

‘The door is there!’: The exploitation, domination, consent, and resistance experiences of hotel employees

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Abstract

This research is one of the first studies to clarify how employees in the hospitality industry obey or resist to labour exploitation and domination, using Pierre Bourdieu’s field theory. We collected data through semi-structured interviews with tourism employees in Antalya, a major tourist city in Türkiye. The findings show widespread exploitation and domination, with employees often complying due to benefits promised, fear of unemployment, oppression, loyalty, legal shortcomings, and a lack of organised resistance. Nonetheless, they resist through daily practices, categorised as individual or collective, explicit or implicit, and violent or non-violent. This study concludes that obedience and resistance help sustain exploitation and domination in the field. It offers insight that could contribute to liberating individuals by exposing power dynamics and has significant implications for putting into effect true democracy in hotel businesses.

Keywords: habitus, field theory, consent, resistance, labour exploitation, domination, hotel businesses.

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1. Introduction

The capitalist system, which prioritises market interests over those of humans and society (Marx, 1906), grabs employees who work with flexible and indefinite employment forms (Standing, 2011) and intense working conditions to achieve quick profits. Additionally, a pressure-filled environment is created by subjecting employees to strict control (Edwards, 1979; Burawoy, 1979; Rowlinson & Hassard, 2001; Braverman, 1998). In the hospitality industry, one of the most crucial sub-fields of the tourism industry, a flexible, indefinite, and insecure form of employment is prevalent due to seasonal work (Yıldırım, 2021; Çıvık, 2021), adversely affecting employees' lives (Çelik, 2013). Considering the adverse working conditions in the industry (long working hours, low wages, high turnover rate, informality, limited social protection, and so on) (Baum, 1999; International Labour Organisation, 2010, 2017), it can be implied that hotel employees are subjected to high levels of labour exploitation. It is also recognised that hotel employees are subject to domination by managers, hotel owners, customers, and colleagues (see Albin, 2017; Erköse, 2020; Kiril, 2020). While empirical studies (Efthymiou, 2010; Erköse, 2020; Ewart-James & Wilkins, 2015) shed light on the dimensions of exploitation in the service industry, it is noted that studies in tourism and particularly hospitality overlook this issue (Pritchard, 2014).

The tourism literature predominantly applies a positivist paradigm, focusing on practical issues (Bianchi, 2009; Çıvık & Sezerel, 2018; Ladkin, 2011). Studies on labour in tourism tend to concentrate on human resources and employment (Ladkin, 2011, p. 1138), labour mobility (Joppe, 2012; Szivas *et al.*, 2003), ethnic division of labour (Van den Berghe, 1992), emotional labour (Kim *et al.*, 2012; Wong & Wang, 2009), and aesthetic labour (Tsaur & Hsieh, 2020; Warhurst & Nickson, 2007), primarily within the accommodation industry. This research is generally conducted from a managerial perspective (Baum, 2018). Critical studies in the field were limited until the 2000s (Botterill, 2000). Although critical studies have begun to emerge thereafter, they remain scarce. In the literature, scholars discuss issues such as criticism of managerial control mechanisms through the labour process theory (Çıvık & Besler, 2022; Efthymiou, 2010; Erköse, 2020; Kiril, 2020), gender (Morgan & Pritchard, 2019), and migrant employees (Hack-Polay *et al.*, 2022). Syafruddin *et al.* (2021) reveal the forms of exploitation of child labour in the tourism industry. Çıvık and Besler (2022) uncover how managerial control mechanisms become tools of exploitation and domination. Yıldırım (2021) examines multi-layered power relations in tourism workplaces and the practices of subjecting employees to working conditions in the industry. The study highlights the dominance of Kafkaesque bureaucracy in the workplace. Devine and Ojeda (2017) expose unequal power relations and forms of violence in tourism. However, researchers found that studies on labour exploitation, domination, and resistance relations in the hospitality field are scarce. In addition to overlooking such development, there is also a lack of studies that approach the subject through Bourdieu's sociology.

This study aims to reveal exploitative and dominating practices and to explore hotel employees' reactions to such actions. Despite the extensive literature on various forms of employment and working conditions, researchers have largely overlooked labour exploitation and domination practices due to orthodox managerial and economic perspectives (Ladkin, 2011). Such studies are limited by the levels of analysis and the challenges in operationalization. Therefore, this study makes use of the central concepts of Bourdieu's sociology, which addresses domination and exploitation as social practices, for its design. This approach allows questioning both the interaction between the actor and the structure and the continuity of these practices in the dialectic of exploitation, domination, and consent/resistance. The study first traces the relations of consent and resistance, and then discusses the participants' experiences of exploitation and domination to understand their reactions. Bourdieu's sociology provides significant insight by explaining why actors perform their actions. The concept of the *field* helps infer the general structure and operation of the hospitality field; *doxa* refers to the basic rules of the field; *illusio* to the contingent benefits; *habitus* to the basic affinities; and *capital* aids in inferring the social class of the actors involved (see Bourdieu, 1987, 1998, 2000).

Antalya was selected for the field study because it is one of the most significant tourist cities in terms of both tourist numbers and employment, and it hosts a diverse population of immigrant tourism employees, making it an ideal location for fieldwork.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Working Conditions in the Hospitality Industry

Due to the labour-intensive nature of the tourism industry (Pizam, 1982), employees engage in long hours of physical, mental, emotional, and aesthetic labour (Messenger *et al.*, 2007). Emotional labour is particularly intensive in the service industry. It refers to the emotional behaviour that employees are expected to display in their interactions with customers, as dictated by the organisation (Morris & Feldman, 1996, pp. 987-988). Hochschild (1983), who extensively discussed the concept for the first time, suggests that individuals can regulate their emotions and exhibit appropriate facial and body expressions required by their job roles. In the tourism industry, where service is delivered through direct interaction between employees and customers, employees are expected to consistently adhere to workplace rules for customer satisfaction, including displaying specific emotional behaviour (Güngör Delen, 2017). Hochschild (1983, pp. 7-8) likens this display by employees to a theatrical performance, where they play their assigned roles. The business determines 'acceptable' behaviour, and employees control their emotions to comply with these rules. Employers also use emotional labour as a strategy to influence customers and differentiate services in the tourism industry (Warhurst *et al.*, 2009).

Employees pay careful attention to their appearance, including hair, facial care, body grooming, and clothing. Studies highlight that hospitality employees value their appearance for work and maintain well-groomed skin (see Albar 2018; King & Grace, 2010; Warhurst & Nickson, 2007; Warhurst *et al.*, 2009; Wu *et al.*, 2020). Aesthetic labour emphasises how the body materializes in the labour process. In a sense, businesses view employees as commodities, and they strive to secure employment, advancement in their careers, or receive better treatment based on their appearance (Çetin, 2009, pp. 77-79).

Additionally, there are structural issues such as irregular working hours, low wages, non-payment of overtime, seasonal employment, informal employment, inadequate working conditions (food and beverage, accommodation), high staff turnover, violation of break times, and favouritism (see Ariza-Montes *et al.*, 2019; Baum, 1999; International Labour Organisation, 2010; Pizam, 1982). Organisational commitment and the job satisfaction of employees decrease while burnout increases due to work-life imbalances (Deery, 2008; Jung Choi & Tae Kim, 2012).

Seasonality is another significant characteristic of the tourism industry, often caused by fluctuations in supply or demand (Baum & Hagen, 1999; Cooper *et al.*, 2005). The addition of the COVID-19 pandemic in recent years has significantly impacted the tourism industry, resulting in a sharp decline in tourism demand in 2020 due to economic crises and restrictive measures (Plzáková & Smeral, 2021). In coastal destinations in Türkiye, businesses operate during the six-to-seven-month tourism season and suspend activities during the off-season. At the end of the season, employees are either laid off or put on leave (Çıvak, 2021). Seasonal or flexible employment creates insecure and indefinite forms of employment. Tourism employees dragged into insecure and flexible employment are included in the precariat (Çelik, 2013; Çıvak, 2021; Çıvak & Besler, 2022; Yıldırım, 2021). Therefore, despite the benefits of the hospitality industry, negative employment patterns and adverse working conditions exacerbate existing labour exploitation. Flexible and insecure employment deepens social divisions and economic inequalities (Robinson *et al.*, 2019) and undermines individuals' sense of identity in adapting to these conditions (Sennett, 1998). Insecurity also makes it challenging for individuals to view their future (Gill, 2014).

Strict control measures are applied to ensure maximum efficiency for hospitality employees. Managers monitor employees using simple, technical, and ideological forms (Efthymiou, 2010; Erköse, 2020; Kiril,

2020; Yıldırım, 2021), which evolve into mechanisms of domination and exploitation (Çıvak, 2021; Çıvak & Besler, 2022). In addition to managerial control mechanisms, observed domination practices range from physical violence, the most explicit form in tourism, to symbolic violence (Çıvak, 2021). Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992, p. 172) define symbolic violence as a type of violence exercised upon individuals with their complicity, perpetuated through symbolic communication channels (Bourdieu, 2018, p. 12-13). It is a form of violence that operates behind societal perceptual categories without the need for physical force (Han, 2017).

Studies show that hotel employees face domination not only from managers but also from colleagues (McDowell *et al.*, 2007) and customers (Albin, 2017; Guerrier & Adib, 2000; Kiril, 2020). They endure domination practices such as rudeness, accusations, and verbal and sexual harassment (Aslan & Kozak, 2012; Hsieh *et al.*, 2013; Poulston, 2007). As a result, employees often suffer psychological issues and leave their jobs (Ram, 2018). Understanding these exploitation and domination practices is crucial to lessen their effects. Although studies confirm their presence in the hospitality industry, exploring how employees respond, whether through obedience/consent or resistance, remains a key area of inquiry. The next section discusses factors contributing to consent.

2.2. Consent

The hospitality industry entices individuals with promises of participation in the field. These promises, articulated by Bourdieu (1998) as *illusio*, exert a hypnotic influence that convinces individuals to enter and remain in the hospitality industry (Janta *et al.*, 2011). *Illusio* is defined as 'to concentrate on the game, to be captivated by the game, to believe that the game is worth the effort, or simply to believe that the game is worth playing'. *Illusio* emphasises that the game is worth playing and that its goals are worth pursuing (Bourdieu & Passeron, 2015). Therefore, the concept corresponds to the notion of interest. Each field possesses its characteristics, and interests vary accordingly.

Once individuals engage in the field, they accept its rules, and their *habitus* develops over time. *Habitus*, a fundamental concept with origins in Aristotle, and later used by Durkheim and Weber, became the cornerstone of Bourdieu's studies. Bourdieu (1998) describes *habitus* as a practical understanding of what needs to be done in a given situation. It is the capacity to anticipate necessary actions in immediate circumstances. While *habitus* imposes itself on individuals, they also act as agents who structure, restrict, and renew social practices. Consequently, actors are neither entirely free nor entirely determined by social-structural processes. It represents a form of collective consciousness (Bourdieu & Passeron, 2015). *Habitus* is structured between past influences and present stimuli (Wacquant, 2016, p. 62), and dispositions emerge from these mutual relationships (Bourdieu & Passeron, 2015, p. 171). Individuals with similar *habitus* shape a field, which in turn reproduces, modifies, and aligns *habitus* (Sayın Gönenc, 2018, p. 32). Essentially, *habitus* within the field dictates the behaviour of agents, ensuring alignment between individual *habitus* and field *habitus*. Bourdieu terms this 'the tuning of *habitus* and field' (2013, p. 166). Without this alignment, individuals struggle to adapt to the field. The attitudes and behaviours that hotel employees adopt towards various situations illuminate the norms prevailing in the field, allowing us to explore whether there is consent or resistance to exploitation and domination and the underlying reasons.

Public behavioural styles are shaped to meet the expectations of the powerful (dominant) due to caution, fear, and a desire to gain favour, as Scott (1992) terms it, an explicit transcript. Individuals may consciously or unconsciously seek to make a specific impression on others (the audience) based on their social role, as described by Goffman (1956). Those in subordinate positions strive to show respect and consent by gauging the intentions and mood of the dominant power (Scott, 1992). Subordinates stage

theatrical performances behind masks (Goffman, 1956). Individuals play their assigned roles (profession, status, gender, and suchlike) by endeavouring to adhere to the rules of the social order according to the context (geographical setting and its decor).

When staged performances occur under domination, the theatrical display is necessitated and crafted as the dominant power desires. Subordinates produce a more or less convincing performance by exhibiting the behaviour, attitudes, gestures, and facial expressions expected of them because it serves their interests (Scott, 1992). This is due to a tacit contract of interest between the business and the individual. In other words, 'homo economicus is the interface of power and the individual' (Foucault, 2008, p. 253). The explicit transcript conforms to the expectations of power, influenced by factors such as fear of dismissal, anxiety about job prospects, and career expectations (Çıvık, 2021).

2.3. *Resistance Practices in the Workplace*

If business life is likened to a game, individuals strive to attain rewards such as money and position (Bourdieu, 1987). How does resistance show itself? The theory of psychological reactance lays down that resistance occurs when individuals feel threatened, stemming from a human desire for freedom and autonomy (Brehm and Brehm, 1966). In later studies, Miron and Brehm (2006) revisited this theory, highlighting the significance of cultural codes. According to Foucault, "There is necessarily the possibility of resistance in power relations" (Foucault, 1997, p. 292). Research addressing the nature of domination and resistance in the workplace views resistance as an inevitable consequence of operating under control (Edwards, 1979; Friedman, 1977). Edwards (1979) further characterises the workplace as a 'conflict area', suggesting that employees react to the control mechanisms within it which transform into practices of domination. Prasad and Prasad (2000) recognise resistance as a crucial form of struggle against organisational control. De Certeau (1984) argues that resistance in daily life is shaped by the 'strategy-tactics' dilemma, with employees developing reflexes against organisational control.

The employees harbour concealed anger towards strict control, exploitation, and domination, which can lead to a desire for revenge manifesting as open resistance (Scott, 1992). Organisational control prompts reactions from employees such as gossiping, resignations, theft, sabotage, and non-cooperation (Tucker, 1993). Occasionally, these reactions evolve into collective resistance (Kearsey, 2020). At times, employees reluctantly accept impositions, exhibit less resistance, or distance themselves from them (Fleming & Spicer, 2007). Consequently, both hidden and explicit forms of resistance emerge in response to stringent control and exploitation.

Bourdieu's (1987) field theory is well-suited to understanding the root causes and ultimate consequences of resistance within a particular setting. According to this theory, actors resist exploitation and domination to improve conditions for themselves. As the theory of psychological reactance places, individuals resist incursions into their personal space and privacy, as well as coercive or oppressive actions (Brehm & Brehm, 1966). Resistance therefore arises depending on the intensity of the oppression or threat, the individual's awareness of their freedoms, and as Bourdieu (1987) suggests, the potential rewards (material or moral gains) or the costs faced by the actors after engaging in this 'game'.

2.4. *Bourdieu's Conceptualization of Hotel Work*

This study is grounded in Pierre Bourdieu's field theory. Bourdieu (1987) describes 'the field' as a network or configuration of practical relationships among various statuses. It brings together key concepts such as capital, habitus, doxa, and *illusio*, which collectively offer profound insight into the structure of a field.

Bourdieu states that the field operates under its unique rules and codes, known as doxa. Doxas are pre-conscious understandings that form our perception of the world and our place in it, realities that are

seldom questioned. This socially constructed understanding varies across cultures and fields (Calhoun, 2016, p. 101). Another critical concept, *illusio*, instils a belief in the value of participating in and remaining within the field, thereby enabling actors to accept its rules and relationships. Bourdieu expanded the concept of capital into a social form, distinguishing between economic, social, and cultural capitals, all of which empower individuals to compete and attain advantages within a specific social arena (Calhoun, 2016, p. 107; Wacquant, 2016, p. 62).

Habitus, according to Bourdieu (1998), is a practical understanding of the required actions in a given situation, acting as a form of collective consciousness. It enables actors to anticipate and adapt their actions accordingly. The behaviour and attitudes of hotel employees can reveal the prevailing cultural codes within the industry, thereby exposing potential consent or resistance to exploitation and domination.

In the hotel industry, the concept of *illusio* refers to the promised benefits that attract and retain individuals within the field (Janta *et al.*, 2011). As individuals engage with the field, they gradually develop a habitus, accepting and adapting to the *doxas*, the established order of the hotel management field, without question. This acceptance is essential for navigating the field successfully.

Bourdieu's field theory is instrumental in dissecting complex social structures within tourism, providing a robust theoretical framework for exploring the complex network of relationships within the industry (Çakmak *et al.*, 2018). His concepts have been applied to various tourism research topics, such as host-tourist relations, cultural studies, and preferences in food and beverage (Song & Yang, 2015; Ahmad, 2013). Researchers like Çakmak *et al.* (2018) have examined the types of capital possessed by informal tourism entrepreneurs, while Karlson (2005) has studied the impact of social and cultural capital on destinations. Further studies have explored power dynamics in tourism businesses, including the exploitation of power relations in Indian-administered Kashmir using Bourdieu's concepts of symbolic violence, capital, habitus, and field (Ahmad, 2022).

3. Method

This research is grounded in the critical paradigm (Burrell & Morgan, 1979) both ontologically and epistemologically. The study aims to explore exploitation, domination, consent, and resistance, as well as their interrelationships, and adopts a phenomenological design (Lewis & Staehler, 2010) to enlarge the voices of marginalized individuals (Richards *et al.*, 2010).

3.1. Participants

This study utilises multiple sampling criteria for participant selection. It favoured the 'maximum diversity' sampling approach, considering factors such as individuals' positions, tenure in the industry, and experience across various departments within hotels. Additionally, this study employs snowball sampling. Key individuals directed the researcher to other potential participants. Moreover, this study implements quota sampling by selecting a predetermined number of participants from each department.

The participants are identified by nicknames. Six of them were locals, while the others migrated from various cities in Türkiye and different countries. Six of the participants (P₂, P₄, P₇, P₂₀, P₂₃, and P₂₈) were from Antalya, while the others migrated to the region from different provinces of Türkiye. Twenty-one of the participants were of Turkish origin, three were of Kurdish origin (P₈, P₁₂, P₁₈), one was of Zaza (P₃) origin, one was of Arabic (P₁₈) origin, one was of Russian (P₂₁) origin, and one was of Azeri (P₁₀) origin. Nine of the participants were employed year-round, while the others worked seasonally. Five of the participants were members of TOLEYİS (Türkiye's Hotel Restaurant and Entertainment Workers Trade Union), all of whom worked in the same hotel. All of the foreign participants spoke Turkish proficiently, so the interviews were conducted in Turkish.

Table 1. Profile of the participants

Inter-viewee	Age	Gen-der	Education	Position	Form of Employment Seasonal (S) / Year-round (Y)	Tenure (year)	Type of Hotels
P1	32	F	Secondary	Housekeeper	S	8	International chain - 5 stars
P2	37	F	Primary	Housekeeper	S	11	International chain - 5 stars
P3	38	M	Bachelor's	Procurement clerk	S	14	International chain -5 stars
P4	52	M	Primary	Cook (Butcher)	S	30	International chain -5 stars
P5	50	M	Primary	Storehouse supervisor	S	4	Independent - 4 stars
P6	35	M	High school	Waiter	S	17	Independent - 5 stars
P7	53	F	Primary	Housekeeper	S	14	International chain - 4 stars
P8	31	M	High school	Restaurant supervisor	S	13	Independent - 5 stars
P9	34	M	Bachelor's	Cook	S	21	Independent - 5 stars
P10	44	F	Associate de- gree	Tea house su- pervisor	S	2	Independent - 4 stars
P11	27	F	High school	Security Guard	S	2	Independent - 4 stars
P12	34	M	Bachelor's	Receptionist	S	14	Independent - 4 stars
P13	51	M	High school	Headwaiter	S	16	Independent - 4 stars
P14	35	M	High school	Headwaiter	Y	10	Independent - 4 stars
P15	19	M	High school	Sous Chef	S	2	Independent - 4 stars
P16	24	M	High school	Waiter	S	6	Independent - 4 stars
P17	35	M	Associate de- gree	Waiter	S	5	Independent - 4 stars
P18	29	F	Bachelor's	Receptionist	S	3	Independent - 4 stars
P19	35	M	Bachelor's	F/O asst. manager	Y	13	International chain - 4 stars
P20	25	M	Secondary	Bellboy	Y	7	International chain - 4 stars
P21	39	F	Bachelor's	Receptionist	Y	12	International chain - 4 stars
P22	28	M	Bachelor's	Receptionist	Y	13	International chain - 4 stars
P23	32	F	Bachelor's	Switchboard operator	Y	6	International chain - 4 stars
P24	22	F	Bachelor's	Switchboard operator	Intern	4	International chain - 4 stars
P25	43	F	Primary	Masseuse	Y	12	International chain - 4 stars
P26	34	F	Bachelor's	Masseuse	Y	12	International chain - 4 stars
P27	26	M	High school	Receptionist	S	6	Independent - 5 stars
P28	30	M	High school	Receptionist	S	15	Independent - 5 stars

The participants with higher educational backgrounds were typically employed in departments requiring mental labour, such as the front office and accounting, whereas those with less educational backgrounds were usually employed in departments requiring physical labour. Nine of the participants were employed year-round, while the others worked seasonally. All five union members worked in the same hotel. The average age of the employees was 35.

3.2. Data Collection

This study employs a semi-structured, in-depth interview strategy. When preparing the interview questions, the research team ensured they were understandable, subject-oriented, and concise. Specifically, the team avoided concepts containing guidance and included questions that highlighted the participants' views and thoughts on the subject (see Bogdan & Biklen, 1992; Patton, 1987). Four experts in the field reviewed the questionnaire, and necessary corrections were made based on their feedback (see Appendix 1). The study targeted employees from four and five-star hotels, primarily because these categories encompass the majority of corporate businesses.

Initially, the research team conducted a pilot study (Polit *et al.*, 2001; van Teijlingen & Hundley, 2001) to gain field experience and test the methodology. This pilot research involved face-to-face interviews with participants in Kemer, Antalya, conducted from 1-20 June 2020, with nine participants. The pilot study enhanced the overall value and credibility of the research (Van Wijk & Harrison, 2013). Following data analysis, the team decided to proceed with the field study. Between 10-13 August 2020, a second round of face-to-face interviews was conducted with nineteen participants in Alanya, Manavgat, and Aksu (districts of Antalya). In total, twenty-eight hotel employees from nine different hotels were interviewed. All of the participants voluntarily consented to participate in the research by signing the 'Participant Information and Consent Form' and allowing voice recording.

In qualitative studies, there are no strict rules for determining sample size. According to the study's purpose, data can be collected from even a single participant (Patton, 2015; Creswell, 2017). It is important to note that sufficient information was obtained, and data saturation was reached in line with the research's objectives (Fusch & Ness, 2015). Therefore, the researchers concluded the data collection process due to the absence of new data and the repetition of existing data.

3.3. Data Analysis

Data analysis is a critical step in research processes (Leech & Onwuegbuzie, 2007, p. 562), with the primary goal in qualitative research being to interpret the data (Creswell, 2017). In this study, the research team analysed the interview texts using the content analysis technique (Yıldırım & Şimşek, 2013). They derived meaningful codes and themes from the data. The total duration of the audio recordings obtained was twenty-three hours and fifty-two minutes (1,432 minutes). The team transcribed these recordings into written text using the Google Dictation program. The interview text comprised 119,546 words and spanned 385 pages (Times New Roman font, size 12, 1.5 line spacing, and normal margins). The team used NVivo 12, a qualitative data analysis software, to systematically and reliably identify codes and themes in the interview texts and to assist the researcher during the analysis phase. Qualitative data analysis programs like NVivo have gained popularity in research for these reasons (Bazeley & Jackson, 2013).

The research team individually coded the interview texts according to the study's objectives (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). They then organised these codes under predetermined main themes. Sub-themes were developed under the main themes of exploitation, domination, obedience, and resistance. The data analysis process was reviewed by the doctoral dissertation committee. Field experts conducted the data analysis and compared the codes. Analysis was considered complete when a consensus was reached.

3.4. Trustworthiness

In this study, several strategies were implemented to ensure the trustworthiness of the research. For credibility, a peer review process (Merriam, 2009) was conducted. Independent of the three researchers, three experts analysed the data. Subsequently, the data were compared, leading to a consensus on the

codes, sub-themes, and main themes. Detailed descriptions (Merriam, 2009) were provided for transferability. Furthermore, the obtained results were compared with similar studies in the literature to validate their accuracy.

4. Results and Discussion

4.1. Labour Exploitation in Hotel Work

The participants are known to work in the hotel industry out of necessity due to limited job opportunities in their hometowns, and they entered the industry because it provided insured employment. Generally, the economic capital of the participants is low, primarily because the wages are minimal (about 350 dollars). The participants who earned minimum wage and lived in rental houses were at the poverty level. Since tourism workers do not receive any wages at the end of the season, they must survive on income below the poverty line. The main concern of the participants is to maintain their livelihood, compelling all family members to engage in income-generating activities. Those employed as cooks and masseuses received better wages and lived in better conditions than others. In cooking, considered a skilled job, wages were higher than in cleaning.

Based on the exploitation experiences of the participants, the labour exploitation practices are given in Table 2. Accordingly, the inadequacy of legal rights shows labour exploitation. In addition, the employees work intensively and do overtime as well. They are given additional work outside the defined duties; injustice occurs among the employees due to nepotism. They are controlled by motivational practices, and they are made to work more. In addition, the state has a share in the exploitation system due to the lack of control and insufficient rights for employees.

Table 2. Labour Exploitation Practices Taking Place in Hotel Businesses

Themes	Labour-Intensive Working	Level of Benefiting Legal Rights	Systemic Injustices	Manufacturing of Consent: Motivational Practices	Role of the State
Subthemes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Physical labour - Mental labour - Emotional labour - Aesthetic labour 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Wages - Leave rights - Insurance premiums - Union rights 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Unjust division of labour - Unjust distribution of wages - Layoffs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Promise of career - Forming friendly - Premium system - Employee nights 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Lack of inspection - Labour rights - Insufficient support from the state

The hotel industry relies heavily on manpower. Employees work for long periods at an intense pace, using their physical, mental, emotional, and aesthetic labour. Employees are burdened with jobs and responsibilities beyond their capability. P13 summarizes the intensity of the labour process with the phrase “You are a runner”. In addition, employees work in renovation during the winter season. The statements of P8 prove this:

“Of course, since we are in the service industry, we have to satisfy the customers and provide the service. That’s why we laugh all the time.” (P14)

“I am absolutely unhappy at work. We wear our masks and work.” (P6)

“There are gardening and cleaning works... I mean, whether they are a waiter, a bell-captain, or a chef, they work on renovation work in winter.” (P8)

The sub-theme of the ‘level of benefiting from legal rights’ was formed from the wages, leave rights, insurance premiums, and union rights codes. One of the biggest problems in the field is stated as low wages. Overtime wages are either not paid or are underpaid. In addition, businesses apply domination

not to give severance pay to employees. Apart from the wage problems, the leave rights of hotel employees can also be cancelled depending on the intensity of the business. Insurance premiums are also a major problem in the hotel industry. The insurance premiums of hotel employees are not paid regularly.

"The wage does not satisfy anyone. Under these conditions, the 2,300-lira minimum wage is not enough. House rents in Alanya are currently 1,500 lira... It varies depending on the district. Now, it is impossible for a man working for minimum wage to support his family even if he has two or three children. Even if people work in tourism, they do additional work. I have many friends who are masters in the kitchen. What do they do? I invite them to weddings, and they also work as waiters." (P14)

The distribution of work and wages among employees in the field is unjust, and the employees are dismissed arbitrarily or for the slightest mistakes. In addition, there is high nepotism. They explained this with phrases such as 'you will have a man', 'if you know anyone, these things are easy', and 'you will get along well with your chief'.

"There is favouritism. For example, I couldn't get a promotion after four years... They wanted me to suck up to them. I did not do that. I could not get my promotion." (P20)

"The hotel owner drinks, messes around, teases, and fires the waiter when he is innocent." (P14)

"Unfortunately, the law works slowly and, let me put it this way, sometimes it doesn't end properly... In other words, they make you sign a contract of 20-30 pages. Then they put this on the table and make you leave your job without getting your rights." (P9)

Motivational practices are used in hotel businesses to adapt employees to working conditions and to get more efficiency from them. These are consent mechanisms that keep employees at work and enable them to work harder (Burawoy, 1985). According to the findings, career promise, friendly relations, bonus systems, and personnel rights are the prominent motivational practices. A number of these practices could also be described as *illusio* and aim to increase the interests of employees, while the businesses also reach their targeted profits more easily.

"I started here two months later. They said that we have plans with you and I've been waiting for eighteen months. There is nothing, how much longer will they benefit from me." (P22)

"Once a year, all hotels have a staff night... The grills are installed. Sausages, meatballs, a salad buffet, soft drinks, and so on. I mean, if you're going to do it, don't do it in the hotel. We already know every part of it." (P9)

The main reason exploitation is so widespread in the field is that exploitation practices are easily carried out due to the lack of control. Exploitation practices such as employing uninsured personnel in hotel businesses, making interns work the night shift, not paying wages on time, and not granting leave and break rights are easily carried out due to the lack of supervision. Leaving workers' rights to the initiative of the employer deepens exploitation. If the audit committees inspect hotel businesses regularly, exploitation practices in the field can be prevented. Of course, it is not possible to eliminate exploitation in the capitalist system. From the moment a worker steps into a capitalist workplace, the useable value of labour power comes under the control of the capitalist, and the surplus value is exploited (Marx, 1906). However, the level of exploitation can be reduced through inspections.

"Every hotel in Antalya employs the staff for six to seven months and discharges them directly. They make you resign from the job. The staff doesn't even know about it... You will go to court. You need money for this." (P27)

4.2. *Domination Practices in Hotel Work*

The classification of domination practices was organized based on the source of domination, resulting in three main categories; owner/management-based domination, customer-based domination, and inter-employee domination. Drawing from John Scott's 'Arts of Domination and Resistance', the classification further delves into material, status, and ideological domination. However, it became apparent that Scott's framework, which originally described feudal society, could not fully explain all aspects of the data in this study. Consequently, insight from the labour process theory was incorporated, particularly from works by Braverman (1998), Friedman (1977), and Edwards (1979), to better understand how managerial control mechanisms contribute to exploitation and domination in the field. Finally, physical domination emerged as a distinct category from various codes, such as physical violence, fighting, threats, sexual harassment, and shouting.

Table 3. Domination Practices in Hotel Businesses

Themes	Subthemes and Codes				
	Control Mechanisms	Physical Domination	Material Domination	Status Domination	Ideological Domination
Domination by Management	Imposition Hegemony Pressure of job requirement Warning Intimidation Taunting Lack of appreciation Dislike Technical monitoring	Physical violence Sexual harassment	Threat of dismissal Compensation pressure Career barrier Exile Slander	Foul language Humiliation Shouting Insults Swearing Arbitrary treatment Upmanship	Ethnic discrimination
Domination by Customers	Complaints	Physical violence Threatening Sexual harassment	Slander	Foul language Humiliation Shouting Insults Caprice Arbitrary complaints Swearing Upmanship	Ethnic discrimination
Domination Among Employees		Shouting Fighting	Supplanting Conflict-disputes Schism Whistle-blowing Gossip	Upmanship	Ethnic discrimination

The domination practices are given in Table 3. Managers dominate employees through control practices within the workflow. Moreover, managers establish hegemony, put pressure on employees, make sarcastic statements, and constantly intimidate employees by giving verbal warnings. P13 explains this situation as follows: “You enter the hegemony of people.” Apart from this, some managers harass (sexually) female employees. P11 expresses this as follows: “They either bully you or try to get you fired... You either

have sex with him or he fires you. It is the same everywhere." In addition, there was physical violence in the kitchen from the statements of the employees.

"We observe clearly. For example, we are always at the front. I listen to the conversations at that moment. I saw that the receptionist said something inappropriate. I told him not to act like that... On the other hand, our bellboys are our observers, because they reach everywhere. They know every place, both inside and outside the hotel. There is no place they cannot enter or exit." (P19)

"There is a voice recording at our reception. There is a camera system at the reception. Likewise, there is a powerful voice recording. I don't know the legal procedure for this. They are listening. They are watching on camera." (P12)

As for material domination, various pressures are made, such as threats of dismissal or exile to a different line of work (inferior or more strenuous), non-promotion, dismissal, and non-compensation. There are domination practices that directly target the personality and status of individuals, such as the use of slang, cursing, and insulting. Some employees are exposed to discrimination because of their ethnic identities.

"They will have a meeting. The chef says that here is the door. The door is there, friends. It's not easy. I came with a suitcase... When we oppose this, we have to leave, because we don't have a plan B. This is a trump card for them." (P17)

"If you can't do what the man wants, the managers start to put on pressure... This then escalates to bullying; insults, swearing, and sometimes fights. I've seen the slanders." (P9)

"For example, the F&B manager is a bit of a pervert. For example, there is news about his fondness for women. He trapped the girl in his room. He wanted to kiss her. She told me. She took him to court. Before the trial was concluded, the man fled to the Netherlands." (P20)

The management class takes action that damages the honour of the subordinate. According to the participants' statements, there is status domination at hotels. This is classified as slang, insults, shouting, swearing, arbitrary practices, and superiority. The dominant class humiliates employees with gestures and facial and verbal expressions. These actions carried out through symbolic channels of communication have turned into symbolic violence (Bourdieu, 2018). The participants are afraid to confront the dominant class that humiliates them. This becomes an invisible barrier.

"Management is putting on pressure. The general manager and bosses do this. They humiliate. The man humiliates you with his look. Gestures... Well, let me tell you, we experience mobbing to its fullest... I'm afraid to confront the bosses here. Not just me, but all of our friends." (P17)

"My boss shouted and called me several times because he had used drugs and he apologized to me two hours later. I have worked for many years. What's happening? You say that damn it... I saw the previous manager screaming at the staff. I also saw that he used psychological violence." (P14)

People may perceive the outgroup negatively and harbour hostility due to a tendency to think stereotypically because of social classification (Şen, 2014, p. 11). There is also ethnic discrimination in the field. The exclusionary and derogatory statements are made towards Kurds, and in this case, Kurdish people are negatively affected.

"For example, we are excluded from certain issues. This happened to me in the military as well as in other places. There is discrimination. One day, there was a wedding at Hotel X. They played Kurdish music. The night manager came and immediately warned us and had the music turned off. Our motivation dropped down. We became unable to work." (P16)

“The boy was working at F&B and was ostracized by other employees. He was of Eastern origin. Some guys were constantly excluding the child. Finally, they attacked him in the warehouse.” (P9)

Customers also dominate employees. A few customers inflict physical violence against employees in the front area, threaten them, and sexually and verbally abuse them. Customers who are not satisfied with the service use the complaint mechanism as a trump card and put pressure on the employees. In addition, customers accuse employees of stealing when they lose their personal belongings. As status domination, customers use slang expressions, get whimsical, humiliate, shout, insult, swear, and act superior toward employees. Furthermore, some customers make degrading statements regarding the nationality of Turkish employees.

“The guy was jumping around here, swearing. He was screaming, ‘I’m going to kill you all’. I saw it and laughed. He got angrier. He almost jumped on me. The intern came to me with fear.” (P21)

There is domination between employees. The main reason for the material domination between the employees is the existing order. Hotel businesses leave a limited number of employees for the winter season, laying off the rest or suspending them. Furthermore, favouritism in the field is quite high. There are practices of material domination such as ousting, strife, schism, spying, and gossip. There is status domination among certain employees, which can be expressed as scorn, and employees from different ethnic origins are excluded and exposed to bullying.

“I’ve been through this a lot... I’ve experienced this with my best friends. Tourism is available for six to seven months, but not in winter. Everyone wants to work in tourism for twelve months. That’s why everyone wants to work all year.” (P14)

4.3. Consent

After the participants' narratives about exploitation and domination, they were asked what they did in such situations. The participants were aware of labour exploitation and domination, but often submitted to it for various reasons. The main reasons for this are illusio, fears, lack of control, and loyalty. These factors encourage the participants to behave according to the system. They enable them to exhibit public scenarios, therefore confirming the power of the ruling class. The reasons why employees submit to exploitation and domination are given in Table 4.

Table 4. The Reasons for Employees Submitting to Exploitation and Domination

Illusio	Fear	Role of the State	Loyalty
- Tip	- Fear of Oppression	- Inadequacy of the	- Habit
- Increasing Earnings	- Fear of Unemploy-	Law	- Loyalty to Team
- Promotion	ment	- Lack of Organized	
- Entertainment Envi-		Struggle	
- Environment			
- Finding a Partner			
- Winter Team			
- Insurance			
- Compensation			

Motivational practices are used in hotel businesses to convert employees to working conditions and to increase their efficiency. These are consent mechanisms that keep employees at work and enable them to work harder (Burawoy, 1985). Some of these are practices that can also be described as illusio (Bourdieu, 2013) which is aimed at increasing the interest of employees. The main function of the illusio is to instil the belief that it is worth entering and being involved in the field, as well as to make employees

accept the rules of the field and the relations within. Interests are simultaneously both the condition of the functioning of the field (which puts the actors in competition, rivalry, and struggle with each other) and the product of the operation of the field. (Bourdieu, 2013, p. 162). The hotel industry has some unique interests that it promises to those who will be involved in it. These benefits promised by the field to the actors (tips, increasing profits, promotion of the entertainment environment, finding partners, winter staff, retirement, and compensation rights) also seem to be important reasons for the actors to submit to exploitation and domination. It is worth noting that these interests are specific to the field. It is possible to see different interests in another field. Furthermore, interests are likely to vary in different cultures.

The employees consent to exploitation because of tips. According to P28, "Although the employees are exposed to exploitation and domination, their anger calms down when they receive tips." The interests in the field are not only economic but also the socialization needs of the actors. Employees continue their lives in pursuit of their interests by following obedience strategies. Employees present a theatre show (Goffman, 1956). The deep anger within them is suppressed, and they display their roles in the public sphere (Scott, 1992). The participants explain this situation as follows:

"There is everything. Free booze, free girls, free nightlife." (P6)

"If you are five minutes late, you lose your weekend off. He says, 'OK cancel it. Do not interfere with me'. Because if they interfere, he will go back to his hometown and will never find this opportunity again. If he wants to live this life again, he needs to go on a vacation to the hotel, but no one has that kind of financial power." (P19).

Another important factor is the fear of unemployment (Dardot & Laval, 2014; Yıldırım, 2021). The debt is important in the obedience of actors who will not be able to provide for their families and will face bigger problems if they quit or are fired (Lazzarota, 2012). One of the interviewees explains it this way:

"But you are afraid, you have debt, you have a credit loan, you have financial difficulties. Being unemployed means being out of money." (P1)

In addition, employers and managers use dismissal as a trump card with the phrase 'the door is there'. In this way, they force their employees to obey.

The participants behave in harmony with the conditions and obey due to the fear of pressure in the field. One participant explains this situation as follows: "We can't do anything at all. You can break a single stick, but you can't break ten of them together. They break them one by one. It would be great if people all stood together, but they're scared" (P27). It is possible to say that the system prompts employees to act in a conformist manner, from the statement of P6, "You need to spin like oil in those wheels without getting stuck between the wheels of the system." Because the employees who are stuck in the grip of exploitation and domination have no other choice.

Another reason is their belief that the legal mechanism defending the rights of employees is weak. The participants generally think that the legal struggle is long and difficult and that it will end with negative results. "We talked to lawyers, but of course, the law is insufficient. The lawyer says: 'We can't win this case'" (P9). "I'm calling the Social Insurance Institution; I say my insurance is incomplete. They say, sorry to hear what happened, there is nothing we can do" (P27).

The unionization or an organized struggle is not widespread in the tourism industry (Iannuzzi & Sacchetto, 2022) so, it leads actors to obedience. The participants express this situation as follows: "It is especially necessary to unionize. There must be associations. There is nothing to defend our rights"

(P9). With the restriction of union activities during and after 1980, instead of unionism for the benefit of employees, a new understanding of unions, which is called 'yellow unionism' and favours the employer rather than the employee, began to dominate (Kalaycıoğlu et al., 2008, p. 77). According to the statements of the participants who are members of TOLEYİS (Türkiye's Hotel Restaurant and Entertainment Workers Trade Union), the union representative in the hotel acts against employees and this situation shows 'yellow unionism'.

Employees get used to the work environment, their colleagues, and the working system. Some participants try to behave in harmony in the field and endure exploitation and domination as a result of the bond of friendship, love, respect, or loyalty they have with their colleagues and managers. Social capital, which is especially important in recruitment, causes employees to consent to workplace conditions. Yıldırım (2021) expresses this situation by saying:

"You can't quit because you started here. You get used to it over time. Even if you want to go, you cannot go anywhere else. I can't go anywhere else even if I wanted to. Again, I wish I had started elsewhere, and sometimes I wished I had never started." (P25)

4.4. Workplace Resistance

The findings suggest that employees engage in resistance against such exploitation and domination. Throughout the field study, various instances of exploitation and domination were observed among the participants. They were subsequently questioned about their responses to each aspect of exploitation and domination, and their reactions were carefully categorized. Furthermore, the resistance practices were further classified based on whether they were individual or collective, explicit or implicit, and violent or non-violent. A comprehensive breakdown of the resistance strategies is presented in Table 5.

Although employees do not exhibit collective or large-scale resistance, conflicts are evident in the field. Researchers examining the relationship between domination and resistance in the workplace view resistance as an inevitable outcome of working under control (Edwards, 1979; Friedman, 1977). From this perspective, it is apparent that the hotel industry is also an environment prone to conflict. Hotel employees, subjected to strict control, are compelled to work at a hectic pace and are deprived of many legal rights. Moreover, they face domination from employers/managers, customers, and colleagues. In a few cases, employees demonstrate resistance.

The participants are aware of labour exploitation and generally prefer explicit and nonviolent resistance to get their rights. These resistance practices are generally in the form of verbal objections to monthly salary, compensation rights, insurance premiums, tip sharing, the right to be a permanent member of staff, and working hours. P15 stated that he objected to the working hours as follows: "Because I couldn't control my anger, I said it to everyone's face. To hell with this job." An example of wage resistance is as follows:

"They are saying to me, you will do this job. I don't, look, he gets the same money as me. The newcomer will go and do that job." (P13)

Sometimes, several employees use violence (damaging materials and equipment) in response to exploitation in the field. P8, who is responsible for the restaurant, stated, "Forks and knives were thrown into the garbage, and plates were thrown on the floor. The employees say that we do not gain and the salary is not enough." There are collective verbal and written forms of resistance against wages, but they remained inconclusive. As a result, most of the resistance practices against labour exploitation are inconclusive. However, some daily resistances can slow down and regress the exploitation mechanisms and hegemonic structure. For example, some employees declared that they would go to court to receive

wages, whereupon the hotel owner stated that he would pay the fees. The participant's statement is as follows:

"We are angry, we are going to a lawyer, we will take you to court... We found a mediator... The owner of the hotel is afraid, he says, 'Come, I will give you your money'." (P27)

Table 5. Resistance Practices of Employees Against Exploitation or Domination

Themes	Resistance Practices to Labour Exploitation	Resistance Practices to Domination	Resistance Practices to Customer Domination
Subthemes and Codes	<p>Individual-Explicit-Violent</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Protesting with anger <p>Individual-Explicit-Nonviolent</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Verbally objecting to the distribution of tips • Ignoring job requirements • Objecting to working hours • Insurance resistance-verbal objection • Right to compensation resistance - legal process • Right to compensation resistance-verbal objection • Wage resistance - not doing work • Wage resistance-verbal objection • Complaint to senior management <p>Individual- Hidden-Violent</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Damaging materials and equipment <p>Collective- Explicit -Violent</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Wage resistance, verbal and written objection to the union • Overtime wage resistance-legal process • Wage resistance-verbal demand to chiefs and senior management <p>Collective- Hidden-Nonviolent</p> <p>Appeal negotiations</p>	<p>Individual- Explicit -Violent</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fighting • Threats <p>Individual- Explicit -Nonviolent</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rejecting orders • Complaints to senior management • Arguing • Confronting managers about their mistakes • Disrespect for managers' status • Verbal objection • Refusal to partner up • Quitting • Litigation <p>Individual- Hidden-Violent</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Thoughts of physical violence • Damaging materials and equipment • Reduce the profit <p>Individual- Hidden-Nonviolent</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Getting angry • Foul language <p>Collective- Explicit -Nonviolent</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Quitting • Petitioning to overthrow the union representative <p>Collective- Hidden-Violent</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Thoughts of physical violence <p>Collective- Hidden-Nonviolent</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mocking • Thoughts of objecting 	<p>Individual- Explicit -Nonviolent</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Laughing • Indifference • Reacting • Expulsion • Leaving the premises • Political responses • Disturbing behaviour • Arguing <p>Individual- Explicit-Violent</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Physical intervention <p>Individual- Hidden-Nonviolent</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ignoring job requirements <p>Individual- Hidden-Violent</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Desire to hit out

The participants objected verbally and in writing to tip distribution, working hours, insurance premiums, monthly salary, and compensation. The participants stated that the performance of employees decreases and that hygiene standards are not always complied with. When wages decrease, employees' performance also decreases and they do not care about the requirements of the job. A participant's statement is as follows:

"I will say this, there is exploitation. As an example, the performance of the employees decreases and hygiene is lost. They use the tomatoes without washing them." (P17)

The most important collective action against labour exploitation is signature collection. However, the hotel management generally does not care about this. The person who initiates the signature collection risks being dismissed. The management intends to scare employees.

“We resisted and got punished. One person was fired to keep everyone quiet. The fear of losing the job trumps everything. You are subjected to pressure. You can't speak out because you're under pressure.”
(P3)

There is generally a nervous atmosphere in departments with a despotic management style, and employees exhibit obedient behaviour to lose their jobs, but an argument can arise at any time. The reaction of opposition that occurs with the use of force or threat to the individual arises as a result of a desire for freedom or autonomy (Brehm & Brehm, 1966). As Scott (1992) states, resistance practices emerge when emotions such as anger, grudge, revenge, and so on, accumulated by those who are in subordinate positions, over time reach the explosion point. P3 describes the department manager as ‘our despot’.

Hotel employees who practice obedience in the explicit transcript sometimes show explicit resistance and develop hidden resistance practices in areas where power does not exist or cannot penetrate. The reactions of employees against the dominant class (hotel managers and business owners) are mostly cases of individual resistance, but there are also examples of collective resistance. Among instances of individual resistance, there are explicit and violent resistance practices such as fighting and threats. There are explicit and non-violent resistance practices such as refusing orders, complaining, arguing, pointing out mistakes, disrespecting status, quitting, and filing a lawsuit. In addition, there are also practices such as dreaming of beating someone up, damaging equipment, swearing, and getting angry in the individual secret scenario. There are cases of non-violent resistance such as collective resignation, collecting signatures, and verbal objections. There are also hidden scenarios.

Individual and collective creative resistance practices develop in the face of domination. The most common form of individual resistance is the nonviolent type. Among these resistance practices, some participants do not follow the orders of their chiefs in the face of pressure: “You know what I said? I said tidy it up yourself. I said I'm not doing it. I said go, complain to whomever you want” (P8). One of the creative resistance practices in the face of domination is disrespect for status. The criticizing statements of the participants in the public sphere cause the authority to be shaken. Irony and sarcasm are one of them, and they are acknowledged as a form of resistance to authority (Alcadipani et al., 2018). However, such resistance practices show up as new methods of domination over employees and prevent them from progressing in their careers.

“The F&B manager doesn't like me at all. He said, 'I am the smartest of you, I came to the top'. When he finished his speech, he asked, 'Do you have anything you want to say?' I said there is something I want to say... I said that a boy named Erol was working. I asked who hired him as a waiter. He said, 'I did.' I said you are supposed to be the smartest of us. He can't find an answer. I asked how did you interview this man?” (P6)

The participants share the domination they experienced in the resting areas or the circle of friends. They create revenge stories such as the dream of beating managers and bosses: “We talk very well... For example, while we are drinking with friends, we beat the boss, we beat the chief, we beat all of them rhetorically. But when things get serious” (P6). These hidden transcripts, which indicate the existence of an instinct for resistance, illustrate the pressure in the hotel industry. In other words, the fact that there are implicit rituals of revenge and anger instead of explicit resistance shows the despotic management style in the field. These rituals of revenge and anger which do not come into action, emerge in the areas where there is no ruling class, revealing the suppressed anger in individuals. Additionally, employees undermine the power by imitating the directors from the ruling class. At this point, turning to humour is also a form of resistance. What P9 says shows that employees tend to utilize sarcasm in certain cases. In a sense, humour turns into a device of resistance and relaxation. In addition, humour

can be a relatively effective way of expressing the dissatisfaction of the employee (Rodrigues & Colinson, 1995).

"Are you imitating me?" he said one day. I said yes. I said everyone likes it, too. I imitated it, he couldn't pronounce the letter R, but he wasn't professionally competent either. I mean he couldn't supervise the team." (P9)

Therefore, creative daily resistance practices such as not fulfilling orders, imitating the managers, giving political answers, ignoring work, and attempting to disturb the other person have developed.

"If the employees take ten plates, they will break five of them. They are tired of cursing at the system... Then you say, why am I thinking about the hotel's profit?" (P6)

Customers also dominate employees. However, employees mostly follow a strategy of obedience against customer domination, and sometimes they respond with individual resistance practices. When the customer's oppressive attitudes increase, resistance practices emerge as explicit and non-violent generally. Explicit and nonviolent resistance practices are classified as laughing, being indifferent, reacting, expelling from the hotel, leaving the environment, giving political answers, disturbing, and disputing. Some participants stated that they respond to customers' physical and status oppression with a smile. Laughing can be accepted as a practice of resistance since it has the effect of weakening power (Avcı Aksoy, 2019).

"The guy here was jumping, somersaulting, cursing, saying, 'I'm going to kill you all.' I saw these two and laughed, he got angrier he almost jumped on me." (P21)

5. Conclusion

This research, grounded in the critical paradigm, explores power relations by examining the consent and resistance practices of hotel employees in response to labour exploitation and domination (see Figure 1). Several factors contribute to actors' entry into the field, notably their interests, referred to as 'illusio'. 'Illusio convinces actors of the worthiness of pursuing the field's promised benefits, leading them to accept the doxa without question (Bourdieu, 2000) and triggering their habitus (Koytak, 2012, p. 92). The interplay between habitus, which facilitates actors' adaptation to the hospitality field's structure; doxa, which legitimizes the field's rules; and illusio, which convinces actors of the benefits, ensures the functional relationship that hotel employees establish with the field. This collaboration perpetuates exploitation and domination practices within the industry. The field exerts a magnetic allure on employees, akin to a charm. Illusio possesses a hypnotic influence, compelling actors to endure conditions of exploitation and domination. In this study, illusio is equated with consent mechanisms articulated by Burawoy (1985) and recognized as the primary mechanism through which hotel employees acquiesce to exploitation and domination.

The factors, including illusio, fear of job loss, loyalty, legal inadequacies, and the absence of organized resistance, contribute to employee obedience, thereby perpetuating existing conditions. Obedience largely stems from the habituation of the dominated to their circumstances (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Hotels employ tactics to prevent resistance and undermine collective solidarity, often resorting to new forms of exploitation and domination when faced with employee backlash against existing practices. Additionally, the prevalence of flexible and precarious employment arrangements in coastal tourism destinations, coupled with competitive discourses, further fragments employee unity. Consequently, while obedient employees conform to power dynamics, those who resist are marginalized and subjected to additional forms of domination, thereby perpetuating power imbalances.

The hospitality field has its unique functioning and rules, with each department exhibiting characteristics akin to a micro-area, as relations within the departments vary significantly from one another. While the habitus of the employees working in the same department are similar. The practices of exploitation and domination differ in some respects according to the departments. For example, there were crude forms of domination in the kitchen, but there were more refined forms in the front office. The reason for this is the habitus that develops depending on the educational capital. Therefore, the capital and habits possessed by the employees are of great importance in the practice of obedience and resistance. Each employee in the field has different levels of capital and this capital determines the power of the actor in the field. Therefore, people with low economic capital and who need a job, tend to be more obedient. Along with this, the participants with low educational capital also tend to obey readily. The level of perception of the refined forms of exploitation and domination practices decreases with a low level of educational capital.

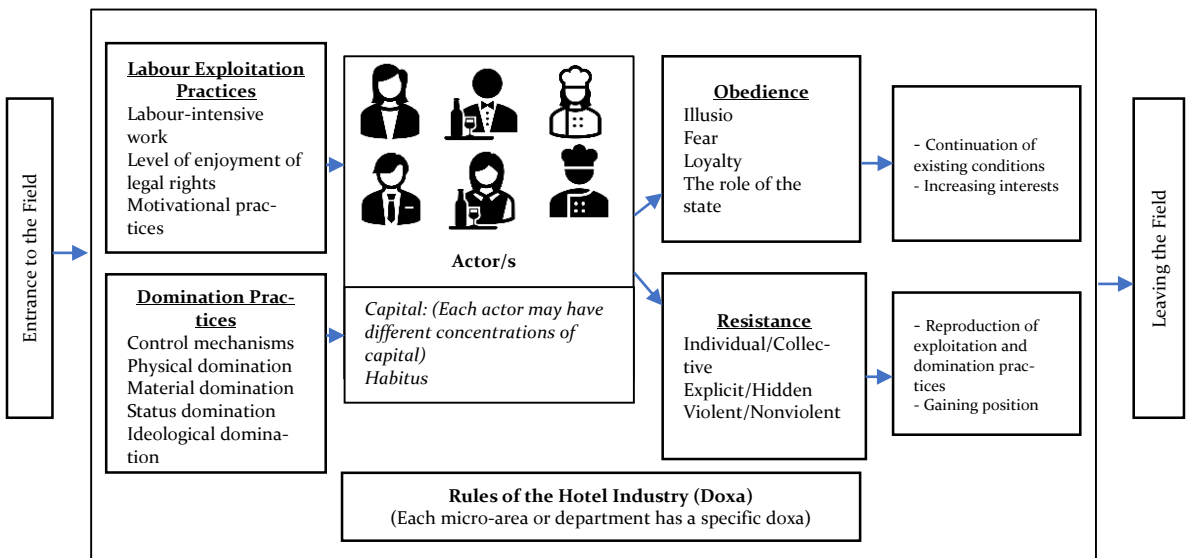


Figure 1. The Functioning of Labour Exploitation, Domination, Consent, and Resistance Relations in the Hotel Industry

5.1. Theoretical Implication

The dominant paradigm in tourism studies is positivism (Bianchi, 2009; Çıvak & Sezerel, 2018; Riley & Love, 2000) and tourism researchers produce studies for their careers (Clarke & Knights, 2015) by adhering to the wider community for legitimacy (Botteril, 2000). Instead, looking at events and phenomena from an interpretative and critical model can contribute to the development of tourism literature and the emancipation of tourism employees. Critical thinkers focus on emancipation by exposing power relations and all conditions of domination and oppression, both covert and overt, and by the application of ‘true democracy’ (Horkheimer, 1982, p. 250). It is thought that by exposing the exploitation and domination practices in the hospitality industry, this study will contribute to the emancipation of hotel employees. In addition, contributing to critical teaching in tourism education can offer individual freedom and social justice (Belhassen & Caton, 2011).

In this study, Bourdieu's sociology analyses labour exploitation, domination, consent, and resistance practices in the hotel industry. Field theory has a useful theoretical structure that can be used in many fields, such as hotel management. The formation of the rules and habitus in the field, how actors adapt to the field, or how actors have the potential to change the rules of the field are shown. The fundamental

reasons behind the practices that emerge in the face of exploitation and domination have been deciphered.

5.2. Managerial Implication

Oppressive regimes lead to resistance (Scott, 1992). There is a similar form of pressure in hotel businesses and employees resist it (Efthymiou, 2010; Yıldırım, 2021). Instead of an oppressive regime, a democratic regime with an open, transparent, accountable, and participatory administration should be introduced (Hodson *et al.*, 2013). If this does not happen, the grudge, hatred, and anger that the employees who exhibit obedience behaviour in the public arena bear secretly turn into explicit resistance (Scott, 1992). In addition, hotel businesses should provide the necessary wage and insurance premium support so that employees are not victimized due to their flexible and indefinite employment patterns (Standing, 2011). Hotel employees, who are dragged into the precariat, have to deal with difficulties such as the pressure and stigma of unemployment, economic troubles, and future anxiety (Lee *et al.*, 2015; Çelik & Erkuş-Öztürk, 2016; Yıldırım, 2021; Çıvak, 2021). In this case, hotel employees are inevitably unhappy in their work and family lives. Ultimately, this is reflected in business performance as well. In addition, while expressing that it is not possible to eliminate exploitation in capitalist enterprises (Marx, 1906), employees' rights should be given to reduce exploitation. As a result, the economic problems and future concerns of hotel employees will decrease. In addition, a democratic, egalitarian, and sharing organizational culture can be built to eliminate the elements of factionalism and domination among employees. The management's protection of employees and their defense, when faced with the customer, can prevent customer domination.

5.3. Policy Implication

First of all, these findings reveal that there is a lack of government control over the prevalence of exploitation and domination practices in the hospitality industry. The government should frequently inspect hotel businesses to detect overtime hours, non-payment of overtime wages, and irregularities in depositing insurance premiums in hotel businesses. In addition, to eliminate the problems arising from flexible and indefinite working conditions (Lee *et al.* 2015; Çelik & Erkuş-Öztürk, 2016) in the field of hospitality, it is necessary to provide insurance premium and unemployment benefit support to tourism employees for the period when they do not work. In addition, it is necessary to support union activities, and tourism unions should work more actively in informing tourism employees and making them members.

6. Limitations of the Study and Future Research

The main limitation of this study is that the field research was conducted in hotels in Antalya, a coastal city in Türkiye. However, the study contains recommendations for future research. First of all, there is a need for studies designed with a critical lens from the perspective of hotel staff in the tourism literature. Addressing the negative experiences and problems faced by hotel employees with a critical perspective will contribute to the literature. Instead of studies focusing on efficiency and productivity, the long-term physical and psychological effects of the exploitation and domination practices experienced by the employees could be discussed. Since this study describes the experiences of exploitation, domination, and resistance of those working in the hospitality industry, the oppressive practices in other sub-areas of the tourism industry (food and beverage businesses, travel agencies, recreation businesses, and so on) could be discussed. Exploitation, domination, and resistance practices could be discussed from the perspectives of individuals who remain in a minority status in terms of ethnicity, religion, sect, and sexual orientation. In addition, the oppression practices faced by managers in the field of hotel management could be discussed. The use of different research designs which could be conducted with a critical paradigm would contribute to the literature in studies focused on domination and exploitation.

Appendix 1: Questions

1. In which industry/job did you work before?
2. Why did you choose this job?
3. How did you get into this business?
4. Do you see a future in this profession?
5. Do you see a future in the hotel where you work?
6. Can you tell us about your work? How are your working hours?
7. Can you benefit from your legal rights? (Wage, leave, overtime wages, and so on)
8. Do your personal characteristics affect your rights? (In the context of variables, such as appearance, gender, age, ethnicity, economic situation, and individual relations).
9. What do you think is labour exploitation? Is there any in this hotel? Do you think your labour is being exploited?
10. What do you do against labour exploitation? What did you do? Have you ever resisted? How?
11. How are your relationships with supervisors, managers, or bosses?
12. Are there any bad attitudes and behaviour that you are exposed to by the managers? If yes, could you give an example? How do the managers treat you in general? Can you explain with examples?
13. What do you think is domination? Is there any in this hotel? Do you feel that you are dominated?
14. What do you do against domination? What did you do? Have you ever resisted? How?
15. If you were a manager, how would you treat your employees? Or what behaviour would you not exhibit?
16. Are there bad attitudes or wrong behaviour between employees (fighting, gossip, bickering, spying, competition, and suchlike)? Have there been any bad attitudes or wrong behaviour towards you? If yes, can you give an example?
17. What do you do when employees treat you badly? What did you do? Have you ever resisted? How?
18. How do customers treat you? Are they mistreating you? How?
19. What do you do when customers treat you badly? What did you do? Have you ever resisted? How?
20. Is there anything else you would like to add?

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