are age, gender/sex, sexual orientation, race/ethnicity, religious affiliations and physical/mental health. In addition to these, some other dimensions, such as being a caregiver (Mullins et al, 2021), political views (Thompson, 2021), and body weight (Flint, 2015) have also been studied with respect to diversity. Since it would not be meaningful to address discrimination alone as earlier studies did, which is a consequence of diversity itself, more recent studies tend to emphasize diversity and inclusion holistically (Harrison and Klein, 2007; Triana et al, 2021). In the following part of the paper, literature on some prominent dimensions of diversity and discrimination, namely, gender and sexual orientation/identity, age, race/ethnicity and religion, physical/mental health are reviewed.

1.1. Gender

One of the most studied diversity dimensions in the literature is gender/sex (Ng and Rumens, 2017; Triana et al, 2021). According to Cottingham et al (2001), gender discrimination is any kind of exclusion, distinction or restriction that stems from socially constructed gender roles and norms, and it prevents a person from enjoying full human rights (as cited in Kouta and Kaite, 2011). In this context, women benefited from education, vocational training and employment opportunities much less than men and received low wages for their work (Johansson et al, 2001). The consequences of perceived gender discrimination include stress, job dissatisfaction and physical symptoms (Dipboye and Colella, 2005; Raver and Nishii, 2010). For instance, Keynejad and associates (2018) found that Somaliland women indicated significantly more gender discrimination and prejudice than men.

While gender discrimination is mainly associated with negative attitudes and behaviors, more positive attitude called benevolent sexism is also a form of discrimination, and shortly, it can be considered as a type of benevolent discrimination (Romani et al, 2019). Benevolent sexism appears favorable even if it is not, because it shows women as helpless and in need of support from men (Dardenne et al, 2007). For example, a male employee who makes comments about his female colleague's appearance may appear positive, but this may undermine perceived professionalism and competence (Glick & Fiske, 1996). According to Dardenne and associates (2007), women's cognitive performance on the task decreased when faced with benevolent sexist instructions.

1.2. Age

Age discrimination (or ageism) is displaying negative behaviors and attitudes toward another individual solely based on chronological age (Greenberg et al, 2002). Age discrimination arises from stereotypes of older employees having less physical and mental performance, unwilling to be trained, less adaptable and costly to the organization (DeArmond et al, 2006; McCann and Giles, 2002) and the stereotype that younger employees are inexperienced (Demir, 2011). These kinds of stereotypes lead to discriminatory behaviors, such as being passed over for a promotion (AARP, 2014), retirement pressure (van Sollinge and Henkens, 2007) and not recruiting younger candidates (Petit, 2007). Age discrimination has been associated with reduced well-being, organizational commitment, job dissatisfaction and performance (Garstka et al, 2004; Kunze et al, 2011; Redman and Snape, 2006). For example, Bayl-Smith and Griffin's study (2014) included 208 participants, 86.5% of whom were white-collar workers. Perceived experiences of age discrimination were associated with reduced work engagement (Bayl-Smith and Griffin, 2014).

Like benevolent sexism, benevolent ageism can also occur at the workplace, such as insisting an older adult help out, even after they have rejected. Even though these kinds of

behaviors may be considered acceptable and appropriate, these imply that older adults' opinion is not important nor relevant (Cary et al, 2017). Therefore, benevolent ageism may have negative effects as well as other types of discrimination.

1.3. Race/Ethnicity and Religion

People can also be discriminated against based on race/ethnicity and religion. Race/ethnicity and religion discrimination (racism) have negative outcomes within workplaces, such as lower levels of productivity (Berman et al, 2008), job satisfaction (Ali et al, 2015) and organizational commitment and increased turnover (Buttner et al, 2010). Assari and Moghani Lankarani (2018) found that African American men reported more discrimination and poor mental health, especially in workplaces with more white people. Moreover, in a study, Vietnamese, Chinese and Arabic-speaking workers reported discrimination and low job security (Daly et al, 2018). Similarly, some large groups of people, such as Muslim women (Ali et al, 2015), Pagans (Tejani, 2015) experienced discrimination in the workplace because of their religious affiliations. Ethnic and religious minorities are often offered lower salary (Park et al, 2009), are rated as less suitable for positions (Derous et al, 2015) and are less likely to be invited for an interview (Zschirnt and Ruedin, 2016).

1.4. Physical/Mental Health

Both visible, such as visual or hearing impairment and scoliosis, and invisible, such as HIV/AIDS or epilepsy, health problems may lead to discrimination (Graham et al, 2019). People with disabilities often face discriminatory behaviors in hiring (Araten-Bergman, 2016), pay (Gunderson and Lee, 2016) and involuntary job loss (Mitra and Kruse, 2016). According to Mitra and Kruse (2016), between 2007 and 2013, individuals who have disabilities were, respectively, 75-89% more likely to lose their jobs than others.

Mental health is one of the invisible dimensions of diversity and many employers also seem to be selective in hiring people with mental health problems (Corrigan et al, 2008; Uçok et al, 2012), because many individuals believe that having psychological problems means decreased productivity and job performance, especially in tasks that require cognitive capabilities (Scheid, 2005; Uçok et al, 2012). Also, individuals with mental health problems are usually perceived by others as unreliable and might risk the safety of others (Scheid, 2005). For example, Brouwers and associates (2016) interviewed 834 participants from 35 countries diagnosed with major depressive disorder. In very highly developed countries, 60% of participants did not apply for work or education/training because of expected discrimination, and overall, 62.5% of respondents had estimated and/or experienced discrimination in the workplace.

Similar to the above-mentioned benevolent gender and age discrimination, a more positive but undesirable attitude towards people with disabilities can be displayed. Attitudes such as paternalistic behaviors, overprotection and patronization can be exposed to women, elderly or disabled people (Cuddy et al, 2008). Even though these seem appropriate for others, disabled individuals might be annoyed and perceive unwanted help as derogatory, demeaning, and dismissive (Wang et al, 2015; Wang et al, 2019).

1.5. Other Dimensions of Diversity and/or Discrimination

In the literature, obesity (O'Brien et al, 2017), unfashionable or inappropriate dressing and physical disability (Christman and Branson, 1990), attractiveness (Hosoda et al, 2003), political views (Thompson, 2021), having family responsibilities (Dickson, 2008) and so on were examined within the scope of discrimination in the workplace. For instance, according to a meta-analysis on physical appearance discrimination (or lookism), individuals perceived as attractive experienced a range of more positive job outcomes than unattractive individuals, including performance appraisals and hiring decisions (Hosoda et al, 2003).

1.6. Culture and Discrimination

How diversity is viewed and what kinds of discrimination happen should not be considered without the effect of national culture, and as this paper is based on a study conducted in a large Turkish organization, some findings specific to Turkish culture are presented in this section.

Pointing towards especially gender-based discrimination, it is worthwhile to start with the cultural dimensions of gender egalitarianism (House et al, 2004), masculinity (Hofstede, 2001), and paternalism (Burke et al, 2008). According to findings on Turkey with respect to these dimensions (low level of gender egalitarianism, high level of masculinity, and high level of paternalism), due to distinctions made between male and female gender roles, women are not hired for certain positions or organizational units, are not preferred in promotions, experience pay discrimination, and workplaces become segregated based on gender (Hofstede, 2001; Palaz, 2002).

Another cultural dimension which can be related to discrimination is individualism/collectivism. Türkiye is categorized as a collectivist country, which means that individuals mainly act as members of certain groups (Hofstede, 1993), specifically meaning that group cohesion, commitment, solidarity, agreement and cooperation among individuals are very important (George and Jones, 2008; as cited in Yüksel and Bolat, 2016). As collectivist cultures favor more particularistic and often ascriptive criteria in awarding status (Hofstede, 1980; Triandis, 1995), employers tend to hire people based on who one is and how that job candidate is related to key actors in the society and decision-makers in the organization. Additionally, being conscious of the value of in-group relationships, it is not uncommon for the managers in collectivist cultures to put employees of the same ethnic background in the same work group (Hofstede, 1991). In collectivist cultures, there is also a high level of respect to age, and this translates into loyalty and seniority often being viewed as much more important than

competence (Wu and Yi, 2008). Therefore, collectivism can be seen as an important factor in the experience of hiring discrimination, and discrimination based on group affiliations.

The importance of in-group in Türkiye has also brought a very high score on in-group collectivism within the framework of GLOBE study (House et al, 2002). Within this framework, Türkiye has a low score on humane orientation, which shows a decrease from its 1995 level (Pagda et al, 2021). This means that the Turkish society has less expectations from members of the community to promote others' well-being, which is explained by Çarkoğlu and Aytaç (2016) with the increase in economic hardships. Therefore, together with a high level of in-group collectivism, this cultural stance of Türkiye opens room for discrimination based on affiliations with certain workgroups or organizational units.

Within the frameworks of both GLOBE and Hofstede's studies (Pagda et al, 2021; Hofstede, 1993) Türkiye scores high on the power distance dimension, meaning that members of the society accept the unequal distribution of power. Most of the Turkish managers expect obedience from their subordinates, and Turkish organizations are generally highly hierarchical (Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner, 1998). In Turkish society, power and resource are allocated according to hierarchy. For example, office space, parking spaces, and cars can be allocated based on the status of the employees.

According to Özcan et al (2011), the existence of a power distant culture leads to differences in social interactions and the treatment that some people are exposed to changes depending on their job status. Furthermore, organizational culture in Türkiye depends on seniority in employment, and respect shown to aged individuals and long-term employment protect these people from age discrimination (Özcan et al, 2011). Moreover, because of the hierarchy and uncertainty avoidance, not being an ethnic group member is critical for success in society and upward mobilization (Çarkoğlu and Kalaycıoğlu, 2009; as cited in Bağcı et al, 2017).

In a nutshell, then, how diversity is perceived, which dimensions of diversity have significance, and whether important dimensions of diversity lead to discrimination is affected by culture.

2. Classification of Employees by Their Collars

As mentioned earlier, the classification of employees has been done with respect to their collar colors. While white-collar workers perform managerial or administrative work (Marandi and Moghaddas, 2013), blue-collar work can be considered as a concept that expresses physical conditions, routine jobs and unqualified individuals (Alpaslan and Özen Kutunis, 2007). On the other hand, grey-collar employee is the one that falls in between the white- and blue-collar employees, because they put both blue-collar and white-collar skills into use (Wright, 2007; as cited in Hutchings et al, 2009). This term also means an aging or ‘greying’ population (Hutchings et al, 2009). Although it is not possible to make a precise definition, it can be said that managers, engineers, architects, lawyers, bankers and so on are white-collar employees (Erdayı, 2012). In addition, grey-collar workers are a group of employees with titles such as chief, foreman, shift supervisor, chargehand, while blue-collar workers are manual laborers. (Eriş et al, 2020).

Depending on the collar colors, employees’ work experiences and how they perceive these experiences may change. For instance, according to Ateş and associates (2014), the inequality perceptions and reactions to inequality are different for the white- and blue-collar workers. Blue-collars prefer to complain to or persuade managers, but white-collar workers show their reactions by acting more politically, such as trying to prevent the wage raise of a colleague with the same status, protesting the management by taking the assigned duties slowly and reducing the performance level (Ateş et al, 2014). Just as the perceptions of inequality and reactions are different, there are also differences in the discrimination experiences between white- and blue-collar workers. For example, whites have the highest upward mobility rate compared to African

Americans and Latinos, but this difference is greater for blue-collar work and it is more difficult for African American/Latino blue-collar workers to get promoted than white-collars (Wilson and Maume, 2013; Wilson and Maume, 2014). Also, according to Adamy and Overberg (2016), gender inequality in income is greater in many white-collar jobs than in blue-collar in U.S. In addition, pay returns from training activities with employees are significantly positive for white-collar workers, however not for blue collar workers (Almeida-Santos et al, 2010). However, current studies about differences in the discrimination experiences are a few and grey-collar workers have not been examined in these studies.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

Even though it should be considered that blue- and grey-collar employees have different work experiences compared to white-collars, in the literature, the participants are generally white-collar workers and blue-collars are rarely included (Bayraktaroğlu et al, 2015). Moreover, according to Eriş and associates (2020), there are just a few articles about grey-collar workers, and none of them deal with diversity or discrimination. However, it is expected that there will naturally be differences between the workgroups due to the differences in the levels of their position of the employees, the people they are in contact with and the work environment. Therefore, the main purpose of this study is to examine these experienced differences in discrimination experiences between white-, blue- and grey-collar employees.

In addition, many studies have addressed only a few dimensions of diversity. However, there can be some other dimensions of diversity which need to be studied, such as, favoring a particular political party, being a graduate of a particular school/university. Also, in addition to the discrimination dimensions mentioned in the literature, there may be other dimensions and differences specific to Türkiye such as being born and raised in a particular city or geographical region. Considering that each dimension of diversity may cause discrimination and other related negative consequences of discrimination, it can be said that all of them should be examined.

With the hope of shedding some light on any differential experiences of discrimination by different categories of employees, this study is an exploratory one aiming to find answers to the following questions.

- What are the dimensions of diversity that matter for the blue-, grey, and white-collar employees? Are there differences?
- Do blue-, grey-, and white-collar employees perceive different types of discrimination? If so, for which types of discrimination are there differences?
- For the common areas of discrimination, are there any differences in terms of the way that discrimination is experienced by the blue-, grey- and white-collar employees? If so, what are those differential experiences?

RESEARCH DESIGN

1. Data Collection

In order to be able to explore the differences among three categories of employees we decided to interview employees from the same organization to control for the organizational culture. The company discussed in this study produces concrete, concrete structures and components in Ankara, the capital city of Türkiye. In the company, approximately 15% of the employees work as white-collar, 83% as blue-collar and 2% as grey-collar. There are only 5 women in the firm and all of them work as white-collars. In other words, there are no females among the blue- and grey-collar employees.

Participants were invited to the research via announcements made by human resources department throughout the company. Written information was provided to the participants alongside an invitation to the study. Before the interview, a brief oral presentation about the research was made and a written consent was obtained from each participant. Also,

demographic information on age, gender, marital status, education level, income level, the place where the participant lived for the longest time, total work time, total work time at the company and job position were collected. Then, semi-structured interviews were conducted. One of the researchers, a psychologist carried out these interviews and they lasted about 8-45 minutes.

In most studies dealing with diversity and discrimination, quantitative methods have generally been used. However, since the perceived discrimination differences between grey-collar workers and others have not been examined before and the research questions cannot be answered without analyzing the subjective experiences, this is an exploratory study and therefore, naturally demands a qualitative design (Maxwell, 2012). With the qualitative method of data collection, constraints of closed-ended surveys can be removed and in-depth descriptions of perceptions and experiences can be elicited. Additionally, qualitative studies are also pointed out to be suitable for studying underrepresented populations (Bogdan and Knopp Biklen, 2007).

Interviews were started with warm-up questions, such as "Can you tell us a little about yourself? What are your responsibilities at this company?" and continued with questions about the main purpose. At this point, the participants were shown the diversity wheel (Appendix A and for the Turkish version Appendix B) which was custom tailored for the study by reviewing the entire literature, especially using the studies of Gardenswartz and Rowe (1994), and Loden and Rosener (1991). As it can be seen in the wheel, similar to the mentioned studies, diversity dimensions are grouped under three categories as internal, external and organizational layers. However, we added many other dimensions to existing diversity wheels, such as hometown, psychological state, political view, being a fan of a football team, being a graduate of a particular school/university, religious sect/cult, because we thought that these are important for examining a company in the context of Turkish culture.

Diversity is not only about how a person sees himself/herself, but also about how others perceive that person (Sampana and De la Cruz, 2020). Therefore, the participants were asked whether all employees were treated differently because of any feature they saw on the wheel and they were asked to mark those dimensions on the wheel. For each marked box, questions were asked about that particular dimension of diversity, such as “Why did you specifically mark this dimension? Will you please tell me in what kind of situations you observed or experienced anything related to this dimension of diversity?”. Since many categories have been added to the diversity dimensions mentioned in the literature, this study examines discrimination from a very broad perspective.

2. Participants

The participants of the study consist of 11 people (3 females, 8 males) aged between 23-52 ($M = 38$, $SD = 10.31$). Data collection was stopped after 11 participants, because it was noticed during the interviews and analysis that data saturation was reached. Four of these participants work as grey-collar (foreman), 4 as white-collar (office support staff, civil engineer, sales engineer and technical office engineer) and 3 as blue-collar (laborer). Although the job titles were stated as above, to classify employees by their collar colors, the participants were asked “How do you spend your day at the company? What kind of responsibilities/tasks do you have?” in semi-structured interviews.

Regarding the place where they spent most of their lives, the majority ($n = 4$) answered as province (il), three participants as metropolis (büyükşehir), three participants as district (ilçe) and one participant as village (köy). Almost all of the participants ($n = 10$) defined themselves as having middle-income level, while one blue-collar employee stated low-income level. Among the blue-collar workers, there is only one secondary school graduate, while the others are high school graduates. Two of the grey collar workers is high school graduate, one is junior

college graduate and one is primary school graduate. On the other hand, all of the white-collar workers are university graduates.

Information was also obtained about how long the participants had worked in total and how long they had worked in this company. The total work time is ranged between 2 and 26 years ($M = 14.45$, $SD = 7.67$) and the participants worked at this company for at least 10 days and at most for 15 years ($M_{year} = 6.7$, $SD = 5.86$).

3. Content Analysis

In this study, audio recordings obtained through semi-structured interviews were transcribed and name, city and similar information that can reveal the identity of the participants are anonymized during transcription. After transcription, interviews were analyzed through content analysis, which is a research technique used to draw systematic conclusions from certain categories defined in the text, and it is used because of its ability to reveal the deeper meaning and latent content within the text (Duriaru et al, 2007). Analysis process consisted of six stages in total: getting familiar with the data, creating the first codes by bringing together the remarkable features of the data, collecting the codes under subcategories, reviewing the compatibility of subcategories with the data and codes, defining and naming the main categories and preparing the report by selecting quotation samples.

FINDINGS

With the content analysis, four main themes emerged as *dimensions*, *areas*, *direction of discrimination* and *discriminatory behaviors*. The diversity dimensions that resulted in discrimination were gathered in three themes in line with our diversity wheel. These themes are *internal*, *external*, and *organizational* dimensions of diversity. Also, themes of discrimination areas based on diversity dimensions are defined as *hiring*, *promotion*, *relationships*, *work*

experiences/workload and *pay*. In addition to these themes, *direction of discrimination* and *discriminatory behaviors* emerged (Table 1).

Table 1. Summary of Content Analysis

Main Themes	Themes	Subthemes
Dimensions of Diversity	Internal Dimensions	Personality Gender Citizenship/Ethnicity and/or Townspersonship Age Disability Mental/Physical Ability
	External Dimensions	Physical Appearance Education Level Income Family Status Political View Religious Beliefs
	Organizational Dimensions	Seniority Hierarchical Status Union Affiliation
Areas of Discrimination	Hiring	-
	Relationships	
	Promotion	
	Pay	
	Work Experiences/ Workload	
Direction of Discrimination	Vertical Lateral	-

Discriminatory Behaviors	Hostile Benevolent	-

Dimensions of Diversity and Discrimination

Dimensions of diversity carried over to discrimination are emerged as three subthemes, namely internal, external and organizational dimensions of diversity carried over discrimination.

1. Internal Dimensions of Diversity and Discrimination

Internal (or primary) dimensions include aspects of diversity which individuals have no control over (Loden and Rosener, 1991) and these are usually the first things a person sees in others. The internal dimensions on which any participant said anything were personality, gender, citizenship/ethnicity and/or townspersonship, age, disability, and mental/physical ability. These subthemes are explained in detail below.

1.1. Personality

To begin with, two out of four grey-collar employees talked about difficult personalities, such as unsatisfied, angry, and dissident people, and as it can be seen below, they said that these employees “disrupt the order” and because of this, these people seem to be ostracized from social circles at work. Thus, unlike the other internal dimensions, personality did not emerge as a strong dimension, because only two participants mentioned it with just a few sentences.

“We have an order. If someone disrupts it, he is useless ... I exclude him, no need to lie ... I don’t call him for overtime work ... I keep him at arm’s length.” (Participant 1, grey-collar)

1.2. Gender

Unlike personality, gender appears to have two sides. First of all, three white-collar employees mentioned experiencing or observing benevolent gender discrimination, such as giving priority queue for lunch, front seats in the workplace transport (“ladies first!”) and even carrying out some of their duties such as helping a female employee who is given the task of delivering some documents by telling them that they can take those documents downstairs since they are already going downstairs. Secondly, despite the benevolent discrimination among white-collar peers, there seems to be an ongoing hostile sexism for blue- and grey-collar positions as it has been openly stated by two grey- and one blue-collar interviewees and a human resources department employee (the contact person for the interviews) that women are not hired for their positions. Therefore, it would not be wrong to claim that there is gender segregation at this workplace (Becker, 1971, as cited in Carrington and Toske, 1995).

1.3. Citizenship/Ethnicity and/or Townspersonship

Since Türkiye is a highly cosmopolitan country, it is not surprising to observe discrimination based on citizenship/ethnicity and/or townspersonship. One blue- and one white-collar employee expressed negative feelings towards Syrians, Kurds and they mentioned about informal social groupings (cliques) of these employees which also form strong support systems for them. These minority groups of employees are also known to be active in bringing new employees from their groups to blue- and grey-collar positions in the firm. Below, is a direct quotation of the discomfort felt by one of the employees on the ways in which one minority group asserts itself:

“The man was talking in the second language (Kurdish). I don’t like it, it’s not a lie. Speaking Kurdish does not go with me ... It’s (speaking Kurdish) the thing you do to display yourself different. I call it the lack of personality. In my opinion, that shows the lack of personality, there’s no need (to speak Kurdish) ... Kurds also have a strong support system:

they always back each other. For example, they gather, make tea together during breaks.”
(Participant 8, blue-collar)

1.4. Age

Three grey- and two white-collar participants mentioned benevolent age discrimination, such as showing respect or assigning light duty to aged coworkers and allowing them to leave work earlier. These positive attitudes seem to be stronger for the aged employees who are seniors or hierarchically above. Therefore, due to age, seniority and hierarchical status, there seems to be a change in interaction patterns.

“If there is something to be carried, even if it is something of light weight, (we tell the senior person to) bring that material slowly ... For example, (when) tea comes, (we say) be seated, I will serve you.” (Participant 5, grey-collar)

“Age is also important. I mean, in terms of priority...both age and seniority. We respect those who are older than us. Those younger than us also respect us in a way that is related to age.” (Participant 11, white-collar)

1.5. Disability

Like gender dimension of diversity, people with disabilities are also exposed to benevolent and hostile discrimination. For hostile discrimination, it should be noted that, just like the case for women, there are no physically or mentally disabled individuals in blue- or grey-collar positions. In other words, a few physically disabled employees are employed in white-collar positions. Therefore, it can be said that construction of “glass walls” are extended to also keep people with disabilities outside (Bend and Fielden, 2021). For benevolent discrimination, as summarized in the direct quotation below, one blue, two grey- and two white-collar participants stated that they help and try to ease these employees’ work.

“Here we have a disabled friend ... He can hardly walk; (so) we help him. We offer to carry his bag; we give priority to him in the cafeteria. Everyone carries his tray.” (Participant 11, white-collar)

1.6. Mental/Physical Ability

The last internal dimension of diversity and discrimination is physical and/or mental ability. Some employees with their relatively low levels of skills and competence seem to receive some attention. As pointed out by one blue- and one grey-collar employee, despite the placement of these people in positions according to their ability and skill levels, some workers, seeing these people as incompetent (lacking in skills to work), do not want them around.

“Some people don’t like these people. They want to take the bread out of his mouth. You know, (they say) “This man doesn’t know (anything), why we still have him?” (Participant 6, blue-collar)

2. External Dimensions of Diversity and Discrimination

External (or secondary) dimensions of diversity can be changed, modified, or discarded in lifetime and they are less salient than internal dimensions (Loden and Rosener, 1991). In this study, physical appearance, education level, income, family status, political view and religious beliefs are emerged as subthemes of external diversity categories.

2.1. Physical Appearance

First of all, one grey- and one white-collar employee stated different patterns and areas of discrimination based on physical appearance. While both workers were teased and bullied because of their appearance, the way people dress seemed to have a negative effect on the hiring decisions for only white-collars. In addition to the ongoing discrimination among employees at the same level, there is also a downward vertical dimension of discrimination based on physical

appearance for white-collar employees which starts from employment interviews. These two directions of discrimination can be noticed in the following quotations.

“For example, when someone is dirty, everyone starts to gossip about (him). They say “You smell” ... They give great importance to appearance here. You must take care of yourself. Otherwise, people will talk behind your back ... (such as) “Why is there a bad smell here? Doesn’t he take a bath at all?” (Participant 1, grey-collar)

“I felt judgment about appearance when job interviews were held with a couple of people ... Being dressed in a much better way is expected ... We hear that it is spoken within the company (such as) “Is this how you come to work?!” (Participant 4, white-collar)

2.2. Education Level

Since blue- and grey-collar people generally have lower education levels, benevolent discrimination shown to someone with a higher education level was observed. These highly educated, but unfortunately misplaced employees seem to get more respect from their peers, as can be read in the following quotation.

“They view those who are educated, differently. For example, high school graduates ... (They think) he is educated; he came (to work here) because he had to. They don’t want to crush those people ... For example, there was a physics teacher here ... I mean, people show respect to this teacher, they show respect just because he is educated.” (Participant 1, grey-collar)

2.3. Income

As the altruistic understanding and nature of Turkish culture demand, individuals with low-income level are sometimes supported financially by their coworkers. However, this was the

case for only blue- and grey-collar employees, but this is expected as these workers generally have lower incomes than others and act as a member of cohesive and clan-like group.

2.4. Family Status

Like income dimension of diversity, family status also leads to benevolent discrimination among all work groups. For instance, as can be seen in the quotation below, participants stated that parents can take time off from work easier than others and employees with newborns receive financial support from their colleagues.

“Most people who are mothers here are also treated nicely. You know, when she wants to take a leave (from daily work for a couple of hours), (when) she says she will go to school, she has a child, she is allowed. No problem.” (Participant 2, white-collar)

2.5. Political View

The harsh language and discriminatory remarks of politicians, especially segregating the voters of the opposing political parties from those of the ruling political parties, has some reflections on the interactions among two blue-collar employees. Some employees make insulting remarks – exemplified in the following quotation – or jokes about the opposing political parties and their strong supporters.

“Sheep (Participant calls a coworker who supports a particular political party as a sheep.) ... Sometimes we even quarrel.” (Participant 8, blue-collar)

2.6. Religious Beliefs

It has been observed that there are discriminatory acts based on the daily practices of Islam, which is the religion of many people in Türkiye. According to one blue- and one grey-collar employee, performing Friday prayers is not allowed, because management believes that this

affects performance negatively. On the other hand, blue- and grey-collars help each other when one of them performs religious rituals and rites, such as fasting during Ramadan.

“We slow down the tempo a little bit (during Ramadan) ... After Ramadan, we prioritize our friends who fast in Ramadan and have them work overtime, because they do not have that opportunity (during Ramadan).” (Participant 3, grey-collar)

3. Organizational Dimensions of Diversity and Discrimination

The diversity features placed in organizational dimensions are items that are under the control of the organization in which the person works and because of this, people can influence these dimensions in a limited capacity. The types of discrimination that the participants expressed regarding the characteristics of the organization were grouped under three subthemes as seniority, hierarchical status, and union affiliation.

3.1. Seniority

Seniority is the most frequently mentioned dimension by the participants, and feelings of discrimination become more intense when seniority is combined with age or hierarchical status. According to all work groups (two blue-, one grey-, two white-collars), discrimination based on seniority becomes benevolent for senior employees while it becomes hostile for younger and less experienced employees. For instance, new employees get help from other employees, while they receive less attention from management, as can be seen in the quotation below.

“But when you tell management (the mistake), management doesn’t listen to you ... They (management) tell the newcomers to do something, (but) they criticize everything (they do). They also think that seniors always do it right.” (Participant 4, white-collar)

Furthermore, people who have worked for the company longer are respected more, paid higher and are considered to be faultless. However, a blue-collar participant, has drawn attention to the mistakes made by some senior employees.

“Age is also important. I mean, in terms of priority...both age and seniority ... Also, when seniority is also the case, (for example) a manager or general manager, there should be an extra respect and an extra priority.” (Participant 11, white-collar)

“They just say (something like) this. “You’ve been here for ten years, you’re still doing this wrong, you still can’t do the project.” (Participant 6, blue-collar)

3.2. Hierarchical Status

As mentioned earlier, participants talked about different patterns of interaction between employees depending on age, seniority, and hierarchical status. As can be seen from the quotations below, the collar color stands out as another dimension of diversity, which shows itself in the way they communicate with each other.

“I can make a joke to my friend (a colleague), but I can’t to my general manager, I don’t want to.” (Participant 2, white-collar)

“The way he (the head of the department) talks to a normal blue-collar person will be different.” (Participant 3, grey-collar)

3.3. Union Affiliation

For the last subtheme of diversity and discrimination, only blue- and grey-collar employees mentioned about union affiliation. Membership in a union seems to be of utmost importance to management, and is known to have a serious consequence, which is immediate dismissal.

“I have never been a member of a union; I never did ... If you become a member of a union, you will be fired.” (Participant 8, blue-collar)

Areas of Discrimination

Content analysis revealed another main theme, namely areas of discrimination, and that certain dimensions of diversity are carried over to discrimination in areas such as hiring, relationships, promotion, pay, work experiences and workload.

1. Hiring

As mentioned throughout this study, employees agreed that gender, physical appearance and disability may result in people being hired or not. In addition to these, three participants stated that they were able to get a job through the referral of their relatives who were working in the firm.

“Be it a woman or a disabled person, this is not a suitable field to work (for them), so they cannot work.” (Participant, grey-collar)

2. Relationships

As it is understood from the content analysis, almost all dimensions of diversity have reflections on the different ways of constructing and maintaining relationships among employees with different collars. However, there are two sides of these differing types of relationships. In addition to being treated differently because of features an individual has, some individuals approach their superiors with the hope of getting a special treatment, in other words, receive favoritism.

“I can’t make any jokes (to my boss). I don’t expect them (subordinates) to do for me either. They don’t already.” (Participant 2, white-collar)

“There are those who flatter their superiors ... They (employees) are called smarmy, smarmy, ass-kissers ... We see that they become favored employees by exaggerating their work.” (Participant 8, blue-collar)

3. Promotion

According to two grey-collar participants, getting a promotion is especially related to good relationships with the superiors.

“(To get a promotion) they examine your current order of working ... (and) how your relationship with your supervisor is.” (Participant 1, grey-collar)

“In order to be a grey-collar (to get a promotion), your behavior, position, attitude, I don’t know, your perspective (are important) ... attitudes at the workplace, against your superiors, against employees, against your colleagues (are important).” (Participant 3, grey-collar)

4. Pay

Another outstanding area of discrimination is compensation. One blue- and one white-collar participant mentioned about pay discrimination.

“Sometimes I hear (differences) about salary. (For example) If someone is a fellow townsperson (hemşehri), he earns a little bit more ... There are those who kiss up to their superiors and rumors about them getting higher wages.” (Participant 8, blue-collar)

5. Work Experiences and Workload

The last theme about results of discrimination revealed by the content analysis is work experiences and workload. As can be seen from the quotations throughout this study, discriminatory behaviors and attitudes toward individuals naturally affect experiences at the workplace. For instance, employees are given lighter tasks because of their townspersonship.

Direction of Discrimination

Besides the dimensions of diversity and discrimination, the content analysis also revealed that discrimination flowed in two directions: lateral and vertical (downward). In other words, the actors of discrimination are not always those with a higher hierarchical position than the

targeted employees. More specifically, discrimination seems to be happening among co-workers as well as it is done by superiors to subordinates. Furthermore, compared to vertical discrimination, lateral discrimination seems to be more pervasive. With the exception of union affiliation, in all of the diversity dimensions, discrimination is experienced laterally, whereas vertical discrimination is found in about half of the diversity dimensions. There were six dimensions from two categories in which only lateral discrimination was mentioned. The internal dimensions of lateral discrimination were personality, age, and mental/physical ability. Out of the three organizational dimensions of diversity, two dimensions (seniority and hierarchical status) were related to both lateral and vertical discrimination. The only organizational dimension of diversity which was related only to vertical discrimination was union affiliation. Thus, the areas of discrimination showed a particular difference according to its direction. While downward vertical discrimination was found to occur in hiring, promotion, workload and salary decisions, lateral discrimination was usually related to working climate.

Discriminatory Behaviors

Lastly, as was mentioned previously under the gender and age dimensions, a number of participants were found to attach positivity to the concept of discrimination by mentioning about some positive behaviors such as carrying out some duties for someone else, giving someone priority queue for lunch, which were not perceived by them as negative or discriminatory. Even though those participants always used the term “positive discrimination” in their narrations, those positive behaviors which still count for discrimination should be named as benevolent discrimination (Romani et al, 2019). Therefore, another theme constructed in this study is discriminatory behaviors dichotomized as benevolent, and hostile discrimination. Contrary to benevolent discrimination being comprised of positive behaviors, hostile discrimination consists of only negative behaviors such name-calling, ostracism, segregation, dismissal and other salient acts. In this study, discrimination was found to have a

hostile nature only for personality, mental/physical ability, physical appearance, political view, and union affiliation dimensions. However, benevolent discrimination was the only type of discrimination found for age, education level, income, family status, and hierarchical status.

DISCUSSION

In this research, we aimed to explore differences in experiences of discrimination by different categories of employees. To achieve this aim, semi-structured interviews were conducted with 11 participants, 4 of whom were blue-collar, 4 grey-collar and 3 white-collar, in a large organization in Türkiye. Content analysis performed on the interview data revealed several diversity dimensions which fell under the internal, external, and organizational categories. Personality, gender, citizenship/ethnicity/townspersonship, age, disability, mental/physical ability were the internal dimensions. Physical appearance, education level, income, family status, political view, and religious affiliations were the external dimensions. Then, seniority, hierarchical status, and union affiliation were the organizational dimensions mentioned by the participants of the study.

Starting with the direction of discrimination (Table 2), lateral discrimination was found to be the dominant type of discrimination, as it was found in 14 out of 15 dimensions, whereas vertical discrimination was found in only 9 dimensions. This showed that discrimination was mainly a peer-to-peer issue. For the types of behaviors involved, just like hostile discrimination, benevolent discrimination was found in two-thirds of the dimensions. Both hostile and benevolent discriminations were found in five dimensions, namely, gender, ethnicity/townspersonship, disability, religious beliefs, and seniority. These findings are in line with previous findings on Türkiye's low score on gender egalitarianism, and high scores on collectivism and power distance.

Combining the findings, and evaluating them with respect to collar types, overall, it can be stated that, in terms of the noted dimensions of diversity and experienced discriminations the three groups of employees showed more commonalities than differences (Table 2). The common dimensions of diversity and discrimination for all three collar participants are gender, disability, and seniority. Interestingly, for all of these dimensions, all of the cells are marked showing that lateral, vertical, benevolent and hostile discriminations are experienced.

There are four dimensions common for grey- and white-collar participants, namely, age, physical appearance, family status, and hierarchical status. The dimensions common for blue- and grey-collar participants are income, religious beliefs, and union affiliation. Then, there are two dimensions – personality, and education level – which are noted by only grey-collar participants, and the political view dimension noted by white-collar participants.

Even though the three collar groups were mostly in agreement on the dimensions of diversity and discrimination, the experiences of discrimination with respect to certain dimensions differed. As stated before, there was an ongoing benevolent discrimination of women and disabled employees, mentioned by all collar participants. However, women or people with disabilities not being employed becomes a hostile discrimination in hiring for the blue- and grey-collar positions. Moreover, physical appearance meant different things for two collar groups. While cleanliness-dirtiness and bodily odors, especially sweat, were specified by a grey-collar participant, it was formal business attire for a white-collar participant.

Table 2. Summary of Findings

Dimension of Diversity	Direction of Discrimination		Discriminatory Behaviors		Classification of Employees		
	Lateral	Vertical	Benevolent	Hostile	Blue	Grey	White
Personality	+			+		+	
Gender	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Ethnicity and/or Townspersonship	+	+	+	+	+		+
Age	+		+			+	+
Disability	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Mental/Physical Ability	+			+	+		+
Physical appearance	+	+		+		+	+
Education Level	+		+			+	
Income	+		+		+	+	
Family Status	+	+	+			+	+
Political View	+			+	+		
Religious Beliefs	+	+	+	+	+	+	
Seniority	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Hierarchical Status	+	+	+			+	+
Union Affiliation		+		+	+	+	

Another difference found among the collar groups is that blue- and grey-collar employees seem to have formed highly cohesive informal groups in which they show solidarity. Besides the frequent use of the “we” term, the level of interaction among them also seems high compared to the white-collar employees who have a relatively individualistic sub-culture. This in-group collectivism (House et al, 2002; Pagda, 2019) leads the two collar groups to distance themselves easily from the out-group (Branscombe et al, 1993) employees especially with respect to different political views and personalities.

Except for union affiliation, all dimensions of discrimination are experienced laterally, mostly peer-to-peer. In other words, there is no hierarchical difference between the involved parties. The vertical dimensionality in discrimination comes out because of the nature of those dimensions that can be observed in certain practices of discrimination, such as hiring, promotion, workload, and salary decisions.

In addition, the participants talked about benevolent discrimination with respect to most of the dimensions, and this type of discrimination was the sole discrimination experienced for five dimensions (age, education level, income, family status, and hierarchical status).

In terms of the dynamics of discrimination, some dimensions of diversity were put together in some narrations of discrimination, such as age, seniority, and hierarchical status building a stronger benevolent discrimination. Besides, attention to hierarchical level, age and seniority also indicates a culture of hierarchy and this finding about mixture of clan and hierarchy cultures is in line with the literature (Oney-Yazıcı et al, 2007). As another important dynamic, a particular discriminatory act or decision within the firm was attributed to more than one dimension of diversity, such as the ineligibility of women and disabled people for employment in blue- and grey-collar jobs.

Finally, we can state that each dimension of diversity is somehow transferred to discrimination light or severe. For instance, the gossiping of some employees on a blue-collar employee's sweat odor can be considered a light discrimination as it involves talking behind someone's back, and the targeted employee might never be aware of this. Unfortunately, there are some other discriminations which can be stated as more severe, such as immediate termination due to membership in a union.

Although the current study has many strengths such as including grey-collar employees, comparing three collar types, examining many diversity dimensions in addition to the literature,

it had a limitation. Talking about discrimination was not an easy task for some of the participants. Even though voluntariness was sought out through an announcement by the human resources department, about half of the participants were observed to be uneasy and could hardly talk. One of these participants openly stated that he did not want to be saying something offending management. Another participant even questioned whether the interviews were organized for determining those to be fired. When the interviewer asked for new participants to replace these employees, the liaison person from the HR department showed reluctance by stating that he should not be interrupting the workflows of some more employees. To overcome difficulties like these, collecting and analyzing data from blogs where employees freely write down their experiences can be considered.

As this study showed the coexistence of more than one diversity dimension in a particular discrimination, it will be worthwhile to study the hybrid structure of diversity dimensions in discrimination specifically in the future. Additionally, since it was found out that some dimensions of diversity had different levels of importance and there were some different experiences of discrimination for three different groups of employees, future studies should take a closer look at these differences with more participants from these categories of employees. To be able to control for the organizational culture variable, this study was conducted within one organization. Future studies on cross-sectional samples which also study the effect of different types of organizational cultures would make worthwhile contributions to the literature.

For practical implications, to alleviate discrimination and have a more inclusive work environment, diversity training together with sensitivity training should take place in organizations starting from orientation and onboarding programs.

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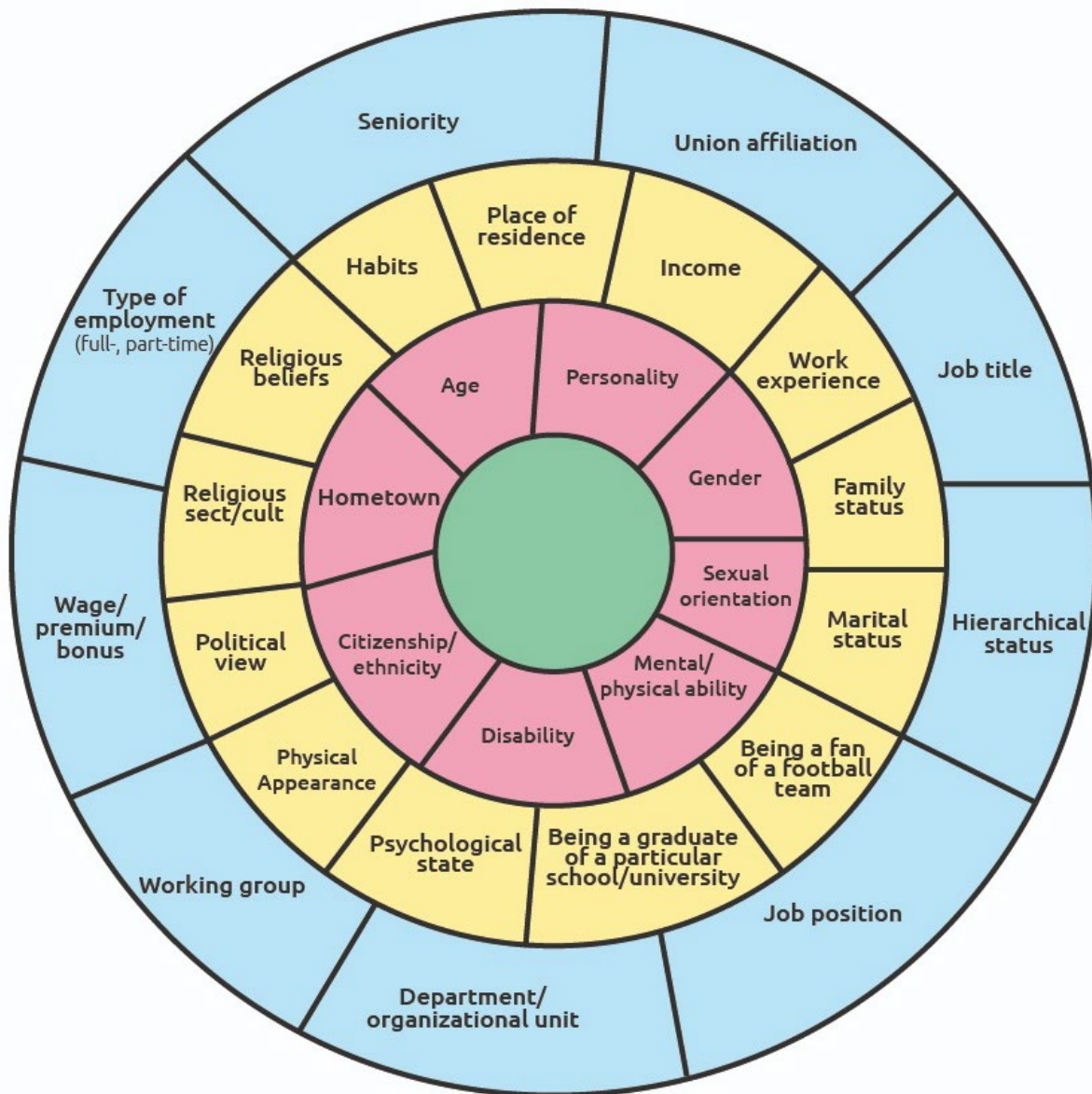
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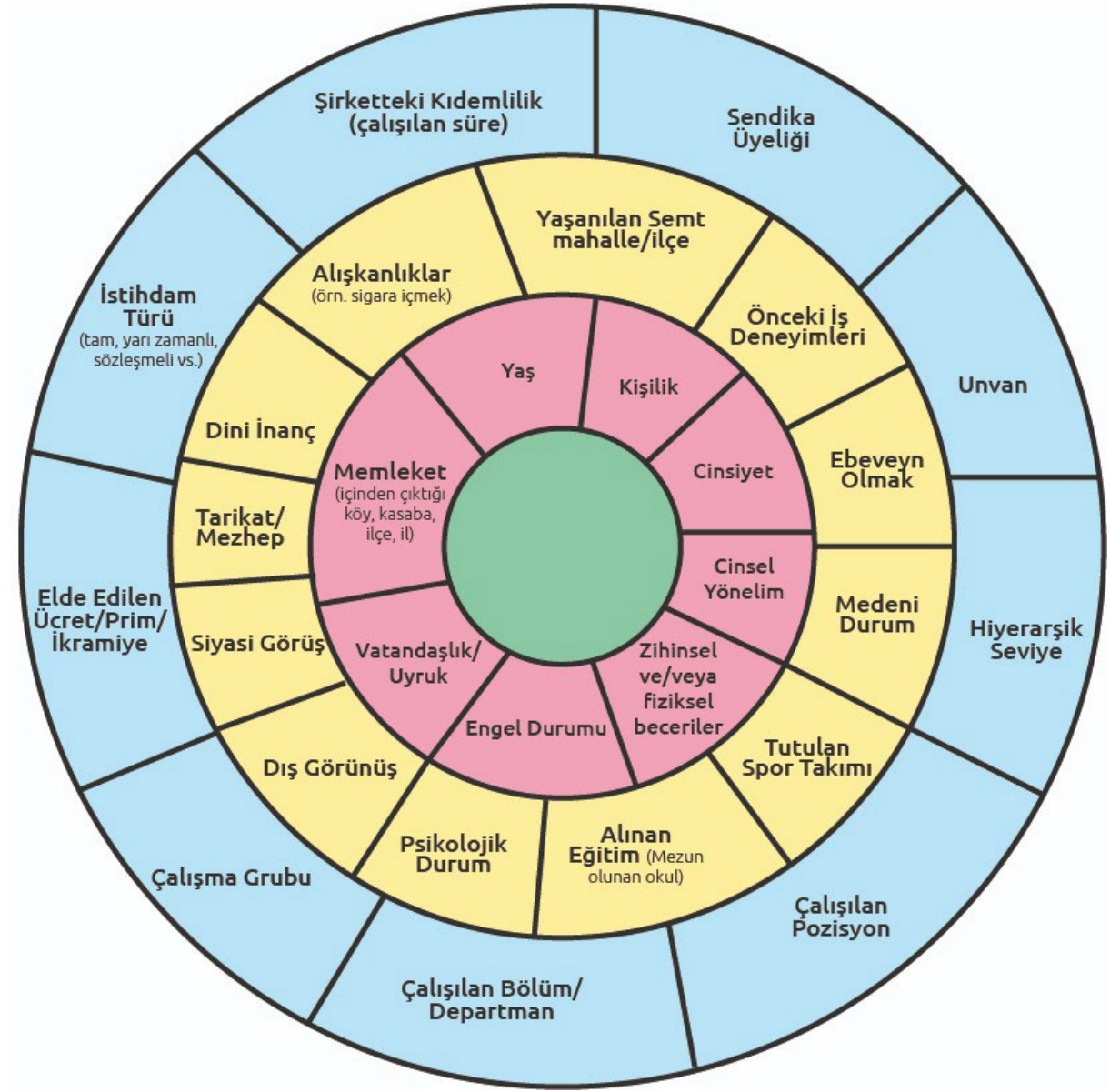
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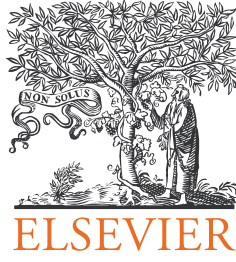
APPENDICES

APPENDIX A – Diversity Wheel (English Version)



APPENDIX B – Diversity Wheel (Turkish Version)





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