

EXPERIENCING CLASS DIFFERENCES:
THE CASE OF FOOD RETAIL STORE WORKERS IN ANKARA

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ABSTRACT

EXPERIENCING CLASS DIFFERENCES: THE CASE OF FOOD RETAIL STORE WORKERS IN ANKARA

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This thesis aims to examine the class experiences of workers who work in food retail stores in Ankara. In this respect, it focuses on the structure of food retailing as interactive service work, working conditions of workers, stratification, fragmentation and unionization of workers in stores. In addition, it examines how workers experience class as a matter of self-esteem in their workplaces, how they cope with discourtesy of costumers, how they classify costumers and whether they develop a sense of deprivation if it is taken into consideration that they work in a consumption area. It is also analyzed gender and family relations of store workers, and their future hopes and unfulfilled dreams. The study argues that stores with their workers, their managers and their diverse costumers profiles are significant places so as to observe how class differences are continuously reconstructed in everyday life through work and consumption practices. In regard to these issues, the field research of the thesis was employed through semi-structured in-depth interviews with 37 store workers who deal directly with customers and works in various food retail stores in Ankara.

Keywords: class, food retail sector, stores, store workers, customer

ÖZ

SINIFSAL FARKLILIKLARIN DENEYİMLENMESİ: ANKARA MARKET İŞÇİLERİ ÖRNEĞİ

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Bu tez Ankara'daki gıda perakende mağazalarında çalışan işçilerin sınıf deneyimlerini incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bu doğrultuda, enteraktif hizmet işi olarak gıda perakendeciliğinin yapısı, işçilerin çalışma koşulları, mağazalarda tabakalaşma, katmanlaşma ve sendikalaşma üzerine odaklanmaktadır. Ayrıca, işçilerin işyerlerinde sınıfsal farklılıkları nasıl bir öz-saygı meselesi olarak deneyimlediğini, müşterilerin uygunsuz davranışları ile nasıl baş ettiklerini, müşterileri nasıl sınıflandırdıklarını ve tüketim alanında çalıştıkları düşünüldüğünde yoksunluk duygusu geliştirip geliştirmediklerini incelemektedir. İşçilerin aile ilişkileri ve toplumsal cinsiyet ilişkileri ve gelecek umutları ve gerçekleşmemiş hayalleri de analiz edilmektedir. Bu çalışma, mağazaların işçileri, yöneticileri ve değişen müşteri profilleri ile sınıfsal farklılıkların çalışma ve tüketim pratikleri üzerinden gündelik hayatta nasıl sürekli yeniden kurulduğunu görmek açısından önemli bir bağlam sunduğunu iddia etmektedir. Bu konular doğrultusunda, tezin alan çalışması Ankara'da bulunan çeşitli gıda perakende mağazalarında çalışan ve müşteriler ile doğrudan ilgilenen 37 işçi ile yarı-yapılandırılmış derinlemesine görüşmeler yoluyla gerçekleştirilmiştir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Sınıf, gıda perakende sektörü, marketler, market işçileri, müşteriler

To My Family

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Objective of the Study

The rise of shopping centers and large retail stores has been an significant phenomenon of the Turkish economical and cultural life since the 1990s. Their numbers have dramatically increased since the last decade especially in big cities such as İstanbul, Ankara, İzmir, Adana, Bursa (Sönmez, 1997; cited in Durakbaşa ve Cindoğlu, 2005). As a result, the proportion of the workers that employed in retail stores increases in employment market.

Although there are some amount of studies concerning consumption in shopping centers and their pervading place in our everyday lives, insufficient attention has been paid to work and workers in this sector. The study argues that food retail stores with their workers, their managers, and their diverse costumer profiles are significant places so as to observe how class differences are continuously reconstructed in everyday life through work and consumption practices. To study working in the stores¹ requires to handle consumption in relation to work and workers. Because, as Pettinger (2004) argues, workers function as components of how store brands are performed for consumers, along with the inanimate store design, layout, marketing and advertising practices.

¹ Hereafter, I will call both hypermarkets and supermarkets only as "stores", and their workers "store workers". The interviewees of this study work at both in hypermarkets and supermarkets. Briefly, hypermarket means food retailers who sell at least 60 thousands kind of food and non-food production among 2.500-20.000 square metres, generally single-storey. Supermarket is the place between 400-2500 square metres that sells 400-15.000 kind of productions the large part of which is food. I will address this issue in Chapter 2.

If it is taken into account that large stores are mainly for middle-classes from their visual display, design, layout to the world of meanings that give its color to the place, it can be argued that in their workplaces workers can experience intensively the social-class differences and inequalities in consumption.²

Yet the store workers as members of working class have not been studied. As a result, we scarcely know about store workers, their working conditions, challenges they face in their interactions with customers and in their relations with their managers and supervisors, and their social and cultural characteristics.

In this respect, this study focuses on the structure of food retailing as interactive service work, working conditions of workers and stratification, fragmentation and unionization of workers in stores. It mainly examines how workers experience class differences as a matter of self-esteem in their workplaces, how they cope with discourtesy of costumers, how they classify costumers, and whether they develop a sense of deprivation. The position of women workers, family relations of store workers and their future hopes and unfulfilled youth dreams are also handled.

It is to be noted that the arguments and findings of the study cannot be generalized as it is based on the very limited number of interviewees. Since there are so many variables that may influence the answers of the workers such as sex, age, her / his department, in which store s/he works, and even the location of the store, what her / his duty is in the store, whether s/he is a part-time or full-time worker, and whether s/he is a trade union member or not. However, if individual behavior is “a certain specification of a collective history of a group or a class”(Bourdieu, 1984; cited in Bora, 2005: 27), it should be kept in mind that the position of the each worker vis-a-vis power structures, the way of conveying their experiences, and how they cope with problems caused by customers are related to their class positions. In other

² Paint and white wash workers who were not admitted by security personnel to CEPA shopping center, which is located on the Eskişehir highway in Ankara, because their clothes were not clean is a proof that these locations are given meaning by the mentality of the middle class. (İş elbiseleri kirli olan işçilere alışveriş yasağı, 2008, <http://www.emekdunyasi.net/tr/article.asp?ID=3681>)

words, as Erdoğan (2001) claims these singularities produce common or similar demands, practices, feelings or "worlds of meaning" which depend on the same domination and subordination relations.

1.2. The Literature on Working Class in Turkey

There are very limited number of studies concerning the everyday practices and ordinary workday experiences of workers in Turkey. As Geniş (2002) argues, the dominant working class imagery is limited to the organized segments of working class. The academic literature about working class in Turkey mostly deals with trade unions and political organization of workers. They are generally studies of working class history which are not based on testimony of workers. In addition, there are some studies which concern with the historical development of working class movements and unionization from Ottoman Empire to present in Turkey. These studies deal with organized workers and working class movements, rather than their everyday life practices (Enginsoy, 1968; Yazıcı, 1996; Koç, 1998; Güzel, 1993; Sülker, 2004; Sülker, 2004; Sülker, 2002; Yaraşır, 2006; Akkaya, 2008)

There are a limited number of studies that consider not only organized workers but also other workers, especially the ones employed in small sized production sector companies. For example, the study of Quataert and Zürcher (1998) examines the working class in general in the period from the middle of nineteenth century to 1950, just like many other studies in Turkish working class history researches, which are given above. However, in his introduction Quataert argues that he both emphasized the state and modernization and tried to examine the history with a "bottom up" approach. This compilation, which not only examines organized workers but also others and examines both small sized production sector workers and workers in large factories, gives examples of the status of workers, changing economic conditions, class conflicts, movements of workers and the birth of the class awareness and leftist movements.

Boratav (2004) suggests that we only know the dramatic change in the distribution of income in Turkey in 1977 - 1988 because of his macroeconomic studies. Boratav informs that the data obtained in those studies are not enough to fill in some gaps. These gaps are related with how and how much the comparative and absolute decline in payments, salaries, and prices for the goods of farmers effected workers' daily lives, wealth levels and lifestyles. In his study, Boratav examines how negative impacts on macroeconomic level effects micro levels. Nichols and Sugur, (2004) conducted research in 1999 and 2000 with workers who produce white goods, car and textiles. They examine working conditions of these factories and the meaning of working there for workers; differences within the labour force that relate to gender and ethnicity; modern management in global sense; trade unionization in these factories; etc.

There are some academic studies that diverge from the above mentioned prevailing tendency in class literature (Geniş, 2006; Özuğurlu, 2005; Berber, 2003 and Koçak, 2009). For instance, in his dissertation Geniş (2006) attempts to develop a sociological analysis of the workers in the small industry. Because, according to him, workers of the small-scale industrial enterprises have been excluded from academic research and writings. Hence, he argues, our knowledge about this group of workers, their conditions of work, their social, cultural, political and ideological characteristics, their perception of the other segments of the working class have been very limited. Özuğurlu (2005) discusses the phenomenon of "global factory" in the case of textile sector in Denizli. He thus contributes to the study of the formation of working class in Turkey.

One should also cite Erdoğan et al.'s study (2001) although it is not directly related with the working class. Based on semi-structured interviews it examines the life stories of the poor, their personal experiences and thoughts and says that the starting point of the study is the importance of the political and cultural processes where the poor are excluded or included, their positions vis-a-vis social hierarchies and power relations and their representations about themselves and about others. In addition,

Bora (2005) and Özyeğin (2005) deal with the concept of gender in a specific context, that is to say, in household service relationships. They examine how this relation is constructed due to the class differences between household cleaning women and their employers.

1.3. Theoretical Framework

In this thesis, the concept of class will be used in its Marxist sense. The main argument of this study is that classes become apparent in people's everyday life and "class differences find expression in status distinctions that rank individuals and groups on scales of social honorability rather than in terms of economic interest alone" (Swartz, 1997: 151). Thus, in order to analyze the main questions of the thesis, I will employ the theoretical framework that is developed by Marx, Thompson, Bourdieu and Sennett.

Marx and Engels (1998: 6) argue that "the history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles." For Marx, class conflict is the most determinant feature of history. Classes form all societies, except the most primitive of them, and throughout history, there is an inherent conflict between the classes. According to Marx, the basis of these classes was formed by the class structure.

The class structure is evaluated in terms of the ownership of means of production. The ones who own the means of production and those who do not. In capitalism, these two classes are named as capitalist class and the proletariat. Those who do not own the means of production, provide the owners of means of production with their labour power for the production and re-production of their lives. Thus, it is possible for them to earn wages to meet their living needs. That is what is called as proletarianization. For a while, they have to transfer their bodily capacities to the owners of productions in order to produce something which is not relevant to their needs and which is not determined by them. The owners of means of production are

in need of labour power, that is, living labour that produces value by using these means of production.

This model that is created by Marx in order to explain the capitalist society consists a polarized dual-class structure of which the conflicts are the motor of social change. Marx certainly talks about the other classes apart from the capitalist class and proletariat in his descriptive studies. For example, in *The 18th Brumaire of Luis Bonaparte*, Marx (1972) draws a multi-classed society and talks about many significant political groups, such as the landed aristocracy, the financial capitalists, the industrial capitalists, the peasantry, the urban petite-bourgeoisie, the proletariat, the lumpenproletariat, as well as the army, the civil servants, the church, and the intelligentsia. However, what Marx is really interested in is determinant dynamics that transforms the societal structure (capitalist-worker or, more generally, ruler - ruled, owner - non-owner, exploiter – exploited).

Within the last quarter of the 20th century, the Marxist studies viewed the middle classes as the ones which should not be ignored. We should mention about the works of Wright. The managers, the professionals, the service workers, etc., who are called as middle classes, have a dual character. This view based on the empirical studies argues that those who belong to the middle class on the one side have the character of the proletariat and on the other side that of capitalist class. For example, Wright calls these as ‘contradictory locations within class relations’ (Wright, 2000: 20). Because of this reason, it is not possible to mention about a certain political positioning of the middle class. For example, a foreman, a manager or an engineer is a capitalist who controls the means of production and therefore the workers in the context of his relation with the workers who work under the control of him. Nevertheless, at least he is also under the control of a capitalist as the working man of the capitalist and on that sense he is a worker. That part of the society oscillates according to the political conjuncture.

As Chibber (2008: 359) points out “the labour process occupies a central place in Marxist class theory, because of the underlying centrality of exploitation.” The pressure coming from the struggle of the capital against the proletariat and the domestic competition of the capital, which leads the capital to obtain more surplus value, directs the capital to establish more control over the labour power through the production process. To obtain more surplus value is only possible by decreasing the cost of production and therefore the costs of labour and by intensification of the production process. Workers offer work for the capitalist and sell their labour power to the capitalist. However, within this process how the labour power will be evaluated is under the control of the capital. According to Marx:

“... at first, the subjection of labour to capital was only a formal result of the fact, that the labourer, instead of working for himself, works for and consequently under the capitalist. By the co-operation of numerous wage-labourers, the sway of capital develops into a requisite for carrying on the labour-process itself, into a real requisite of production. That a capitalist should command on the field of production is now as indispensable as that a general should command on the field of battle capital” (Marx, 1999a: 216).

Here, another dimension of the class antagonism appears: while the worker tries to spend his labour power in the least amount, the capitalist is in need for using this power in the maximum sense. To do this, intensively the capital tries to keep labour under control within the production process. Several mechanisms and techniques are developed and mechanization is preferred in order to produce more, to extract surplus from the labour power, and to make labour power under the control of the capital.

There are two main results of the disqualifying of labour continuously: the first is that only the physical force implementation ability was left to the workers. This banalizes and atomizes him as bare labour power seller. Secondly, this reduction of labour to simple, unskilled labour by estranging him from the intellectual potentialities of the labour-process and from control of the production process lets the capitalist to control the workers more firmly. In this manner, the worker loses his autonomy and becomes a mere “living appendage of the machines” (Marx, 1999a:

279). All of these mean that the control of production process, control of shop floor in capitalism, determines the class positions.

In Marx's approach, the term class is not just explained through the class structure and production process. In addition to these, it is necessary to look at the terms like class war and class consciousness. Class war appears as a result of that both classes follow their class interests by realizing the antagonist structure of their class interest and have a class consciousness. According to Marx, following the class interests by realizing them, that is, transforming to itself from a class *in itself* into a *class for itself* takes a class away from just a descriptive element and make it the real class:

"The separate individuals form a class only insofar as they have to carry on a common battle against another class; otherwise they are on hostile terms with each other as competitors." (Marx, 2000a: 34)

As Andrew asserts (1975: 464), "Marx refers to a transitional stage between a collection of disunited workers and a politically conscious working class, namely, when the workers constitute 'a class as against capital, but not for itself.'" The proletariat proceeding of their interests and their war against to the exploitation gathers them up, creates solidarity and reveals the class consciousness as a joint identity. This class consciousness and war spreads not just over the daily life and culture, but also to the social relation networks and is fed through them.

However, while the approach of Marx on class is a starting point in order to understand the social life, it includes several limitations. Nowadays, the expansion of the service sector, the rise of communication technologies transformed daily life experiences and class cultures.

Another important figure in class analysis is Thompson. For Thompson (1963), class is a relationship embodied in real people and in a real context:

"By class I understand a historical phenomenon, unifying a number of disparate and seemingly unconnected events, both in the raw of experience and in consciousness. I

emphasize that it is a *historical* phenomenon. I do not see class as a 'structure', nor even as a 'category', but as something which in fact happens (and can be shown to have happened) in human relationships." (p.1)

Thus, Thompson views class as a relationship and the working class as a class that 'makes its own history' (Thompson, 1963). Similar to Marx's conception of class, Thompson (1963: 1) argues that "class happens when some men, as a result of common experiences (inherited or shared), feel and articulate the identity of their interests as between themselves, and as against other men whose interests are different from (and usually opposed to) theirs".

Class *formations* and the discovery of class consciousness grow out of the process of struggle, as people 'experience' and 'handle' their situations. It is in this sense that class struggle precedes class. To say that exploitation is 'experienced in class ways and only thence give(s) rise to class formations' is to say precisely that the conditions of exploitation, the relations of production, are objectively *there* to be experienced (Thompson, 1978: 149; cited in. Wood, 1996: 80).

He also argues that:

"Nevertheless, objective determinations do not impose themselves on blank and passive raw material but on active and conscious *historical* beings. Class formations emerge and develop 'as men and women *live* their productive relations and experience their determinate situations, with in "the *ensemble* of the social relations", with their inherited culture and expectations, and as they handle these experiences in cultural ways'." (Thompson, 1978: 150; cited in Wood, 1996: 80)

Thompson's analysis of the making of the English working class is quite suggestive for a study of the Turkish working class.

Bourdieu's analysis of social class is also important for this study, as I will refer to his concepts like cultural capital, symbolic power / violence, social space and social distinctions.

Bourdieu was centrally concerned to transcend the antinomy of structure and agent by establishing a multidimensional stratified social reality. Bourdieu conceives that

together with class structure based on mode of production, there is a need to look into stratified social world whose class structure is embodied in social practices of agents.

‘Practice’ is the key concept to enter into Bourdieu’s analysis of the social phenomena. He maintains that “social world does not work in terms of consciousness; it works in terms of practices” (Bourdieu & Eagleton, 1999: 268). According to Bourdieu, every social practice is both a part of the cognition of the world and helps the reproduction of it in a certain way (Thompson, 1991: 2; Jenkins, 1994: 69). In accordance to his understanding, in these practices, which encompass wide ranging activities, such as the way of talking, style of dressing, entertainment manners, residence preferences, interior design etc., it is possible to find out class relations.

Bourdieu, by dissociating from Marxism, extends the idea of capital to all form of power, whether they be material, cultural, social, or symbolic (Swartz, 1997). Individuals and groups draw upon a variety of cultural, social and symbolic resources in order to maintain and enhance their positions in the social order. Bourdieu conceptualizes such resources as capital when they function as a “social relation of power,” that is, when they become objects of struggle as valued resources. In this sense, Bourdieu proposes a peculiar stratification model of social space; and on the basis of this framework he develops specific concepts on various types of capital, and unequal distribution of those capitals with regard to their quantity, relative density, and their changing position in relation to time.

Bourdieu generally speaks of four types of capital: economic capital (material wealth in the form of money and properties), cultural capital (cultural goods and services including educational credentials), social capital (acquaintances and networks: being in relation to various kinds of significant others), and symbolic capital (legitimation: legitimate authority in the form of significance, respect, status and celebrity). Bourdieu treats capital as power relations founded on quantitative differences in

amount of labor they embody. In this context, this thesis attempts to analyze which types of capital the interviewed workers refer when they designate the class differences which appear in their relations with customers and other workers, and also within which maps of meaning they describe their customers; that is, if they apprehend them through dualities such as illiterate - uneducated / educated, poor / rich, cultured / uncultured.

Bourdieu is centrally concerned with power and domination, nevertheless his concept of capital is not linked to theory of exploitation in the sense of Marxian understanding which points out extracting surplus value or a dynamic of capital accumulation. But a key contribution of Bourdieu to the concept of labor is that power resources are constituted by a much broader range of types of labor (political, religious, familial) and they can be transformed one into another under certain conditions and at certain rates. Indeed, Bourdieu's sociology focuses centrally on the study of how and under what conditions individuals and groups practice strategies of capital accumulating, investing, and converting various kinds of capital in order to maintain or enhance their positions in the social order.

The accumulation of cultural capital in its embodied form begins in early childhood. It requires "pedagogical action": the investment of time by parents, other family members, or hired professionals to sensitize the child to cultural distinctions. The acquisition of cultivated dispositions presupposes "distance from economic necessity" and therefore translates original class-based inequalities into cultural differences. The investment of inherited cultural capital returns dividends in school. Those who have large amounts of incorporated cultural capital are rewarded and those who have not are penalized (Bourdieu, 1989; cited in Swartz, 1997).

Nevertheless, Bourdieu does not constrain his analysis of cultural capital with explaining differential school achievement. This form of capital operates much more broadly and ranges from hiring practices in firms to choice of spouse. Both of them tend to produce a high degree of class endogamy, whether in business or marriage.

Thirdly, cultural capital exists in an institutionalized form, by which Bourdieu means the educational credential system. Bourdieu attaches great importance in the advanced societies to the growth of the higher educational system and the role it has come to play in the allocation of status. Since educational credentials increasingly have become necessary for gaining access to desirable positions in the job market, it becomes essential for parents to invest in a good education for their children so they can reap the “profit” on the job market. This process of investment involves the conversion of economic capital into cultural capital, which is strategy more readily available to the affluent. According to him, cultural capital is becoming more and more the new basis of social stratification historically.

The family according to its legitimate definition is a privilege, which is institutionalized in the form of the universal norms such as being married, having a child, having a house and a car. This de facto privilege consists of symbolic privilege of being as expected, conforming to the norm, and there for enjoying a symbolic profit of normality. According to Bourdieu (1998) this ‘privilege’, in reality, is one of the basic requirements in accumulation and transfer of economic, cultural and symbolic capital. The family is not predominant only in biological reproduction; it is also affective in the reproduction of the social space structure.

Formation of the habitus and acquiring dispositions occur through a process of inculcation starting from early childhood experiences (Thompson, 1991). That is why it may be relatively homogeneous across individuals from similar backgrounds. If habitus is a “logic derived from common set of material conditions of existence” (Garnham & Williams, 1986:120), then we can also define it as a class phenomenon. As habitus is not an individual phenomenon, logic of practice is always a variant of a group or a class practice. The habitus is a set of dispositions which orientate agents to act and react in certain ways. The dispositions generate practices, perceptions and attitudes which are ‘regular’ without being consciously co-ordinate or governed by any ‘rule’. According to Bourdieu, "social class is not defined solely by a position in

the relations of production, but the class habitus which is 'normally' (i.e., with a high statistical probability) associated with that position" (Bourdieu, 1984: 372).

Bourdieu emphasizes the role of symbolic forms and processes in the reproduction of social inequality. For Bourdieu, the traditional Marxist emphasis on economic and class structures underestimates the importance of the symbolic dimension of power relations. As Swartz (1997) argues, Bourdieu believes that in the advanced societies the principal mode of domination has shifted from the overt coercion and the threat of physical violence to forms of symbolic manipulation.

In contemporary capitalism, the dominant class has shifted to use indirect, euphemized, cultural mechanisms to sustain the existing relations of domination and subordination. Bourdieu defines it as 'symbolic power' (or violence, domination). It means "an unperceived form of everyday violence" (Bourdieu & Eagleton, 1999:266). Through symbolic violence, domination becomes more effective and brutal, because "it is something you absorb like air, something you don't feel pressured by it" (Bourdieu & Eagleton, 1999: 270). Bourdieu (1987) thinks of symbolic power as "*worldmaking* power," for it involves the capacity to impose the "legitimate vision of the social world and of its divisions".

Bourdieu argues that the habitus only functions related to social field (Jenkins, 1994). Because when individuals act, they always do so in specific social contexts or settings. Hence particular practices or perceptions should be seen, not as the product of the habitus as such, but as the product of the relation between the habitus, on the one hand, and the specific social contexts or 'fields' within which individuals act, on the other (Thompson, 1991).

Social space is constructed in such a way that agents or groups are distributed in it according to their position in statistical distributions based on economic capital and cultural capital. As Bourdieu expressed in the diagram in *Distinction* in which he tried to represent social space, agents are distributed in the first dimension according

to the overall volume of the different kinds of capital they possess, and in the second dimension according to the structure of their capital, that is, according to the relative weight of the different kinds of capital, economic and cultural, in the total volume of their capital (Bourdieu, 1998: 7).

The model thus defines distances that are *predictive* of encounters, affinities, sympathies, or even desires. Concretely, this means that people located at the top of the space have little chance of marrying people located toward the bottom, first because they have little chance of physically meeting them (except in what are called "bad places," that is, at the cost of a transgression of the social limits which reflect spatial distances); secondly because, if they do accidentally meet them on some occasion, they will not get on together, will not really understand each other, will not appeal to one another on the other hand, proximity in social space predisposes to closer relations: people who are inscribed in a restricted sector of the space will be both closer (in their properties and in their dispositions, *their tastes*) and more disposed to get closer, as well as being easier to bring together, to mobilize. *But this does not mean that they constitute a class in Marx's sense, that is, a group which is mobilized for common purposes, and especially against another class.*

Indeed, Bourdieu's conception of class is defined regarding both economic and cultural capital. "For Bourdieu, classes are sets of agents who occupy similar positions in the social space, and hence possess similar kinds and similar quantities of capital, similar life chances, similar dispositions, etc." (Thompson, 1991: 30). In addition, some secondary characteristics such as sex ratio or a certain distribution in the social space are also taken into account (Bourdieu, 1984, pg.102).

Sennett in his studies about work environment of modern capitalism explores the effect of the capitalist economy on human relationships. That is, he focuses on people's own experiences. Thus, his research involves interviewing and ethnography.

According to Sennet (1993) the material conditions in a capitalist society undermine the working class person's feeling of self-worth ". Sennett (2005) claims that "the specter of uselessness" haunts skilled as well as unskilled workers.

In *Hidden Injuries of Class* Sennett and Cobb (1993) define the internal, emotionally harmful forms of class differences in modern society. They examine human relations within and among classes. As they points out:

"Class society takes away from all the people within it the feeling of secure dignity in the eyes of others and of themselves. [...] The result of this, we believe, is that the activities which keep people moving in a class society, which make them seek more money, more possessions, higher-status jobs, do not originate in a materialistic desire, or even sensuous appreciation, of things, but out of an attempt to restore a psychological deprivation that the class structure has effected in their lives. In other words, *the psychological motivation instilled by a class society is to heal a doubt about the self rather than create more power over things and other persons in the outer world.*" (Sennett and Cobb, 1993: 170 - 171)

According to Sennett (2005: 9) the new economy which is characterized by flexibility, instability and based on the principle of "no long term" have direct consequences on people and in particular on their character defined as: "Character particularly focuses upon the long-term aspect of our emotional experience. Character is expressed by loyalty and mutual commitment, or through the pursuit of long-term goals, or by the practice of delayed gratification for the sake of a future end." As a result, in contrasted to the 'iron cage' of bureaucracy described by Weber - those pyramidal corporate structures in which individuals knew their place and planned their futures narrative, the changes characterizing new capitalism can be destructive, eroding the sense of sustained purpose, integrity of self, and trust in others and makes it difficult to the majority of workers who face uncertainty to make long term commitments and to shape a "narrative" for their future. Consequently, Sennett (1998: 138) argues that:

"One of the unintended consequences of modern capitalism is that it has strengthened the value of place, aroused a longing for community. All the emotional conditions we have explored in the workplace animate that desire: the uncertainties of *flexibility*, the absence of deeply rooted trust and commitment, the superficiality

of teamwork, most of all the spectre of failing to make something of oneself in the world, to get a life through one's work. All these conditions impel people to look for some other scene of attachment and depth." That is why "a regime which provides human beings no deep reasons to care about one other cannot preserve its legitimacy" (Sennett, 1998: 148).

In this sense, the thesis focuses on how the store workers explain the class differences when they encounter consumers and what kind of strategies they use in order to cope with these situations when this relation is in injurious and degrading manner, and take away their feel of dignity. Since the stores are the places in which people from different social positions meet each other and get together characterized by class stratification and fragmentation of workers, it would be possible to observe the hierarchical structure which is created by stratification among workers (such as the hierarchical structure of shop-floor workers, supervisory workers, second tier management posts, administrative positions and the top-level management positions) and by the relationships between workers and customers. Furthermore, the interviews with workers would be helpful to explore how they see this hierarchical structure from their position, how they explain its causes, and whether they legitimize it or not.

1.4. The Research Method

In regard to these main questions of the study, the field research of the thesis was employed through semi-structured in-depth interviews method on the basis of snowball sampling with 37 store workers work in various food retail stores in Ankara. They were non-supervisory front-line workers, those who dealt directly with customers such as cashier, self-packer, greengrocer, butcher or bakery. I interviewed the retail sector workers from 12 different stores which belong to 8 different companies. Some of these companies are the sub-brand of one corporation. Four of the stores were hypermarkets, the others were supermarkets. Three of the stores operate only in local level. Hereafter, I will mention these eight different brand names as A, B, C, D, E, F, G and H (the local level stores are A, and F with two stores in different districts) The sample was composed of nearly equal numbers of

men and women: the number of female workers were 19 and of male workers were 18. In addition, there was only one female cashier focus group interview.

As Apple (1982) claims "empirical analysis provided the means for firstly, capturing the structural and cultural phenomena at the level of everydayness" (cited in Skeggs, 1988: 133). Accordingly, the thesis takes to hearth their ordinary workday experiences and how they have influence on workers. Thus, fieldwork was not be restricted by some stores which are members of the union. The interviews were conducted both by members of the union and by workers who are not members of the union and are in the majority. While the 15 of workers I interviewed are members of a labor union, 22 of workers are not. 17 of those who are not members work at stores in which unions are not organized. One of these stores operates nationally and two of them work locally. 4 of the non-union workers work at national level stores but since they were employed as subcontracted, they do not belong to a union. Only one of the workers work in a national store in which a union has the competency of the common job agreement but the worker is willingly not a member of a union. In addition, the workers who were interviewed in focus group were also members of a labor union. We reached to union members by offices of Tez- Koop-İş Union. In each stores, from the first respondent that was contacted it was possible to reach other potential participants. Hereby, I found the chance to interview with more than one worker in the same store. Apart from these, I interviewed workers who work in stores which I usually go for shopping. The expectations of the workers from their unions, how they evaluate the union, why the workers who are not a member of the union are non-unionized, whether they think that there is difference between the working conditions of unionized workers and their conditions are all asked.

It is inevitable for this study to handle these issues relevant to food retail sector workers in a selective manner. It could not include everything about labour market and labour process in Turkish food retailing. Therefore, I restricted myself with elaborating on certain questions I have asked to interviewees. These questions can be collected under those topics: demographic information about workers; the working

conditions and their employment status; how they give meaning to hierarchical structure which is created by stratification among workers and by relationships between workers and customers; if they are a member of union or not and what are their comments about it, how they feel class differences in their interaction with customers and managers and how workers experience class as a matter of self-esteem in their workplaces, how they cope with discourtesy of costumers, how they classify costumers and whether they develop sense of deprivation or not. Specifically, the position of women workers and gender relations in stores, family relations of store workers and lastly workers future and unfulfilled dreams are also addressed.

Interviews with workers were conducted individually and lasted around an hour for each worker (although some lasted for as long as two or three hours) and were tape-recorded in order to keep and transcribe their experiences by their own words. I interviewed the respondents privately as much as possible, free from the distractions of their colleague (three interviews were conducted with the colleague present). Interviewing both colleagues simultaneously presents the potential problem of one person involving the other's responses. In addition, all quotations in the text are verbatim, but some have been condensed for easier reading. In Appendix A, a table notes the respondent's age, gender, educational level, and occupation. All respondents' names were changed to ensure confidentiality.

This thesis focuses on the thoughts of workers on their own position, their feelings and their experiences and their expressions with the suggestion that it is inadequate to analyze store workers only with economic indicators. However in this study based on interviews with employees, defining the social positions of workers only based on their personal views is avoided; and personal lives, memories, thoughts, feelings, views are examined by their relation to certain social conditions. In order to achieve this, daily living practices of store workers and their explanations and the relation of such with historical social context need to be given due care. Even if I could not do this enough and even if I have been lost in the explanations of the interviewees, I

hope, as Erdoğan (2002:10) said in the introduction of “*Yoksulluk Halleri*”, that I have made a micrological contribution to analysis of the “social macrocosmos”.

1.5. Outline of Chapters

The study consists of four chapters. In this chapter the main objective of the thesis and the importance of evaluating such kind of a subject has been given. The working class literature in Turkey and the field research method has been also presented. In addition, the main theoretical framework of this study has been presented. Thus the concept of class has been discussed with reference to Marx, Wright, Thompson, Bourdieu and Sennett.

In Chapter 2, the structure of retail sector both in the world and in Turkey -especially food retailing will be my main point of focus. In this chapter, I will also dwell upon working conditions of workers, stratification and fragmentation of workers in stores, their impact on relationship among workers and unionization in stores. All these issues will be supported by experiences of workers through their own narratives.

The main focus of Chapter 3 is the relationships between consumers and workers with reference to their own narratives in order to discuss how store workers experience the class differences in the moments of meeting with consumers; how they develop strategies in order to cope with these situations when this relation is in degrading and injurious manner, and how they classify their customers. This chapter also concerns with the roles of gender in the (re)construction of hierarchical structure; impact of social class on families and worker’s hopes about their future life and their unfulfilled child or youth dreams.

Finally, Chapter 4 will offer an interpretation of the findings of the research.

CHAPTER 2

THE STRUCTURE OF THE INTERACTIVE SERVICE SECTOR

2.1. Introduction

Today it is no longer possible to locate “manual” labour within the industrial sector and “mental” labour within the service sector since many service works, including the occupation of store workers, rest on manual labour and since there are many white-collar employees in the industrial sector. According to Öngen (1994), the creation of the use value or exchange value by labour is far from becoming the criteria to designate class status due to the fact that the classes are determined through their place in the relations of production, the considerable element is the property relations established by means of production within the social groups. However, the complex class structure precludes designating the class status only through property relations. Nevertheless, in the interviews with the store workers one can observe that the internal class stratification dramatically changes the class relations. As we climb up the stages of the bureaucratic order we find a clear distinction between the status of for example some senior officials and the lower class workers groups (department employees, cashiers, etc.). After all the former are the social group who controls the lower class workers and accordingly take a part in the exploitation of the workers. For this reason when analyzing their class position, their relation with the management should be taken into account (Öngen, 1994).

This chapter will begin with the elaboration of the structure of the retail sector, the food retailing and the employment status, working conditions and class positions of workers in the food retail stores. When discussing the retail sector in Turkey,

references to other cases in the world will also be made. Then I will focus on unionization in the stores and the attitude of workers towards trade union. Besides, some aspects of the everyday life of workers such as leisure time, gender and family relations and their future hopes and unfulfilled dreams will also be briefly examined. For this purpose, workers personal narratives and experiences will be analyzed.

2.2. Retail Sector

There has been an "inflation" of shopping malls, outlet centers and food retail stores. It has had dramatic affects both on the economic relations and on the culture of consumption in everyday life in urban spaces.

By the end of 2007 with its total 150 billions dollars sale, the retail sector is the fourth biggest sector in Turkey after energy, education and health. It is anticipated that the financial turnover of the retail sector will arrive at 199 billions dollars in 2010. According to the report published by Cushman & Wakefield, the Turkish retail sector is 7th biggest in sector in Europe and 10th biggest in the world. Further, the report on ‘The Global Power of Retail 2008’ published by Deloitte designates that Turkey is the 5th biggest market for food consumption and 8th biggest market for the consumption out of the food within Europe.³

By the end of 2007 a total of 2.7 million people were employed in the retail sector, 360 thousand of them were hired by the organized retail sector. The basic reason for the increase of employment observed in the organized retail sector is the shopping malls which have spread all around Turkey. The number of shopping malls increased from 179 at the end of 2007 to 225 in November 2008. While it is predicted that the number of the shopping malls will be around 350 in Turkey in 2010, it is calculated that every new shopping mall creates approximately among 1000 and 4000 new employments.⁴ The pioneer retail sector in Turkey is “Migros”⁵

³ <http://www.ampd.org/arastirmalar/default.aspx?SectionId=97>, available at 2010, April

⁴ *ibid.*

Servet Topaloglu, who worked in Tansaş as CEO in the period between 2002 and 2005, states in his book, entitled *'Perakendede Diriliği Kaybetmeden İrileşmek'* insistently that customer satisfaction is the most crucial factor in the success in retail sector. Yet he never mentions the workers who produce this success:

“Yet in the place where they do shopping the costumers expect an emotional affiliation from the retailers offering service apart from the rational advantages such as price and variety. The association of rational and emotional affiliation brings along the branding” (Topaloğlu, 2008: 18).

Here it is clear that the emotional affiliation will be created by the workers. Topaloğlu (2008: 12) explains the secret of success: becoming a ‘vending machine’ and providing service fast and with less fuel, put it differently, realizing the hectic pace of growth while decreasing costs. It is already known that this can be done by reducing labour cost.

Mehmet Nane (2010), the head of the Trade Council of Shopping Centers and Retailers (AMPD) who objected to the law proposal about closing the shopping malls on Sundays claimed that “this means that 81 thousand active workers within the sector will lose their jobs. Who wants to commit this sin? A shopping mall is not just a shopping mall, but it is also an entertainment, meeting and culture center. It became an inseparable part of our towns. It became a part of the urban equipments.”⁶ While the achievement of shopping malls in general remains unquestioned, the workers are not mentioned. Thus the workers are being remembered when what is at stake are the profits and they being mentioned just to warn that they will pay the cost.

On the other side, it is apodictic to say that the rapid increase in the number of these big stores in the urban centers threatens the grocers and medium stores. Solakoğlu (2008) cites a speech held by the mayor of Erzurum during the first opening of

⁵ As of 16.04.2010 Migros Inc. has covered an area of 1.491.307 square metres and owns a total of 1.705 stores. 1.683 of them are in Turkey, composed of 270 Migros, 308 Tansaş, 1088 Şok, 9 Macro Center ve 8 5M; and 22 of them are in foreign countries with the name of Ramstore.

⁶ "Alışveriş merkezleri pazar günü kapatılırsa 81 bin kişi işsiz kalır", Radikal Newspaper, 10.02.2010

Migros in Erzurum “Does Koç find this wide-ranged grocery shop appropriate enough as an investment for Erzurum? This store causes 40 grocers to be closed in Erzurum.” According to an article from Referans Newspaper⁷ dated in 2008, in the retail sector, where the number of chain stores has quadrupled in the last ten years, one out of four grocers or one of the medium stores have been closed. According to the news, in particular, the local chains such as Migros, BİM and Tansaş by increasing their branch offices through the investment of the global chains such as Metro, Carrefour, Dia and Tesco in Turkey have a significant role in this process.

However, Nane (2010) argues that “in Turkey the corner-shop (*bakkal amca*) is not in opposition to the hypermarket and hypermarket is not in opposition to the corner-shop (*bakkal amca*), there is a change because of the consumers choice. We are the actors of this change as well. We are the parties, but we are not the parties standing against one another, we are the parties going hand in hand.” However, his speech makes it evident that he is not sincere about it:

“The artificer, the craftsman must be absolutely supported. We are always obliged to grow together. However, the retail sector must not block in order to support the artificer. If the establishment of the automobile manufactories is blocked because of the fact that coachmen lose their jobs or if the textile factory is prevented due to not allowing the tailor to make a loss, what happens? Today what we would like to do is that. This subject is as important as not to abuse for the short-term interests and for sectoral electioneering.”⁸

Also the Prime Minister of Turkey Recep Tayyip Erdoğan said when opening a shopping mall in İstanbul “I know the complaint of the handicraftsman. However, Turkey is changing; they should unite by realizing this reality. At one time, there were convenience stores in the alleyway. Today the reality of life is the shopping

⁷ "Süpermarketler 4 kat çoğaldı, hızlı tüketim pazarı 31 milyar doları buldu," Referans Newspaper, 12 May 2008.

⁸ "Alışveriş merkezleri pazar günü kapatılırsa 81 bin kişi işsiz kalır", Radikal Newspaper, 10 February 2010

mall."⁹ Here it is worth to emphasize the similarity between the speech made by the Prime Minister of Turkey and the bosses of the shopping malls.

Lastly, the retail sector is a sector within which the circulation is considerably intensive. Topaloğlu (2008: 7) cites that in Wal-Mart at present approximately 2 millions people work and the employee turnover rate is at the level of 25 percent. In other words, every year 500 thousands people are employed instead of the people who are dismissed. The circulation in stores in Turkey is not that high. Yet its intensity can be observed in the following statement of Nuri who is a store worker I interviewed:

"İnanın ki kasiyer arkadaşların çoğunu tanımıyorum. Ve beş yıldır, altı yıldır da buradayım. Hesabını sen yap.[...] Ben sizi bi kere gördüm, ikincide gördüğümde simanızı hatırlarım, de mi? Onları hatırlamıyorum ki ben, çünkü her gün değişiyor kasiyer. Nasıl hatırlıyım? Nerden çıkartayım."¹⁰

2.2.1. The Food Retailing

In general, the word food retailing signifies different kinds of stores in terms of their size and their range of goods to be sold. In this regard, it is important to clarify how the food retail sector is classified. Topaloğlu (2008: 33-34) classifies food retailing as follows:

Hypermarket means food retailers who sell at least 60 thousand kinds of food and non-food products in a space of 2.500-20.000 square metres, generally single-storey. For example, the French Companies Carrefour and Auchan, the English company Tesco, the German Real, and the American company Wal-Mart. Hypermarkets generally allocate more than 50 percent of their selling space for non-food products.

⁹ "Kahraman Bakkal Süpermarkete Karşı!", M. Y. Yılmaz, Hürriyet Newspaper, 1 February 2010

¹⁰ "Believe me, I do not know most of my cashier friends. And I am here for five, six years. Do the math. [...] I saw you once, do I remember you when I see you again, too? I do not remember them, because every day the cashiers change. How should I remember? How should I recognize?", Nuri, interviewed in Ankara, 2008

Supermarket is a place between 400-2.500 square meters and it sells 400-15.000 kinds of products large part of which is food. For instance, Migros-Turkish, Kiler, Carrefour Express, the German companies Edeka and Rewe, and the Spanish company Mercadona. Supermarkets make 85 percent of their selling over food productions. Furthermore, there are **discount stores** which are between 400-1000 square metres and sell 600-3000 kinds of products, for example, BİM, French-Spain Dia, German Aldi and Lidl.

Tesco serves both as a hypermarket and as a supermarket. During recent years, Carrefour began to operate as a supermarket and as well as a hypermarket (Carrefour Express). Besides the wholesale selling merchandising called "**cash and carry**" whosetarget group are the owners of the businesses, grocers and restaurants rather than individual customers must be seen in the format of the food retailing in spite of its different operating system, for instance, Metro C&C.

Apart from these retailers as mentioned above, we know that there are over 250 local / district food retailers in Turkey whose annual sale changes between 10 million and 250 million and we know that they have much power in their regions. For example, Makro Markets, Gimsa and Soykan in Ankara, Uyum Markets in Istanbul, Pehlivanoğlu in Izmir are some of them (Topaloğlu, 2008: 34)

Whereas the proportion of the organized retailers is 90 % in Europe, more than 60 % of the retail market is hold by the traditional retailers such as the grocers, distinct bazaars and mobile stands (seyyar tezgah) (Topaloğlu, 2008; AMPD, 2007). 25 percent of the market is controlled by the organized retails such as Migros, Carrefour, BİM, Tesco, Metro, Kiler, Teknosa, LCW, Boyner, YKM, Koton, Mudo, IKEA, Koçtaş, Bauhaus, etc. and 15 percent by the hundreds of half organized retailers which have more than 10 stores. (Topaloğlu, 2008: 36)

With its 3.5 billion dollars turnover Migros is the leader of the retail market. Today BIM is the second retail firm (Topaloğlu, 2008: 41). With its 2,710 stores, it is the retailer which has the most stores in Turkey as of April 2010.

Delen and Akgeyik (2009) indicate that relatively there is a young labour power profile in the retail and service sectors. Labour power employed in the service sector has an education level higher than manufacturers. According to their research, while the rate of the graduate students in the call centers reaches 66.1 %, among the store workers this rate is 21.8 %.

While Topaloğlu complaining about the fact that the retail sector is not perceived as an alternative career for those whose cultural capital is large, in fact he asserts the image of the quality of the labour power in food retail stores in the eyes of the middle and upper classes:

“The retail sector must be explained well to the new generation who study undergraduate and graduate in our universities that this sector is a serious alternative and opportunity for career, this area must cause to be loved to them. It must not be the sector that new graduate students would prefer least. Because in their eyes the retailing sector is the field that the “persons with a skill but without much education” work in, less money is paid, it requires heavy working times but does not offer any career opportunity. However, the reality is not that. Today the senior managers of the big retail companies appear in very high wage categories which yearly approaches two-digit million dollar” (Topaloğlu, 2008: 57).

After examining the structure of the food retail sector in Turkey, it will be useful to overview the present situation of food retailing in the world so as to predict the future of the food retail sector in Turkey.

2.2.2. The Prevailing Inclination of the Food Retail Sector

Food retailing is an important component of the world economy in terms of both sales and employees. It is useful to examine Wal-Mart, the leader of retail industry, in order to get a general idea about the inclination of the world's retail industry. The

rapid growth, size and strength of Wal-Mart have made it the leader of a new global industry (Rosen, 2005; Yarařır, 2006). The retail industry in America and in the world has been reformed by Wal-Mart with an unequalled market power: "Where Wal-Mart leads, others follow" (Rosen, 2005: 32). Its organizational structure runs autocratically — from the top to down. Therefore, messages flow from corporate headquarters directly to the store managers, and down through the ranks to sales associates. Wal-Mart uses the technological information very well. The business analysts express that the achievement of Wal-Mart is based on its advanced logistics and information technology. That is true only because of the way that Wal-Mart deploys that technology. It controls labour costs both legally and illegally by making employees work more than they are paid for:

"At Wal-Mart, the work rules and corporate culture enjoin workers to do more tasks for the same rate of pay. To be "flexible" means to shoulder more tasks in less time. From management on down, information technology at Wal-Mart demands that employees master new skills. Yet Wal-Mart spends very little on training, relying instead on authoritarian management and deceptive ideology. Fear and humiliation motivate personnel to work hard. Managers and workers indoctrinated in the Wal-Mart culture often start the job with great expectations, but in time, Wal-Mart's modus operandi generates anger and betrayal." (Rosen, 2005: 38).

The explanation of a worker who has been working at CarrefourSA for one and a half year in one of his articles in the RED Magazine suggests that the modus operandi of the stores in the Turkish case is not much different from that of Wal-Mart:

"İře ilk girdiđimde nispeten daha iyi řartların sađlanacađını dűřünműřtűm. Henűz kurumsallařmamıř yerlere oranla daha iyi bir mađazayla karřılařmayı bekliyordum. Ancak kurumsallařmanın bizim deđil onların lehine olduđunu anladım. Burada inanılmaz disiplinli bir sistem var ve iřçi bu sistemin en ۆnemsiz parçası. Raflardaki ۆrűnler bizden daha deđerli. Yapılan en ufak yanlışlıklarda dahi yaptırımla karřılařıyoruz"¹¹

¹¹ "When I started the job, I expected that better working conditions would be provided. Compared with the places which are not institutionalized, I expected to come across a good store. But I understood that the institutionalization is on behalf of them, not of us. Here, there is a strict disciplined system and the worker is the least meaningful part of this system. The products on the shelves are more valuable than us. For the smallest mistakes, we are sanctioned", a store worker, RED Magazine, 2007, "sepeti dolduruyorsunuz ya..." Vol. 12, Sept. 2007 - 9, p. 23.

Furthermore, Rosen (2005) claims that sex discrimination at Wal-Mart is not accidental but it results from the Wal-Mart authoritarian aspect and paternalistic culture. Approximately 70 percent of sales associates in Wal-Mart are women. Women are paid significantly less than men, making it cost effective for Wal-Mart to keep women at the lowest ranks. New studies indicate that women are more underpaid and excluded from high-level positions at Wal-Mart than at comparable retailers.

The relations established with the suppliers constitute the decisive character of the Wal-Mart organizational structure. Because of purchasing substantial amounts of goods, Wal-Mart, which has a serious hegemony over the suppliers, asks for a price reduction from the producing companies and undercharges them. In addition, it forces the suppliers to produce with minimum cost without making any concessions in the product quality. Therewith the suppliers turn towards other countries or places where there is the cheapest producing¹² (Yaraşır, 2006).

Wal-Mart's principle of “in the shortest time gaining the utmost profit” means fundamentally extracting maximum surplus value. For this reason, Wal-Mart began to fight seriously against the unionization in the workplace. For example, the whole Wal-Mart employees joined in the unionization in Canada and the firm closed all of its stores and left Canada. In this respect what Jeffery Masson, the worker of Wal-Mart said about the working conditions in Wal-Mart is important:

“In Wal-Mart a typical work day lasts between 4 and 6 hours. We do not know in which days we can make holiday but generally, 2-3 days in a row are free. Wage per hour is 7,5 dollar. This corresponds roughly to minimum wage as monthly wage.

¹² There is a good example which indicates the power of Wal-Mart over the suppliers: while the federal authorities conducted an inspection in farms in Michigan canton, they discovered that there are five year old children being employed in a farm that produces cranberries for Wal-Mart. When the reactions occurred against the supplier employing the children for reducing the workers cost in order to supply the inappeasable cheap goods demands of supermarket, Wal-Mart had to declare that it broke off the whole relations with its supplier Adkin Blue Ribbon Packing Co. Thereupon Adkin announced that they don't want to risk losing their customers like Wal-Mart and that they had no idea that children of that age were being employed in the agricultural production. However, it is claimed that, because it is easier and faster to collect cranberries with the small hands of children of that age, the big firms consciously employed these children, denying their actions later to get out of the story.

The wage stays always the same. I got a pay raise just once since I've been working here. My hourly wage was raised by one cent. I am not kidding. In Wal-Mart, the word union is forbidden. Employers do everything in order to forbid the unionization. In Wal-Mart stores, the atmosphere is so that people do not smile. While I work there, I do not trust my friends (cited in Yarařır, 2006).

In Turkey we bear witness that there is substantial competition in the food retail sector. However, the World's third biggest retailing company French Carrefour bought the chain stores Gima and Endi which are part of the association of Fiba Holding with its 132.5 million dollar price. The head of Sabanci Holding Food and Retailing Group, Haluk Dinçer, commented this deal as follows: "our target as CarrefourSA was the leading position in the organized retailing sector, today we are catching it. We will continue our aggressive growth"¹³. Similarly, the fact that Migros Inc. took Şok after Tansaş and Makromarket taking the Nazar chain stores implies that there is also a serious tendency to monopolization in the sector.

Jos Simons, BIM's Dutch CEO (that is, chief executive officer), was annoyed by the image of the BIM in Turkey as a shopping center for the poor with its discount prices and commented that in a Retail summit organized by AMPD as follows: " We do not offer a store for the poor, we do offer a store for the clever ones. [...] We have hard price-lines. We are more productive than other markets."¹⁴.

What was described in this chapter gives an idea about the way. From this point of view, the changes in employment due to the neo-liberal policies will be briefly elaborated. In this context, I will focus on how these policies change the relationship between workers and generally the working conditions of store workers.

¹³ "Carrefour, Gima be Endi'yi satın aldı", www.ntvmsnbc.com, 3 May 2005.

¹⁴ "Biz yoksulların değil akıllıların mağazasıyız", Sabah Newspaper, 01 March 2007

2.3. Employment, Working Conditions and Fear of Losing Job

Nichols and Sugur (2004) argue that if younger workers in Turkey have higher expectations, it might be expected that they would be relatively less satisfied than older workers with a number of aspects of their work. This is the case that has been suggested by a Turkish sociologist Erman (1998: 558): 'young second-generation migrants who have higher expectations are more keen and outspoken about material and social advantages' (cited in Nichols and Sugur, 2004: 188). If it is taken account that workers who are employed in food retail stores are relatively younger, so it can be supposed that store workers are mostly dissatisfied with these working conditions. Indeed, although most of the workers who were interviewed, complained about their working conditions, they said they endured these hard working conditions because of high unemployment rates in Turkey.

Rosemary Crompton (2006) argues that changes produced by neo-liberal policies have caused a disruption on the conventional relations of genders and families, and, the conditions of employment from past to present. In comparison with the stable and bureaucratically organized working conditions of the Fordist era, neo-liberal working conditions represent changes such as the more flexible organization of work arrangements and the employment preferences for the unskilled jobs (Crompton, 2006: 4). She claims that in contradistinction to contemporary working conditions, these large bureaucratically organized employment of the Fordist era offered stability in careers, therefore many employees spent their entire working lives with a single organization. Moreover, the number of the subcontracted workers which are hired from an employment agency on a semi-permanent basis increased both in public and private sector. Furthermore, international companies have found ways to exploit lower wage rates and cheaper skills global wise. Crompt argues that deregulative and competitive content of the neo-liberal policies are main dynamics behind those changes.

It is obvious that there is a shift from manufacturing to service work, if we use Leidner's (1993) concepts: the shift from "factory hands" to "smiling faces". These encouraging changes in character structures, which are implemented based on scripted service interactions, lead to interpersonal dehumanization and alienation and entail 'emotional labor'. In other words, through planned or scripted interactions, workers become estranged and feel detached from their true self (Leidner, 1993). In this context, not only organizations, but also property of relationship among workers has changed. Similarly Crompton (2006) affirms that individuals' career expectations in accordance with structural development by means of organizational hierarchy have changed along with the decrease of the long-term single organization bureaucratic career. Instead they are supposed to organize their career development strategies by themselves by moving one job to another etc. Thus Sennett (1998) argues that development of flexible capitalism has resulted in the 'corrosion of character. "Particularly those qualities of character which bind human beings to one another and furnishes each with a sense of sustainable self" (Sennett, 1998: 27). For Sennett rupture in social bonds and missing trust relations between individuals have accompanied the end of Fordism and the development of global, flexible capitalism (Crompton, 2006: 5).

The working class in Turkey which earns its life by selling its labour power has become doubled in terms of size in the last 20 years. While the total number of the wage workers in 1988 was 7.170.000, this number increased to 12.937.000 in 2008 (Bakır and Akdoğan, 2009). Also there had been change in the situation of the employed population in their works between the years 1998 and 2008. Namely, while the ratio of those who are self employed or as unpaid family workers decreased, the ratio of those who worked as wage workers increased as it is seen at the Table I:

YEAR	1988	1998	2008
WORKER (Wage worker / day worker)	40,4 %	44,6 %	61 %
EMPLOYER	3,5 %	5,90%	5,9 %
SELF EMPLOYED (shopkeeper, farmer, etc.)	25,9 %	23,6 %	20,4 %
UNPAID FAMILY WORKER	30,2 %	25,9 %	12,7 %

Table I¹⁵

Correspondingly, while the ratio of agriculture workers decreased within the total employment, the ratio of those who worked within the sectors of industry and service increased. The increase within the service sector is striking as it is seen at Table II:

YEAR	AGRICULTURE	INDUSTRY	CONSTRUCTION	SERVICES
1988	46,5 %	15,8 %	5,7 %	32 %
1998	41,50%	17 %	6,1 %	35,3 %
2008	23,7 %	20,9 %	5,9 %	49,5 %

Table II¹⁶

When the number of people who earn their lives by selling their labour power increased, accordingly the unemployment and informal works are increased. As Nichols and Sugur (2005) emphasize, jobs in large corporate companies are preferred because of the supposed advantages of formal economy. Similarly the workers I interviewed often noted the benefits of working in a large company. For example Sultan who works as a cashier in a hypermarket talks about the advantages of her job when asked whether she is satisfied with her job or not: "Yol, yemek... Yemeğimiz

¹⁵ source: Bakır, O. & Akdoğan, D. (2009)

¹⁶ Agriculture: Agriculture, forestry, hunting and fishing; Industry: mining and quarrying, manufacturing industry, electricity, gas and water; Construction: Construction and public works; Services: Direct and retail commerce, restaurant and hotels, transportation, communication and storage, financial institutions, insurance, immovable goods and institutions related to them, contributing job services, public services, social and personal services. (Source: Bakır, O. & Akdoğan, D., 2009).

buraya ait, tabi. Servisimiz var, sigortamız yatıyor. Çeklerimiz var bizim, gıda yardım çeklerimiz var. Güzel bence"¹⁷

Nichols and Sugur (2004: 21) argue that such considerations also influence workers' preference to work in big private companies since "compared to millions of people who are less fortunate, and for many, this is not only a 'last hope', it is *the hope*." They further claim that the competition for well-paid, relatively secure jobs is fierce because workers are increasingly forced to rely on corporate welfarism (company pensions, health care, and dental care) thanks to the decline of state welfarism (Wells 1996: 199-200; cited in Nichols and Sugur, 2004: 38).

However, they argue that the legal changes in the subcontractor working system threaten the secure and relatively well of working conditions in the private sector. The legal permission for a broader recruitment of subcontractor workers enables companies to get rid of the burdens of all social and legal responsibilities of workers (work accidents, insurance responsibilities, firing compensation, obtaining reports from the company doctor, holiday permissions, etc.). Through subcontracting, private companies transfer informal working conditions into formal areas (Nichols and Sugur, 2005: 257).

According to Nichols and Sugur, enabling private employment bureaus to be established is a further step of subcontracting. These bureaus perform a kind of "Brazilianisation" of Turkey in which none of the workers are employed by main companies and almost every section of the company consists of subcontracted workers. The main company has no legal responsibilities for workers and the workers are subject to low-waged working conditions and additionally unions are kept away from workers. For sure, the short term, contracted, non-union and powerless labour force will threaten the full time, unionist and high waged job opportunities (Nichols and Sugur, 2005: 257-258).

¹⁷ "Transportation, meals... Our food is given by the store. We are provided with the service, our insurance is being paid. We have cheques, food aid cheques. It is good, I think."

An article written by a worker who has been working at CarrefourSA for one and a half years shows that subcontracted workers also emerge in large stores. He explains that the cleaning, security and restaurant services of Carrefour is transferred to subcontractor firms and in other services, the main company decreases the number of its workers and make the employees of subcontractor firms to work for them. Besides, he tells that the company workers of subcontractor firms do not have insurance and security. Cleaning the storage and to work in counting the goods are some of their responsibilities. According to him:

"bir nevi ikinci sınıf işçi olarak görüldükleri söylenebilir. Tüm çalışma koşulları Carrefour tarafından belirlenen bu işçilerin her türlü maliyeti firmalara ait ve işçilerin sendikalı olma hakları ellerinden alınmıştır."¹⁸

Even though the subcontracted people work more than the main company workers, they face the risk of being fired more frequently. This causes a discrimination among a main company worker and a subcontracted worker within the store. Even though both sides are being subject to the unemployment threat, Asiye whom I interviewed and who is a subcontracted person told me that she was discriminated within the store:

"Ya firmacılara bakış şöyle: B'ciler mağazanın kendi personeli olduğu için, yani birazcık daha şey, daha rahatlar. Yani firmacıların hiçbi garantisi yok bu markette. Yani istediği zaman haa senin çalışmanı beğenmedim, çıkışını yaptım deme yetkileri var, reyon şeflerinin uyarı yapmadan. Kendi keyfine kalmış... Çünkü, şey, biz burda mağaza çalışanı olarak görülmiyoruz. Aslında mağazanın çoğu işini firmacılar yapıyorlar ama mağaza çalışanı olarak görülmiyoruz"¹⁹

Apart from that, such workers could no longer rely on structured progress through an organizational hierarchy in order to develop their careers, but rather, were supposed

¹⁸ "it can be argued that these workers are seen as second class workers" within the store. All of the costs of these workers, whose working conditions are being determined by Carrefour, belong to the firm and their right of being a member of a union is taken away from their hands", a store worker, RED Magazine, 2007, "sepeti dolduruyorsunuz ya...". Vol. 12, Sept. 2007 - 9, p. 23.

¹⁹ "the image towards the subcontracted people is like... People from B are more comfortable. Subcontracted people have no guarantee in this company. The section heads have the right to say that they do not like the work you do and I fired you. It depends on their will. Because we are not seen as workers of this company. Actually most of the work is being done by these subcontracted people but they are not seen as store workers", Asiye, interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

to self-develop their own career paths as they move from job to job, company to company. This leads to a 'corrosion of character' particularly those qualities of a character which bind human beings to one another and furnish each with a sense of sustainable self' and in term of broken social bonds and an undermined sense of belonging to the class relations as a collective identity (Sennett, 1998: 27). Onur's explanation is a good example of their developing their own career paths individually and of rising to a higher rank by their own efforts:

"İşini yapacaksın. İşin senin ne gerekiyorsa odur. Ezileceksin, sürüneceksin, yeri gelip her şeyi yapacaksın. Ama ezilerek gelmek her zaman iyi bir şeydir. Ben o yüzden bu yola çıktım. Yirmi dört yaşına kadar çalışmadım diyorum bak. Bu yüzden şimdi bu saatten sonra çalışıyorum. Demin de dedin ya sen sekiz sene çalıştın şimdi daha çok şey... Ben bu sekiz senenin her dakkasını her saniyesini ezilerek çalışmak istiyorum ve de öyle yapıyorum. Ezilerek ezilerek yani. Bakın parmaklarımı doğruyorum yeri geliyo. Parmaklarımı kesiyorum. Ben kasap mıyım normalde? Hayır. Ama niye, istek var. Bişeyleri hepsini öğrenmek...Orta reyonu olarak kendimi kısıtlamak istemiyorum. Açılmak istiyorum, her şeyi öğrenmek istiyorum. [...] Yükselceğine inanmazsan zaten kaybedersin. Kaybetmek de senin elinde, kazanmak da senin elinde"²⁰

In terms of unemployment, Turkey is the first among OECD countries and is the second in the world. Besides, informal employment is a structural problem. As the rate of the informal employment among workers is % 25-30 and it is % 45-50 within the total employment (Bakır & Akdoğan, 2009).

The threat posed by the increase in unemployment forces the workers to adopt themselves to the established system. What is expected from workers is not just to do their jobs but to identify themselves with the company they work in and to give their souls and bodies to the company. What is important is to have a job and wage is not

²⁰ "You have to do your job. Your job is the one which is needed. You will be oppressed, you will suffer, you will do everything whenever needed. But there is a good aspect in this, too. Look, I have not worked until I was 24. This is why I work from now on. Remember, you said before that you had worked for eight years... I would like to work in every minute of these eight years by being oppressed and this is what I already do. By being oppressed, in other words... Look, I sometimes cut my fingers. Am I a butcher normally? No. But why, I have an intention. To learn everything. I don't want to restrict myself to the shelf packing. I would like to open myself, I would like to learn everything. [...] You lose if you do not believe that you may rise. Both losing and gaining are in your hands," Onur, interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

so important as Gorz notes: "in other words, be ready for humiliation, competition, betrayal, abasement and concessions to hold your job or to have a job because " a person who loses his/her job also loses everything" (Gorz, 2001: 82). This is the message of the dominant discourse. The slogan of Wal-Mart summarizes the situation of workers: "If you don't work hard today, you'll look hard for work tomorrow".

Store workers I interviewed stated that they have the fear of losing their jobs. For example, Ferdi who works in the grocery department of a store says that "Valla, şeye baktığım zaman, u, işsizlik oranına baktığın zaman, mecburen memnuniyetimiz var yani."²¹ When I asked him whether he is satisfied with his job:

"Fatih'te oturuyorum da, yani ne bileyim iş değiştirmek benim şeyim değil, prensibim değil yani. Bilmiyorum yani, dışardan bakıyorum bazı vatandaşlar böyle çok iş değiştiriyö. İş değiştirdiğin zaman da tutmuyo yani... Yani bence paraya biraz daha tınmıyöz, işe devam ediyöz. Onun için bence böyle daha iyi yani"²²

Ferdi's silence is a must in his conditions with low wages and the threat of unemployment.

Many of the interviewees noted that the difficulty of finding a new jobs is a threat. Yiğit is aware of it but thinks that he cannot get the allowance he deserves:

"Aslında bu ülkede, kimsenin, ben, tam olarak emeğinin karşılığını aldığını sanmıyorum. Bilhassa işçi statüsündeki insanların, çünkü sömürülüyorlar. Daha önce de söyledim hani, bu insanların aile geçindirmek gibi bi derdi olabilir, hasta olan insanlara bakmak zorunda olabilir, ya da sadece kendi geçimini sağlamak için bile çalışmak zorunda olabilir. Senin çalışmak zorunda olduğunu anladıkları zaman inanın üstünüze bi baskı kuruyorlar, onun için, işte, bu adam benim her dediğimi yapar, bu adam bana muhtaç, bu işe muhtaç, öyle olduğunu anladıkları zaman

²¹ "No, but when you, we forcibly have a pleasure in this job".

²² "I live in Fatih, but how to say, changing jobs is not my principle. When I look at it from outside, people usually change their jobs. But when you change your jobs, it does not fit you. For me, we do not consider Money that much, we continue to carry out our jobs. So, this is better for me", Ferdi, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

üstünde baskı kuruyorlar. Sürekli seni sömürmeye kalkıyorlar, çalışma saatlerin artıyo, çalışma şartların deęiřiyo.”²³

As Yięit expresses, the threat of unemployment both results in silence about unbearable working conditions and makes the working conditions harder. Similiarly Duygu, who is a mother and works in a hypermarket as a shelf packer says that:

“sessiz insanların üzerine daha çok gidiyorlar yani. Dięer řey yapanlara, arkadaşlara bi řey yapmazlar yani. Uzak duruyorlar onlardan da, ama sesini çıkartmazsan, çalışırsan, tamam sen iyisin, sen hoşsun dedikleri zaman yüklenirler sana.”²⁴

Of course unemployment is not the only bad thing that happens to workers. Usually, employers send workers to other stores before firing them. This is named "rotation" by workers and functions as a firing strategy of employers. If a workers faces a problem within the store, s/he is sent to other stores. Therefore, employers, instead of paying the compensation, make the conditions of workers harder which in the end pushes workers to quit jobs. Employers have legal basis to do this. For Nichols and Sugur, in accordance with the June 2003 Labour Law, for the purpose of competition an employer may change employees' position from one company to another company. These replacements may last for six months to one year and this procedure may be repeated after the employee returns to the main company. In this case, there is also a possibility that workers who have been given to another company, may be lent again to any other company. Although it should be considered that this process is carried out through the employees' agreement, in reality their decisions are limited as it is seen in a manager's comment; 'it's a wonderful way of getting rid of troublemakers' (Nichols and Suęur, 2004; 205). It can be argued that this is a usual

²³ "Actually, I don't think that anybody gets the required amount in exchange of his/her labour in this country. Especially those who are workers, their labour is exploited. As I said before, these people may have the problem of keeping a family, looking after a patient, or they might be working just to look after themselves. When they understand that you have to work, they put an enormous pressure over you, because of this reason, they think that these people do whatever we tell them, these people are bound to us and put pressure on them. They always attempt to exploit you, working hours increase, your working conditions change", Yięit, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

²⁴ "They put more pressure on silent people. They do not do anything to those who put their demands forward. They keep themselves away from them, but if you keep silent, if you work, when they say you are good, they lay on you," Duygu, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

policy within stores based on what the interviewee workers said. For instance, Nilgun who is a cashier in a supermarket says that: "İşten atılmak olabilir artı rotasyon diyoz biz, başka markete, başka şubeye veriliyorsun. Bir de bizim servislerimiz kaldırıldı. Adam diyo ki, sen nerede oturursan otur, gel buraya diyor."²⁵

Workers who are sent to distant stores are not usually offered transportation and thus bound to accept these working conditions in order not to become unemployed. Yiğit who faced the threat of being fired tells us how he was confronted with this threat:

“Zamanında G'ye tıp mezunu bir arkadaş başvurmuş, biz bi şey dediğimiz zaman, mesela mesaimizi falan istiyoruz. Arkadaşlar kapı açık bize tıp mezunları başvuruyor, gidebilirsiniz, bize söylenen bu toplantılarda. Yani, şöyle bi şey olsa, hani, aile geçindirme gibi bir derdi olan bir insan olsa orda mecburen çalışmak zorunda.”²⁶

Workers feel more uselessness because of unskilled jobs and increasing unemployment in general. As Sennet (1998) emphasizes "who needs me?" is a question of character which suffers a radical challenge in modern capitalism. For him, in the organization in which trust and feeling of being useful do not exist, indifference is spread by the system. Institutions are reproduced in this system thereby people are disposed and their feeling of being necessary is reduced.

Unemployment threats, the hardships of the feeling of insecurity and physical and psychological problems due to the working process are part of the working conditions of workers. For example, Yiğit who works 6 hours a day when he works part time and 13 hours when he works full time told his problems as follows: .

²⁵ “It can be named firing plus we name it rotation, you are sent to another store. In addition, our shuttle service vehicles are taken away. Employers ask us to come to the store wherever you live,” Nilgün, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

²⁶ "In the past a person who graduated from medicine faculty applied for a job in G store. When we complain about something, for example when we ask for our wages, they tell us that graduates from medicine faculty wait in front of the door for jobs, you can leave. Namely, when something happens like this, since people have to keep a family, they compulsorily have to work there," Yiğit, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

“Mesela bize her gün kamyon geliyo, kamyon indir bindir işi var. Zaten, o bizim meyve sebze kasalarımız plastik kasalar, hep etrafı çapaklıdır onun için, mesela domates kasası rahat bi on beş yirmi kilo var. Onu kaldırdığın zaman elini mahvediy o kasa. Tamamen çizik içinde kalıyo, zaten iki üç ay çalış elin nasır tutmaya başlıyo. Zaten en çok insanı bunaltan müşteri ilişkileri zaten.”²⁷

The psychological burden of heavy and stressful working conditions resulted in the hesitation for Nilgün not to enter in stores even for shopping:

“Çünkü oradaki insanları görünce benim buradaki yaşadıklarım, diğer çalışma arkadaşlarımın yaşadıkları falan geliyor gözümün önüne... O beni çok şey yapıyor yani... Mesela ben bisküvi fabrikasında çalışırken daha şimdi halen bisküvi yemem ben, birinin ısrarıyla 1-2 tane, fazla yemem... Öyle bir şey oluyor insanlarda psikolojikmen etki yaratıyor.”²⁸

Similarly, Sevim who works at a delicatessen department of another store tells us how she feels when she goes to large stores:

“Şeylere gidiyoruz ama böyle gıda satan o tip marketlere girdiğinde hani insanlar bakar, hani ‘aa bu ucuzmuş aa bunun fiyatı iyiymiş!’ falan derler ya ben hepsini mal olarak görüyorum yani bana lezzetli, yenilebilecek şeylermiş gibi görünmüyor hiçbirisi... Ve oradaki o uğultu, anons sesleri, o müzik sesi, vardır ya hani, hani o marketlerin uğultusu... Başıma hemen ağrı giriyor...”²⁹

When she goes out and looks at the store, she thinks that:

“Kurtulmaya çalışıyorum yani içerde benim param var 10 milyar kadar, yani tazminatım var, 10 senemi verdim çünkü... O paranın benim için manevi değeri var çünkü bütün gençlik yıllarım burada geçti. Kendim istifa edersem o parayı alamayacam ama işte onlar da bizi çıkarmıyorlar, onun içinde böyle çalışıyorum yani

²⁷ “For example everyday a truck comes to us and we take goods out of it and put them on back. Already, grocery boxes are about ten - fifteen kilograms. When you hold them, your hands are being damaged. When you work for two months your hands starts to have callosity. Customer relations are the worst,” Yigit, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

²⁸ “Because when I see people there, the things that I and my friends lived comes in front of my eyes. This makes me like... for instance, when I worked at a biscuit factory, I still do not eat biscuits, at most 1 - 2. Something like this happens to people, this creates psychological effects”, Nilgün, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

²⁹ “When we go to markets which sell foods, people look at them and say “well, its price is good really” but I see all of them as goods and nothing as something to be eaten. The murmuring and the announcements in the place gives me a headache...”, Sevim, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

şimdi çıkıp gitsem hiçbir şey alamayacam, onca yıllık emeğim kalacak yani. Yoksa emeklilik hayal burada...”³⁰

In addition, customers can cause troubles for workers as they are unaware of or do not care about the fact that workers suffer from unfriendly flexible and / or unsociable working practices. For example, Fatos complains about thoughtless costumers that render their working conditions worse in discount days than usual:

“Ürün indirimdeyse, hücum ediyorlar, öyle diyeyim ben sana, bakmıyorlar yüzüme bile. [...] İndirim günlerinde zaten mesela özellikle bayram arifesi, haftasonları en sevmediğimiz günler olur bizim. Çok yoğun oluruz. Tanıyamazsın müşteriye, normal müşterini de tanıyamazsın, hücum eder. Mesela sabah sekiz buçukta gelmişsindir, on saatir çalışma süren, akşam altıda bilemedin yedide gideceksin ama gidemezsin, ya sonuçta senin saatin dolmuş, onu müşteriye de anlatamıyorsun, bi kasa daha açın, yok mu burda kasiyer, yok mu buranın sorumlusu, olayı karıştırırlar yani”³¹

In addition, the physical conditions of stores can be unbearable for workers. A worker who has been working at CarrefourSA summarizes the working conditions very well in his article in the RED Magazine:

"If you start working in the afternoon, it means your life continues here. Without seeing the sky, everyday evening comes up and I do not have anything to do when I go back home. Six days in a week, I stand more than eight hours a day and because of this, I have health problems in my back and feet, like many of my friends. [...] We have to listen to the same music from the morning until the evening. It becomes unbearable when the discount announcements are added to this. In summer, even though air condition works, they are operated according to the customers' intensity. I request the customers to warn the consultant to put on the air condition."³²

³⁰ "I try to rescue myself, I have my money saved like around 10 billion, because I worked for ten years. This money represent a moral value form e because I spent all of my youth here.If I resign, I will not be able to get this money but they also do not fire me, so I continue to work. If I resign I will not be able to get anything and all of my work will stay here. In other words, retirement is just like a dream here," Sevim, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

³¹ "If the goods are in discount, they even do not look at my face. Discount days, for example pre-holidays or weekends are the most unpleasant days for us. We are really busy these days. You cannot recognize customers, even your regular customers, they go for the good. For instance, suppose that you come to your workplace at 8.30, your working time is 10 hours and you should leave your job at 6-7 p.m. but you cannot since customers do not understand you, they want new cashiers and they confuse everything," Fatoş, interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

³² RED Magazine, 2007 - 9, p. 22

Gülcan who works in a local store notes that the food they have is bad and that they are always up to their eyes:

"Aç kalırdık yoğun olduğunda, saat 5-6'da yemeğe inerdik. Bazen de yemek iğrenç çıkardı. Kokan etleri tavukları bize yediriyorlardı. Normal bildiğin kokmuş etleri köfte yapıyorlardı bize yediriyorlardı, tavukları."³³

Metin who works at a grocery department of a local store and who says "supermarket sector is the last job for workers to work in" also told us that the working conditions are not humanitarian:

"sürekli ayaktasın. 9 saat çalışıyorsun, yarım saat dinleniyosun. Hani bi insan gücünü bence zorluyo yani. Haftanın 6 günü çalışıyorsun. [...] İndir bindir yapıyorsun. Belin ağrıma durumun oluyor. Böyle bi rahatsızlanma sonucunda işverenin sana duyarlılığı olmuyor. Senden kurtulmanın yollarını arıyor."³⁴

Similarly, Gülcan who works as a cashier in a local store thinks that workers are worthless in the eyes of the store managers:

"Türkiye'de markette çalışılmaz. Hele F'de hiç çalışılmaz, zaten F için hayat önemli değil, iş... Az işçi, çok iş... Yani üç kuruş para veriyorlar, onu yaptırıyorlar, bunu yaptırıyorlar."³⁵

There are two important parameters of bad working conditions of stores which cause low quality of life for workers. These are long working days and low wages. Timelessness and poverty are barriers in front of workers in terms of their participation in social activities when I asked workers, who have long and tiring working days and only one day within a week as holiday, what they do after work

³³ "When it is busy we usually stay hungry, we go for lunch at around 5-6 p.m. sometimes the food is really bad. They make us eat the fusty meat and chickens. They cook fusty meat and make them meatballs out of it for us to eat," Gülcan, interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

³⁴ "You are always standing. You work 9 hours a day and take rest for half an hour. You work 6 days within a week and you take off and put on the goods which makes your back ache. Upon such a ache, the employers never takes care of you but looks for ways to fire you," Metin, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

³⁵ "A person cannot work at supermarkets in Turkey. However, for F you should never work, already the important thing for F is not your life but the work you do. Less worker, more work... In other words, they give less amount of money, they make you do this," Gülcan, interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

and how they spend their leisure times. When I asked what he does after work, Barış replies:

“Başka bir şey yapamıyorsun ki! Bak, bu sektörde kimse sana anlatamaz şunu yapıyorum bunu yapıyorum diye! Anlattı mı? Anlatan oldu mu? İnsan yapamaz ki... Haftanın bir günü tatilin var, ben ne yaptım bugün? Hiçbir gün yarın şunu yapacam demiyorum. Yatarım kalkarım. İşte gerçekten Kızılay'a Ulus'a veya başka bir yere gideceğime, bence evde durup kalktıktan sonra temizlik yap, yemek yap, evi düzenli tutmak hepsinden daha rahat geliyor ve daha iyi geliyor”³⁶

Timelessness is a greater problem for women workers when compared to men including part time workers. As Yonca told, the work of a woman continues even after her working hours at workplace:

“Yani benim mesaim burdan sonra başlıyo. Çocuğa koşturma, eşime koşturma. Yok, vaktim yok. Halbuki ben burda hafta içi burda 4 saat çalışıyorum, sadece 4 saat”³⁷

Similarly, Asiye tells us what she does in her leisure time as follows:

“Boş zamanlarımda evde temizlik yapıyorum... Zaten eve gittiğimde de yapmak zorunda olduğum işlerim var. Yemekti, çaydı, bulaşıktı, çocuktu, okula gittiği için onun ödevleriydi, vaktim de kalmıyo.”³⁸

Ayten told that poverty is also one of the barriers for them besides timelessness:

“Zaten paramda yetmiyor hiçbir şeye. İnsanların artık şey etmesi de tamamen paraya bağlı. Dışarı çıkmak dünyanın parası. İnsanlarla görüşmek de paraya bağlı. Otobüs, oturduğun yer falan filan bakıyon para bitiyor”³⁹

³⁶ "I cannot do any other thing at all! In this sector, nobody can tell you that s / he does another thing. Has anybody told you? Human beings cannot do this... You have one day holiday within a week, what did I do today? I never say I will do this tomorrow. I sleep and wake up. Instead of going to Kızılay, to Ulus or to another place, cleaning, cooking and keeping the house tidy makes me feel better", Barış, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

³⁷ "My working hours start after here. Look after your child; take care of your husband. I don't have time. But I work for only 4 hours here, only 4 hours," Yonca, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

³⁸ "In my leisure times, I tidy up my house... Already, when I go home I have things to do. Cooking, tea, washing up the dishes, children, their homeworks, I have no time," Asiye, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

As a result, it is clear that store workers are mostly dissatisfied with their work. Although most of the workers who were interviewed complained about their working conditions, they said they put up with these hard working conditions because of high unemployment rates in Turkey. Because of the decline of the public sector and increase in informal sector, it is argued that for workers the formal sector has a high degree of job security and so it is a big chance to join the big private sector for workers. Therefore, in this study some workers especially those who work in hypermarkets talked about the advantages of working in a large company. However, it is asserted that there are some changes which may threaten the future position of workers in the formal sector such as occurrence of the private employment agencies. The large stores generally employ subcontracted workers for cleaning, security, restaurants and packing section which were non-production areas. However, as Nichols and Sugur (2005) claims, the previous Labour Law (before the June 2003 Labour Law) enables the subcontracting of most of the sections of a company. According to subcontracted workers I interviewed, who work generally in large stores, there is discrimination towards them in the stores and they are not being seen as a worker of the main company.

Moreover, some workers have explained that the threat of unemployment both results in the silence about the heavy working conditions and makes the working conditions worse for them. Another policy adopted by employers as a firing strategy is sending workers to other stores before firing them. By this, they make working conditions of workers more difficult. As a result, workers feel more uselessness because of unskilled jobs and increasing unemployment in general. They work in an organization in which trust and feelings of being useful do not exist. Their narratives have presented that working conditions of a store cause low quality of life for

³⁹ "Already, my money is not sufficient for anything. Everything of people depends on money. Going out means lots of money. Meeting people is the same. Busses, your house, etc., you look your money is exhausted," Ayten, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

workers because they have long working days and low wages which restrict their attendance to social activities.

Below, I will deal with the question how workers feel themselves as a worker of a certain store and create a bond with the company when the current situation of working in a store is taken into consideration.

2.4. Workers' Identification with Stores

Workers cannot live the security of a long-term working life in this period, so they want to have a shelter, a safe place through identifying with the company that they work at. It can be said that the store workers do this as well. Identifying oneself as a “worker of Migros” rather than a member of the working class represents a similar situation.

For example, two workers who work in a hypermarket explain the belonging bond with the store as follows:

"Şimdi şöyle E'in şöyle bi özelliği var, ben iş yerimi gerçekten seviyorum, müşteri ilişkilerinden öte ben insan ilişkilerini çok seviyorum...hizmet sektöründe insanlarla bire bir ilişki içersindesin, E'de ayrıca gerçekten nezih bi kuruluş, bütün bu bi takım şeyleri anlatıyorum işte, işgücü açısından yani insanların, maaşlarını.... Diyorum ama her şeyden önce işletmemi seviyorum, sektörü seviyorum."⁴⁰

"Ben her çalıştığım markette o markayı temsil ettiğim için... yani sonuçta ordan ekme yiyoruz. Böyle firmama karşı bi suçlama olduğu zaman tabi ki onu savunurum. Yani sonuçta ben ordan ekme yiyorum, artık benim olmuş orası. O anlamda yani çok savunduğum için, yani ne bileyim, genelde ben hep firmamı haklı çıkartmaya çalışıyorum; böyle biriyim."⁴¹

⁴⁰ "E has such features, I like my workplace, apart from customer relationships I like human relations, you are in a one by one relationship with people in the service sector. E is a decent company, I tell these things, wages of people from the perspective of labour force... I say this but in the beginning I like my company, I like the sector," Arif, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

⁴¹ "Since I represent the brand of the market I work for... I mean eventually we win our bread from there. When there is an accusation like this of my firm of course, I'll defend it. I mean I have my bread from there, it is mine any more. In that sense since I mean since I defend it so much, I mean I don't know, generally I try to justify my firm; I am such a person," Kamile, interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

One of the strengthening factors of the bonds of the workers with their companies may be the participation of these workers to the training courses that the stores organize. We cannot just relate training just with the communication of workers with customers or professional training. Besides, by explaining how a definite store worker should behave, it is tried to create a bond between the worker and this store. In this way, a worker does not just wear the uniform of the store but regulate her/his behaviors as a worker of a definite store. Even though the success of such training can be discussed, I noticed workers who represented themselves as a person representing the store instead of a class identity. In-service trainings focus on customers. Besides, based on the training programs, companies also denote their employees as members of the same family. In some cases, it can be said that the workers own the role they are attributed to. In this study, I did not have the chance of observing the in-service trainings. However, the language used by workers when they talk about the in-service trainings and the language of the companies on their websites becomes similar. In this context, for example the store *Real* defines itself as such in its website:

"One of the most important personnel principles of Real Turkey, which sets out from the view that unconditional customer satisfaction is possible only with the satisfaction of the workers, is to enable the continuity of the development of its workers and so to structure a trainee organization."⁴²

The sentence of BİM in its 2008 annual report which says, "BİM which rewards its employees with upgrading their status sets value on the fact that its employees have the highest motivation and feelings of belonging to their companies" shows how much importance is given by the market to its employees belonging.

Depending on this, Hasan who works at E comments on trainings as follows:

"E her sene müşteri odaklı çalışan personeline kendi personeline veya kendi bünyesinde çalışan firma elemanına eğitimler veriyor ve bu eğitimlere de çok maddi paralar harcıyor, hocalar geliyor... Böyle toplantı odamız var, bire bir nasıl çalışacağımızı nasıl hitap edeceğimizi gelen müşterinin nasıl yaklaştığını, nasıl

⁴² http://www.secretcv.com/uye_firma.php?id=599, available at 2010, April

yaklaşacağımızı, sorcağımız sorulara varana kadar bize eğitimler veriliyor, gerçekten bu eğitimleri önceleri ilk başları biz diyoduk ki aa bunlar ney falan diye ama sonra görüyorsunuz ki belirli bi dönemden sonra siz market çalışanısınız başka bi markete ister istemez alışverişe gittiğiniz zaman o farkı kendiniz yaşıyorsunuz...⁴³

Similarly, Carrefour also puts its difference due to the capabilities of its employees:

“Carrefour gets its main power from the motivation of its employees. They are the most professional and skilled ones in their jobs. Employees of Carrefour are accepted for profession in Carrefour based on whether they have the thought structure of retailing, entrepreneur spirits and their capabilities of accommodation. Personal development and training is inevitable for development of our professionalism as in our daily life, sharing the company values and acceptance of them, enrichening the Carrefour culture and for spreading it.”⁴⁴

Related to this discourse, while talking about why customers choose their store, Eray compliments about his store’s giving importance to its customers:

“Adam orda geliyo parasıyla alışveriş yapıyo, yani sana bir tür ciro kazandırıyor, tamam mı? İşte, senin cironu o belirliyo, maaşını o belirliyo. Ondan dolayı kaynaklanıyor. Burası da müşteriye önem verir”⁴⁵

Ali who works at a grocery department of a store, told me after the interview when I switched off the recorder told me that in the past he sold the rotten apples to the rich and the good ones to the poor. When I asked what he meant by “past,” he answered: “eğitim öncesinde, C markette çalışmadan önceki zaman.”⁴⁶ However, it still cannot be said that these trainings are sufficient in establishing a belonging relationship between the workers and the store. Because, as Metin told before, apart from those

⁴³ "E provides trainings to its own employees or its subcontracted employees who work in a customer oriented manner and spends much money on these trainings, brings experts... we are provided with trainings in which we are taught on how we are gonna approach the customers and which questions should be asked to them, firstly we are asking why do we need these trainings but when you go to another store you feel the difference..." Hasan, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

⁴⁴ http://kurumsal.carrefour.com.tr/Tr_Default.aspx

⁴⁵ "The man comes and does shopping with his money, in other words he makes you earn turnover, is this right? Therefore, he determines your profit he determines your wage. Its source is this. Here we give importance to the customers," Eray, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

⁴⁶ "the time before I was working for C, before the training," Ali, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

who have to work in the store since they do not have the opportunity to find a better job, this is a job which can be carried out for a while and the number of those work only for a while and quit is really high.

2.5. Stratification and Fragmentation of Labour in Stores

Stratification and fragmentation of labour that can be observed in their relations with managers, supervisors and each other is a barrier to the collective action of workers.

Öngen argues that there is a controversy about the class positions of some of the paid waged sections of the society which are part of the control and administration processes. For Öngen, labour process does not have the same meaning for every labour group, in other words while some of the groups can be in lower positions within the same labour process, others may be in privileged positions. Because of this reason, it is important to differentiate the relations of production from the relations in production. Relations in production refer mostly to intra-class differences rather than relations between classes. Technical division of labour which causes expertise based on professions and which creates professions is just a differentiation that determines the intra-class stratification (Öngen, 1994).

One of the factors that establishes and secures the hierarchical relationship between the workers and the managers based on the intra-class stratification is related to how much the information is transferred from top to bottom. As Yaraşır (2006) states, information has turned out to be the most important source of profit and it has become commodified. The continuation of information as the source of profit depends on its remaining secret. In other words, the information should be secret instead of being reachable, usable and producible. Therefore, the control of access to information is crucial for intra-class stratification. Nuri who works in the greengrocery department of a store gives an example of how this situation is experienced within the food retail sector:

“Burdaki müdürler bizi cahil gördükleri için tamam mı her şeyi yaparız ederiz diyorlar. [...]. Alt tabaka her zaman ezilir. Şimdi senin yukarda yaptığın toplantıyı ben duymam. Reyon şefiyle sen ayrı toplantı yapıyorsun, reyon şefi gelip de o sana toplantıyı aktarmak zorunda, o bilgiyi sana vermek zorunda. Yukarda ne olduysa benim haberim olmak zorunda. Her şirkette böyle olması gerekir. Ama yapmıyorlar, hiç bi şeyin bilgisini vermiyorlar. Oturup da ya kardeşim sen şunu yapacaksın demiyorlar. Kalem üzerinde hiç bi şey göstermezler. Hepten alttakini cahil bırakacağını ki, tamam mı, üst tabaka rahat etsin. [...], bilgiyi senden saklar kendisi üstün olur.”⁴⁷

Sennett and Cobb (1993: 77) argue that "now a badge of ability seems the perfect tool to legitimize power. This concept of human potential says that the few are more richly endowed than the many and that only the few can know themselves - i.e., recognize themselves as distinctive individuals." Obviously, cultural capital is a mechanism that reproduces power and distinctions. Store workers also indicate that those whose cultural capital is more than the one of others can move upwards into intra-class hierarchy.

For instance Sevim, who argues that the way of upward mobility is being a university graduate, complains about not having cultural capital which creates class differences. According to her, the cultural capital is one of the conditions of being rich: "...ee okumuşlar tabi zamanında, bizim gibi aptallık etmemişler, güzel mevkilere gelmişler, güzel yerlerde çalışıyorlar"⁴⁸

One of the important changes which fragment workers in food retailing face is that subcontracting becomes a new form of control in retailing. By this way, the employment status of workers differentiates. As it is mentioned above, some workers are employed directly by the store, but others are subcontractors who are hired from

⁴⁷ "Since the administrators here see us as uneducated, they argue that they can do everything. The lower class is always oppressed. I cannot hear the meeting you hold upstairs. If you do a seperate meeting with the section chef, he should come and convey the details of this meeting to you. I have to get the information of what is going on upstairs. This should happen in every company. However, they don't do this, they do not give any information. They do not tell us what we should do. They do not show anything on paper. You should keep the lower class illiterate so that the upper class gets comfort. They hide information from you to become dominant," Nuri, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

⁴⁸ "They got education in time, they did not behave stupidly, they acquired good positions and now they work in prestigious places," Sevim, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

an employment agency. Subcontracted workers do not have the same job security or benefits as permanent store workers. Hence, workers identify themselves as "subcontracted workers" or "store workers." For example, subcontracted workers I interviewed referred to themselves as 'firm workers' as distinguished from workers who are employed by the store, not as 'workers' as distinguished from managers. According to Kenny (2004), unfortunately, subcontracted labour is not being counted separately in retail industry employment statistics, and little research has been conducted on it. In addition, even though it does not make sense as much as the separation between "subcontracted workers" and "store workers", there is also a separation between part-time and full-time workers, who are both employed directly by the store.

Intra-class stratification within the stores is also experienced as a problem of self-respect as it can be observed in the interviews with store workers. One of the most striking one is the interview with Barış who works as a shelf packer. Speaking about his worst day in the store, Barış told me that he applied to the store together with his childhood friend Alper to become accountant in the store, and then he started working as a shelf packer while Alper became the accountant. He told the worst moment as follows:

“Alper’in odasına paspas attığım gündü. Benim çocukluk arkadaşım, yediğim içtiğim bu yaşına kadar ayrı gitmemiştir, hala burada da öyle. O orada bilgisayar başındayken ben paspas yapıyordum. O an dedim ne yapıyorum ben dedim. [...] Üzüldüm yani. Aslında üzülecek bir şey yok ama üzüyor insan. Bir tuhaf oluyor insan. Anlatamıyorum ki nasıl ne hissettiğimi. O da üzüyor ve ben ilk işe başladım, hiç bilmiyorum bir şey, işte Ecer Bey bana odaya paspas at diyor, ben paspas alıyorum, Alper beni görüyor hemen gidiyor. Üzüyor o da üzüyor”⁴⁹

It is striking that this situation not only makes Barış feel bad but also it affects Alper. We can understand that Alper is also not comfortable with this situation from the

⁴⁹ "It was the day when I was cleaning the floor of Alper's office. He is my childhood friend and we did almost everything together, it is still like this. He was in front of his computer while I was cleaning his office. I felt bad. Normally there is nothing to feel bad about, but you feel strange. I cannot understand how I feel. He also feels bad. When I started to work, x (the manager) told me to clean the floor and Alper was in the room, he saw me and left the office since he felt bad", Barış, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

words of Barış: “O kaç kere ‘ya bırak, benim param ikimize de yeter, ben buna dayanamıyorum’ dedi”. Nevertheless, Barış says that: “Ama Ankara’dayım, çalışmak zorundayım, o paspası da atmak zorundayım. Şu anda onları aştık tabi hiç şeyi yok da...”⁵⁰

Cleaning the office floor of his childhood friend is the worst moment he experienced. “Aslında üzülecek bir şey yok ama üzüyor insan”⁵¹ is the expression of how this deep pain is felt intensively⁵².

Moreover, the focus on the teamwork by the stores as an administrative policy is to be assessed with reference to the class injuries of workers. Sennet (1998: 111) points out that "a fiction arises in modern teamwork at work: employees aren't really competing against each other. And even more important, the fiction arises that workers and bosses aren't antagonists; the boss instead manages the group process." However, it is difficult to say that the fiction that is told by Sennett is similar to the relationship which is established by workers in the store with their team leaders. Some workers imagine and experience a kinship with their supervisors. Eray who works in the butchery section at B speaks about his relationship with his chiefs as follows: “Ya arkadaş gibiyiz yani. İsmet abim var, yani bitane. Ekip şefi. Daha yeni ekip şefi oldu o da. Bizim gibi elemandı. Benden sonra girmişti. Şef oldu yani, hakketti. Sonuçta da benim de onu desteklemem gerekiyor.”⁵³ When I asked him about how he became the department chief, he answered:

⁵⁰ “Alper told me to leave the job for several times, my money is enough for both of us, I cannot stand this.”, “But I am in Ankara and have to work and have to clean the floor. Now, we left discussing these issues...” Barış, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

⁵¹ "There is nothing to be sad about but one gets sad,” Barış, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

⁵² It is significant that some of the workers when they talk about their feelings use third person singular suffixes instead of first person singular, like Alper saying, “one gets sad”. Here on one hand, it can be inferred that they find it difficult to express their feelings and they abstain from giving away their injuries, on the other hand it can be inferred that they have a more general “human” conception. Namely, to get upset and frustrated about being insulted and looked down at attributed to “human” as intrinsic aspects of human beings.

⁵³ “We are like friends. I have İsmet Abi, he is perfect. He is the team chief. He became the team chief recently. He was one of us. He entered the job after me. He deserved this. Consequently, I have to support him,” Eray, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

“Yani sonuçta reyonu tanıyan biri, reyon ne kadar ciro yapar, ne kadar şey yapar, ne kadar satış yapar biliyo, bilen birisi. Yani daha iyi oldu bence. Ondan sonra aramızdan bi kişi daha ekip şefi oldu. İşte bi yenilik tarzında gidiyo yani. Sürekli bi şeyleri yenileniyo, ne diyeyim sana”⁵⁴

Eray legitimizes his “big brother”’s new supervising position with reference to his knowledge and capability. It is also possible to come across with an opposite portrayal of distance between himself and the team leaders. Arif who works in the grocery department at E does not describe the distance between him and the team leaders as follows:

“öyle ilginç bi tip sohbet edemezsin, muhabbet edemezsin, dostluk yapamazsın, arkadaşlık yapamazsın, [...] 500’ün üzerinde çalışanı var Real’in, 500 kişinin içersinde samimi olduğu bir tek kişi var onun dışında hiç kimseyle samimi değil, en fazla ilişkisi meraba’dan ibaret, öyle bi tip”⁵⁵

Metin who works at the grocery department of a local store told me about his problems with his managers as follows:

"Yöneticilerle şöyle sorunlar yaşıyoruz: yöneticinin farklı bir işi var. Yöneticilik gözlemcilik. Yani benim yaptığım bir şeyi görmeyebilir. Ya da üstlerinden, işverenden zor bi gün yaşar. Gelip onun stresini bizden çıkardığı anlar olabilir yani. Mesela hiç yokken gelip “bu niye böyle?” diyebilir. Belki onun öyle olması gerekmez, onun dediği gibi olması gerekir ama o anda yapılmayabilir. “Reyon niye boş, niye bu mal çıkmamış, ne bekliyorsunuz?” gibi tavırlar koyabiliyorlar. [...] Bunu söyleyiş tarzları insanın zoruna gidebilir. Zaten diyorum ya market sektöründe personelin, elemanın hiç bi değeri yok. Niye değeri yok? Çoklu çalışılan yerlerde biri olmazsa öbürüsü olur. Kimse vazgeçilmez değil yani. İstersen ağzınla kuş tut, bi hatan görüldüğü an hemen yolcusun. Ya başka bi mağazaya gidersen ya da sana gidiş gelişinde zorlaştıracak bir yere gönderilir. İşi bırakmak zorunda kalırsın”⁵⁶

⁵⁴ “He knows about the section, how much profit the section makes, how much selling it brings, he knows everything. It is better for me. After him, another person from us became the team chief. It continues in a renewed form. Continuously something is renewed, how to tell you,” Eray, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

⁵⁵ “He has an interesting profile, you cannot chat, you can not have a friendship. Real has more than 500 employees, and he has only one person among these 500 people with whom he is a close friend with. The most sincere attitude of him is to say hello, he is like this,” Arif, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

⁵⁶ “We experience such problems with administrators: the managers have a different job. Being an administrator means being an observer. He may not see something I did. Because of his employers, he experiences bad conditions. He may come to us and convey his anger to us. For example, he may come and ask “why is this like that?” may be the thing he is mentioning should be what he demands,

Different from the examples above, some of the workers I interviewed stressed moral human values while talking about the employees in higher positions. This might be assessed as one of the strategies they developed to render their lower position more bearable. For instance, the conversation among a group of female cashiers working in the market about a cashier woman who has been appointed to another agency of the store as a "clerical staff" exemplifies this issue:

(The cashier 1): Özlem denen kızın babası Erkan beyin arkadaşıymış neymiş. Bütün mağazalarda duyuldu, bizim mağazada da konuşuluyor. Özlem, D'ye bürocu olarak gitmiş, tamam mı? Okudum mesajı, dedim iyi hayırlı olsun. Eşim de şey diyo gördün mü bak kız, diyo Özlem taşşaklı çıktı. O kadar sorunlar yaşadık ki onun yüzünden, gördünüz mü o kadar öttünüz, o kadar konuştunuz diyo.

(The cashier 2). Büro elemanı olarak mı gitti?

(The cashier 1) Evet.

(The cashier 2) Vay be, büroya gitti, biz hala oturalım kasada.

(The cashier 3) Nuran ne yapıyor Semra?

(The cashier 2) Napsın kasada. Adamlar büroya geçsin, bizimki hala kasada.

(The cashier 3) Hayatım olsun önemli olan... Kasada olmak problem değil ki, işini adabıyla yapmak daha iyi bence.

(The cashier 2) Valla bence de. Ben hep onu bilir onu söylerim, üniversite okumanın hiç bi anlamı yok yani. Diplomaları başka şekilde de alınabilir.⁵⁷

but maybe it is not be what he wants. He may ask "why is the section empty, why haven't these goods been taken out, what are you waiting for?" the style of saying these things may hurt people. As I said before, in the market sector the workers have no value. Why doesn't this person have a value? Because in places where there are many people, if one of them does not exist, another one may take his place. No one is inevitably required. You can do very good things but whenever they see your fault, you may be fired. You are sent to another store or you are sent to a place which is not suitable for you in terms of transportation. You are forced to quit the job," Metin, interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

⁵⁷ (The cashier 1): That girl named Özlem's father is said to be Erkan bey's friend or something like this. All the stores heard it, they gossip about it in our store too. Özlem is said to have gone to D as a clerical staff, ok? I read the message and said may it bring good luck. My husband says did you see girl, look, Özlem turned out to be bold. We have gone through so many things because of her, look you have wagged so much, you have talked so much he says.

(The cashier 2): Has she gone there as clerical staff?

(The cashier 1): Yes.

(The cashier 2): Wow, she went to Office, we stil sit here as cashier.

(The cashier 3): What is Nuran doing Semra?

(The cashier 2) What could she do, she is working as a cashier. People succeed to work in an Office while ours is still a cashier.

(The cashier 3) Honey, the important thing is... it is not a problem to be a cashier; it is beter to work with decency, I think.

(The cashier 2) Actually, I agree. I always know and say this, going to university means nothing. The diplomas they have can be attained in a different way.

Onur too complains about his friends who got promotion through immoral ways:

"Benim arkadaşlarımdan müdürlük yapanlar var. Ama ben işte bu tartışmaların yüzünden geri planda aldım. Önemli değil. Çalışarak... Yalakalık yaparak, insanlara görüntü vererek değil. Ben yapmam bu olayı işte. En sevmediğim olaylardan biri yalakalık yapmak. İşimi yaparım, tırnaklarımla gelirim bi yere."⁵⁸

These examples give an important clue about how the workers in lower positions cope with the feeling of failure. By associating their position as a cashier and not having any higher position with their moral values and "doing the job with decency" (*"işî adabıyla yapma"*), it might be deduced that in this way they are abstaining from any threat of reference to their own failure.

Consequently, intra-class stratification and hierarchy are not experienced without any problems but it can be argued that in the service sector workers adopt specific strategies to legitimize this situation for themselves.

Another important issue is the relation between workers. If it is taken into consideration that the character takes shape in the process of time, then it can be argued that the short-term frame of modern institutions reveal corrosion of character. Because, the working life in which short-term is a prevailing principle corrodes trust, loyalty, and mutual commitment among workers. "The strength of weak ties" is embodied in teamwork, in which the team moves from task to task and the personnel of the team changes in the process (Sennett, 1998: 24).

When I asked about their relations with other workers, some interviewees said at the beginning that they have good relations with each other but when I reiterated or reformulated the question they came to speak about competition between workers. While the workers indicated a good friendship environment, they also stated that

⁵⁸ "I have some friends who are managers. But due to these discussions I have remained in the back ground. It doesn't matter. Working... Not flattering, showing off to people. I never do this. One of the most disgusting things is flattering. I do my job, I get somewhere by working," Onur, interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

there is no trust to anybody. Duygu whose husband also works at the same place argued that the relationships between the workers are damaged and this created a problem of trust:

“Şu anki toplum, insanlarla bunu götüremiyor. Her ne kadar, mesela Derya'yla... Olur ya insanız, bi şeyle atışsam, Derya'yla, ne bileyim, anlaşımadık, o anda tartıştık yani, ben Derya'ya ne kadar çok laf söylesem o kadar kendimi şey görüyorum Derya'yı alt ettim ben. Ya ben daha fazla söyleyeyim ya, düşüneyim de sonra iki laf daha söyleyeyim. Burdaki ortam böyle oldu. Burdaki süreç böyle oldu. Bunu da ben götüremiyorum yani. İstiyorum ki her şey güllük gülistanlık geçsin yani.”⁵⁹

She expresses the sorrow she feels about the competition among them as follows:

“Kendi bölümümde olsun, diğer arkadaşlarla olsun yani, yani ne için? İnsanlar neye düşmüş artık biliyo musun? Mesela bi bayan yapıyo yani benim hemcinsim yapıyo, Derya'nın küpesi güzel, ben bunu kıskançlık yapıyorum, aynıından benim de olacak veya farklısı olacak ama olacak yani veya Derya benden daha güzel veya Derya benden daha güzel iş yapıyo, o onu şey yapıyo yani hırs yapıyo. Birebir ben bunu yaşıyorum yani, bi tane arkadaşım, bayan arkadaşım çok üzücüdür ki yani yaşıyorum ben burda. Yani kötü ya yani, ne bileyim”⁶⁰

Yılmaz who also works as a shelf packer and who is the union representative of the store told that the relations between the workers are good but when I asked about whether their relations turned out to become more like family relations or not he said that: “Ya tabi anlaşımadığımız insanlar var bu sektörde. Herkes birbirinin kuyusunu kazmaya çalışıyor. Arkandan laf çıkarmaya uğraşiyor. Problem çıkıyor her işyerinde olduğu gibi”⁶¹

⁵⁹ “I cannot continue this with today's society and people. For instance with Derya... We are human beings, there may be discontent and whenever I behave bad to her, I think that I oppressed her. I feel like I should say more things to oppress her. The environment here happened to be like this. The process is like that. I cannot stand this anymore. I want that everything is good,” Duygu, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

⁶⁰ "Let it be at my department or at another one... Do you know how people turned out to be? For instance a woman, namely a person from my sex, gets jealous of me and gets ambitious about my earring or any other thing. I experience this; unfortunately, I experience this with my woman friend. How to say, it is really bad", Duygu, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

⁶¹ “Of course there are people whom we cannot get on with in this sector. Many people try to dig a pit for (undermine) others. They try to produce gossips about you. There are problems as there are in other workplaces,” Yılmaz, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

When it is asked whether other workers help them or not when a worker experiences problems with their seniors or customers Türkan answered as follows:

"Yok, hayır. Burada kimse öyle bağlı değil birbirine. Mesela ben kasa grubunu söyleyeyim. Kasa grubu, mesela bir olay oluyor, "Arkadaşlar", diyoruz, "hep beraber söyleyelim, şikâyetimizi hep beraber dile getirelim. Hep beraber gidersek baskın çıkarız. Anlarlar en azından hepimizin şikâyeti olduğunu" diyorum. "evet, biz de şikâyetçiyiz. Tamam, söylücez" falan oluyor. Sonra gidiyoruz şikâyet edeceğimiz kişiye, görüşmeyi yapacağımız kişiye. "Böyle böyle" iki kişi sadece sesini çıkartıyor, geri taraf "biz memnunuz!". Haydaa! Öyle bir şey olduğu zaman da, satıyoruz resmen. Satıldığımız gün bi de suçlu biz oluyoruz. "siz işte bunları gaza getiriyorsunuz" da, şöyle oluyor da böyle oluyor da. Yani suçlu biz oluyoruz. Kabak bizim başımıza patlıyor. Olan bize oluyor yani. Vardiyalarımızla oynuyorlar. İşte ne bileyim, bir şey söylediğimiz zaman gıcık gıcık davranıyorlar. Yani, onun için güvenemiyorum kimseye. Ya burada böyle ya, hiç kimse birlik değil"⁶²

Türkan stated that the reason for such behaviour is the fear of being unemployed. Gülcan also stressed the same worry:

"Herkes kendi ekmeğinin derdinde. Herkesin geçim derdi. O kadar çok sıkıntısı vardı ki hepimizin. Kimisinin babası beyin kanaması geçirmiş, eve bakmak zorunda. Kimisinin babası yok, bizim gibi. Zor ya!"⁶³

Arif who is the union representative of the market said that there are groupings within the store based on the fellow township (*hemşehrilik*) and that there is competition among these groups. It is possible to say that these groupings are at odds with proletarian identity of the workers, showing a heterogenous structure. Sennett (1998) argues that the feeling of belonging to a community based on ethnicity as a result of reading the class concept with a personal language creates "us". It is possible to argue that a different solidarity type is experienced than class solidarity. While Arif argues that the existence of the union intensifies the feeling of belonging

⁶² "No. Here, nobody is bound to each other like this. For example, I can tell about the cashiers. For instance, if there is a problem, we say let's bring the issue altogether. If we go together, we become dominant and they can understand that we all have complaints. They agree on this idea and when we go to the person to whom we are gonna complain, only two people raise the issue and others say everything is ok. So, everything turns against us and they say we are guilty. They change our shifts afterwards and treat us badly. Nobody acts together here," Türkan, interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

⁶³ "Everyone is looking to earn their livelihood. Struggle to earn a living. We all have so many problems. Fathers of some of us have cerebral hemorrhage; he has to keep the family. Some of us do not have fathers, as we don't have. It is difficult," Türkan, interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

to proletariat as an superior identity, Duygu argues that the emergence of the union in the store deepened the competition. Because the managers tried to prevent unionization, so it caused a conflict between the workers who became a member of the union immediately and the others who collaborated with managers contrary to all of these groupings and created competition environment, Arif expressed that the union created a close relation between the workers:

“...işte yöresel farklar var, birine hoş gelen diğerine ters geliyo, gibi geçmişte bunlar çok yaşanıyordu, ama sendikadan sonra bi sıcaklık bi yakınlaşma oldu, onu da tabii ki bizler sağladık, ortak çıkarlarımız... Sendika sık sık mümkün olduğu derece şey vermeye çalışır, eğitim verir işte sendikal mücadeleyle ilgili, işçilikle ilgili, işçi ilişkileri falan, biz şimdi alt kimlik üst kimlik olayını yüzde seksen düzeyde yerleştirdik, biz işçiyiz arkadaş bizim bi üst kimliğimiz vardır, bir alt kimliğimiz vardır. Alt kimliğimiz bizim özelimizdir, bizim üst kimliğimiz bizim işçidir. [...] Sonuçta işçiyiz kardeşim, ortak amacımız var ortak çıkarlarımız burda ortak, dolayısıyla bizim buradaki ilişkilerimiz iyi olmak zorunda, diyalogumuz iyi olmak zorunda ve birbirimizi desteklemek zorundayız, her açıdan bunu yavaş yavaş yerleştiriyoruz, sendika sonrası bu yerleşmeye başlattık buradaki işçiler için...”⁶⁴

Barış who works as shelf packer in a small store mentioned about the solidarity among workers:

“Ya güzel aslında, yani yardımlaşma olmak zorunda. Benim işim yoğun olursa bana yardım ediyor manav arkadaş. Onun işi yoğun olduğunda ben manava yardım ediyorum. Amaç sadece bir şeylerden geri kalmamak”⁶⁵

Ayten also works in a small store and mentions that her relationships with her colleagues and the manager are all right:

⁶⁴ "There are local differences, something which is good for someone is bad for other, things happened like this in the past, but after the union a moderate environment emerged, of course we created this, our joint interests... union gives trainings about unionist struggle, about being workers, worker relations, etc. Now we established the issue of upper identity and lower identity % 80. Our lower identity is our privacy; our upper identity is being a worker. Consequently, we are workers we have joint aims, so our relations here have to be good, our dialogue has to be good, and we have to support each other. We are establishing this gradually, this happened after the union for the workers working here," Arif, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

⁶⁵ "It is good actually, in other words, helping each other has to be. If my work is busy, the greengrocer helps me. If his job is busy, I help him. The aim is only not to become unable to carry out the job," Barış, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

“burada çalışanlarla aramız iyi. Burada çalışanlar çok eskiden beri burada. Çok eski çalışanlar yani. Bizim Ender Bey çok iyidir. Müdürümüz olarak bizi iyi idare eder. Bir şeye ihtiyacımız olduğunda bir işimiz olduğunda bize yardımcı olur. Müşteriye karşı bizi savunur mesela... Müşteriyle sorun olduğunda bizi dinler. Müşteriyi de dinler bizi de dinler. Bize çok destek olur.”⁶⁶

In this context, different from the bigger stores, instead of privatizing works at the workplace, several works are carried out together with a smaller number of people. Therefore, when needed, since the workers can help each other out they can feel the fellowship more. Besides, what Ayten said makes us think that in workplaces where circulation is less, with workers who have been working together for years, the trust relationships and solidarity feelings are more.

However, Metin who works in a local store states that he has hesitations on whether there is a trust relationship between store workers:

"Şimdi görünüşte dayanışma var gibi oluyo ama bazı şartlarda insanlar ne kadar uyum sağlasa aksilik oluyo. Mesela market sektöründe genelde genç arkadaşlar çalışıyo. Bunların arasında birbirleriyle iyi geçinenler var, geçinemeyenler var. Oluyo yani. Tartışmalar oluyo. Ne bileyim iyi dayanışma olanlar oluyor"⁶⁷

It can be deduced from what the workers tell, the relationship between workers is usually not the solidaristic relationship. That is why there is a separation between them. Some of them are part-time and some full-time workers, who are both employed directly by the stores. Again, there are also subcontracted workers who do not have the same job security or benefits as permanent shop workers. Hence, workers do not claim a collective identity as "worker." The question of collective identity is to be related to unionization.

⁶⁶ “Our relationships with employees here are great. Those who work here now have been working since the very past. They are the old workers, in other words. Ender Bey is great. He manages us perfectly as a director. He helps us when we need something. He supports us against the customer for example. If there is a problem with the customer, he listens to us. He listens to both the customer and to us. He helps us so much,” Ayten, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

⁶⁷ "It seems like there is a kind of solidarity but in some conditions even though people work in harmony, there may be some problems. For instance, in this sector usually young people work. There are the ones who have good relationships among them, but also there are those who cannot stand each other. This happens. Discussions emerge. How to say, there are also people who are in solidarity," Metin, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

2.6. The Unionization in the Stores and Thoughts about the Trade Union

While the number of those who work in the private sector in Turkey increases, the number of those who are members of unions decrease and the rate of unionisation inevitably decreases. One of the most important data related to unionist organization is the unionization ratio. However, unfortunately, statistics of the unionization is not being collected, the data of ILO, state institutions, unions and several international institutions do not fit each other, and there are important differences among them.

According to the data of the Ministry of Labour and Social Security, the total number of workers in Turkey is 5 million 434 thousand 433, the number of workers who are members of unions is 3 million 205 thousand 662 and the ratio of unionization is % 58.98. The statistic does not reflect the reality. The Ministry of Labour and Social Security, while counting the number of workers considers the workers who are registered with Social Security Institution and ignores the informal workers. According to several researches, the number of wagedworkers in Turkey lies between 10-13 million. Namely, the Ministry of Labour and Social Security did not recognize more than half of the workers while preparing the number of workers. The number of those workers who are members of unions also does not reflect the reality. It is known that in reality, the number of the workers who are union members is smaller. Therefore, the unionization ratio is less than the ratio declared by the Ministry of Labour and Social Security. While the number of workers belonging to unions was 415.972 in 2002, this number decreased to 361.430 in 2007 and the unionization ratio in the private sector decreased to 3.4 % from 5.6 % within the same period.

According to Bakır and Erdoğan (2009), flexible working policies, subcontracting and fragmentation of the production chains which all emerged as a result of the neo-liberal policies, create a big barrier to the unionization of the workers. Besides, privatization policies also strengthened the decrease in the unionization ratio.

Employers employ different methods to prevent the unionization of the workers or to eliminate the unions. The most common method is to fire some or all workers who belong to a union. According to the report of Türk-İş entitled “the cost of unionization: being fired”, 15 thousand 531 workers were fired between 2003 and 2005 since they joined unions. Between 2003 and 2008, 30 thousand workers were fired from their jobs since they belonged to DİSK. In other words, in every year averagely 5 thousand workers were fired. Consequently, every year, more than 10 thousand workers are fired from their jobs since they are members of DİSK and Turk-Is by using their constitutional rights.

While 15 of the workers I interviewed were members of a labor union, 22 of the workers were not. 17 of those who are not members work at stores in which unions are not organized. One of those stores operates nationally and two of them work locally. 4 of the non-unionized workers work at national and international level stores but since they were employed as subcontractors they do not belong to a union. Only one of the workers works in a national store in which a union has the competency of collective agreement but the worker is willingly not a member of a union.

In addition, the workers who were interviewed in the focus group were also members of the labor union.

In its press bulletin dated 30 March 2010, which assesses The Law Draft About The Shopping Malls, Chains Stores and Large Stores which was presented to the Prime Ministry, the Union of Tez-Koop-İş makes public that although they have 25 thousand members, the government did not ask for their proposals about the law draft.

According to the bulletin, there are 400 thousand people who work in the food retail sector and 95 % of them are non-unionized workers. The head of the union Gürsel Doğru explains that behind the “modern” appearance of the stores, the transgression

of workers' rights is common in non-organized parts of the retail sector. Particularly, there are transgressions of health and retirement rights by not paying or paying less than they have to for insurance premiums. According to him, that is why workers see their work not as an occupation, but only as a casual job.

In this context, the expectations of the workers towards their unions, how they evaluate the union, why the workers who are not a member of the union are not unionized, whether they think that there is a difference between the working conditions of unionized workers and others and store workers' conditions need to be examined.

Most of the workers both were unionized and did not state that unionization is an advantage.

Workers who work in stores where the Tez-Koop-Is Union is not organized think that they work in more heavy conditions compared to unionized workers. For example, Nilgun counts the advantages of being unionized as follows:

“D'de var tanıdığımız. Onlar sendikalı. Normalde 8 saat çalışıyorlar veya mesai yaptıkları zaman direk mesai ücretini alabiliyorlar. Tatil günleri oluyor. (Sendika) işçinin hakkını koruyor. Saatini koruyor”⁶⁸

Ayten states that she is not aware of the existence of a union in this sector and that they do not know about their rights but if they had such an opportunity she was convinced ("*kafama yatarsa*") she might register for the union. Ayhan believes that if he were a member of a union, the union would protect his rights:

“Sendika patronu sevmez. İşçiler sever. İşçiler yaşam koşulları sendikayla... Ben patronu tanımam ki, yolda görsem tanımam. Patrona ben diyebilir miyim benim

⁶⁸ “There are workers of D that we know. They are members of the union. Normally they work 8 hours or when they work for extra hours, they get their money directly. They have holidays. The union protects the rights of the workers. They protect their hours,” Nilgün, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

maaşıma zam yap? Desem yapar mı ki? Vahit Kiler'in yanına gidip % 20, % 10 veya % 30 zam yap diyebilir miyim?",⁶⁹

Nurcan also, while telling about the necessity of being a member of a union, describes unions as powerful structures which support workers against the company the workers works for.

"Sonuçta hakkımızı savunuyorlar. Bunu yalnız başımıza bizim yapmamız mümkün değil. Gerekıyor yani bir yerde bi savunulması. Özellikle işte bu yeni firma (Carrefour) pesoneli çok fazla sömürmeye çalıştığı için yani birilerinin muhakkak personelin hakkını savunması lazım. Çünkü sonuçta hani burda çalışan kişilerin seviyesi, kültür düzeyleri, yani kendilerini ne kadar savunabilirler koca şirkete karşı. Çok fazla aktif olan insanlar değil. Onun için muhakkak birilerinin savunması gerekiyor"⁷⁰

According to Nurcan, unions are workers' organizations without workers. In other words, the mechanism which supports workers on behalf of workers is not the self-organization of workers.

Duygu tells us that while at the beginning of the unionization, they had some problems, but at the end, they got some of their rights. Similiarly, Yonca is one of those who became unionized and stated the importance of struggle in an organized way as follows:

"Daha ilk duyduğumda, Arif abi irtibattaymış, aman dedim hemen olalım, devamlı artık gidip geliyodum, olalım, olalım, üye olalım diyodum. Çünkü sendikalı olmak, yani örgütlü olmak iyi bi şey, kötü bi şey değil yani. İnsanlar sendikanın ne olduğunu bilmiyo, bilinçsiz durumdalar. Sendikayı, ne bileyim büyük bi grup görüyo, sanki PKK'ya üye oluyosun, o derece. Yani korkuyorlar. Sendika kötü bi şey değil ki. Senin haklarını yasal çerçevede koruyo. Olay bu. Olduk, pişman da

⁶⁹ "Union does not like bosses. Workers like workers, living conditions with unions... I do not know the boss; if I see him on the street I cannot recognize him. May I tell him to raise my wage? If I say, does he obey this? Can I tell him to raise my wage for 20 %, 10 % or 30 %?", Ayhan, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

⁷⁰ "Indeed, they protect our rights. It is impossible for us to do this on ourselves. At some point, we need to be protected. This new company B, since it tries to exploit us so heavily, somebody should advocate for the rights of the workers. How can these workers protect themselves with their information level, cultural levels? They are not active people. For this reason, some people should protect them," Nurcan, interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

değiliz. Aslında yani örgütlülüğün olduğu yerde hiç bi şey olmaz, bunu bilmiyolar işte.”⁷¹

Yonca also argues that her colleagues are also ignorant and just seek their self-interests instead of establishing ties of solidarity:

"Kendi kariyerini, kendi durumunu düşünüyor işçiler de. Düşünse dahi artık diyorum ya mesela düşünüyordur, benim gibi düşünüyordur ama onu da değiştiriyorlar. Değişmek zorunda, ya o yerinde kalacak yani, ya benim gibi hep ezilecek ya da yerinde kalacak ya da ilerlemesi için değişecek. Başka alternatifi yok, benim nasıl değişmek zorunda olduğum gibi. Ben de değişecem artık, daha da değişmiş değilim, diyorum bunu ama inşallah uygulayım. İnsanları düşünerek kazık yemek istemiyorum açıkçası, çünkü değmiyor. Keşke değse, yine kazık yemeye razıyım ama değmiyor."⁷²

While she believes in the importance of unionization, she does not dare to struggle due to her distrust to her colleagues and her belief that everyone acts for his/her own interests.

Some of the interviewees expressed that they do not know what a union is. For example, Hüseyin explains the story of his registration to a union:

“Nuri abi söyledi, işte sendikaya geçelim filan dedi. Seni sendikacı yapalım dedi. İyi dedim, ben ne biliyim sendikanın ne olduğunu, sendikanın ne olduğunu bilmiyordum yani, gittik sendikaya üye olduk. Sonra işte bir sürü şey sundular sendikadan, işte iki ayda bir ikramiyeniz var falan dediler”⁷³

⁷¹ "When I first heard of it, the brother Arif was in connection with them and told him to be members. Because being a member is something good, it is not bad. People don't know what a union is, they are unconscious. They see unions as something like PKK, at this level. They are in fear. Unions are not bad. They support your rights within legal frameworks. This is the case. We became members and we are not regretful," Duygu, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

⁷² "Workers think of their carriers and situations. S/he may think of the situation like me but they change her/him in the meanwhile. They have to change; he either would keep his position or be oppressed like me. There is no other alternative, but to change. I will change myself from now on, I have not changed yet, and I hope I will implement this. Frankly, I do not want to get the shaft because of thinking people since it does not work. But they do not deserve this," Yonca, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

⁷³ "Nuri told me, let's register to this union. Let's make you unionist. I did not know what a union is but we became members. But then they told us that we would have many advantages such as premiums," Hüseyin, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

A similar situation is valid for Eray too:

“Ya burda bizim çalışan bi arkadaş var, o şey yaptı beni de. Benim aklımda hiç yoktu aslında. Ben sendikanın ne demek olduğunu bilmiyodum ki. Adam götürdü beni notere götürdü evrak imzalattı, dedi sendikaya üyesin. Başka bi şey demedi. Hala da ne olduğunu bilmem yani. Bazen diyom bu sendika ne iş yapıyo”,⁷⁴

While some of the store workers who were being interviewed complained that the union does not satisfy them or claimed that they did not know its function clearly, they still think that it is needed for protection, 'What if something happens? What if I get dismissed?'. It is obvious that they felt pressure on their job security. They also compared their conditions with the ones of workers who are organized in other stores which have a collective agreement between the union and the employer, and so have won some gains, for instance the lunch break and tea / coffee break or monthly bonus for shopping.

Only Yiğit who is a part time worker has a negative perspective on unions. He explains why he is not a member as follows: "Ben üye olmadım sendikaya çünkü bi işe yaramıyo. Nerdeyse D personelinin %99'u sendikaya üye ama haklarını alabiliyorlar mı, haklarını sendika koruyabiliyo mu, koruyamıyo."⁷⁵ But Yiğit said that part time workers who do the same job in another store in which workers are organized in the union have better working conditions, that is, their working hours are less and their wage is higher than his. His negative view draws on what his friends told him:

“Şu andaki sendika şube başkanı kesinlikle işçiden yana değil, D taraftarı biri. Şu an, bizim sendika neydi, Tez-Koop'tu sanırım, onun başkanı D elemanı, zamanındaki

⁷⁴ "There is a friend of us here working, he made me a member. I did not know what a union is. He brought me to the public notary and made me sign sheets. He didn't tell me anything else. I still do not know what it was. Sometimes I ask what this union does..." Eray, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

⁷⁵ "I did not become a member because it does not help for anything. Almost 99 % of the workers of the D store are members of a union, but they cannot get their rights," Yiğit, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

elemanı ama kesinlikle elemandan yana değil şu anda. Mesela eleman bi sorunuyla gidiyo, git müdürünle konuş beni alakadar etmez diyo.”⁷⁶.

In contrast, Fatma who works in the same store tells that if there is a problem with the managers, the union leader enters the scene and the fact that the leader is an ex-store worker is an advantage for them.

According to the store worker who is the author of the article in RED Magazine: "Sendikanın çalışanlar arasında kod adı Harran!"⁷⁷ Similarly Meral who is a subcontracted worker and so does not have a right to join the union says that: "Onlar sendikalı, biz Harranlıyız, marabayız."⁷⁸

Related to this, Turkish trade unions maintain that foreign companies tend to be more disposed to trade unions (Koç, 1999: 5; cited in Nichols and Sugur, 2004: 195). In their research about the industrial workers in or adjacent to the İzmit triangle, talking to workers about foreign and Turkish companies, Nichols and Sugur (2004) were often told that foreign companies not only provided better pay and working conditions but that they were more likely to appreciate people and treat workers with respect. Two store workers from a hypermarket owned by a German company give similar explanations:

"Türkler Türklerin haklarını pek düşünmeüyorlar, ama Almanlar, dış ülkedekiler, daha düşünüyorlar ve burası Alman firması, Almanlar'a ait E, o yüzden de daha çok düşünüyorlar, veriyorlar, daha güvenilirler. İşçisine daha fazla değer veriyorlar. Mesela burda patronlar genelde sendikalı insanları sevmezler, Almanya'da böyle bir şey yok, her yerin sendikası vardır ama kimse de karışmaz."⁷⁹

⁷⁶ "The union section president is not in favor of the workers. He is in favor of the store. If a worker goes for help, the section president says 'it does not concern me, go and talk to the store manager,'" Yiğit, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

⁷⁷ "the name of the union among workers is Harran!" RED Magazine, volume 12, Sept. 2007, p. 23.

⁷⁸ "they are members of the union, we are from Harran, we are workers", Meral, interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

⁷⁹ "Turkish people do not care about Turkish people, but Germans, the foreigners care more and here is a German company. The store E is owned by Germans. Thus they care more, they trust their workers more. For example, here in general managers do not like unionized workers. In Germany,

"E, işçi hakları, insan hakları konusunda falan en ileri olan, en demokrat davranan yani burda sendika yokken de bizim şeyimiz vardı, her türlü sosyal haklarımıza da sendika öncesi de son derece saygılıydılar."⁸⁰

But he adds that it did not mean that it is perfect:

"Şimdi şu bütün yani sosyal haklar anlamında çok demokrat olduğu halde Alman firmalarının şöyle bi özelliği var hak ettiğin tam hakkını vermese bile senin hemen hemen veriyo ama senin iş gücünü sonuna kadar kullanır kullana bildiği ölçüde, sınırlarımızı bile zorluyor. [...] Bölüm müdürümüz ben dedi burda tüm haklarınızı veriyosam size, her saatinden sonuna kadar faydalancam, her saat sizi çalıştırcam."⁸¹

However, Nuri, who works at a French-Turkish store, thinks differently:

"Fransızlar parayı çok seven insanlar. Dünyanın her tarafında bu sendika sorunu var B'nin. Sadece B'nin, E'in yok mesela. Çünkü Alman insanlar, demokrat insanlar yani neyin ne olduğunu biliyolar"⁸²

As a result, in spite of the datas of ILO, state institutions, unions and several international institutions are not equal and there are important differences among them, it can be argued that in Turkey while the number of those who work in the private sector in Turkey increases, the number of those who are members of unions decrease and the rate of unionization certainly decreases. Employers try to prevent the unionization of the workers in various methods. To fire workers is the most common way. However, at multinational stores, the rate of unionization among

there is nothing like that. There are unions everywhere and nobody prevents it. Everywhere has a union and nobody prevent it", Dilek, interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

⁸⁰ "Err, ours was the most democratic shop and had the highest respect for human rights even before there were no unions; even before the union all our social rights were respected", Arif, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

⁸¹ "Even that they are most democratic in terms of all social rights, well German companies even if they don't pay you exactly what you deserve, they give almost what you deserve, but they also use you to the final extend, and they even push out limits. [...] Our department manager told us if he is giving us all our rights then he will use us to the final extend, he will make us work every hour", Arif, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

⁸² "The French like money very much. All around the world unions have problems with B. Only with B not with E for example. Because Germans are democratic, they know right from wrong," Nuri, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

workers is high, except for subcontracted workers. Nevertheless, at local stores, there is no worker who is a member of the union. Nevertheless, most of the workers who were members of unions or not stated that unionization is an advantage. Moreover, while some store workers interviewed complained that the union fails to protect them entirely, they keep their membership for protection since they feel pressure on their job security.

2.7. Concluding Remarks

In this chapter, certain important changes in employment structures which have occurred both in the world and in Turkey, the structure of the retail sector -especially food retailing, and how this sector will have a growth process have been my main points of focus. In this regard, I have also further explained the working conditions of workers, stratification and fragmentation of workers in stores and how it affects the relationship among workers and unionization in stores. All these issues have been illustrated by experiences of workers through their own narratives.

Similar to Wal-Mart, in Turkey the organizational structure of stores move hierarchically from top to the bottom. Exactly, in the same way, in Turkey the stores make workers work harder than they are being paid for. In addition, they are confronted with humiliation and fear. Because of their fear of unemployment, they consent. The rate of organizing into the union among the workers of multinational stores is higher compared to small and local stores. However, it is difficult to say that union rights are completely gained. It has been suggested that employment of subcontracted workers, differing employment practices as full-time or part-time, the intensity of workforce circulation, lack of job security and the fear to lose their jobs results in rivalry among the workers and “corrosion of character” for workers.

CHAPTER 3

CLASS ENCOUNTERS AND IDENTITY

This chapter will mainly focus on the relationship between workers and costumers. How workers experience class as a matter of self-esteem in their workplaces; which strategies they use in order to cope with disrespectful costumers; how they classify costumers and whether they develop a sense of deprivation since they work in a consumption area will be the questions that I will pose while examining worker-customer relations. In addition, gender and family relations of store workers and finally workers hopes and unfulfilled dreams will also briefly be examined.

3.1. The Relationship between Workers and Customers

My examination will start with worker-customer relations. In that regard, I want to explain the dynamics of this relationship in connection with aims of management, routinized interactions, and discourse of stores in the interactive service sector. Although this chapter is about store workers in Turkey, I will contrast the issues mentioned above with perspectives from world literature and will then examine my interviews in this context.

To start with, Korczynski (2003) indicates that there is a large management literature that lay emphasis on how customers are increasingly looking for service quality in their interactions with service workers. Thus, the guiding principles of the firms are achieving profitability and growth through putting the interest of customers first and fulfilling the demands of the customer as the primary focus and function of an organization (Reynolds and Harris, 2006).

Similarly, Korczynski (2003: 57) has argued that "increasingly in service firms, management aims that the key sign-value that customers consume during service interactions is the enchanting myth of their own sovereignty." On the other hand, consumption is a fragile process (Edward, 2000). Enchantment may easily convert to disillusionment in the moments by the time the individual customer's lack of sovereignty becomes bluntly apparent. As Ritzer (1999) suggests, customer's disillusionment may occur precisely because the continuing, rationalizing, bureaucratic imperative of production becomes apparent (Korczynski, 2003: 57). For Korczynski, the customer may behave angrily when enchantment turns to disillusionment. As Leidner (1993: 131) notes, discourtesy is expressed by customers to front-line workers when the bureaucratic 'inflexible routines' of the production organization enter into the service interaction:

"This anger is vented at the closest symbol of the customer's painful journey from enchantment to disillusionment: the front-line service worker. In this important sense, the irate and abusive customer should be seen as a systematic part of the social relations of service work. For many service workers, customer anger and abuse is likely to occasion real and meaningful pain (Bitner et al., 1994, cited in Korczynski, 2003: 57)".

Leidner argues that employers routinise the jobs of these 'interactive service workers' in their relations to customers. However, because of the nature of personal interaction with service work, they must also allow for a degree of autonomy and creativity in that interaction. These processes can be contradictory, and are at the very least not easy to manage (Cited in Kenny, 2004: 479). As Leidner (1993) claims, 'The types and degrees of independent leverage workers have over customers are determined by the rigidity of their routines, the closeness of supervision or surveillance, the design of compensation and incentive systems, and the customer's own power' (cited in Kenny, 2004: 493).

Leidner (1993) discovers that routinized interactive service work has a broad cultural meaning. In particular, she argues that when service employers attempt to routinize human interactions, they "violate important cultural standards about the status of the

self, standards that honor authenticity, autonomy, sincerity, and individuality" (p. 216; cited in Wharton, 1996).

Leidner has examined the written scripts which are in fact handed to employees in service enterprises. Through these scripts, it is aimed to establish the "friendliness" of the employee more than address the substance of a client's concerns (cited in Sennett, 1998). "In a turnstile world of work, the mask of cooperativeness is among the only possessions workers will carry with them from task to task, firm to firm - these windows of social skill whose "hypertext" is a winning smile. If this human-skills training is only an act, though, it is a matter of sheer survival. And within the team, the fictions which deny the individual struggle for power or mutual conflict serve to strengthen the position of those on top" (Sennett, 1998: 112-113).

According to Fleetwood, consumers can create low payments and harmful working conditions for those who produce the goods and services they consume. Many consumers are able to take advantage of relatively inexpensive commodities precisely since these commodities get onto supermarket shelves via a chain of low-paid overseas and domestic workers. The hegemonic discourse encourages consumers to see relatively inexpensive commodities in terms of their being a 'bargain', rather than the result of someone else's low payment. However, consumers are typically unaware of the fact that commodities are cheap and opening/servicing times are convenient precisely because someone, somewhere, is suffering from worker-unfriendly flexible and/or unsociable working practices (Fleetwood, 1994: 5-6). Because, the hegemonic discourse encourages consumers to see customer convenience almost as a 'natural right' rather than as the result of someone else's having to work flexible and/or unsocial hours, while discouraging them from seeing the detrimental effects their consumption activities can have on workers' conditions (Fleetwood, 1994: 6).

A survey by the retail-trade recruitment website Retailchoice (2005) reveals not only the quantitative aspects of the problems faced by workers as a result of rude

customers (for example, 43,2 per cent of respondents encountered rude customers on a daily basis), but also some of the undignified ways in which staff can be treated by customers.

In 2002, the Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers (USDAW) organized a campaign that draws attention to a rising tide of violence, threats and abuse against their members and all shop-workers. The message of the campaign was 'Abuse is not a part of the job'. They published a report, *Voices from the frontline*, which was based on a survey of the experiences of retail reps over the previous 12 months. The headline results were; 47% reported physical violence in their store, 72% knew of staff who had been threatened, 86% had incidents of verbal abuse, 47% knew members who had been off sick because of violence at work, 41% had staff in their store who had changed jobs because of fear of violence.⁸³ After a year, USDAW conducted another survey, in which they highlighted high levels of physical and verbal abuse, ill health, and people leaving their jobs because of consumer actions and attitudes (cited in Fleetwood, 1994: 7-8).⁸⁴

USDAW explains in its leaflet that bullying at work can take many forms and refers to a wide range of behaviour. While some of these are obvious and easy to identify, other forms are subtler and may not always be so easy to recognize. Persistent and unfair criticism, publicly humiliating someone including shouting at them in front of other staff, direct verbal abuse or threats, physical abuse and violence, hurtful

⁸³ Usdaw is one of Britain's largest trade unions with 320000 members nationwide and according to its website it has various research about workers bad working conditions and some attempts in order to protect their workers from abusive costumers behavior. But in Turkey, any research or campaign about this issue has been conducted. www.usdaw.org.uk

⁸⁴ In 2007 as part of the activities for USDAW's annual Respect for Shopworkers event they revisited the earlier research. They surveyed a group of 200 Union reps in a variety of shops including Co-op workers, Morrisons, Sainsbury's, Tesco and Argos and received over 2,000 responses. Surveys were completed in face-to-face interviews between Usdaw reps and shopworkers (p. 10). As results of the research, 63% of respondents said that they had been verbally abused at sometime over the last 12 months. Almost one third are abused every month, nearly one in five weekly and one in 20 on a daily basis; 33% of respondents said they had been threatened in the last 12 months; almost one in ten store workers have been a victim of violence by a customer during their career. (pp. 10-12)

comments and teasing are very common and obvious; they are recognizable easily. On the other hand, some of them such as setting impossible deadlines, removing someone's responsibilities and taking credit for their work, withholding information from an employee so that it is harder for them to do their job, starting malicious rumours about someone to undermine their reputation, setting someone up as a scapegoat for when things go wrong, creating a climate at work where someone feels they can not say no to unreasonable requests, the use of homophobic language may not be used obviously so it is difficult to recognize.

Besides, according to the union, people who are being bullied are often wrongly made to feel that they should tolerate the pressures they are under. Moreover, generally people do not talk publicly about bullying because they fear that they will not be believed or sometimes they believe that if they speak out, it will only get worse. Additionally, for them bullying and abuse from the customers they come into contact with can be as much of a problem as bullying by management (Uzdaw leaflet, p.4).

A study conducted by Delen and Akgeyik (2009) has shown that customer aggression is very common in Turkey. Their study in 2006 and 2007 in Istanbul was conducted via a questionnaire in 73 stores and call centers with 734 employees. According to the results, 78 % of the employees are experiencing customer aggression at least once throughout their work life. 21 % of the participants have indicated that they are experiencing customer aggression frequently. This high rate indicates that customer aggression is a major problem for persons employed at stores, shops and call centers. The data shows that employees mostly suffer from verbal abuse. The persons interviewed have indicated that they are reprimanded (68 %), belittled (48 %), and insulted (42 %). The data obtained from the research also shows that physical aggression or related threats are the least common abuse experienced by the interviewees.⁸⁵

⁸⁵ It is understood that generally young adults are more at risk of abuse at workplace. The results of the study have shown that participants of the questionnaire, who were younger than thirty, had a

This also shows that, as expressed by Nichols and Sugar (2005), because of lack of formal procedures (and of course lack of unions or the incapacity of unions to prevent such behavior) employees are unprotected from the pressure of the ones that have the authority.

In the following part, worker-customer relation will be closely analyzed in its different aspects in the light of shopworkers' narratives. First, the question of how workers experience class as a matter of self-esteem in their workplaces especially when a degrading and humiliating aspect of the relationship between workers and costumers occurs will be examined. Second, I will examine the strategies workers use in order to cope with disrespectful costumers. Third, how workers distinguish consumers according to their attitudes and behaviours towards them and their appearences will be examined. Fourth, I will examine whether store workers feel deprivation when they confront the customer who have high purchasing power.

3.1.1. Class as a Matter of Self-Esteem

In general, it is argued that the material conditions of the working class in a capitalist society undermine the working class person's feeling of self-worth (Rubin, 1976; Sennett and Cobb, 1972). It is also predictable that for service workers to have dignity at work assume that they are treated as having worth. This means that actually "they are as morally worthy as consumers, and therefore they ought not to be abused by consumers". (Fleetwood, 94: 12). Nevertheless, it is clear that it is not only a matter of moral worth. As long as the class society exists, the inequalities of class obviously make it difficult for people to treat one another with respect. As Sennett and Cobb (1993) points out "class society takes away from all the people within it the feeling of secure dignity in the eyes of others and of themselves".

higher risk of abuse. It has been observed that experience at work is a major factor. Accordingly, workers with less experience have a higher risk of experiencing abuse and tend to consider threats more seriously. The presumption of inexperienced workers or workers with limited experience who have a lesser chance of developing effective strategies in dealing with customers who may cause problems should also be taken into account.

Skeggs (1997: 3) argues that "respectability was a central mechanism through which the concept class emerged, and as a signifier of class respectability is usually the concern of those who are not seen to have it". In line with these arguments, the linkage between self and social class was typically emphasized by store workers, too. Thus, the store workers frequently complained about the degrading and humiliating feature of the relationship between workers and costumers beyond the physical difficulties and tiredness of working in a store. This relationship causes emotional-symbolic violence in their self-perception. The problem was not only low wages paid for their hard working conditions that they described 'stressful', 'hard', and 'difficult', but they also encountered the threat of loss of their self-esteem, and of self-confidence. For instance, according to Metin who worked in the grocery department in a local store "market işçileri hep ezilen bir işçi ve değeri olmayan bir işçi."⁸⁶ This feeling can also be observed in an article published at the RED Magazine, which was authored by an employee of CarrefourSA:

"Most of the customers are unaware that the person they speak to is also human being, they expect us to be machines. At busy times, it is likely to be insulted or even physically abused. And it is very hard to do something against these.[...]. We have to put up with all of these and continue to work. [...] They attack us taking the power from being a customer." (2007: 23)⁸⁷

When encountered assaults by customers, workers sustain an injury in their self-perception and feel that they are worthless in the eyes of costumers as we can see in the narratives of the cashier Fatoş:

"Ya bazen o kadar kötü hissediyorsun ki, yani dünyanın en kötü işini yaptığını hissediyorsun. Zaten ben öyle olduğunu düşünüyorum kasiyerliğin. Eminim yani, çok mecbur kalınmadıkça yapılacak bir iş değil. Çekilecek bir kahır değil yani."⁸⁸

⁸⁶ "Store employees are always overwhelmed. They are worthless. ", Metin, interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

⁸⁷ "Sepeti dolduruyorsunuz ya..." RED Magazine, Vol. 12, Eylül 2007 - 9, p. 23

⁸⁸ "Sometimes you feel so bad that you think you have the worst job in the world. I already believe that cashiers are doing the worst job in the world. I am sure of this and it can be done only if your are desperate. It is not worth it," Fatoş, interviewed in Ankara, 2009.

In the light of these narratives, Sennett's (2003) argument about the American working class that "stuck in low status labors, they often felt they had failed in the task of making some thing of themselves through work" can also be applicable to the store workers in Turkey as well.

Yiğit also expressed that customers regard him as a worthless person and that he can describe the way they look at him as:

"Mesela alt tarafı bi kasiyer parçasısın gibi, yani alt tarafı bir kasiyersin gibi. [...] Mesela bi müşterinin bana söylediği bi laf vardır, 'sen benimle tartışamazsın'. Ne alakası var. Sen kimsin? Ya, böyle kendini yüksekte gören, yüksekte hisseden insanlar olduğu zaman ister istemez sinirleniyosun".⁸⁹

After a discussion with a customer, Nevin tells that she was hurt so much even though she does not remember what happened indeed:

"Çok acayip laflar söyledi (ağlar) [...] Diyalog yaptığın zaman daha çok kızıyor. Öyle laf ediyor ki, "sesini kessene, uzatma", meşhur kelimeleri. Yani, sen çalışsan da senin hakkın yok. O müşteri ya, müşteri hep haklı. İşte, mecburen, ben de çalışmak zorunda olduğum için sesimi çıkartmıyorum, tartışmalara girmiyorum"⁹⁰.

In workers narratives, feeling of worthlessness was emphasized by many workers:

"Böyle çok gereksizmiş bir insanmış gibi hissediyorsun. Yani mesela, o para atan müşteri tavrı dedim ya, bir de şöyle bir müşteri tavrı var: 'Benim paramla burada çalışıyorsun. Ben olmasam sen burada olmazsın zaten.' Adam doğru söylüyor. Müşteri olmazsa sen olmazsın. Ama ben de olmasam sen buradan alışveriş yapamazsın. İşte onun farkında değil. O kadar bilinçli değil."⁹¹

⁸⁹ "You are no more than a cashier, that is, the highest position will ever get. [...] For example, a customer has told me "you cannot argue with me." What does this have to do with anything? Who are you? When I see these people who think and feel that they are better than us I get angry," Yiğit, interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

⁹⁰ "Said weird things (starts to cry)... [...] When you enter into a dialogue, they get angrier. They say many things, for example their hit is "shut up; don't push it." You work there but you have no rights. They are customers and they are always right. And I do have to work therefore I cannot say anything, I cannot argue with them ", Nevin, interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

⁹¹ "You feel like you are unimportant. I have told you before about their style; throwing money at us. There is also this: 'You are working because I have money. If I wouldn't be here you could not be

Some workers said that costumers treated them as though they were invisible, "as a zero"; as if they have a right to do so⁹². Onur's views can also be evaluated in the same framework:

"[...] işte artislik yapacak. Ben yaşadım bunu. Peyniri yüzüme atıyo adam. Al bunu değıştirt diyo ya. Bişey başka şeyin önüne atılır yani. Senin karşıdaki insan sonuçta. O da o ekmek için çalışıyo. [...] Ezerek... yani bazı hitapları, müşterilerin hitapları da çok iyi değıl. Ben duydum, benim arkadaşşıma küfürlü konuşanlar da oldu."⁹³

We can understand from Yasin's statement that workers feel that they are undervalued in the social hierarchy and distinctions. Yasin who works at a store as a butcher expresses that he is unable to reply back to customers when there are problems: "Sana ağzına geleni sayıyo, seni mağaza içinde rezil ediyö, sen hiç bişey söylemiyosun. Karşılık versen sen nolarsun? Karşılık verdin işte sen, hiç bi şekilde kendini aklayamazsın. Çünkü hepsi zengin insanlar. İstese seni anında götürür"⁹⁴ When he gives an example of the behavior of a customer, which is not well taken by others, he added that the others criticized him: "koskoca adam, bi gariban kasiyere

here.' Yes, the customer is right. If there were no customer, I wouldn't be there. But if I am not here he cannot shop. He is unaware. He is not conscious.", Yonca, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

⁹² Sennett (2003: 46) argues that "inequality had translated into doubt of self; that doubt might be partly relieved by attacking the integrity of others ... Still the condition of "not being seen" had produced a desire to avege. Here, then, was one bleak result of the social scarcity of respect". For example Yiğit has told that one of the customers who "felt himself better than the employees" ("kendini yüksekte gören, yüksekte hisseden"), and regarded them as "only cashiers" ("alt tarafı bi kasiyer parçasısın gibi") made him so angry. He has told that he used the fact that customer being transsexual to have the upper hand: "the customer was transsexual. I, err, to make him more mad, he gave me a credit card, and the card had a male name on it, and I asked for his ID". ("müşteri hatta transseksüeldi. Ben, şey, ben de ona gıcık olsun diye, kredi kartı verdi, kredi kartı üstünde erkek ismi yazıyo, kimlik görmek istedim")

⁹³ "[...] they have to be the snobs. I have always experienced this. There was a guy who threw cheese in my face. He throws it to my face and tells me to replace it. This is not a way a human being is treated. I am a human being. The customer also does something for a living. [...] overpower... what I mean is their language with us is not very nice. I have heard it, some of them have sworn to some of my friends", Onur, interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

⁹⁴ "They say whatever they want, they humiliate you in the store, and you are unable to say anything to defend yourself. What happens if you say anything back? If you respond there is no way that you can defend yourself. Because, they are all rich people. If they want, they you will lose your job right away," Yasin, interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

bağırды çağırды. Ne kadar terbiyesizmiş, ne kadar karaktersizmiş.”⁹⁵ That Yasin expresses his feelings by referring to the customer as “koskoca adam” and the cashier as “gariban” is a indicative of distinctions imposed by the society.

What Onur has told us can be taken as a summary of what has been written until now:

"Ben orda hizmet vermek için varım ama bana denilen laf şu: ‘Çabuk ol.’ Böyle bi de böyle küstahça bakışlar, küçümsemeler, küçümsemeleri çok gördüm. Bak işte dedim, önemli noktalardan biri, marketçi misin, işçi misin, yeri gelenler var, yukardan bakıyo, o zaman işte kendini öyle kötü hissediyosun ki, ben işimi yapıyorum kardeşim, ne hırsızlık yapıyorum, ne yolsuzluk yapıyorum. Alnım açık, her zaman dik gezerim. Ama o gelip, müşteri sana şu şekilde bakması yok mu böyle yani kendini yüksekte görerek, bakarak, “şunu versene” böyle surat yaparak veya bişey isterken “şuna bak ya, nası böyle bişey mi olur?” beğenmiyor yani. Ürünü beğenmiyor yani ama ürünü beğenmediği için değil. Orda bir tafra yapmak istiyor. Çünkü o kendini öyle hissettirmek istiyor, iyi hissettirmek istiyor. Çünkü “benim param var,” diyo yani ürünü beğenmediği için değil o. Kendini yüksek göstermek için”⁹⁶

Workers have express for numerous times their grief because of belittlement and/or being ignored. Some examples were customers who "have felt or seen themselves more important"⁹⁷, "have thrown money in front of them as if they were throwing food in front of dogs."⁹⁸, "have regarded them as “slaves who for with their money”⁹⁹

⁹⁵ “This *important man* has yelled to this *poor* cashier. How immoral, what a character ", Yasin, interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

⁹⁶ "I am there to give services but all they do is to cause problems; they tell me this: “Hurry up.” And they have this arrogant, pitying, undervaluing look on their faces; I especially feel undervalued a lot. As I said before if you are an employee at a store or if you are a worker they undervalue you; but I am not stealing or doing anything illegal. I am only trying to do my job. I am proud. But when a customer approaches with this undervaluing, pitying attitude towards me... They don’t like a product and say “look at this, what a garbage this is”, OK they may not like the product but the attitude is not towards product. The attitude is like that because they like to behave that way because they want to feel that way they want to feel better. They say that “I have the money” it is not because they don’t like the product. Only to feel at a higher position than others,” Onur, interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

⁹⁷ "kendini yüksekte gören, yüksekte hisseden”, Yiğit, interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

⁹⁸ “köpeğin önüne yem atar gibi önlerine parayı fırlatması”. Here, similar to Erdoğan’s suggestion related with the poor, the employees expressing the roles assigned them in the social hierarchy with bestial metaphors is notable. This situation shows that the social-class hierarchy is viewed in a disgust and humiliation relation (see Erdoğan, 2001: 44).

and "have humiliated"¹⁰⁰ them, "have yelled as 'you cannot argue with me'"¹⁰¹, "have left without thanking"¹⁰², "have looked at them with a pitying look as if they were saying 'you are only a cashier'"¹⁰³.

That social hierarchy and distinctions are taken as a matter of self-esteem and can also be observed in their narratives about their relations with their managers. There were employees who indicated that the main problems were to be insulted or even physically abused in front of others, which made them feel even worse. For example Türkan told that:

“O kadar insan içinde rencide ediliyorsun yani. Tamam, belki suçluyum ama, seni düzgünce uyarabilir, bir kenara alıp söyleyebilir. Sonuçta salak değilim, hatamı anlarım. O benim sınırimi bozmuştu. [...] Herkes içinde seni küçük düşürüyordu yani, ‘kasiyersin’ falan gibisinden yani. O zoruma gitmişti”¹⁰⁴

Similarly, Gülcan has stated that his friend has been physically abused by his boss because the shuttle service vehicle was damaged in an accident:

“Düşünsene, oğlan (servis şoförü) kaza yapmış, yani vurmuş, öyle çok büyük bir hasar felan yok. Oğlana öyle bir tokat attı ki, o kadar insanın içinde, marketin içinde düşün bi de. ... O tokadı vurunca bir kıpkırmızı oldu. Ne gıkı çıkabildi, ne bi şey yapabildi, ekmek ihtiyacı var. O öyle geçti gitti ama ben o kadar kötü oldum [...] Çok üzüldüm. Yani ona yapılan bana da yapılmış oluyor. Yani aynısını bana da yapar. Yaptığı da oluyor yani. Kızlara da tokat atıyordu”¹⁰⁵

⁹⁹ “parasıyla çalıştırdığı bi köle gibi,” Meryem, interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

¹⁰⁰ “çok küçülmüş hissettirmesi, aşağı görmesi,” Nilgün, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

¹⁰¹ “benimle tartışamazsın”, Yigit, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

¹⁰² “Eyvallah, eline sağlık bile demeyip, çekip gitmesi,”Nuri, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

¹⁰³ “alt tarafı bi kasiyer parçasısın”, Yigit, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

¹⁰⁴ "They insult you while there are many people around. OK, maybe I was wrong, but they can politely warn you in private. Of course, I am not stupid, I will understand my fault. It made me feel very bad. [...] Humiliation when everyone is around, “you are a cashier”... It made me feel very bad," Türkan, interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

¹⁰⁵ “Think about it the boy (the shuttle service driver) hit the car, but there is no big damage. The boss slapped the guy so hard, and there were many people around, he slapped him in the store. ... My friend became completely red when he was slapped. But he couldn’t even say a word because he needs to

In these examples, it is clear that if the class differences are also as a matter of self-esteem, then in order not to lose their feeling of dignity, workers don't want to be rebuked and humiliated in front of others.

I have brought to light store workers being abused by customers and that they felt unimportant and insulted because of their job. It can be also said that they feel injustice as we can see in the outbreak of Nevin: "Niye hep ben, niye hep haksızlığa uğrayan ben oluyorum dedim kendime. Yani, hep kaderime şey yapıyorum isyan ediyorum"¹⁰⁶

However, it is not possible to say that store workers are trivializing the importance of their job and internalizing the view of the customers. Yonca says: "Ben ne iş yapıyorum da yani bu kadar kötü görülüyorum. Hâlbuki orda yaptığım iş... Kasiyer olmadan market olmaz. ... Zincir koptu mu komple sistem çöküyo... Müşteri olmazsa sen olmazsın. Ama ben de olmazsam sen buradan alışveriş yapamazsın."¹⁰⁷; Onur says: "ben işimi yapıyorum kardeşim, ne hırsızlık yapıyorum, ne yolsuzluk yapıyorum. Alnım açık, her zaman dik gezerim"¹⁰⁸; Nevin says: "Tezgâhtar olsun ya da kasiyer olsun, onların gözünde çok basit bir meslek; ama ben öyle düşünmüyorum. Eğer namusumla çalışıyorsam..."¹⁰⁹; Zehra says: "Pozisyonumuz

work. That happened like that but I felt really bad [...] I was very sorry. What is done to him is also done to me. I mean he can also slap me now. That happens. I saw him slapping other girls too," Gülcan, interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

¹⁰⁶ "I have asked myself, why it is always me who is ill treated. It is my destiny and I cannot take it anymore," Nevin, interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

¹⁰⁷ "What is it that I do that makes these people hate me? There wouldn't be a store without cashiers. ...When the chain is broken the system falls apart as a whole and people do not understand it... If there is no customer, I wouldn't be there. But if I am not here they cannot shop," Yonca, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

¹⁰⁸ "I am doing my job, I am not stealing, or doing anything illegal, I am only trying to do my job. I am proud", Onur, interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

¹⁰⁹ "They think that being a salesperson or cashier is simple; I don't feel the same. If I work with honesty..." Nevin, interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

farklı olabilir. Ben orda çalışan işçi olabilirim, o daha iyi şartlarda yetişmiştir, parası pulu vardır, pozisyonu iyi olabilir. Ama benim üzerimde bir üstünlük sağlayamaz”¹¹⁰

These views are objections against the debasing views of customers. This situation can also be evaluated together with the pride in not being dependent on others. Sennett expressed that “the hard human edge which eschews neediness and emphasizes self-sufficiency brings respect in the eyes of other and breeds self-respect” (Sennett, 2003: 101). The job being the source for both pride and abuse is paradoxical for the workers. It is worth considering the connection of the objection with the emphasis given on “honesty” as a moral value:

“... as the historian Johann Huizinga reminds us, the absolute moral value put on work, the supremacy of work over leisure, the fear of wasting time, of being unproductive - this is a value which only takes hold of all society, the rich as well as poor, in the nineteenth century. Liberalism's respected adult worked.” (Sennett, 2003: 109).

Although workers always have to adapt their behavior to suit the requirements of customers' expectations, they told that it is impossible for them to behave cautiously. For instance, Nilgün depicted that after so many threatening words of a customer; she threw roll of the till over a female customer and started to cry. She told her supervisor that she wanted to resign because she did not want to "indulge customer's whims" anymore. But after a while she returned to work and heard that the customer had said behind her back "you are only a cashier”.

In this sense, the furious and misbehaved customer should be seen as a systematic part of the social relations of service work and this causes real and great pain for many service workers.

“It is true that, quite apart from the influence of the hegemonic discourse, the asymmetrical nature of the consumer-worker relationship can generate these

¹¹⁰ “Our position can be different. I can be a worker there; and maybe the customer is raised in better conditions, they may have the money or may be in important positions. But they are not superior to me,” Zehra, interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

pathologies. The act of being rude to a shop assistant does not endanger the customer's livelihood, whereas replying in kind and/or refusing to be deferential might endanger the shop assistant's livelihood, especially when the employment is precarious. But the hegemonic discourse encourages us as consumers to make demands on workers while simultaneously discouraging us from considering the stress or loss of dignity we may thus cause. It might even play a role in creating an environment in which some feel sufficiently emboldened to express their consumer sovereignty through violence" (Fleetwood, 94: 8).

In this sense, as Fleetwood (1994) points out, the ethos of consumer sovereignty and the customer-driven firm creates an atmosphere in which the 'customer is always right' and the worker is forced to subordinate in the customer-store worker relation. By this way, the worker may lose dignity and self-respect, may be humiliated, and may even be expected to put up with being humiliated. This explanation runs parallel with the argument of Sennett and Cobb (1993: 54) that: "... the strong still oppress the weak not only because they can, but because they feel entitled to do so." This causes an asymmetrical characteristic of the consumer-worker relationship, and it can be observed in the way of addressing the customer as "*beyefendi*", and "*hanfendi*". According to Scott (1995:60), one of the asymmetrical addressing way which is used by the ruling class is *evlat* or to call them by their first names. The way of the subordinated class is to address the the higher class as "sir." The attitude of Mustafa, who works at the butcher section of the store, towards customers can be an example: "Oluyo, sorunlar oluyo. Ama biz abla diyoz, yaşlıysa teyze diyoz. Acaba şikayet etme falan olursa diye korkuyoruz, iyi davranmaya çalışıyoruz"¹¹¹

In conclusion, it can easily observed from many narratives of workers that workers experience social distinctions in a vertical and hierarchical perspective assuming that they are treated as inferior. Their overemphasis on humiliating and insulting behaviours make us think that these behaviors are performed by the majority of consumers. Thus, humiliation and maltreatment have become a part of the job of store workers, and these conditions have increased need for respect and self-esteem.

¹¹¹ "Yes, there are problems. But we approach the customers with respect by call them the sister, the aunt. We fear that they may place a complaint and therefore we try to be nice to them," Barış, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

However, it is not possible to say that the store workers are trivializing the importance of their job nor internalizing the perspectives of customers. This situation can also be evaluated together with the pride in not being dependent on others. The job being the source for both pride and abuse is paradoxical for the workers.

3.1.2. Coping with Discourtesy of Consumers

Above, it has been argued that most of the store workers I interviewed frequently complained about the degrading and humiliating feature of the relationship between workers and costumers. However, it does not mean that workers are entirely passive and do not have strategies of responding to unsuitable or bad-mannered customers. The Retailchoice (2005) survey reveals several possible responses: "mild sarcasm; overcharging; deliberately losing paperwork in order to delay the customer even further; finding a customer's registration number and damaging their car later; running credit cards over the electronic de-tagger in order to render them useless; and spitting in a customer's mashed potato and rolling their sausages on the floor before serving them. While perhaps understandable, such responses are hardly conducive to human flourishing on the part of the worker (and clearly not on the part of the consumer), and would result in disciplinary action from the employer if the employee was caught" (Fleetwood, 1994: 11).

However, compared with these responses, those of the store workers who were interviewed do not include giving physical damage to the costumers and were difficult to recognize. In that regard, the cashier Nurcan told that if a customer is bad-mannered, she just does not want to help them:

“Reyon aralarında bazen dolaşıyoruz. İşte bi şey soruyolar mesela, o anda istesen yardımcı olabilirsin ama soruş tarzından dolayı... o konunun şeyi de sen değilsin, reyoncusu sen değilsin atıyorum, yardım edebileceğin bir şey ama sırf o kişinin tavrı yüzünden diyosun ki, git müşteri hizmetlerinden ilgili kişiyi anonos etsinler, ordan yardımcı olsunlar. Yani o tarz olabilir. Yapiyorum da bunu”¹¹²

¹¹² “Sometimes we walk around the sections. They ask us things and you can help them if you want to, but their snobby way... and for example even if you are not responsible for the sections you can

Elvan told that when a rude customer ordered her to be quick, she deliberately behaved slowly:

“Bi de ürünleri paldır küldür alıp kasanın önüne atıyorlar. Çabuk geçer misin şunları diyorlar, acelem var çabuk geç. Sen kimsin? Böyle dengesiz insanlarla ben aheste aheste kasadan geçiriyorum. Sırf ki inadına geçiriyorum. Bunu bana yapanı ben de yavaş yavaş geçiriyorum”¹¹³

As Leidner (1993) argues the routinization of interactive service work "makes individuality, authenticity and identity everyday concerns" (cited in Wharton, 1996: 179). In particular, when their interactions are scripted by employers, workers may experience a disjuncture between "their sense of themselves and the identity their job conferred on them" and thus must seek ways to reconcile this discrepancy (cited in Wharton, 1996: 182).

If workers interactions with customers are planned beforehand, then it can be possible to say that workers cannot act spontaneously and sometimes have to hide their real feelings. In this sense, the store workers' "structure of feeling" has a double timing when social-class hierarchy and cultural classification schemes are considered, as Erdoğan expressed for the poor (2002: 49): The time of real self and the time of acting self, the passive and quiet real self in contrast to the active and acting self. The split of the real person and the performing individual seems to be very close to the kind of divided selfhood psychiatrists call schizophrenia (Sennett and Cobb, 1993: 206). However, as Sennett and Cobb (1993) point out, dividing the self into the real person and the performing individual is a defense against the pain a person would feel otherwise, if he had to submit the whole of self to a society that makes his position a vulnerable and anxiety-laden one. In this sense, dividing the self

provide help, but their attitude towards you, makes you tell them to go to customer relations desk and have the responsible person announced. That is what happens. I do this", Nurcan, interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

¹¹³ "They also throw all their goods in front of the cashier. They tell us to hurry up, "I am in a hurry," they say. Who are you? When I encounter these types of people, I do my job slowly. Deliberately, I deliberately work slowly because of their behavior," Elvan, interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

in terms of real me and performing me has not much in common with the agony that is involved in schizophrenic experience (Sennett and Cobb, 1993: 208). Otherwise, these difficult situations result in disciplinary actions from the manager or supervisor, and in extreme cases, the loss of employment.

Fatos indicated that they suffer in a different way when they do not act against insults in order not to lose their jobs:

“O daha da bunaltıyor. Böyle içine atıyorsun ya. O zaman da noluyor biliyor musun? Hani, kendine zarar veriyorsun ve ailene zarar veriyorsun, etrafındakilere zarar veriyorsun. O sinirle gidiyorsun yani, o sinirin olduğunun farkında değilsin ya, için dolu oluyor, atıyorsun ya her şeyi içine, hiç olmadık bir sebeple mesela arkadaşınla kavga ediyorsun.”¹¹⁴

Workers, who are expected to always have a smile on their faces and never argue with customers, have indicated that they are not comfortable with this:

“O nasıl olacak ki. Yani bir gün bir müşteri geliyor öyle bir şey yapıyor ki, bırak o gün, o hafta gülemiyorsun! İşte o benim anlattığım olay işte. Müşteri gelip sana ‘sen benim paramla buradasın, çalışmak zorundasın, işini doğru yap’ dediği zaman kötü hissediyorsun. Sürekli olarak ister istemez... Mesela kendi sorunların da oluyor, onları da yansıtıyorsun. Ya yansıtıyorsun insanız ya sonuçta! Bize hep şey denirdi mesela, ‘kapıdan girerken bırakacaksınız, çıkarken alıp gideceksin’. O olmaz ki! Mümkün değil yani, ben buna inanmıyorum”¹¹⁵

Nurcan told that training programmes of their firm which were mostly about being friendliness and smiling to the customers are useless, because:

¹¹⁴ “That is more depressing. When you endure in silence... You know what happens then? You hurt yourself, you hurt your family, and you hurt the people around you. You act with that kind of mentality, you are unaware that there is anger in you, and that anger keeps growing and at one point you start to fight with your for example friend over nothing,” Fatos, interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

¹¹⁵ “How could one do it? For example a customer comes in and does something and then it becomes impossible to have a smile on my face! You know what I have told you. You feel very bad when a customer comes and tells you “you are here because of my money, you have to work, and do it right”. Unintentionally... you may be in a different mood than what is expected, you may have personal problems. You are a human being after all! They have always told us “you have to leave it outside when you enter the building, and you have to take it back when you are leaving the building.” But how can it be possible! It is not possible, I do not believe it,” Fatos, interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

"Ama bunun için de eğitim değil koşulların iyi olursa güler yüzlü oluyorsun. Atıyorum, biz kasada çalıştığımız zaman yemeğe gidemiyorduk veya molaya gidemiyorduk. Atıyorum, tuvalete gideceğimiz zaman müdür yardımcısından izin istiyorduk tuvalete gidelim diye. Sonuçta bi insanı o kadar saat kasada bağlarsan nasıl güler yüzlü olur ya da güler yüzlü olursa ne kadar gerçekçi olur. Öyle yani, hani eğitimin çok fazla bi şeyi olmuyor, eğitim veriyorlar ama çok fazla etkisi olmuyordu eğitimin"¹¹⁶

For example, Eray who worked at the butcher department in a store notes that even if he believes he is right he never argues because of the policy that says, "the customer is always right":

"Ha otomatikman orda şey yapıyo, Çok karamsar hissediyorum. Ezik durumuna düşüyorsunuz. Sonuçta o bi müşteri yani. Ne söylese haklı. Hani bi laf vardır ya, müşteri her zaman haklıdır. Hep bunlar haklı, hiç personel de haklı olmuyo"¹¹⁷

Yiğit, who works in the store as a salesman also indicates discomfort related with the issue:

"'Müşteri tartışacağımız bir kişi değildir'. Yani sözleşmede bu var. O yüzden müşteriye karşılık verdiğimiz zaman ne kadar haklı olursak olalım, isterse müşteri bizim üzerimize yürüsün, isterse bize yumruk atsın, biz ona karşılık verdiğimiz zaman suçluyuz"¹¹⁸

¹¹⁶ "But to have a smile you have to live in good conditions, it doesn't have to do anything with education. For example, when we work at the cashier's desk we were unable to go to lunch or have a break. For example we had to ask for the permission of the vice manager to go to the toilet. How on earth do they expect us to have a smile on our faces while we are standing in the cashiers' desk for all day long, and would the smile be realistic even if we could smile? This is it, they also trained us but training doesn't have to do anything with it," Nurcan, interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

¹¹⁷ "The customer does something there which makes me very unhappy. You are belittled. But they are our customers. They are always right whatever they say. There is a saying "the customer is always right. Always the customer is right the workers can never be right," Eray, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

¹¹⁸ "You do not have a single chance to respond a client. In the contract we sign, there is this clause: 'A customer is not a person you argue with. You see it is in the contract. Therefore, in case we argue with a client it doesn't matter if we are right, they can threaten us, they can punch us, if we stand up it is our fault. Müşteriye kesinlikle karşılık veremiyosun. İmzaladığımız sözleşmede şöyle bi şey var," Yiğit, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

Ayhan, who works at the delicatessen section also expressed: “müşteri her zaman haklı. Ağzım bir şey söylemez, gözlerim konuşur,”¹¹⁹

In Reynolds and Harris (2006) research, informants report ignoring incidences of disrespectful customer behavior due to the fear that such actions may result in them being subjected to disciplinary procedures or, eventually, removal. For example:

All I want to do is just give them a slap and tell them what I really think of them, but I can't. If I do that I will lose my job, so I just ignore it and try and get on with my day. (Female, age 35, 16 years experience)

Similar points have been expressed many times by store workers in Turkey as well.

Some examples:

"Bağırımıyosun. İçinden bişeyler diyosun. Kulaklarımı çınlatıyosun artık. O şöyle bi şey: Kendini işe veriyosun ya."¹²⁰

"Ama bana karşı dik olanlara, bana karşı dengesizce davrananlara ben de elimden geldiği kadarıyla muhatap olmayarak yanıt veriyorum. Ne iyi akşamlar diliyorum, ne hoşgeldiniz diyorum, hiçbir şey yapmıyorum."¹²¹

"Ama işte alttan alacan. Bekleyince deli olur bunlar. Alacan bunu, poşetlerini toplayacan, arabaya koyup gönderecen"¹²²

"Benim bi sorumluluğum var. Evim kira, 3 tane çocuk okuyo. Hani ben bu riske giremem. Öyle olduğu zaman müşteri ne derse mümkün olduğu kadar sesimizi kesiyoruz yani"¹²³

¹¹⁹ "The customer is always right. My lips won't say a word but my eyes will tell a lot" Ayhan, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

¹²⁰ "You cannot yell. You say what you have to say in your mind. You continue to argue with them in your dreams. You have to keep going and you continue to do your work," Onur, interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

¹²¹ "But I give my answer by ignoring the customers, who are rude, who are snobs, as much as I can. I do not tell them good evening, I do not tell them hello, I don't do anything for them," Nurcan, interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

¹²² "But you have to be humble. They get crazy when they are given service slowly. You should take one, help him with his bags, and send him away to his home," Ayten, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

¹²³ "I have a responsibility. I rent an apartment; I have three kids who go to school. I cannot take the risk. When something happens, you have to shut up as long as it is possible," Metin, interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

Sevim felt a great sorrow because a customer, at the age of her daughter, has humiliated her because the customer was impatient:

“Ben 35 yaşındayım benim iki çocuğum var ki, kızım onun yaşına çok yakın... Beyefendi dedi, onlar işte böyle yaptıkları için dedi, biz böyle tartışıyoruz aramızda, oysaki hepimize hizmet etmek mecburiyetindeler onlar dedi. Ya ben orada, boğazıma bir şeyler düğümlendi tamam mı? Çok da yorulmuştum zaten, arife miydi, arifeden bir gün önce miydi neydi. Ne hissettim biliyor musun? O şapkayı, önlüğü, eldiveni oraya fırlatıp, çıkıp gitmek istedim yani! Lanet olsun dedim ya, yani daha küçük bir çocuk o ve beni orada hizmetçi gibi görüyor, hepimize hizmet etmek zorundalar ve annesi de onu uyarmadı biliyor musun? Benim kızım öyle bir şey yapsa, hemen müdahale ederim, sen ne biçim konuşuyorsun diye... Ondan sonra, onları hemen, neyse hallettim işlerini, gönderdim. Sonra soyunma odasına çıktım, sandalyeye oturdum, yaklaşık 40-45 dakika ağladım”¹²⁴

The sorrow Sevim has expressed because of a customer at the age of her daughter has seen her like a servant has been expressed by many people interviewed. For example, Yonca also feels that customers regard them as “slaves.” This can be attributed to the fact that a human being serving another is not taken naturally. One of the strategies of the employees to overcome the problem is to create imaginary kinship with some customers: “Abi kardeş olduğumuz müşterilerimiz de çok.”¹²⁵

However, different from ignoring, some employees also adopt the tactic of “using emotional labor,”¹²⁶ referring to employees feigning emotional display in order to

¹²⁴ “I am thirty five years old and I have two children and my daughter is almost at the same age with her... the customer said to a man 'we argue because of them but they are required to serve all of us'. I almost started to cry there, do you understand? I was already too tired, it was a day before the religious holiday, I believe. Do you know what I wanted to do? I wanted to take out and throw my cap, my apron, and my gloves to the ground and wanted to leave the place! I said damn, this is a little girl and sees me like her servant, they are required to serve us all she says, and even her mother did not warn her to be polite, do you know? If my daughter would do something similar I would intervene right away, I would say how you could talk like this... After that, I helped them and they have left. Then I went to the changing room, set down the chair and cried for 40-45 minutes,” Sevim, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

¹²⁵ “but there are also many customers who are like brothers and sisters to us”

¹²⁶ Kenny (2004) referred that writers had discovered the service sector and thus they have redefined relation between capital and labour as regards the equation of control and resistance between two. What is new in this definition is that there is here an aspect of the service-the third party of the customer. The study of Hochschild (1983) concerning airline hostesses explained that there are strict controls over service workers such as controlling their emotions, facial gestures, appearance, their

cope with occurrences of deviant customer behavior. This tactic depicts activities by employees to diffuse and psychologically distance themselves from episodes of deviant customer behavior through faking sincerity and empathy. For example, faking sincerity through smiling, acting in a polite manner, and nodding in agreement with the deviant (Reynolds and Harris, 2006). According to Reynolds and Harris (2006), this is akin to what Hochschild (1983) calls “surface acting.” Sturdy proposes that, in some cases, the implementation of customer orientation may occur merely on a superficial level wherein employees are “smiling but not meaning it” (1998, p. 32, cited in Reynolds and Harris, 2006: 96)

Two employees' explanation from Reynolds and Harris research were as follows:

You just detach yourself and act all obedient. You put on a big cheesy grin, and hope that by agreeing with them, they will calm down. (Male, age 45, 17 years experience)

If I saw him [the customer] in the street, I would love to punch him on the nose. But you can't, so I have to fake. You have to be polite and apologize, smile, and keep them happy. (Female, age 29, six years experience)

There were few examples of faking sincerity through smiling from my study. Generally, workers said that they kept silent. However, Eray used the same expressions with the example above for a customer that made him angry by insulting him and exclaiming “*artıslık yapma*”:

“Şunun, dedim, ağzını burnunu bi dağıtayım. Mağaza içerisinde de yasak, biliyon mu? Mağaza içerisinde müşteriyle tartışmak yasak da, mağazanın dışında olsa girersin yani. İçerde olduğun zaman bi şey diyemiyosun”¹²⁷

body language and so forth. With her concept, namely, ‘emotional labour’ she defined that the workers not only have the job for selling but also they create a particular emotional state over the customer. This emotional state is a part of the product which then is sold to the customer (Kenny, 2004).

¹²⁷ “I told them to shut up and I was going to beat him up. But it is not possible in the store, you know? It is not possible to argue with a customer in the store but if it would be outside you can beat him up. You don't have the chance to say anything inside the store,” Eray, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

We can recognize the same tactic in the words of Ayten: "Ses çıkaramıyoz ki zaten, hepimiz susmak zorunda kalıyoz, tamam diyo haklısın, müşteriye yumuşatıyoz gönderiyoz, haksız da olsa haklısın diyoz"¹²⁸

Reynolds and Harris (2006) report that using emotional labour is very common. They add that, however, respondents further report experiencing feelings of frustration and fatigue from having to feign positive emotions and force smiles. For example:

Parallel to explanation of Sennett and Cobb, Reynolds and Harris (2006) assert that these findings indicate that customer contact employees are adopting a differentiated moral code in their work and nonwork lives. That is, they explain, for understandable instrumental reasons (fear of job loss and physical harm), employees lower their level of moral sensitivity significantly below that which they would usually assume in a nonworking environment. Indeed, many of those who adopt this tactic recognize a distinctive difference between their work and nonwork personas. This finding is consistent with that of Sosteric (1996), who, in examining the labor processes of nightclub employees, reveals evidence of a conflict between management's espoused customer service policies and the employees' "sense of themselves." (Reynolds and Harris, 2006: 102)

Another common coping tactic is talking to colleagues. Workers engage in discussions with their fellow employees regarding episodes of bad-mannered customer behavior they have encountered (Reynolds and Harris, 2006). Korczynski (2003) suggests that in recoiling from, and coping with, these painful situations service workers are likely to seek support from each other, thus creating *communities of coping*. These communities of coping are likely to be informal, but may constitute a crucial part of the social relations into a variety of front-line jobs which shows that workers do tend to cope communally and socially. Mennerick (1974) has suggested

¹²⁸ "We are not able to tell them anything, we have to keep quiet, we tell them that it is OK they are right, we make them feel better and send them home, even if we are right we tell that they are the ones who are right", Ayten, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

that the collective informal creation of client typologies among front-line staff functions as a method of coping in the job (see also Blau, 1974: 181-2; cited in Korczynski, 2003). Sutton's (1991) study of dept collectors at work showed that desk-thumping and cursing was used as a signal for the *sharing* of experiences (cited in Korczynski, 2003). Communities of coping may be formed during the labour process, or may occur in 'off-stage' areas. As Fineman and Sturdy (2001: 146) note:

Rest rooms, galleys, corridors and other 'off-stage' areas provide an opportunity for employees to drop their corporate mask, free from the scrutiny of supervisors and customers' undesirable' emotions, such as fear, anger, hurt and frustration can be vented or expressed... in the presence of a 'willing' audience of colleagues (cited in Korczynski, 2003).

Reynolds and Harris (2006) claim that examples of such informal group discussions appear to not only offer employees a source of emotional and psychological support, but such discussions also seem to provide employees a forum in which, through sharing their experiences, they can learn effective tactics of dealing with deviant customer behaviors.

Similiarly, in this study some store workers told that they shared the experiences with their colleagues and talked behind the customers' back:

"Hıhı, zaten şeylerimiz hep aynı, ama hani diğer insanlar biraz daha böyle dışa atıyorlar, arkalarından laf söylüyorlar, bilmem ne. O an için rahatlıyorlar. Sorunlarımız zaten hep ortak, hep aynı. Sonuçta aynı müşterilerle karşı karşıya geliyoruz. Hani insanların tepkileri farklı olduğu için bi şekilde dışa yansıtıp işte geliyor veya başka birisine anlatıyor veya işte atıyorum arkasından küfrediyor, rahatlıyor felan."¹²⁹

These findings are compatible with Scott's (1990) terms *public transcript* and *hidden transcript*: the term *public transcript* describes the open, public interactions between

¹²⁹ "Yeah, of course, we have the similar problems, but some keep them in some put them out, they do bunch of things. And they feel comfortable for that moment. Our problems are all similar or the same. We almost see the same customers all the time. People have different reactions in different situations, some attack you, some tell their problems to others or some swore after you leave and feel better," Nurcan, interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

dominators and oppressed and the term *hidden transcript* for the critique of power that goes on offstage, which power holders do not see or hear. According to Scott, the practices of domination and exploitation include insult and disrespect to human dignity, which raises the *hidden transcript* of the dominated.

Lastly, Harris and Reynolds (2004) find that service employees are more likely to become what they label “dysfunctional customers,” because such employees witness the deviant acts of customers. This finding, when matched with the current study, suggests the possibility that constant exposure to deviant acts by customers desensitizes or educates employees to the extent that they become deviant customers. In this regard, it could be argued that deviant customer behavior is a self-perpetuating, vicious cycle (p. 108) On the contrary; the workers I interviewed told that they were more sensible to the workers who work in the store they visit for shopping. The reason is clear in Yasin's explanation: "insan kendisine nasıl davranılmasını isterse başkasına da öyle davranır."¹³⁰.

Nurcan shows empathy to workers who work in the market she shops: "Ben özellikle dikkat ediyorum ama biraz da yaşadığım için elimden geldiği kadar yardımcı olmaya çalışıyorum kasiyere. Bozuk para falan hazırlıyorum gitmeden önce marketlerde gerçekten de."¹³¹

Asiye also develops empathy to workers:

"Herkesin sıkıntısı vardır, ihtiyacı vardır o yüzden çalışıyordur, sonuçta ben şahsen [kıllık] yapmam yani. Sonuçta ben de gidiyorum markete, sadece çalıştığım yere değil başka marketlere de gidiyorum, orda çalışanları gördüğüm zaman kendim aklıma geliyor, direk ben bi şey yaptığım zaman ya da ters bi şey söylediğim

¹³⁰ "a person should treat others they way he wants to be treated," Yasin, interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

¹³¹ "I give this very high importance but maybe because I experienced similar things therefore I try to help cashiers. For example I really do prepare change coins in advance before I visit a store," Nurcan, interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

zaman, yapamam çünkü ben de çalışıyorum, başka birisi de bana aynı şekilde, ters bi şekilde gelse, benim de canım sıkılır, o yüzden, bilmiyorum sadece sinir bozucu"¹³²

Zehra also is very careful because she is aware of the hard working conditions of the stores:

"Ben mesela oraya gidip çalışmadan önce bilemezdim oradaki insanların ne kadar zor şartlarda çalıştığını ama oraya girince iş değişti. Şimdi mesela bakış açım çok farklı oldu. Gidiyorum şimdi mesela... önceden alışveriş yaptığımda direk geçtim ama şimdi duruyorum bi kolay gelsin, nabıyosunuz, nasılsınız demek bile o insanlara bişey veriyo yani. Birçok insan bunu fark edemez ama... [...] Elimden geldiğince iyi davranmaya çalışıyorum. Kasa olsun, reyon olsun, selam vermeye çalışıyorum. Yani insanlar fark etmiyor ama yokmuş gibi önünden geçmek insanı üzüyor"¹³³

As a conclusion, interviewees of this study have many coping strategies for responding to disrespectful customers. This study reveals some possible responses: ignoring their demands through various ways (to behave slowly when they order them to be fast); not answering; not smiling and frowning down; using emotional labour through faking sincerity and empathy; dividing the self as the real person and performing individual; creating "communities of coping", namely talking to colleagues and getting support from each other; swearing or ridiculing them behind their back.

Scott (1990) accepts the 'hidden transcript' of the dominated as a 'hidden resistance'. Yet, aforementioned coping tactics cannot be thought as practices of resistance, since they do not aim at power relations in workplaces. However, these practices should not be evaluated by reducing them to, as Erdoğan (2002) puts it when explaining the

¹³² "Everyone has a problem, and everyone works because he has to work, I never would treat a person with disrespect. I also go to the stores and I remember myself working in a store, and I cannot treat an employee with disrespect because I know if something bad happens I would feel very bad, I know this so I cannot act like a snob", Asiye, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

¹³³ "I didn't know how hard it was to work there before I started to work in a similar place, but you learn when you start to work there. I have a completely different viewpoint now. For example I go there now... if it was before I wouldn't do anything but now I stop there I ask how they are, tell them to have a good day, and this makes a huge difference. Many people don't know the difference... [...] I try to be as nice as I can. I try to say hi everywhere be it the cashiers' area or the departments in the store. People don't know this but it makes the employees unhappy to pass by without saying hi", Zehra, interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

ideological place of the poor-subaltern subjects, “reliance / insurgence, passiveness / activeness or adoption / disapproval”. These are related with the art of making do composed of singular, fragmental and heterogeneous units; including watching the gaps that are caused by the rulers and opportunities to infiltrate into the others’ area "to live in the place of the other", "to escape without leaving" etc." (de Certeau, 1984; cited in Erdoğan, 2002: 28). Erdoğan (2002) suggests that the art of making do by urban poor is done in Turkey by using illegal electricity, street trading etc. In this framework "the art of making do is not a protest or a public and collective rebellion but is a quite, hard to notice, unsystematic independent event to take direct results, to cope with the situation and to survive" (Erdoğan, 2002: 28).

Once again, I want to emphasize that the workers I interviewed told that they were sensible to the workers who work in the stores they go for shopping. That is to say, workers have not become bad-mannered customers towards workers when they go to another store in order to buy some goods.

3.1.3. The Forms of Distinguishing Consumers

Above was given information on the store workers’ problems in their relations with customers and how these problems are being taken as a self-esteem issue by the workers. Thereafter strategies developed by employees to cope with the insulting and discreditable treatment of customers have been explained with examples. Hereafter, the aforementioned treatment will be analyzed to understand which particular behavior is attributed to which customer and which customers are more respectful to workers.

As we know Bourdieu extends the idea of capital to all forms of power, whether they be material, cultural, social, or symbolic (Swartz, 1997). In this context, this subheading attempts to analyze which types of capital the interviewed workers refer to when they designate the class differences which appear in their relations with customers and workers, and also within which maps of meaning they describe their

customers; that is, if they apprehend them through dualities such as illiterate / educated, poor / rich, cultured / uncultured.

The store workers that I have spoken with have frequently answered my questions related with customers based on their individual experiences. Therefore, it is possible to say that their representations of the customers are empirical. When asked how customers behave, most workers said that: “some are good, some are bad”. This situation is also valid for the rich costumers' representations: “*bilinçlisi de var, kendini bilmeyeni de var*”¹³⁴

Eray, who works at the store B classifies customers as: “bazıları iyi oluyo, bazıları kötü. Zengin türleri var, orta halli durumlu var, biraz daha düşük durumda olanlar var.”¹³⁵ When Eray is asked which group treats the workers the best way, he explains: “zengin türleri ile düşük türlü olanlar”¹³⁶ He explains this as:

“En alt kısmı şey olduğu için, işçi kısmı olduğu için sen anlıyorsun yani karşındakinin ne tür şartlarda çalıştığını. Zenginler pek şey yapmıyo, onlar ne söylerse tabi tabi diyon. Zaten onlar biraz şey konuşuyolar, biraz daha konuşma stilleri farklı, ne diyeyim ben sana, daha kibar daha nazik. Orta halliler de biraz şey oluyo, daha böyle, ne bileyim, kendini bilmezler de var, kabalar var.”¹³⁷

For Eray rich people are highly educated and middle class are ignorant and they are the ones, who behave as: “*paralarıyla seni satın alacak gibi davrananlar*”¹³⁸; the one who earn the least are the elderly or retired workers and they behave polite.

¹³⁴ "There is consious ones as well as presumptuous ones."

¹³⁵ “Some of them are good people and some of them are bad. There are rich types. There are middle classes and there are a little bit poorer customers,"Eray, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

¹³⁶ “The rich, the middling and the ones who are not doing well”, Eray, interviewed in Ankara, 2007

¹³⁷“The ones, who are not doing so well, are workers and they understood you and the conditions you work in. The rich customers do not do anything, they tell you things, and you say OK OK. They also talk a little bit different, they have a different speech style, and I don’t know how to put this right, they are a bit more polite and gentle. The middle class are a bit like..., like, I don’t know, there are some who are rude and there are some who are vulgar,” Eray, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

¹³⁸ “they can purchase you with their money,” Eray, interviewed in Ankara, 2007

According to Yonca, who works at the bakery of E store, the customers who humiliate workers are “*sonradan görme*”¹³⁹ as she puts it. It seems like these people who do not show any respect for them seems to increase the distress because they also work at a place:

“Kendisi de bi yerde çalışıyo mutlaka. Kendisi de çalışan ama işte insanlar şey bazında bakıyo, maaş bazında bakıyo, az alıyosan senin işin önemsenmiyor, ne iş yaparsan yap, senin işin önemsenmiyor. Zor yani market, tekrar elimde olsa asla markete girmem.”¹⁴⁰

"sonuçta ben de insanım, ben de hata yapabilirim, ki hata yapmam çok doğal çünkü çok kalabalık. Ve şunu düşündüm, insanlar burdan alışveriş yapıyor, onlar da sonuçta bir yerlerde çalışıyorlar. Neticede o da bir yerde işçi diyorsun ya, onun seni anlamasını mı bekliyorsun, böyle bu durumda?"¹⁴¹

The store where Yonca works is a hypermarket in Ankara used by upper middle class. The customers that shop there work in high skill demanding jobs and therefore it is not very hard to guess that they are earning more than a store worker. Therefore Yonca’s belief that her profession is not respected by these customers is understandable.

Zehra works in a local store and believes that the customers with whom she experiences problems are the rich ones:

"Maddi anlamda da iyi durumdalar yani, kötü değil. [...] Daha ziyade ekonomik durumları iyi olanlar her zaman insanlar üstünde bi baskı uygulamaya, bir üstünlük sağlamaya çalışırlar ki böyle ortamlarda daha çok sık yaşıyor bunlar."¹⁴²

¹³⁹ "nouveau riches"

¹⁴⁰ “I am sure that she works somewhere. She is also an employee but she has different criteria, the salary is important for her, if you earn less then you are unimportant for her, whatever your job is, she doesn’t care. Stores are hard and if I had another chance I wouldn’t work here”, Yonca, interviewed in Ankara, 2007

¹⁴¹ “I too am a human being, I also can make a mistake which is pretty normal since it is very crowded. And I thought that, people shop here, they also work somewhere eventually. You say that in consequence s/he is also a worker somewhere, do you expect her / him to understand you in such a situation?”, Dilek, interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

¹⁴² "Of course, their economic conditions are different. I firstly would like say that: they have psychologic problems. I mean they are not normal. You can tell this the way they behave; and also everyone knows how they are. All the people in the store knows these few people. They are treated

According to Nevin who works at K store: "Sorun çıkaranlar bana göre düşük gelirli değil. Orta gelirlidir. Yüksek gelirlilerden çok azdır"¹⁴³

The difference between Nevin's and Yonca's views lies in the fact that Nevin works at a store which generally serves to lower-middle class or middle class customers.

Fatoş, who is a cashier in the store C, says that the customers who create problems are the ones who are from the "upper class" but she adds that she means mostly "people who are not religious" and that this group especially chooses dinner time in the Ramadan to shop. According to her, the members of this group are the ones who think they are "conscious" however; she believes that they are the ones who are "unconscious." By the store where she works at is located at a region in Ankara considered as "conservative."

Many of the employees share the same view with Ayten regarding the customers who are poor and who cannot buy the goods they need because they do not have enough money. They have also indicated that these customers never do anything to hurt them. They also feel sorry because they cannot do much for the poor customers. One of the examples among many is expressed by Asiye, who works for a subcontractor:

"Bi tane amca gelmişti, çok yaşlı bastonla geziyo, kıyma almaya gelmiş, girmiş kasap reyonuna, cebinden parasını çıkarmış, bozuk paraları var, kıyma alıcam dedi, işte götürdük reyondan bi tane kıyma baktı parası yetişmiyo, 1 buçuk milyon eksiği var, eksiğin var amca çekelim mi diyom, yok diyo çekmeyi istemiyom, burdan almam lazım diyo, en sonunda yapamadık, çok da yaşlı olduğu için bi şey de anlatamadık, çıkardık cebimizden bozuk paraları işte arkadaşlardan topladık,

different. Everyone behaves different when they make contact. Their financial situation is also good, definitely not bad. People who are experiencing financial difficulties are always more humble. They try to fit in that way. People with more economic power always try to pressure you and they try to show that they are better, and this is especially try in these crowded places," Zehra, interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

¹⁴³ "I don't think that the ones who cause problems are the ones with little income. They are the middle-income earner. There are not many people with high income," Nevin, interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

götürdük amcanın eline verdik, bi paket de kıyma verdik gönderdik kasaya, öyle. Onun haricinde yapabileceğimiz hiç bi şey yok ama.”¹⁴⁴

Asiye also says that these customers do not cause any problems as the “rich” customers do:

“Parası çok olmayan hiç, garibim ne versen eline alıp gidiyo zaten. Ne biliyim hani para insanı daha bi yiğit mi yapar diyolar, cebinde parası olunca heralde daha çok konuşma hakkı olduğunu düşünüyo insanlar”¹⁴⁵

Sevim also thinks that the poor customers are treating them better and adds that they always seem so fragile and this makes her unhappy. She tries to help them because she feels bad for them:

“Çok üzülüyorum. Yardımcı olmaya çalışıyorum [...] Sosis almak istiyor ama çok pahalı, diyorum ki az alabilirsin ya da alternatifi var, bu daha ucuz, o da sosis, onu alabilirsin. Sormaya bile utanıyor yani. Orada fiyatı görüyor işte, bunun içinde ne var, niye bu ucuz da bu niye daha pahalı diye soracak ama ezik soruyor.”¹⁴⁶

These findings are also compatible with the suggestion of Delen and Akgeyik (2009) that employees that are abused at work tend to create a linear relation between the risk of assault and income levels of customers. According to the results of their study, the employees believe that the aggression risk from customers with higher income is 3.9 times higher compared to lower income costumers and also the same risk

¹⁴⁴ “There was one old man, who was using a walking stick. The guy entered to the butchers department and showed his money, which were all coins. Asked for a certain packet of minced meat he saw at the refrigerator but he is one and a half million Turkish Liras short. We told him that he is short in cash and suggested that we prepare another packet which he could afford. The old man insisted that he wanted to buy the one he saw, we tried to explain without any success, maybe because he was old. There was nothing else to do we collected money with our friends and gave him the amount he needed together with the minced meat he wanted to buy. But this was the only thing we could do for him,” Asiye, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

¹⁴⁵ “The customers that don’t have the money don’t say anything needy take whatever you give to them. How can I put this right? They say that money gives you power, I think that when someone has the money they think that they have more right to speak,” Asiye, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

¹⁴⁶ “I feel very bad. I try to help them [...] for example they want to buy sausages but sausages are expensive. I tell them that they can buy a little less or there are cheaper alternatives. They are so shy they do not ask. For example, they see a similar product which is cheaper they want to ask for the details but they are timid and cannot ask,” Sevim, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

compared to middle income customers is 1.4 times higher. This finding is in line with the expressions of some of the employees I have interviewed, even the difference between customers with high and middle income is uncertain, it is expressed by almost all employees that the risk associated with lower income groups is low.

Most of the employees who are sensitive to the condition of customers “who are not doing well” generally also suffer from economic difficulties and their salary is not sufficient for their needs, however their sensitivity is not grounded in feelings of class identity with the “poor” customers in common, it is more likely that they are pitying them. When Zehra is talking about poor customers, she indicates that she does not want to insult those customers, this expression is only possible if she sees herself different from those customers:

"Evet, sessiz olurlar. Ben basık gen diyorum onlara. Yani hayatın ezdiği insanlar, ezilmiş insanlar. Yani küçümsemek adına söylemiyorum bunları, tanımlıyorum yani. Mesela kapıcı hanımları, inşaat ustalarının hanımları, yani pozisyonu daha kötü olan insanlar. [...] tek tek poşet verdiğimde “Abla ya, bi poşet daha alabilir miyim?” derler. Ama öteki tür insanlar böyle söylemez. Daha tepkili, emir tonunda poşet isterler"¹⁴⁷

Erdoğan (2001: 44) says that in terms of social classes “if there is no complete isolation and there is promiscuity there will be the fear of contagion and contamination. We can see examples of dangerous classes and lower classes represented with dirtiness by the relations of upper class customers with employees in stores. Yonca describes a customer, which she thinks is not normal and “ill”:

“Adamın cebindeki paralar bile böyle ütülenmiş bi şekildedir, şöyle çıkartır (shows how the man takes out his money with his fingertips). [...] Dokunduğun zaman almaz, yere dokunsa almaz, kenarının ucuna çıplak elle dokunsa almaz. [...] o

¹⁴⁷ "Yes, they are quiet. I refer to them as people under pressure. They are always under the pressure of life and they always feel depressed. For example wives of doorkeepers or wives of construction workers, who are in economic difficulties. [...] If I give them one bag they say “can I please take one more?” But others say it in a different way. They are more reactive and they give orders to have another bag.” Zehra, interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

insana ben hep gülmüşümdür. Ama yeri gelince, bunaldığım bi anda buna gülemiyorsun, öyle diyeyim."¹⁴⁸

Nilgün (27), who is a cashier, has experienced something similar: "Adam mesela parayı uzatıyorsun, parayı almıyor senin elinden. Şuraya koy da alayım"¹⁴⁹

This is similar to the "rich" in Turkey, who separate the kitchenware of their servants with theirs and do not eat with them at the same table, because of the fear of "contamination" (Erdoğan, 2001: 44; Bora, 2005).

Store workers have also stressed the importance of gender in addition to economic conditions when they were referring to customers that cause problems. Especially women workers indicated that the customers who cause problems are generally women and this suggests that the hierarchical difference between women also makes their femininity different as also suggested by Bora (2005) who deals with the concept of gender in a specific context that is in household service relationships. In this framework, the hierarchical difference between household cleaning women and their employers are similar to the difference between the customers and store employees, which may have an effect on their femininity. In addition, Bora (2005) suggests that femininity is possessed by middle class women who can prove that they are prestigious by their look and behavior:

"Femininity is developed as a sign of a class and contains power to a certain degree. White middle class women may use their prestige to show their difference than other femininities. ... Glorifying their status and showing this via their look makes it possible to judge others who lack femininity and consequently prestige"(Bora, 2005: 55).

¹⁴⁸ "Even the money he has in his pocket is smooth like ironed, he takes it out like this (shows how the man takes out his money with his fingertips). [...] He won't take the product if you touch it, he won't take it if the product touches somewhere, he won't take it if you touch it with your bare hands. [...] I always laugh at that guy. But sometimes when you are unhappy it becomes very hard to laugh at such thing," Yonca, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

¹⁴⁹ "For example you give the guy his change but he doesn't take it and instead tells you to put it on the table and then he takes it," Nilgün, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

For example Ayten, who is a cashier at the supermarket C, thinks that women customers are pickier than other customers. She defines the women customers that she has had problems with as “*bitchy* / kılık yapanlar” and “*classy* / klas giyimliler”. This and similar definitions show that richness became a social capital for “bad customers” and is attributed to ostentatious and belittling practices towards employees.

Yonca who works at E is harassed mostly by women: “genelde erkekler daha olumlu, maalesef bayanlarla anlaşmak daha zor. Bayanların stresi var erkeklere nazaran. Bayanlar incliğini boncuğunu arar, erkekler yüzeysel baktıkları için çok fazla da problemler vardır.”¹⁵⁰

Gülcan, who works at a local store, also thinks that it is women customers who create most of the problems:

“Yani genelde bayanların daha geçimsiz olduğunu düşünüyorum. Bi de bayanların söyle bir şeyi var, genellikle ev hanımı bayanlar çalışanın halinden anlamaz. Ben şimdi eşimin halinden anlarım, çünkü çalıştım senelerce ama çalışmayan bi bayan olsaydım anlamazdım eşimin halinden. Onlar da öyle. Alışmışlar, ellerine paranın gelmesine, bol bol yiyip oturmaya, hiç el emeği ile para kazanmayı bilmiyorlar.”¹⁵¹

These findings are also consistent with the results of a research conducted by Delen and Akgeyik (2009). According to them, it is women who are more aggressive in stores whereas when it comes to call centers men are more aggressive. Researchers explain this with more women using stores and more men using call centers.

¹⁵⁰ “In general men are more positive but I regret to tell you that it is harder to get along with women. Women are more stressed than men. Women look for all the details but men are different and do not cause many problems,” Yonca, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

¹⁵¹ “I believe that in general it is harder to get along with women. For example women that do not work, who are housewives, do not understand the working class. I understand my husband, because I've worked for long years, if I wasn't a working woman I wouldn't understand what my husband felt. People who did not work will not understand the working class. They are used to receive money and easily spend that money, they do not know how to earn money”, Gülcan, interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

It seems that the store workers classify costumers not only according to their economic power, but also according to their level of education. The expression “nouveau riche” / "sonradan görme" is also important to consider. Bourdieu states two factors which have efficient role in the constitution of cultural capital; the first is the *educational level* which is measured by its lasting time and its qualification; the second factor is the *social origin* which consists of the father's occupation and cultural capital that the family had acquired in time. It can be thought that in this case the word “nouveau riche” refers to the social origin of people, that is, the people “nouveau riche” has a low educational level and did not inheret cultural, and economic capital by their family, only later gained economic capital.

The cultural level (especially related with educational level) is also emphasized by some employees. For example Zehra, who works at a local store, said: sevdiğim kitle; emekli öğretmen ya da memur kitesidir, yani genelde okumuş, eğitim seviyesi yüksek olan insanlar"¹⁵²

Türkan who works at a store in Etlik but previously worked in a store in Bilkent, uses cultural capital to compare the customers in both locations:

"Ya şimdi ben daha önce Bilkent'te çalıştığım için... Bilkent'in insanlarıyla çalıştım; oranın insanları belli. Zengin kesimin insanları. Yani burası da orta gelirlili, böyle çok... Ne bileyim işte öyle, buranın eğitim düzeyi daha tabii ki daha düşük yani. Bilkent'e göre Etlik'in eğitim düzeyi çok düşük. Orda mesela, “hanımefendi, beyefendi” diye hitap ederken, burada “hoş geldiniz” diyoruz “beyefendi tamam” diyoruz, adam hiç cevap vermiyor. “hı, falan oluyor”, “bana mı dedin” muhabbetleri falan oluyor yani. Böyle şeyler çıkıyor ortaya işte. İçimden açıkçası, hiç “hoş geldiniz” demek gelmiyor öyle yaptıkları için. [...] Yani, evet. Kesim olarak, insanlar olarak orayı tercih ederdim."¹⁵³

¹⁵² “I like retired teachers or civil servants, these are generally well educated people”, Zehra, interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

¹⁵³ “Well, I've worked in Bilkent before... I was around the people there and you know how they are. They are rich. But here are people with middle income... What can I say; of course the education level of people here is lower. The educational level in Etlik is very low compared to Bilkent. In Bilkent they refer to you as “a lady or a gentlemen” but here we say “welcome”, we say “of course sir” to the customers but they don't even respond. They only say things like “huh?”, “you're talking to me?” That's all. Things like these are happening here. Because they behave that way I really do not want to tell them “welcome”. [...] Yes, of course. I would prefer Bilkent because of the people there”, Türkan, interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

Yonca's emphasis on the "level of education" shows that she evaluates customers with their economic and cultural capital and that she views the customers with a higher cultural capital as having a better attitude towards employees. She assesses the customers that shop from the store that she works at with this expression: "Buranın müşterileri ilk başlarda çok şeydi, çok kaliteli seviyesi vardı, yani tamamen seçilmiş insanlar geliyordu, ilk üç sene rahat diyebilirim."¹⁵⁴ When she is asked who were these "selected" customers were, she answers:

"Ya, bakanlar, milletvekilleri, cumhurbaşkanı bile her hafta burdan alışveriş yapıyordu. Daha sonra cumhurbaşkanımız on beş güne indi, bir aya indi, şimdi çok nadir görüyoruz. Yani önceden devamlı burdaydılar yani milletvekilleri, bakanlar, hep o düzeyde insanlardı. Yani daha alt tabakadan insanlar görmek yok denecek kadar azdı. Şu anda mesela her şey geliyo, her taraf karıştı için, hani insanları küçümsemek namında değil de, hani nerde çokluk orda şey derler, burda da devamlı işte çoğaldıkça insan çeşitleri kalitesi de düştü, insanlara değer verme tarzları düştü, kasiyere ne bileyim bi yerde bi çalışan olarak değil de, ne bileyim, müşterilerin gözünde köle, köle olarak görüyorlar"¹⁵⁵

When Yonca is talking about the neighborhood Keçiören she says that she has problems with "poor" and ignorant people, too. She wants to live in the neighborhoods in Ankara where upper and middle class people live:

"Dış yüzey olarak, görüntü olarak Keçiören çok güzel görünüyor insanlara, birazcık modern yapılı gibi, ama insanları çok seviyesiz, çok kültürsüz. Ne bileyim, hani ipini sapını koparmış insanlar diyeyim. Küçük çocuklar ağızlarına alınmayacak küfürler ediyorlar. [...] Daha önce Dikmen'de oturuyordum, Dikmen kültür seviyesi çok yüksektir. Bi akşam vakti sadece oğlumu alıp da bi aşağı yürürüm. Ama Keçiören'de saat altı dedin mi, altıdan sonra egzozları açıp, ondan sonra babalarının arabalarını alıp mahalle aralarında hız yaparak jet gibi geçerler, ne bileyim Teksas gibi bi şey,

¹⁵⁴ "At the start the customers were very nice, they were very good people, we had selected customers; this was like this at least for the first three years", Yonca, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

¹⁵⁵ "Err, ministers, deputies, even the president was shopping here every week. After some time our president started to shop every fifteen days, then this reduced to once a month and now we rarely see him. But before they were all here, I mean the deputies, ministers and people like those. People from bottom layer almost did not stop by. But now, everyone comes here; because every neighborhood is mixed now, I am not disrespecting anyone, but you know the saying... wherever there is crowd there are always problems. Now here are more types of people and their respect to others is not what it was, they do not think a cashier is an employee but they regard them as slaves", Yonca, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

ben hiç beğenmedim. Yani elime geçen en kısa güzel programla gidecem burdan. [...] Benim mesela Dikmen çok hoşuma gidiyor. Dikmen’de oturmak isterim ya da ne bileyim Kavakdere’de oturabilirim, Oran’da aynı. [...]Yani ben sessiz olacak, hareket istemiyom yani. Stressiz, sakin, gürültülü olmasın”¹⁵⁶

When Yonca was referring to the inhabitants of Keçiören she used the same expressions to the customers, who treat employees impolitely. The people for her are from the bottom layer of society and she especially adds that when she is saying “bottom layer” she does not mean poor people.

“Nasıl diyeyim, çalışan kesimi de var bunun, okumuş cahilleri de var, onlar daha tehlikeli, okumuş cahiller, ne bileyim, kültür seviyesi daha düşük olan insanlar, para namında değil, para bazında bakarsan parası olanların hepsinin kültür seviyesi yüksek olacaktı ama öyle değil. Ne bileyim yani sonradan görmeler mi diyeyim artık, valla isimleri belli değil artık. [...] Ben buraya paramı veriyosam, her dediğimi de yapacaksın yani”¹⁵⁷

Arif, who works at the greengrocery department at the same store and who is also a representative of the union, does not think that cultural capital is not effective in the way customers treat employees: “Bize gelen müşterilerin yüzde sekseni çok bilinçli bi tüketici kitlesi, yüzde sekseni kendi haklarını da bilir, bizim haklarımıza riayet etmezler de kendi haklarını çok iyi bilirler.”¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁶ “People think Keçiören is beautiful because of the look and façades, the buildings are somewhat modern, but people are ignorant and rude. What can I say? they are a bunch of hillbillies. Even little kids are swearing the way you cannot believe your ears. [...] I was living at Dikmen before, the people in Dikmen are highly educated. I could take my son for a short walk every evening back then. But in Keçiören when it is six in the evening, roaring engines start and kids take their fathers' cars and race in the streets. How can I put it? it is like Texas, I hate it. So, I will leave this place as soon as I can. [...] I like Dikmen very much. I would like to live in Dikmen or I can also live in Kavakdere or Oran. [...] It has to be quiet, I want tranquility. Quiet, calm and no noise”, Yonca, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

¹⁵⁷ “How can I say this? There are people who are workers or there are people who have been educated but still are ignorant. The educated ignorant are more dangerous they do not understand anything, if money would be a solution all these customers would be very nice people. I don’t know how to refer to them; you can say nouveau rich, I don’t know, it is hard to name them. [...] They try to say this “If spend my money here you have to obey all my requests”, Yonca, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

¹⁵⁸ “Eighty per cent of the customers that shop at our store are conscious people, eighty per cent know their rights very well, they don't respect our rights but they know their rights very well”, Arif, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

Arif's view lies in between the former two examples. The customers are so demanding about their rights but when it comes to workers' rights they do not care, in addition they are the ones who even make things worse for them.

According to Ayten the customers that have economic difficulties are always better:

“Onların sesi soluğu bile çıkmıyor. Gelir, indirimde ne var diye sorar mesela yoğurt alacak sorar indirim var mı diye. Varsa gider kendim getiririm. Ama diğerleri... Onların hallerinden hemen belli oluyor zaten. Gelir böyle bir hava... Manava gelir mesela, emir verir gibi, böyle bir mala bana şunu yap, bana şunu ver diye. Zaten onlar hiçbir şeyden memnun olmazlar, beğenmezler. Onları öyledir yani”¹⁵⁹

She says that she does not like to walk in the streets in order not to meet these kind of people and does not like people in general anymore, this can be attributed to the fact that class differences are experienced in an upsetting and “frustrating” way and in relation to this that the social relations have assumed an ocularcentric feature (Erdoğan, 2002) and also that store employees consider social hierarchy and distinctions as a vertical and hierarchical relation which is belittling and undervaluing for themselves.

Skeggs (1998) suggests in a study with English working women that the sensitivity of these women of appearance is so high that it is attention grabbing. According to her the difference between femininity and sexuality is given the upmost importance and the image is the sign of this difference: To look is to be. The looks and the behavior are signs of prestige (cited in Bora, 2005: 57). The store employees being able to tell “problem customers” from their looks and to tell which ones are rich and which ones are poor from their appearance suggests that the relation between the customer and the employees is based on the looks, that is established in an

¹⁵⁹ “They are quiet. They come here and ask for information about products that are on sale, for example if they are going to buy yoghurt they ask if there are any discounts. If there are discounts I find the product and bring it to the customer. But others... You can tell right away by only observing their attitude. They come with this snobby look... they go to the greengrocer for example and start to give out orders 'give me this and that, do this and that'. And they are never satisfied, never like anything. That is their way", Ayten, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

ocularcenteric way. Moreover, in Bourdieu's social theory body is such an important category in terms of social practice and the reproduction of social inequalities, so management of the body becomes a matter of status and distinction. For example Nevin describes the problematic customers, who she referred to as the middle-income earner customers, such as:

"Hee, küçümser anlamında... Geç, yap der gibi hareketleri var. Böyle, ıı, daha giyimine baktığın zaman, tipine baktığın zaman görsen, adama da benzetmezsın, ama işte seni o hareketleriyle öldürüyor. Hani diyo, "tamam işini yap, kes sesini" demeleri sana yetiyor zaten. Ama tipine baktığın zaman, dediğin gibi adama da benzetmezsın ya da öyleymiş gibi hissettirir ya da kendi öyle hissediyor. Bilmiyorum."¹⁶⁰

When I asked what she means with "tipine baktığın zaman görsen adama da benzetmezsın" she says:

"Şıktır, hani böyle kokoştur, derler ya kokoş derken hani süslüdür böyle belli olur, tipinden belli olur. Zengindir, yüzüne baktığın zaman bi o şey hali belli olur, zarıflığı veya ne bileyim o hissettirir o. Ama onda hissettirmiyor. Bu sonradan görme dedikleri bir insanlar var ya onlardan bahsediyorum ben. Belki zengindir ama sonradan zengin olmuştur ama daha kendisi zengin olamamıştır tipiyle"¹⁶¹

The explanation of Nevin about the customer who humiliated her is another example that makes clear that appearance of body becomes a matter of status and distinction.

Türkan also talks about the look of the customers:

¹⁶⁰ "Yes, they dislike you... They have this ordering attitude, 'go there, do this'. Like, err, if you'd see them, their looks, their clothes, you wouldn't think that they are important people but they make you suffer with their attitude. It is already enough how they tell you "OK, do your job and shut up". When you look at the looks you wouldn't say that he is an important person, they make you feel that they are somebody or they already feel that way. I don't know", Nevin, interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

¹⁶¹ "They look good, you know the saying fashionista, they look after themselves and you can tell this easily. There are rich people, when you look at them you can understand, they are elegant. But the ones I am referring to are different they don't make you feel like that. I am talking about the nouveau rich. Maybe they are rich but they became rich late in their lives and their look is still not rich", Nevin, interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

"Adam böyle efendice giyinmiş gelmiş ya da bir bayan giyinmiş gelmiş, gayet hoş davranıyor. [...] Sonuçta bakıyorsun, anlıyorsun, giyiminden, konuşmasından, nasıl olur... Ben kesinlikle şey yapmıyorum, giyiminden kuşamından derken, ayırt etmiyorum köylü diyip. Sonuçta benim annem babam da köyden gelmişler, ben de köyden gelmiş insanım da. Ya bilmiyorum, çok tuhaf davranan insanlar var böyle. Çok kaba konuşan insanlar var"¹⁶²

Above I have examined how workers classify costumers according to their attitudes towards them and their appearances. Most of them have said that generally "rich" costumers behave kindly. Because, they thought that rich customers are graceful and they usually ask politely. In contrast, some thought that "rich" customers generally complain about workers and cause inconvenience, since they thought that they have right to do so because they have money. Besides, most of them think that the other group that is not easy is "sonradan görme". It means that they have money, but no education, and those whose richness is not inherited from their families. Other groups who generally are mentioned as difficult costumers have been women. Because, they cannot show sympathy if they do not work anywhere else and they give so much importance to the details. Nearly all workers I have interviewed thought that "poor" costumers do not mistreat them and display shame when they request something. At last, most of the workers thought that the costumers who cause trouble generally transfer their problems, especially family problems, which are not related with the store, to workers.

3.1.4. Full Shopping Trolleys versus Minimum Wages

Herein, I will examine whether store workers develop a sense of deprivation since they work in a consumption area and so are being confronted with the customers who have high purchasing power. If it is taken into account that large stores are mainly for middle-classes from their visual display, design, layout to the world of meanings

¹⁶² "the man or a woman comes in with nice clothes and they treat you very nice. [...] You look at them and understand from their looks, their way of speech... Well, I do not want to discriminate people by their looks, I do not behave differently by thinking that a customer is from a village. My parents also migrated from a village, I am also a villager. I don't know what to say, there are people who behave absurdly. There are very rude people," Türkan, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

that give its color to the place, it can be argued that in their workplaces workers can perceive intensively the social-class differences and deprivation of resources of consuming sufficiently.

Dignity can be thought as something connected with enabling people to live a normal life, that is, not to live in poverty. Bauman argues that by the transformation from “production society” or “industrial society” to “consumption society” or “post-industrial society”, there emerged a new poverty. According to Bauman, poverty is deprivation of everything which is seen as *normal life* (1999:60). In the consumption society what is normal life is the life of consumers who make choices for feeling pleasure or for having glorious or splendid experiences in order to present these opportunities as public performance. Examining the consumption as a factor while arguing class relations make it possible to consider the relationship between service workers and customers closely. For example Elvan says that she does not have time for anything but if she had she would do this:

"Alışveriş yapmayı çok isterdim, kılık kıyafet, ayakkabı şu bu incik cıncık boncuk, her şeyden almak isterdim. Ben makyaj yaptığım zaman çok mutlu olurum. Mağazaya girip kıyafet aldığım zaman, bi şeyler giydiğim zaman çok mutlu olurum. [...] Bunların hiç birini yapmıyorum, hepsinden mahrumum, uzağım çünkü fırsatım olmuyor"¹⁶³

Meltem wanted to stroll around and do shopping. Indeed, in her narrative we can see a wish of having resources of consumption as a token of upward mobility. Her better future life dreams are also connected with the ability to buy diverse goods. It is noteworthy that the culture of identifying social class positions through consumption has increased.

¹⁶³ "I'd love to shop very much, I would like to buy clothes, shoes, jewels, I'd like to buy many things. I feel very good when I put on makeup. I become very happy when I go into a store and buy nice clothes and when I wear those. [...] I cannot do anything of this because I am away, I do not have the chance", Elvan, interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

A similar example is Sevim, who kept her cell phone turned on during working hours in a grocery store, where cell phones are forbidden for employees. Sevim received a call which resulted in a customer saying “*look at these people they even have cell phones now!*” which made her unhappy: “çok üzöldüm tabi, demek bizi ne olarak görüyorlar ki dedim, yani cep telefonunu bile bize çok görüyorlar”¹⁶⁴

Even though that many of the interviewees have indicated at the start of the interviews that rich customers do not make them uncomfortable, when they are asked what they feel when a customer buys goods that have a much higher value than their monthly pay check, the damage this situation caused on their feelings can be observed and this shows that differences between classes are felt by these employees.

When Hüseyin is asked what he feels when he sees a customer with many shopping trolleys full of goods he says: “Hiç bi şey hissetmiyorum. Ne hissedebilirim ki, hiç düşünmedim yani, kıskançlık yapmam yani adam çalışmış hak etmiş yapmış yani”¹⁶⁵ But when he is reminded that he also works he explains the difference: “Yani o okumuştur, büyük bi yerededir ne biliğim yani veya işverendir veya babadan kalan bi şeydir, babasından kalan işyeri falan vardır”¹⁶⁶

When Duygu is asked what she felt when she saw customers purchasing many goods she starts explaining by “*it didn’t make her felt bad*” (“rencide etmiyor”) but then she continues:

“Ya ne yapıyolar, cumartesi pazar çok kalabalık oluyo, her gün gelen müşterilerimiz oluyo, her gün gelip arabayla dolduran müşterilerimiz oluyo mesela hani diyoruz ki

¹⁶⁴ “I, of course felt so bad, I didn’t understand what they thought about us, even a cell phone is too much for us”, Sevim, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

¹⁶⁵ “I do not feel a thing. What can I feel? I did not think about this before, I am not jealous, the person who buys those things has worked hard to earn the money”, Hüseyin, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

¹⁶⁶ “He should be well educated and has a good position, I don’t know, he may be an employer or he may have inherited it, or has a business inherited from his father, Hüseyin, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

ne ya her gün her gün ne alışverişi, ne yapıyorlar bu kadar alışverişi diyorum, niye bu kadar alış veriş yapıyorlar, yani para olunca yapılmış demek ki, ama hiç öyle şey olmadım yani rencide olmadım yani. Ama tabi yani ben yapamıyorken insanların sepet sepet götürmesi..."¹⁶⁷

Sevim also mentioned that she works at the same store for ten years and she couldn't buy the good and delicious cheese and sausages for her children and she could only buy the cheaper alternatives:

"Çok güzel bir peynir ama ben onu alamıyorum, onu alan müşteriye de bir bakıyorum acaba ne iş yapıyor ki, 16 milyon bir peynire verirken... Ben de isterim ki, o peynirden alayım benim de çocuklarım da onu yesinler"¹⁶⁸

Similar to Sevim, when Dilek who works as a subcontracted worker in the hypermarket tells one of her memoirs in the store, it is seen that workers are unable to buy the products that they sell:

"Biz arkadaşımınla muhabbet ediyoruz, dedi ki zengin olursan ne yaparsın falan dedi, işte dedim bak ben şu müşteriler gibi doldururum üç araba götürürüm falan dedim ilk önce. Ondan sonra, ben de öyle yaparım dedi. Sonra dedi gerçekten de alışveriş için mi düşünüyon dedi. Yok ya dedim, söz veriyorum, o zamanlar dolmalık fıstık çok pahalıydı, zengin bir koca bulursam dolmalık fıstık alırım bir kilo dedim."¹⁶⁹

It is important to note that Sevim's indignation for not being able to buy good quality cheese for her children shows that the hidden injuries of workers appear not only when workers see customers buying things but also it becomes visible by the feelings of guilt and humiliation they have when they cannot fulfill their children's needs.

¹⁶⁷ "well Saturdays and Sundays are very crowded, we have some customers which come every day, some of them fill in their charts completely everyday; we ask each other how on earth can they shop so much every day, why do they do it? It seems like if you have money you do it, but I never felt bad about it, but again while I can't do it, others buying so much...", Duygu, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

¹⁶⁸ "it is a very delicious cheese but I cannot buy it, when a customer buys that cheese I wonder what they do for a living, they pay sixteen million Turkish liras for that cheese... I really would like my children also to eat that cheese", Sevim, interviewed in Ankara, 20087.

¹⁶⁹ "We were having a chat with a friend, she said that what would you do if you were rich, here I said look I would fill up three cars like these customers and take it home first I said. After that, I would do the same I said. She said do you really want it only to go shopping. I said no, I promise, at that time pine nut for the dish of dolma was very expensive, if I find a rich husband I will buy a kilo of this nut I said", Dilek, interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

When Türkan encounters customers that have a high level of purchasing power, she feels that:

"Çok kötü oluyorum ya. Böyle düşünüyorum kendi kendime. Ya baya oldu bu. 10 milyara kadar, bir müşteri alışveriş yapabiliyor yani, bilgisayar alıyor, onu alıyor bunu alıyor. Bakıyorsun hani, bir şey diyemiyorsun ki. Kendi kendime diyorum "şuna bak ben 300 milyon, 500 milyon alıyorum, adam bir seferde 10 milyarlık alışveriş yapıyor." Çok kötü oluyor tabii, insanın zoruna gidiyor ama yapacak bişey yok."¹⁷⁰

On the same subject Gülcan also says:

"Ne hissedicem, hayranlıkla izliyorum. Bir gün gelir biz de böyle yapar mıyız acaba? [...] Mesela, ben, işte 'maaş alınca şunu alıcam, maaş alınca bunu alıcam. Maaş alıyodum, hiç para kalmıyordu. Hiç bişey alamıyodum, elime bişey geçmiyordu. İnsan haliyle üzülüyor. Başkaları gibi değildik biz"¹⁷¹

As it can be seen in the examples above employees are comparing the monetary value of customers' purchases with their minimum wage. This makes their social class injuries visible.

To describe his feelings about those customers Eray emphasized humanistic/moral values. The injustice which will be judged on the afterlife can be attributed to their strategy to keep going:

"Bugün Türkiye'nin neresinde, her yerinde yüzlerce fakir insan var ekmeğe muhtaç. Onlar tutup da şey yapıyorsa, günlük, benim ayda kazandığım paraya günde harcıyorsa, yani utanmaları lazım. Ben şahsen onların yerinde olsam, kendimi rahat hissedemem. Türkiye'de o kadar çok işsiz insan var ki, paran çoksa git işsize ver üç beş ekmek yesin, de mi? Veya malının yarısının zekâtını ver. Mesela, geçende... Baya oluyo, iki tane... Birkaç grup genç geldi tamam mı, yaşları 18-19. Herhalde ki baba parası yiyiyolar. Babaları milletvekili olmuş veya şey olmuş ne bileyim devlet memuru. Devlet memuru olamaz da, zengin yani, zengin çocuğu. Birinin altında x5,

¹⁷⁰ "I really do feel very bad. I start to wonder. It happened a lot. A customer can purchase up to ten billion Turkish Liras, they buy computers, they buy this and that. You can only stare at their purchases without a word. I tell myself to look at them, I get paid 300 million or 500 million a month and they spend ten billion Turkish Liras at once. It makes me feel very bad but there is nothing to do", Türkan, interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

¹⁷¹ "What I feel? I watch them with admiration. Do you think one day I can also do the same? [...] For example every month I tell myself "I will buy this and that when I receive my paycheck. When I am paid there is no way I could buy anything because there was no money left. You feel sorry. We are not like others", Gülcan, interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

birinin altında Mercedes, tamam mı? B'nin kapısından giriş yaptılar, ben de onlara bakıyorum. Neyse, gittiler fast-food'a oturdular kız-erkek. Beş - on kişi var, tamam mı? Cem'e diyom, Cem, diyom, bak, diyom, bunlar nasıl para harcıolar. Demek ki dedim zengin çocukları, yani paralı aile çocukları. Hayret ettim. Yani. Lanet ediyorsun o zaman hayata. Öbür tarafta sorarlar. Soran bulunur. Terazi, asıl terazi öbür tarafta.”¹⁷²

According to Erdoğan (2002: 51), “the emphasis on moral-humanistic values are not a moment to neutralize rebelliousness and justify the roles given to them by the social hierarchies and classification schemas rather it is a strategy to cope with it where this role is not or cannot be accepted and to sustain the self.” It can be seen that the discomfort is not only caused by the large purchases of customers but also that employees have to chose the products that are cheapest in contrast to the good quality products. The employees on one hand express their discomfort and on the other hand talk about wealth which is unlawfully accumulated; this can also be attributed to the strategy to sustain the self by emphasis on moral-humanistic values. We can see an example of this in what Ayten, a cashier in a store, has told: “Zengin olup insanları ezeceksem veya ne bileyim öyle bir şey olacaksam hiç olmayayım daha iyi. Yani bu düzeyde gitmeyi isterim”¹⁷³ and also in what Dilek has told: “O sepeti doldurdıkları zaman... [...] Herkes onların kulları, köpekleri. Öyle olacağıma

¹⁷² “Today in Turkey there are hundreds of people everywhere that are poor and are in need of a piece of bread. If the customers are spending a month's pay for a store employee in a single day they have to be ashamed. If I were in their shoes I wouldn't be comfortable. There are so many unemployed people in Turkey. If you have so much money go there and give some of it to those who are in need, so they can also eat a few pieces of bread, am I not right? Or give alms for half of your belongings. For example a while ago... Actually it has been a while a few people came in, they were like 18 or 19. It seems like their fathers are rich. Their fathers are either ministers or civil servants. OK, maybe not civil servants but they are rich, and those young boys have rich parents. One of them has a x5 and the other has a Mercedes, OK? They entered B and I was looking at them. They went to the fast-food corner, there were boys and girls. There were like five or ten people, OK? I was telling Cem to look at them and see how they were spending money. I said they must have rich parents. I was very surprised. So, you hate life when you see this. But there will be a judgment day. Someone will ask them. The scale, the real scale is at the other side”, , interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

¹⁷³ “I would rather stay the same than becoming rich and treat people badly. I would continue my life like this”, Ayten, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

kesinlikle zengin olmak istemiyorum. Ben şu sıcak ortamda, bu şekilde asgari ücrete razıyım yani öyle olmaktansa."¹⁷⁴

In contrast to what has been told until now Metin, who works at the greengrocer in a store, has expressed that customers who make large purchases make him happy:

"Valla, biz o tür müşteriler yani bize bi faydası yok. Ama o tür müşteriler de bizi daha mutlu ediyö yani. En azından gelip de o şekilde bi alış verişi bizi tercih edip yapması... Hani ben personel olarak memnun oluyorum. Hani bu, artık ben kendi iş ahlakıma bağlıyorum bunu da. Yani elimizden geldiğince o tür müşterileri kaçırmamaya çalışıyoruz. Alış verişini, aldığı ürünleri daha iyisini vermeye çalışıyoruz. Yani mutlaka biraz fark oluyo"¹⁷⁵

To explain why he felt bad he had to compare himself with those customers:

"Bi zorunlu ihtiyaç var, bunu herkes yapabilir. Ama bi lüks ihtiyaç vardır, bunu herkes yapamayabilir. Ben de kendi ailem olarak lüks ihtiyacı yapamayan bi aile olarak gördüğüm için o şekilde hiç düşünmedim"¹⁷⁶

While responding to the question Çetin puts himself in a position as a person who can only buy necessary goods and not luxury products, during the conversation he says that he cannot pay for the monthly apartment block fees:

"Dün sabah, biz kavga ettik. Apartmanın aidatı birikmiş beş aydır. Yönetici gelmiş beş aylık aidatınızı verin demiş. O da geldi bana çattı. Aidatı vermiyorsun, gelip

¹⁷⁴ "When they fill that basket... [...] Everybody is their slave, dog. Instead of becoming someone like that I definitely prefer not to become rich. In this sincere atmosphere, I accept this minimum wage I mean rather than becoming like that", Dilek, interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

¹⁷⁵ "Well, those customers can do nothing for us but they make us happier. At least they prefer us... Well as an employee I become happy to see that. I think this is about my own work ethics. I try to assist those customers the best way I can to keep them coming here. We try to give them the best goods when they shop here. There is always a little bit difference", Metin, interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

¹⁷⁶ "People have necessary needs and everyone can provide those. But there is also luxury, and not everyone is able to provide those. My family never can purchase luxury and therefore I never thought about it.", Metin, interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

benden istiyorlar, diye. Ben de dedim ya maaşı aldık, bitti. Nerden verelim. Öbür ay veririz dedim."¹⁷⁷

Yasin says that the situation makes him uncomfortable but right after that he starts to justify this situation:

"Evet ya, o işte bi rahatsızlık. Ya onların işte Allah, şans ya, yürü kulum demiş, yürümüş yani. Hayat zaten öyle bir şeydir ki, herkes eşit olsa kimsenin kimseye saygısı olmaz, değil mi? Dünyada herkesin eşit olduğunu düşün. Şey olmaz yani, hiyerarşik denge olmaz. [...] Düzenin devam etmesi için ast-üst, orta-büyük-küçük bunların olması lazım, di mi?"¹⁷⁸

The information after some time given by Yasin after some time in the interview gave an idea about the strategy to cope with this:

"Mesela çalıştığın yerle kendini kıyaslarsan... Dedim ya, hep zengin insanların bulunduğu yerdesin, işte adam bi alışveriş yapıyo, senin 1 ayda aldığımı 1 günde alıyo, 1 gecede yiyo. Ama hani çevrendeki insan, arkadaşın, yan komşun, kaç paraya maaşla çalışıyo? Türkiye'nin genelinde hep askeri ücret. O zaman yani şey oluyorsun, ister istemez kanaatkâr oluyorsun."¹⁷⁹

As it could be understood from what has been told here it is not sufficient to analyze each answer of an employee to a question, to understand one needs to look at the whole interview. It is interesting to see that for this subject one gets the most

¹⁷⁷ "We had a fight yesterday morning. For five months we haven't paid the monthly fees for utilities. The manager of the building and asked from her for the fees of five months. And she (her wife) took it on me. She told me that you don't pay and they come and ask it from me. I told her that I have received my paycheck and we used it all. How can we pay, now? I told that we can pay the next month.", Metin, interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

¹⁷⁸ "Yes, right, it makes me uncomfortable. Well it is God, God gave them good luck and they used this luck. Life is like that, if everyone was equal no one would respect another, am I not right? Think about it, think that everyone is equal, there wouldn't be any err, hierarchical equilibrium. [...] For the world order to continue there have to be lower and upper classes, there has to be large, small and medium, right?", Yasin, interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

¹⁷⁹ "For example if you compare yourself with the place you work at ... As I said you are in a place where customers are all rich, customers shop so much they spend all the money you can earn in a month, they earn the same amount in a single day and they spend it in one night. But all the people around me, my friends, my neighbors how much do they earn a month? Generally it is minimum wage in Turkey. You have to be contended willingly or unwillingly", Yasin, interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

controversial answers. This shows that the inability to consume “enough” and inequalities are the most important points which make visible the hidden injuries of working class.

Another important point is that even with the minimum wage, which was most common among the employees interviewed, and even though that it has been expressed that the minimum wage was not sufficient for their needs, the persons interviewed were considering themselves as “middle class”. For example Nilgün’s expression “*We are middle class, thank God*” is similar to a study conducted by Sennett on US bakery workers (2002: 67):

“...a person wants to be respected for what s/he is. In the US, classes are related with personal character. Therefore when 80 % of bakery workers tell that they are “middle class” they are answering to the question of how they regard themselves. The real answer is “I am doing OK”

Bora (2002) gives examples of poor people that find it embarrassing to receive social aid. The explanation shows similar feelings identified by Sennett in his study about bakery workers:

"Applying for social aid means "admitting poverty", it is not an easy load to carry to be stigmatized as a poor man. To make it easier one tries to remember and make us remember that there are people in worse conditions and that they are not the most deprived ones" (Bora, 2002: 72).

However, concretely it is difficult to feel that they belong to the middle class since it is incompatible to be a store worker with minimum wage and to be a member of the middle class. That is why Sevim considers her social position unjust: “kendimi cendere gibi kısır bir döngünün içinde... Burada olmamalıydım, ben buraya ait değilim modunda 10 yılı geçirdim yani...”¹⁸⁰ The same feeling was expressed by working class women in Skeggs' research. Skeggs explains it as follow:

¹⁸⁰ “I was in a vicious circle... I spent ten years telling myself that I wasn’t supposed to be here...”, Sevim, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

"They had a strong sense that their social and cultural positioning was unjust. They did not adjust to their social positioning (as Bourdieu 1986) would suggest. Rather they made strenuous efforts to deny, disidentify and dissimulate. These were affective responses; class was lived as a structure of feeling. Class is still a hidden injury (Sennett and Cobb, 1977). They attempted to display their distinction from being classified as working-class through a variety of methods. To do so they made investments in their bodies, clothes, consumption practices, leisure pursuits and homes. These investments indicated a strong desire to pass as middle class."

In conclusion, it is obvious that in their workplaces shopworkers can perceive intensively the social-class differences and develop a sense of deprecation when they confront the customer who has high purchasing power. Hence, workers are unable to buy the products that they sell in their working day. In the following, the focus will be on gender relations and the situation of women workers in stores.

3.2. Class and Gender in the Stores

There were so many women workers in the stores I studied. That is why I briefly want to review the women workers' experiences related to gender roles both in stores and at home, and love affairs in the stores.

If gender is considered not as a fixed identity but as a practice/ process (Bora, 2005: 50), it becomes possible to have some clues concerning the construction of gender in everyday practices. In this regard, it can be said that the experiences of the female workers within the workplace relations are of special attention in this study.

Also in other studies about the working class in Turkey, the state of female workers is being analyzed by taking into account the possibility that the experiences of women workers differ from that of men. For example, in the research of Nichols and Sugur (2004) which was conducted in 1999 and 2000 in seven plants in or adjacent to the İzmit triangle, they interviewed 72 women who worked in two different textile companies in Bursa. As a result, only one of the female workers noted that she did the housework together with her husband. The female workers begin to cook in the

kitchen as soon as they come home from work. For instance, one women worker they interviewed did say: "I don't care about the night shift. I am doing a double shift everyday anyway - housework and factory work' (Nichols and Sugur, 2004: 53).

The result of this research epitomizes well the impossibility of seeing the house as a whole with interests in common. As Bora also conveys, the shattering of the view, which sees the house as a whole thus tries to assess livelihood strategies in common with this whole, from 1990s on also indicates that besides being a domain of solidarity and cooperation, the house is began to be seen also as a domain of conflicts where the interests in common are decided within some power balances and debates (Bora, 2007: 99). Almost every married woman among the interviewed women for this research complained about their workload at home after coming from work. For instance, when I asked Sevim, who works at charcuterie department, what she does after work she said that she cleans the house, washes the dishes and cooks for the next day running out of time that day. Asiye, a subcontracted worker, defined the burden of house chores as a continuation of her work: "Hiç bitmiyo, yani 24 saat mesai. (She smiles) Ay isyan edecem bi gün. Hayat şartları ne deyim. Daha iyi bi gelecek istiyosan, bazı şeylerden fedakârlık etmek zorundasın."¹⁸¹

There is an interpenetration of capitalism (and modernism) with patriarchy. This interpenetration leads to exploitation of women in two domains since it requires women to carry on their 'traditional' roles in the domain of work too. For instance, in a supermarket lunch is prepared by women. When Ayten, another cashier in this supermarket, is asked whether she is given any other job together with the cashier job, she says:

¹⁸¹ "It never ends overtime work for twenty-four hours. (She smiles) I will rebel one day. Life conditions what can I say. If you want a better future, you have to sacrifice some things", Asiye, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

“Yapmaz mıyız? Her işi biz yapıyoruz, yerleri siliyoruz, yemeği yapıyoruz. Temizlik yapıyoruz... Kız olduğumuz için bize yaptırıyorlar. Şimdi biz yapmadık mı mutfakta yemek yiyecek tabak bulamıyoruz. Bardak bulamıyoruz.”¹⁸²

Works like cleaning, cooking, washing the dishes are expected to be done by women in the working places. For instance, Fatoş says that on the days when the person in charge of kitchen is on vacation, all cashiers one by one wash the dishes and cook. When I ask her whether the male workers do the same she says:

"Bulaşık işine girmiyorlar. Aslında yapabilecekleri bir şey ama bayan işi gözüyle bakılıyor. Genelde yine kızlar yapıyor. Zaten 4 kasiyer, bi tane mutfakçı, beş kız var. 28 personel var, yani dörtte biri bile değiliz mağazanın. Beşte birine falan geliyoruz kızlar olarak. İşte erkek egemenliği var mağazada."¹⁸³

When I ask Ayten who cooks: “Biz yapıyoruz. Bazen ekmek peynir ile idare ediyoruz”¹⁸⁴ she says. However, when we ask Ayten’s colleague Barış whether they have any problem with the kitchen his response is: “Yoo, sırayla yapıyoruz, sorun olmuyo”¹⁸⁵.

Moreover, it can be inferred from the narratives of the female workers that sometimes working in the store is more stressful for women. I have listened to women in the focus group interview who mentions how stressful the moments are during their period are when they fall short of their need to refresh themselves and constantly postponed going to the restroom. Besides, another worker Yonca reports that she is afraid of having a miscarriage, like a colleague who had one on a difficult

¹⁸² “Of course we do? We are doing any kind of job here, mopping the floor, cooking. We do cleaning... They make us do this since we are female. Now if we don’t do this we cannot find a plate to eat from. We can’t find a cup”, Ayten, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

¹⁸³ “They don’t wash the dishes. Actually it is something they could handle but they see it as a female duty. Generally girls do it. We have 4 cashiers, one woman in charge of the kitchen, 5 girls. There are 28 employees; I mean we are not even a quarter of the number. We as girls constitute % 20 of the staff. Here there is male dominancy in the store”, Fatoş, interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

¹⁸⁴ “We do. Sometimes we try to manage with cheese and bread”, Ayten, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

¹⁸⁵ “No no, we do it one by one, we don’t have any problem”, Barış, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

work day, since she went through the most difficult time with customers during her pregnancy.

Another subject is how love affairs are experienced within the stores. As it is mentioned in Chapter 1, Bourdieu (1998) asserts that social space is constructed in such a way that agents or groups are distributed in it according to their position in statistical distributions based on economic capital and cultural capital. The model thus defines distances that are *predictive* of encounters, affinities, sympathies, or even desires. Concretely, this means that people located at the top of the space have little chance of marrying people located toward the bottom. So that it presents an explanatory frame in the explanations of workers about possible intimacies in the store. For instance, Barış who works in the middle section responds to the question whether there can be an intimate relationship between customer and worker: “Ben asla! Olamaz! Bilmiyorum ya... Biraz şey olur... Hem çalışıyorsun, o alışverişe gelmiş. Ben güzel olsa bile dönüp bakmam. Bilmiyorum... Belki bu cesaret isteyen bir şey, yani bakmak.”¹⁸⁶

What Barış describes as a state “it is a matter of courage” might be his belief that the distance between a customer and a worker is impassable since they have different positions as far as class distinction in the social space is concerned. Nilgün, who had worked as a cashier before, points to how unrealistic the possibility of intimacy with a customer is:

“Benden önceki kasiyerler müşteri ile evlenmişler. İşte nasip... Ama duyguları çok şey yapmamak gerekiyor, karıştırmamak gerekiyor. Bir müşteri sana mesela genç olabilir yakışıklı olabilir işte ne bileyim beyefendi bir tiptir ama belki sana o gözle bakmıyordur. Sadece kasiyer ve iyi insan olarak bakıyordur. Onu ayırt etmek çok önemli”¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁶ “Me, never! It can’t happen! I really don’t know... It would be a little... Both you are working, s/he is there to shop. I wouldn’t look at her even if she is beautiful. I don’t know... Perhaps it is a matter of courage, to look at her”, Barış, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

¹⁸⁷ “Cashiers who worked before I was here are said to have married with the customer. Here a lot is... But the feelings should not be, well, should not be involved. One customer might be handsome for example and might be young, well, whatever it is, he might be a gentleman but he might not be

In this context, Nilgün, who works as a cashier in the market, describes the situations of intimacies or marriages as follows: “Genelde kasiyerler manavlarla veya işte kız kasiyer, oğlan manav olur.”¹⁸⁸ Sevim analyzes the marriage opportunities of the workers in the store taking into account spatial closeness of work conditions:

“Genelde o nasıl oluyor biliyor musun? Kasiyerlerle güvenlikler evlenir. Çünkü güvenlikler hep o kasa şeyindedir kasiyerler de oradadır ya... Valla bu gerçektir yani... Şarküteri et reyonu hep yan yanadır. Şarküteri ile kasap evlenir ya da orta reyondaki arkadaşlar birbirleriyle flört ederler. Bir de çok fazla firmacılar geldikleri için atıyorum benim konumumdaki bir insan ben evliyim ama bekâr olunca bir sürü firma yetkilisi geliyor, sipariş almaya çalışıyor, kendi malını satmaya çalışıyor, ikna etmeye çalışıyor. Dolayısıyla seninle oturup konuştuğumuz gibi konuşmak durumundalar, onu ikna etmek durumunda. Onun için onlar da çok flört ediyorlar. Oluyor yani.”¹⁸⁹

Most of the workers who are interviewed stated that workers avoid marriages with their teammates since the administration does not consent to such intimacies. However, as Nurcan expresses this is unavoidable:

"Oluyor tabi. İşyerinden çok evlenen insan da var. Aynı şirkette yasak olmasına rağmen. Sonuçta iş dışında başka bir hayatın olmadığı için genelde insanlar tercihlerini o yönde gösteriyorlar. Yasak ama insanlar ne yapsınlar gün boyu zaten aynı yerdeler, başka yerde bulma şansları yok, doğal olarak yakınlaşıyorlar." ¹⁹⁰

looking at you with that intention. He might be thinking of you as only a cashier and a good person. It is very important to distinguish it”, Nilgün, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

¹⁸⁸ “Generally cashiers with greengrocer or the girl is cashier, the boy is greengrocer,” Nilgün, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

¹⁸⁹ “Do you know how it takes place generally? Cashiers get married with the security guards. Because security guards are always near that cashier thing and cashiers too are there... To be honest this is a reality I mean... Charcuterie is next to the butcher. Charcuterie personnel and butchers get married or colleagues in the middle department flirt with each other. Also, since so many firm owners come let’s say somebody in my position I am married but when you are single a lot of firm managers come, try to take orders, try to sell their goods, try to convince. So they have to talk like you and I do, they have to convince her. Thus they too flirt very much. They do I mean.”

¹⁹⁰ “Of course it happens. There are so many people who got married in the same work place even if it is forbidden in the same firm. Eventually since you you don’t have a life outside work; generally people make their choices in that way. It is forbidden but what can they do they are at the same place all day long, they don’t have other chances to find someone else, naturally they get intimate”, Nurcan, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

Among the workers who I interviewed only Duygu is working at the same place with her husband. However, this intimacy is lived secretly until they get married. Previously she says if there were such intimacies one would definitely have been fired and she adds “of course the one fired would be the girl naturally”. But she says that the reason they are allowed to work at the same place is that they were very careful about this and did not bring their private life to their work. Duygu says that the main reason she hid this relationship from everyone else except for a few intimate friends was not to let other people gossip about her and her chastity.

Fatoş too mentioned that the attitude of managers was quite strict about the quality of the relationships between men and women at the work place. She noted that her manager was “a very conservative person” about these issues, and that when there occurred such an intimacy, definitely one of them would be sent to another store or would be fired. Where Fatoş works cashiers are only women. When I asked her why they do not employ males as cashiers to get rid of such a problem, she replies with a smile:

"Kasiyer müşteri çekiyor ama. Erkek daha sinirli oluyor. Erkek kasiyer, sanmıyorum pek olmaz herhalde. Hem de müşteri çektiği için. Bayan ya, özellikle mesela buranın müşterisi erkek. Dediğin gibi, erkek egemen bi yer burası. Evde erkeğin sözü geçiyor. Ne alıncağına erkek karar veriyor. Yani mesela ben bi ürünü bi bayana daha kolay satamam, bi erkeğe daha kolay satarım. Onun için bayan kasiyer. [...] Ya, erkekler daha hayır diyemiyorlar bayanlara, burada öyle yani"¹⁹¹

Despite this fact she reports that the managers get annoyed when a male customer gets closer to a female cashier and still blame the cashier for this:

"Özellikle genç erkekler falan gelip gidiyordu. Hani, bi sigara için üç dört kere geliyordu. Atıyorum, bir ürün için üç dört kere geliyordu. İlgilendiği birine kağıt bırakıp gidenler oluyordu, telefon numarası bırakıp. Dolayısıyla böyle şeyler yaşıyoruz zaman

¹⁹¹ "(Laughing) but cashiers attract customers. Males are more tense. Male cashiers, I don't think so there are not many I guess. Nay for attracting customer. Female you know, especially for instance, since the customer here is male. As you say, here it is male dominated. At home what man says matters. Men decide what will be bought. I mean for example I can't sell a product to a woman easier; I sell it to a man easier. That's why a female cashier. [...] So it is, men can't say no to women, here it is so I mean," Fatoş, interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

zaman. Onlara da tepki gösteriyorlar ama o zaman da, sanki kasiyer yüz vermiş gibi! 'Niye gelip gidiyor bu, ne diye senin yanına gelip gidiyor sürekli?' Müşteri işte, ne bileyim, geliyor."¹⁹²

She explains its reason: "Niye? Hani karşıdakine suçu yüklememek için. Sen kendini şey yapacaksın. Demek ki bende hata dicesin. Suçlamıcağsın. Yine dediğim gibi, aynı olaya giriyo, müşteriye her şey mübah!"¹⁹³

As it can be observed in this example too, the policy that says that the "customer is always right" is abided even at the expense of blaming female workers who are subject to molestation.

The arguments that have been made so far show that the experiences of women workers are identified also by gender relations within the stores. For instance, in a supermarket lunch is prepared by women, and in another supermarket the women who work as cashier do the cleaning too. Moreover, it can be inferred from the narratives of the female workers that sometimes working in the market is more stressful for women. Among the women who are interviewed within the scope of this study, almost all the married ones highlighted that they go on working at home due to the responsibilities such as cleaning the house, cooking and looking after children. Furthermore, the workers hold the belief that the distance between a worker and a customer or an manager cannot be transcended, and that any kind of love affair in the store is unacceptable by the administration.

¹⁹² "Especially young men were coming and going. I mean, he would come a couple of times for a cigarette. Let's say, he would come a few times for a product. There were those who left a paper to the person they were interested in, they would scribble down their phone number. So from time to time we experience such things. They react to them but then like it is the cashier who flirts! 'Why does he come next to you, why does he constantly visit you?' How should I know, just a customer, he just comes," Fatoş, interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

¹⁹³ "Why? So as not to blame the other one. You will make yourself, well... You will say so that must be who is mistaken. You won't blame anyone. I mean as I said, it is the same thing, anything goes with the customer!", Fatoş, interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

The above discussion is to be related with family relationships and socialization patterns.

3.3. The Families of Workers

In this part, the family relations of workers will be my main point of focus. When doing so, I will give some examples from the world literature and compare them with my interviewees' answers.

When examining the world literature, I find that in *Worlds of Pain* Rubin (1976) reported that the lives and memories of working-class Americans were filled with pain: unfulfilled dreams; boring social lives; miserable jobs; and marriages offering little personal growth (Gorman, 2000: 695). By this way, he describes the working-class families she studied as living in "worlds of pain". These working-class couples married young and became parents shortly after taking their vows, putting extra pressure on the relationships. I witnessed similiar explanations of store workers I interviewed. For example, Asiye says that she married at the age of 16 although she did not want to because:

"Benim ortanca abim kız kaçırdı, sağolsun, bi aileden kız kaçırdı, abim okulu yeni bitirmişti, sonra tayini Tunceli'ye çıkmıştı, Tunceli'ye gitmek durumunda kaldı. O Tunceli'ye gidince büyük ağbimle küçük ağbim aynı anda askere gideceklerdi, gitmeden önce evde sadece annem, yengem, ben kalıyoduk, üç bayan. Kaçırdığı kız tarafıyla da aramız biraz limoni olunca, hani tehditler falandı bu da onların biraz gözünü korkuttu, gitmeden kardeşimizin başını bağlayalım da, eve gelip giden bi erkek olsun, bizi koruyup kollayacak birisi olsun diye. Çok baskı vardı üstümde, istemememe rağmen oldu gitti işte, nasip kismet işte..."¹⁹⁴

¹⁹⁴ "My elder brother abducted a girl, thank him, he abducted a girl from a family, my brother had just graduated, and then he was appointed to Tunceli, he had to go to Tunceli. When he was gone to Tunceli my other two elder brothers were going to join the army, before they were gone there was only my mother, sister-in-law, and I staying at home, 3 women. Since we had a bad relationship with the abducted girl's family, I mean the threats and so on scared them, before going we should make our sister marry so that there is a man to come home, to take care of us. There was so much pressure on me, it happened even though I didn't want to, so, here it is lot and destiny...", Asiye, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

She got angry with her family because of making her marry such an early age: "Yani evet. Niye beni küçük yaşta evlendirdiniz, hadi benim yaşım küçüktü doğru karar veremedim, sizin de mi yaşıңыз küçüktü, siz niye benim için doğru kararlar vermediniz."¹⁹⁵ It is clear that, as Rubin clarifies, "socialization patterns kept these men and women in their respective roles, hindering their personal growth and ability to explore new lifestyles" (cited in Gorman, 2000: 695). As it is seen above, Rukiye could not make her decision about her life and got married because of the demand of her family.

Moreover, Rubin argues that "these working-class couples worked hard and expected rewards, but received few of them. The husband's job proved alienating and usually did not provide enough income for the family to escape its financial condition. Furthermore, the couples' interpersonal lives were marked by a lack of intimacy, communication, and sharing; and their social lives and leisure time were found to be trivial. Although Rubin pointed out that some members of the working class lived "settled" lives, she argued that their lives were filled with poverty, violence, uncertainty and pain" (cited in Gorman, 2000: 695).

When examining the answers of interviewees, Eray also explained that despite of solidarity among family members, they have a lack of intimacy, communication and sharing in their family lives: "Çoğu zaman. Pek fazla yüzünü görmüyom da hiç birinin. Akşamları da göremiyom çoğu zaman. Yorgunluktan bitiyorum koltuğa uzanır uzanmaz",¹⁹⁶

When I asked whether he expresses his grievances to his family, he says:

¹⁹⁵ Why did you make me marry at a young age, let's say I was too young to make a good decision, were you young too, why didn't you make a good decision for me", Asiye, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

¹⁹⁶ "Most of the time. I don't come together much with any of them either. Mostly I don't see them even in the evenings. I feel exhausted and lie down on the sofa immediately.", , interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

"Anlatmıyorum. Sesiz kalmayı tercih ediyorum. (Why?) Bilmem, evdekilere anlatmak, yani ne bileyim, şeyime gidiyor ya, yani bir derdim olduğunda birine anlatmak şeyime gidiyo, zoruma gidiyo. Onları da derdimle üzmem istemiyorum."¹⁹⁷

Similar to Eray, Asiye keeps her grievances secret:

"Maalesef. Ya annem her şeye çok takıntı yapar benim. O yüzden annemle en ufak bi sorunum bile olsun, paylaşmam. Abilerim de öyledir, yani çok sert dururlar ama bilirim ki bazı şeyleri benden çok kafaya takarlar. O yüzden ailemle hiç bi sıkıntıyı paylaşmıyorum."¹⁹⁸

These expressions may indicate that the traditional family solidarity is getting weakened. However, weakening of the traditional family ties should not mean that the patriarchal relations are nonexistent. As Sennett (1980: 50) points out "the era of high capitalism destroyed in order to build. [...] But the destruction of the old order did not mean it was forgotten. Quite the opposite. It was idealized, tarted up, made the subject for regret." More precisely:

"Everywhere in the 19th Century the fragments of the old life which capitalism was shattering were being picked up and treasured as objects all the more precious because they were so vulnerable, too delicate and sensitive to survive the onslaught of material progress. Just as the village was idealized as a community, the stable family, with the younger generations taking their places in the order custom dictated, was idealized as the seat of virtue" (Sennett, 1980: 50-51).

Similarly, I have observed an idealization of gender roles of man and women in family institution, that is to say man should be a bread-winning husband and women should be a housewife in Barış's explanation:

"Bir defa ben eşimi çalıştırmam. Geri kafalıdır mı diyeceksin bilmem ama... Benim dediğim bir şey vardı, hani işten gelince karşılanmak isterim. Bir ikincisi, çok kötü yani, eşine bile

¹⁹⁷ "I don't tell. I prefer to keep quiet. (Why?) I don't know, to tell my family, I really don't know, I find it like, I mean I find it hard to share my problems with somebody. I don't want to upset them too with my problem", , interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

¹⁹⁸ "Unfortunately. My mother is always very obsessive. That's why I would never share even a bit of my troubles with my mother. It is the same case with my brothers, they seem strong but I know that they become more obsessed with the problems than me. That's why I never share anything that bothers me with my family", Asiye, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

güvensen, insanlara güvenemiyorsun. Ben görüyorum da örneklerini. Ben çalışmasını istemiyorum çünkü ben zaten kendimi ve ailemi geçindiremedikten, onların ihtiyaçlarını gideremedikten sonra asla evlenmeyi düşünmüyorum"¹⁹⁹

This has also been emphasized in some other studies conducted in Turkey. For instance, in the research of Nichols and Sugur (2004) the 80 percent of 356 workers who were interviewed and worked in factories which produced white goods, cars, or textile products were married. % 90 of the married couples have two children or less. % 76 of the workers who are interviewed do not have any income except for their salaries. % 77 of the workers interviewed are males and only % 13 of these workers' wives work with a salary.

Although it is argued that the traditional family solidarity has declined in Turkey, workers generally note that in their family lives they support each other. For instance, Meral told that:

"biz yedi kişilik bir aileyiz gelinle birlikte otururuz, bir tane 4 yaşında yeğenim var. Kalabalık bir aileyim ben, seviyorum ailemi... Güzel yani evin sistemini bir görsen zaten biz dışa dönük bir aile değiliz kendi içimizde yaşıyoruz hani millet der ya komşuya gidelim şuraya gidelim, ı-ıh, biz bize yetiyoruz."²⁰⁰

She talks to her family members about her personal problems: "Anlatabiliyorum, ya kız kardeşim anlatabiliyorum, anneme anlatabiliyorum, annem benim annem değil artık arkadaşım, her şeyimi bilir a'dan z'ye, şurda ne yiyiyorsam ne içiyorsam"²⁰¹

¹⁹⁹ "First, I don't let my wife work. I don't know if you will call me ignorant or something but... I said something that I want to be welcomed when I come from work. Second, very bad, even if you trust in your wife, you can't be sure about other people. I see such examples also. I don't want her to work because I wouldn't get married if I can't support my family and provide for what they need", Barış, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

²⁰⁰ "We are a family with seven people and live with the bride, I have a nephew of four years. We are a crowded family, I love my family... It is nice I mean if you see the system of home we are not an extroverted family we live inside our home unlike the people who visit their neighbours, we are enough for ourselves", Meral, interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

²⁰¹ I can tell them, I can tell my sister, I can tell my mother, she is not my mother she is more like my friend, she knows everything about me from a to z, what I eat and drink here now she knows", Meral, interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

The quotations from female workers indicate how gender roles shape the relationships between the family members. For instance, many female workers noted that generally they are closer to their mothers while they have a distance with their fathers. For example, Elvan's response was this when I asked her about her relationship with the family:

"Annemle çok mükemmeldir. Babamla yeni yeni.... Sen de Doğulu olduğun için bilemen lazım. Ezik de demiyeyim de, katı kurallarla yetiştiğimiz için, mesela evin içinde de olsa, bi odadan o odaya geldiği zaman kalkmak zorundasın. [...] Annem mükemmeldir (duygulanır). Anne-kız ilişkisi değil de iki kız kardeş ilişkisidir. Her şeyimi paylaşıyorum. Hiç gizli saklı hiç bi şeyim yoktur annemden. Her şeyimi de bilir. Baba sert."²⁰²

When workers talk about acting with solidarity with their family members, they usually mean supporting each other. For instance Zehra says that:

"Eve çalışıyorum. Ablama veriyorum maaşı, biz öyleyiz yani. Ablam faturalarla falan ilgilenir. Bişeye ihtiyacım olsun, mesela giysi, ayakkabı falan ablam alır. Söylemem yetiyor ona. Bazen kendisi de alır içinden gelip."²⁰³

Gülcan's parents are divorced. While she has quite a bad relationship with her father, she has a solidarity relationship with her mother and siblings. According to her, this was a necessity for them survive economically. When her parents got divorced, she has been staying with her father for a period of time. Her father would arrive at home late every night. Gülcan says that during the time she has been staying with her father, she used to lock the door of her bedroom and sleep:

²⁰² "It is wonderful with my mother. With my father it is recently... Since you are from the East you should know it. Since we grew up with strict rules let's not say oppressive rules, for example at home you have to stand up when he comes into the room. [...] My mother is wonderful (the interviewed is moved). It is not like a relationship of mother-daughter but of two sisters. I share everything with her. I never have anything hidden from her. And she knows everything about me. Father is strict", Elvan, interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

²⁰³ "I work for the family. I give my salary to my elder sister, we are like this. My elder sister deals with the bills. When I need something, for example clothes, shoes etc. my elder sister buys it. It is enough just to ask her. Sometimes she herself buys something without being asked", Zehra, interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

"Kapımı kitleler yatarım, güvenmezdim ben babama. Güvenmem ben babama. Ondan sonra, tıklardı, "kalk bana yemek hazırla", yemeği hazırlardım. "otur, konuş", bir de onla konuşurdum. Saat 2 olur, 2 - 3 olur muydu, kimi zaman 4 olur muydu? [...] Valla, 'bu devirde babana bile güvenmice' diyorlar ya. İçtiği için. Ne olacağı belli olmaz diye."²⁰⁴

In this sense, even if it is not possible to state a dissolution of the family ties because of their perpetuating to support each other and to try to strengthen the family via encouraging their children's education, most of them had no deep sense of sharing and could not spend much time with each other neither at home nor outside because of hard, low-waged and long working days. In this context, the family ties are not dissolving, on the contrary, the institution of the family is perpetuating itself strengthening its existence via the transfer of its accumulated economic and cultural capital to the successive generations.

Sennett (2003) points out that workers are not lacking self-respect entirely; it comes to them through providing for their families. Accordingly, if their family faces economic hardship, it causes the workers to feel humiliated in the face of their children:

"İki gün önce ben çocuğuma bir tane şey aldım, kumbara aldım. Getirdiğim dakika kırdı. 2.5 yaşında. Baba dedi aldığına bak, aldığına dedi. Bir şey diyemiyorsun. Gülüyorsun soruya, kelimeye gülüyorsun. 2.5 yaşında çünkü. Küçük olduğu için. Büyük olmuş da bunu söylemiş olsa belki açıklarsın ama 2,5 yaşındaki çocuğa anlatamıyorsun. Her şeyin iyisi olsun diyorsun ama olmuyor. Yani ister istemez olmuyor."²⁰⁵

²⁰⁴ "I would lock my door and sleep, I would not trust in my father. I don't trust in my father. And then he would knock, "prepare me something to eat", and I did it. "sit, talk", and I would talk to him. It could be 2 o'clock, 2 -3 or sometimes 4? [...] Well, they say "you won't even trust in your father in this age". Since he drinks. You can't know what would happen", Gülcan, interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

²⁰⁵ "Two days ago I bought a thing for my son, money-box. The moment I brought it he broke it. He is 2.5 years old. He said father look what you bought, look. You can't say anything. You laugh at the question, at the word. Because he is just 2.5 years old. Since he is young. If he was older and he would tell such a thing perhaps you can explain him but you can't tell it to a 2.5 year old child. You want the best of everything but it does not come true. I mean unavoidably it does not come true", Salim, interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

Some studies have taken a social-psychological approach to the impact of social class on families. Kohn (1969), for example, argued that parents know from their workplace experiences the skills and education their children will need; working-class parents teach traits such as conformity, punctuality, and obedience while middle-class parents try to instill other traits in their children such as independence, creativity, and self actualization. These parents want their children to have what they did not have - a college education (Connell *et al.* 1982; cited in Gorman, 2000: 696.). This is the key to understanding the "hidden injuries of class" (Sennett and Cobb, 1972).

Similarly, the workers who Nichols and Sugur (2004) interviewed and who worked in factories said that they would not like their children to do the same work as they do. In addition, according to findings of their research, workers sometimes want their children to be civil servants, engineers, managers, but generally and, above all, they want them to escape from manual into white-collar work (pp. 196-197). Correspondingly, the workers who I asked if they wanted their children to be store workers said that they did not want that. For instance, Hasan who works in butcher department in a store says:

“Haa, çocuğum için benim düşüncem tabi ki her şeyiyle önce kendini yetiştirsin, okusun, yabancı dil kursuna ben gitmedim gitsin. [...] Valla ben çocuğum için çok hani derler ya on parmağında on marifet olsun istiyorum... Meslek geçiyo insanın aklından ama tabii benimki gibi gasaplık geçmiyor...”²⁰⁶

The children’s educational achievement was a substantial issue for all the families. Although it was not easy for workers, they intended to invest in educational capital which could provide the parents with an opportunity to convert their cultural capital into economic capital Therefore; the workers' families seem to have managed to maintain upward mobility in the social space.

²⁰⁶ □ “But, what I think for my son is of course he cultivates himself with everything he has, go to school, go to a language course that i didn’t go to. [...] Actually, I want so much for my son you know what they say “ten skills on ten fingers”... One thinks of a job but of course not of a job of a butcher like me...”, Hasan, interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

Trying to achieve upward mobility in the social space had a special reason for Onur. He said that when he went to meet his girlfriend's family, he felt inferior because he was a store worker:

"Hırs yapan işte bu. Ezik düşürmek kendimi. [...] Eğer ki dik girip de eğik çıkıyosan bunun altında bişey vardır. Yani senin dallarını kesebiliyolar o zaman rahat değilsin işte. Ama öbür türlü olsan dallarını sarka sarka oturursun olduğun yerde. Bi ağaç gölgesi hissettirirsin. Öbür türlü dağılmış bi ağaç olur mu böyle tek dal. Kalıyosun. Anlatmak istediğim bu"²⁰⁷

Consequently, it can be argued that socialization patterns keep most workers in their respective roles, preventing their personal growth and ability to make new decisions for their lives. Thus, some workers said that they married young and became parents in an early age. Moreover, the relationships among family members have been characterized by a lack of intimacy, communication, and sharing. It has been argued that this can be thought as a sign of the dissolution of the family ties. However, workers noted that in their family lives they support each other in terms of sustaining their family for example via financial support for their children education. But most of them had no deep feeling shared and could not spend much time with each other neither at home nor outside. This should be thought in respect of hard, low-waged and long working days. Unfortunately, if their family experiences economic hardship and cannot provide for their children's educational expense, it causes workers to feel humiliated in the face of their children. Furthermore, it has been observed that some interviewees try to overcome their lack of self-esteem that arises from their job through encouraging their children's education. That is why children's educational achievement was a substantial issue for all the families. Although it was not easy for the workers, they intended to invest in educational capital which could provide the parents with an opportunity to convert their educational capital into economic capital.

²⁰⁷ "This is it what makes ambition. To make one looked down on. [...] If you enter upright and quit despised then there is a problem there. I mean they can cut the branches of your tree then you are not comfortable. But otherwise you will be sitting comfortably under your tree with your branches wide. You feel the comfort of the shadow of the tree. Other way there cannot exist a tree with only one branch. Yo remain alone. This is what I am trying to say", Onur, interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

3.4. Unfulfilled Dreams and Future Hopes

We have mentioned in the previous lines that store workers do not want their children to have the same job as themselves. While this might be interpreted as a strategy to strengthen their family, it could also be thought that they try to realize their own unrealized dreams through their children. This example shows the tight bond between unrealized dreams and future plans. Thus, in this section first we will mention the unrealized dreams of workers, and then their hopes related to the future.

In focusing on the different educational experiences of middle- and working-class women, Finley (1992) shows that these women differ little in their goals and aspirations, but they do have different educational outcomes based on their family resources. Working-class women, she argues, want to attend college after high school - even with a history of painful educational experiences - but have to delay that decision for a lack of adequate transportation, tuition, room and board. Furthermore, once removed from the competition, women from the working class find it increasingly difficult to return to college at a later date due to those same financial constraints (Gorman, 2000: 697).

My interviews were full of narratives enlightening the fact that workers are deprived of the opportunities necessary to realize their dreams. Sultan said that after high school, while she was preparing for the university exam, she started to work in a store, but she could not leave work because of the bad exam result. Similarly, Nurcan also started to work in a store after high school, but she still works there:

"Ben ilk markete başladığım zaman liseden çıktım, işte part-time girdim. Hem ders çalışırım, hem üniversite sınavına hazırlanırım diye girdim. Daha sonra tabi hiç part-time çalışmadım ben. Part-time girdim ama fazla çalıştım. Ders çalışmadım. Zaten orda kafam bir milyon olup geliyordum eve. Hiçbir sosyal hayatım kalmamıştı. [...] Çok da istemedim daha sonra. Hayatla bağımı kopardım belki. Hani amacım kalmadı artık."²⁰⁸

²⁰⁸ "When I first began to work at the market I graduated from college, I worked there part-time. I began to work with the thought that I can both study and prepare for the university exam. And later on of course I never worked part-time. I began to work part-time but did overtime. I couldn't study. I was

Like many other workers Nurcan also decided to do this job temporarily at the beginning. However, when I interviewed her she had been doing this job for 13 years and still she had the feeling that she was doing this job temporarily. She told me that she waited to get rid of some economic responsibilities to quit the job, but these responsibilities never ended.²⁰⁹ As a result, she kept on working though she did not like this job. She said that she thought of preparing herself for the exam of the government job but she could in no way find that strength in herself and she felt exhausted.

When the cashier girl Fatoş is a last year student at college, her mother gives birth and becomes disabled. She gives birth to twins. Fatoş does the housework until midnight after arriving at home from college, takes care of her mother and looks after her siblings. According to her, her life has ended when she graduated from college:

"Ya ben hemşirelik kazandım Ankara dışında bi yerdi. Hatta bi kaç yeri birden tutturabiliyordum ama tercih yapmadım. Ondan sonra da hiç sınava girmedim. Yani şey diye düşündüm, benim yolum böyle çizilmiş diye düşündüm. Sonra da zaten hiç fırsatım olmadı, hep bir şeyler girdi araya. Hani, şöyle bir öncelik listesi yapsam, o listede ben kendimi koyamıyordum. Öyle diyeyim, hep başka şeyler oluyordu, hep ben en sona kalıyordum. Öyle öyle gitti yani."²¹⁰

already too exhausted when I came home. I had no social activity left. [...] Later I didn't want that much. Perhaps I severed my tie with social life. I mean I had no aim any more", Nurcan, interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

²⁰⁹ This is a topic that should also be focused on taking into consideration the state of belonging to a class. The workers' unceasing will to quit their job can be considered as an impediment to them to develop the sense of belonging to a class, to work actively in their labour union, to be more decisive to improve their conditions. After all, the existent ways to have a stable career are shut, solidarity patterns among the workers are replaced by rivalry or relinquish.

²¹⁰ Actually I succeeded to pass the exam for nursing somewhere outside Ankara. I could go to several other departments but I didn't fill out the documents to go. Later I never sat the exam even m. I mean I thought like, my destiny is this I thought. And later I never had the chance neither, I always was busy with something. If I would make a list of priorities I could not put myself in the list, it is better to say. There was always something else to do, I was the last. It went on like this I mean", Fatoş ,interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

In the working place too Ayşe is responsible for the cash box, and she associates this with her taking grand responsibilities at a very young age. Ayşe has aspirations but some hurdles make them harder to attain:

"Artık sorumluluğu çok küçük yaşta aldım ya ben, evin sorumluluğunu aldım, o öyle gidiyor yani. Her gittiğim yerde böyle sorumlu olmak zorundaymışım gibi hissediyorum. Sorumluluk bilincinden kaynaklanıyor. Küçük yaşta aldım. Hani arkadaşlarım kalkıp oynayabiliyorken ben akşam ne yemek yapacam, bulaşığı nasıl yıkasam diye düşünüyordum. [...] Alıştım, ben yine de şükrediyorum, hiçbir zaman isyan etmedim. Çok şükür bi ailem var da onlara bakabiliyorum, o da bir şeydir. Öyle düşündüm ki kendimi teselli açısından, hem şükretmek açısından."²¹¹

When Elvan was asked about her dreams she too refers to the financial disadvantages and to her life dedicated to the family:

"Önceden çok hayalim vardı, üniversite sınavına girecem dedim, olmadı, şu (işaret parmağı ve baş parmağını birbine sürterek) para para para, napolyon mu diyordu, ne geldiyse zaten o para yüzünden geldi, okuyamadım, hep çalıştım, hep aileme baktım, hani genç kızların içine sıkılmış bir şeyleri vardır ya ailenin yüzünden şöyle böyle. Hayalim resim öğretmeni, müzik öğretmeni olmaktı (Burada çok içli ağlamaya başlar, peçete uzatıyorum, reddediyor) Boş ver, ben gözyaşlarımın masadan akmasını severim, yüzümden akıp gitmesini."²¹²

Sevim, whose father had retired and who came from a family that scraped a living, relates how she felt when she could not go on studying and through what she had gone through:

²¹¹ "I had to shoulder responsibilities at such an early age, responsibility of the home, that is why it is still going on like that. I feel that I have to do so. It derives from the consciousness of responsibilities. I began to have it them at a young age. While my friends were able to go and play, I was thinking how I should wash the dishes, what I should cook. [...] I got used to it, I am grateful anyway, I never rebelled. Thank God I have a family to look after, that's something. I think in this way to console myself, and to thank God", Fatoş, interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

²¹² "Before I had many dreams, I said I am going to try the university exam, I couldn't, this (rubbing her thumb and forefinger to each other) money money money, Napoleon said it I guess, whatever happened was because of it, I couldn't go to school, I always worked, I always looked after my family, you know there is something inside the girls that is suppressed because of the family and so on. My dream was to become an art teacher of painting or music (here she begins to weep inwardly, I give her a napkin, she refuses to take it). Don't mind, I like my tears flowing from the table, flowing down my face", Elvan, interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

“Ben okulu bırakmak zorunda kaldım. Okula gidemedim. İyi bir okul hayatım vardı aslında... Sonra yani hayat beni buralara getirdi. Liseyi dışarıdan bitirdim, öyle bir karışıktı ki ev ortamı da, bayağı bir karışıktı, annemle babam geçinemiyorlardı filan... O dönemde evlendim. Evlendiğimde 21 yaşındaydım henüz, çok küçüktüm, 22 yaşında anne oldum falan... Okulu bırakmasaydım belki böyle olmazdı.”²¹³

Sevim is one of the female workers who got married at a young age and had to give up her education. Many of the workers I interviewed had to give up their education due to economic impossibilities. Similar to the workers that Rubin (1976) interviewed, they portrayed a depressing picture of youthful goals and aspirations. Rubin points out that faced with poverty and a lack of positive role models, working-class males did not look beyond their automobiles, while working-class females dreamed only of marrying princes. Consequently, working-class youth did not think about college or professional careers: the men went to work in low level bluecollar occupations: the women got married. These are the only paths, Rubin (1976) argued, that can give working-class youth a sense of control over their lives, independent living quarters, and an adult identity (Gorman, 2000: 700).

When I asked Hüseyin if he had wanted to attend school or not, he said that: "Onu da hiç düşünmedim yani, okuma isteği yoktu bende, harbiden ya, okulu sevmiyodum yani, üç gün gidiyodum, beş gün gitmiyodum, (he smiles) onun için hiç düşünmedim yani ne olacağımı." ²¹⁴

Ali, the fourth child of a farmer family with seven children, says too that his interest in studying was little. He was motivated to earn money rather than to study since there was no positive role model around to stimulate him to study:

²¹³ “I had to leave school. I couldn’t go to school. Actually, I had a good school life... Later I mean life brought me here. I graduated from college from open education, it was so complicated the family conditions too, it was pretty complicated, my parents didn’t get along well and so on... I got married at that period. When I got married, I was just 21 years old, I was very young; I was a mother at the age of 22 and so on... If I could go on studying perhaps I would not end up like this,” Sevim, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

²¹⁴ “I mean I didn’t think about it either, I wasn’t willing to study, no shit, I didn’t like school, I would attend three days and not attend 5 days, (laughs) that’s why I never thought what will happen I mean”, Hüseyin, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

“ortaokulu bitirdim. Liseden bıraktım... Hiç şikayetçi değilim. Ya heves etmiyordum o zaman... Hiç istemiyordum. Başarısız da değildim, kalma filan de yoktu derslerden ama o zaman dediğim gibi abimgilin işi felan vardı onlara heves ediyordum yani, daha işimin başında, biz o kadar zaman beklemiyoruz biraz daha işin başı gerçi onlara heves ediyordum”²¹⁵.

Elvan dreams of marrying after she arranges her life and gets relieved by paying her debt. Therefore, as Rubin's arguments, it can be thought that this is the only way for her to feel a sense of control over her life:

"Şu anki hedefim ne biliyor musun, bir an evvel hayatımdaki her şey düzene girsin, sıkıntılarım gitsin, borçları şunları bunları kapatalım diyorum, sonra ben de evleneyim. Evime bakayım, işime gücüme bakayım. Artık yoruldum. İnsanlardan da yoruldum, çalışmaktan da yoruldum."²¹⁶

Likewise, Zehra too bases her future plans on marriage: "tabi herkesin olduğu gibi benim de hayallerim var. En azından sevdiğim insanla birlikte olmayı düşünüyorum. İnşallah, Allah kısmet ederse."²¹⁷

It is seen that both male and female single workers' future plans focus on getting married and having children. In addition, for the working-class man working and making money are the main attractions (Gorman, 2000). For instance, after he finished the secondary school, Eray started to work and saved up money with his dad for buying a house for his family. Still he works to meet his brother's educational costs.

²¹⁵ "I graduated from elementary school. I left college... I am never complaining. I was not aspired at that time you know... I never wanted to. I was not unsuccessful, there was no failing from the classes but then as I said there was the work of my elder brothers I was enthusiastic about that I mean, at the beginning of my job, we don't wait that much it is a little early actually I was eager about working", Ali, interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

²¹⁶ Do you know what my aim is now, that everything in my life get in order, my difficulties were over, we pay all debts and such I say, and then I get married. I take care of my home, care about my job. I am tired any more. I am tired of the people too, tired of working too", Elvan, interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

²¹⁷ "of course like everyone else I also have dreams. At least I am thinking of marrying somebody who I love. If it is God will, if God let's it be", Zehra, interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

When I asked Eray whether he wanted to go to school, he said that: "Babam okutsaydı isterdim de okutmadı. Zaten babamda para hırsı vardır, o yüzden şey yaptı. [...] Ben şu anda okusaydım, değişik mevkilerde olurum. Yani, en çok subay olmayı istiyordum, biliyon mu? Olmadı."²¹⁸ He answers the question how it would be if he could become an army officer in this way: "Bilmem. Ya, benim davranış tarzım herkese göre farklı olurdu. [...] Değişik görürlerdi herhalde."²¹⁹

Eray who shows his class injury when he responds to my question how they see him now:

"Çalışan bi işçi olarak. Yani burda çalışan bi işçi olarak görüyorlar başka türlü görmüyorlar. [...] İşçi sınıfı olarak görüyorlar, başka türlü görmüyorlar. [...] Bazıları da, dediğim gibi, kendilerini, her şeyi parasıyla alacağını zannediyorlar. Sonuçta orda ben belli asgari ücrette çalışan biriyim (sessizlik). Parasıyla satın alamaz."²²⁰

Most of the workers I interviewed do not expect to raise to a higher rank. This has to do with the material conditions of the working class. Sennett mentions that there appears such a tableau for those who cannot cope with the feeling of failure:

"Anyone who has deeply tasted failure will recognize the impulse: given the destruction of hope and desire, the preservation of one's active voice is the only way to make failure bearable. Simply declaring one's will to endure will not suffice. [...] In this diction, relief is no strange to resignation. And resignation is an acknowledgment of the weight of objective reality (Sennett, 1998: 134).

²¹⁸ "If my father would let me study I would study but he didn't let me. My father always has the ambition to get money, that's why he did. [...] If I could go on studying I would be in a different position now. I mean, I wanted to become an army officer the most, do you know? But I couldn't.", , interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

²¹⁹ "I don't know. Well, I would treat each person in a different way. [...] they would see me different I guess", , interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

²²⁰ "As a worker. I mean they see me only as a worker and nothing else. [...] they see me as somebody from working class and nothing else. [...] Some people, as I said, think that they can buy everything with their money. Anyway I am a worker with a minimum wage (silence). They cannot buy me with their money", , interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

Eray has such a feeling as he has no expectation of promotion: “(to be a chief) hiç düşünmedim. Gözüm yükseklerde değil, alçaklarda.”²²¹

Even though Nurcan dislikes her job she makes no effort to change it and she goes through a feeling of abandonment and exhaustion similar to that of Eray. She expresses her feeling of resignation:

"Yok yok. İstemiyorum da zaten. Çalışmayı kendimde şey yapmadığım gibi, evlenmeyi de gözüm yemiyor yani. O kadar şey hissediyorum ki ben kendimi, bu işle alakalı değil, kişisel bir şey belki de. Neyin verdiği bir yorgunluk, bıkkınlık bilmiyorum ama hiç yeni bir şey için kendimi hazır görmüyorum. O gücü hissetmiyorum, sanki bitecekmişim falan gibi geliyor kendi kendime, yani sıfırlamışım gibi. [...] Geleceğe yönelik tek hayalim emekli olabilmek. Onun haricinde hiçbir şeyin hayalini kuramıyorum. İnşallah olursa emekli olmayı çok istiyorum. Onun haricinde hiçbir hedefim... (Gülerek) Hedefsiz insan boş insanmış bu arada. Ben öyleyim ama. Ee, öyle geleceğe ilişkin herhangi bir beklentim yok, isteğim de yok. Sadece emekli olayım, benim için yeterli olacak."²²²

Many workers stated that they do not expect promotion as they do not want to work there long. For example, Elvan:

"Öyle bir beklentim yok. Böyle bir ortamda öyle bir yükseliğe geçmek istemem. Çünkü market işi fazla ağır değil ama uğraşmak istemiyorum. İnsanlarla uğraşması o kadar zor ki"²²³

Similarly Zehra says that:

²²¹ “I never thought of it (becoming the chief). I am not a high flyer, I am a low flyer” Eray, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

²²² “No no. I don’t want that either. I don’t dare marry, as I don’t see working fit to me. I feel so much things, it is not about this job, perhaps it is personal. I don’t know where this fatigue and boredom derives from but I don’t feel ready to do anything. I don’t feel I have that strength, I feel like I am gonna be exhausted, consumed. [...] My only dream about future is to be retired. Except for that I can dream of nothing. If God wants to I want so much to retire. Except for that no dream... (laughing) By the way, a person without any aim is an empty person they say. I am. So, I have no expectation about future, no will either. Only that I be retired, that will be enough for me”, Nurcan, interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

²²³ “I don’t have such an expectation. I wouldn’t want to be that high in such a place like this. Because market business is not that heavy but I don’t want to deal with it. It is so difficult to deal with people,” Elvan, interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

"yani istemiyorum, daha fazla bu ortamda bulunmak istemiyorum yani. Gerçi kalmayı düşünsem olabilir de... Yani oradaki insanların çok fazla geleceği olduğunu düşünmüyorum. En basitinden bi müdür bile zor şartlar altında çalışıyor, çok büyük bir sorumluluk gerektiren ağır şartlarda çalışan insanlar."²²⁴

However, her hope about working under better conditions is alive: "insanları ayakta tutan umudu olmalı. Umut ediyorum birkaç yıl içerisinde bir şeylerin değişeceğini. İnşallah değişir."²²⁵ Yet, she stresses that the clue to that does not lie in her promotion to a better position in the store:

"Yok yok, mağaza ortamından nefret ediyorum. Mümkün olduğunca uzak durmaya çalışıyorum. Daha böyle sakin, huzur dolu bir ortam istiyorum. Yani daha ziyade böyle devlet memurluğu gibi bişey istiyorum. Ama o biraz geç bir ihtimal olabilir ama ne bileyim insanlarla daha az diyaloga girebileceğim bir iş istiyorum. Sabah 8 veya 9 da çıkıp akşam eve 5'te gelebileceğim, kendimi evime ve aileme ayırabileceğim zamanım olmasını istiyorum."²²⁶

It can be argued that the examples mentioned above have given some clues about how resignation makes failure bearable for workers. Besides, these examples have pointed out that workers could no longer rely on structured progress through an organizational hierarchy in order to develop their careers, but rather, were supposed to self-develop their own career paths as they move from job to job, company to company.

There were also the examples in the narratives of the workers which show that class injuries shape their future hopes. For example, when he is asked what his future dreams are, Onur told one of his memoirs which made him feel down:

²²⁴ "I mean I don't want to, I don't want stay any more in this atmosphere I mean. Actually if I think, I can but... I mean I don't think that those people there have a future. For example, even a manager works under bad conditions, they work under heavy conditions which include very high responsibilities," Zehra, interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

²²⁵ "What keeps people surviving must be their hope. I hope that somethings will change in a few years. It will if God wants to," Zehra, interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

²²⁶ "No no, I hate the atmosphere in the store. I try to remain far as much as I can. I mean I prefer to have a job like that of a government employee. But that may be a late possibility but how do I know, I want a job where I will have to contact with less people. I will go to work at 8 or 9 in the morning and return at 5, I want to have time to dedicate myself to home and family", Zehra, interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

"Şöyle bişey var. Ben bundan bir ay önce bir kız isteme mevzuğu gibi bişey oldu. Bak, ezginliğini ordan sana anlatayım ben. İşte böyle aile tanışması... Ezikliğim ordan var benim. Benim ezikliğim ne onu sana söylüyüm. [...] Erkek kardeşi demiş, yok olmaz, işi kötü, marketçi, sonuçta sonu belli değil. Yani küçük görmüş beni. Gücüm gitti beni küçük görmesi. [...] Daha çok para sahibi olma değil, onların bana yaptıkları şekilde, beni küçük gördükleri şekilde, karşlarına çıktığım zaman, evlerinin önüne kendi arabamla gittiğim zaman, indiği zaman annem babam, ben o evden nası çıktırısam, o eve daha bi değişik girmek isterim. Paralı olarak değil, para olması önemli değil, para bana bişey getiricekse hiç getirmesin. Para onu getiricekse hiç gelmesin."²²⁷

On the one hand, since he feels inferior in view of the family of the girl he loves, Onur places himself in a picture in which he goes to their home by car; on the other hand, he rejects the respectability deriving from money. He explains the depression that he suffers in this way while he is telling about his anger to his lover's brother:

"Beni kötölemekle ilk önce kendini küçük düşürüyor çünkü sen de evleneceksin. Bir gün benim yerimde olup da sen karşına çıktığın zaman kafan eğik olursa sen benim ne yaşadığımı o zaman anlarsın. Kafan eğik çıkmak çok kötü bişey. Eğer ki dik girip de eğik çıkıyorsan bunun altında bişey vardır. Yani senin dallarını kesebiliyorlar o zaman rahat değilsin işte. Ama öbür türlü olsan dallarını sarka oturursun olduğun yerde. Bi ağaç gölgesi hissettirirsin. Öbür türlü dağılmış bi ağaç olur mu böyle tek dal. Kalıyorsun. Anlatmak istediğim bu."²²⁸

Yasin says that his dream is to have a career in his work place and to be promoted in the sector. When he was asked whether he was self-confident he said "yes" and went on: "İnşallah. Hakkım yenmezse. Bu devirde torpilin olacak". After saying that he

²²⁷ "There is this. One month ago there was the subject like arranging a marriage. Look, I tell you my wound with this. It was like a family meeting... I have a injury from there. I tell you what my injury is. [...] her brother said, no, it is not possible, he has a bad job, a store worker, and anyway his end is obscure. I mean he looked down on me. I was angry for having been looked down on. [...] It's not having so much money, the way they did it to me, the way they despised me, when I came across them, when I go to their home by a car of my own, when my parents get off it, I would like to enter that home different from how I left it. Not with money, money is not important, if money will bring me something I don't want what it brings. If money will bring her, I never want her to come", Onur, interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

²²⁸ "You first debase yourself by decrying me because you too will get married. You will understand how I feel one day when you are in my shoes and you stand in front of me ashamed. It is bad to be ashamed. If you go without shame and leave there ashamed there is a problem. I mean they can cut the branches of your tree then you are not comfortable. But otherwise you will be sitting comfortably under your tree with your branches wide. You feel the comfort of the shadow of the tree. Other way there cannot exist a tree with only one branch. You remain alone. This is what I am trying to say," Onur, interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

goes on contradicting himself ““Ama yani her insan hak ettiği gibi yaşar. Ben öyle düşünüyorum. Biraz da tabii şans faktörü var.”²²⁹ Actually here, it could be asserted that he chooses not to esteem the factors outside his control since he believes that what maintains his promotion expectation is within his control.

It can be deduced from what we have related so far that the workers’ dreams about future is one of the most important themes from which appear the hidden injuries of the working class.

Although they had thought to work just for a while when they were young, many workers, especially the women explained that once they suspended school, they could not return to school education at a later date due to the financial or / and cultural constraints (for example, having to shoulder household duties at an early age, such as taking care of siblings, cleaning, etc.). Because of poverty and a lack of positive role models, some workers dropped out of school, started to work and got married and had a child in an early age. As their youth dreams, the main desires of some male workers were going to work and making money and some female workers dreamed only of marrying a good man. Besides, in this study many of the workers do not expect to raise to a higher rank. Moreover, they referred more to a change in their job more than a promotion in their workplace. They thought that it is so difficult and stressful to work.

3.5. Concluding Remarks

In this chapter, relations between customers and workers have been my main point of focus. I have started my examination about the issue of how workers experience class as a matter of self-esteem in their workplaces. Their narratives have presented that workers want to be treated with respect. Thus, they frequently have complained

²²⁹ “If it is Gods will. If they don’t tread on my toes. In this age yo should have an influence.” ... “But you know everyone lives what they deserve. I think so. Of course chance is also an important factor,” Yasin, interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

about the degrading and humiliating attitudes of costumers, which cause emotional-symbolic violence in their self-perception.

The second focal point has been to show how store workers cope with the discourtesy of costumers. When workers are motivated to serve costumers perfectly, it does not signify that workers are completely passive and consent to bad-mannered costumers. Indeed, they have many coping strategies for responding to unrespectful costumers.

Third, I have examined how workers distinguish costumers according to their attitudes towards them. Most of the workers have said that "rich" costumers are the ones who behave badly and cause problems. They have also mentioned that "nouveau riches" are also troublemakers. They also stated that women costumers are more difficult than men are. Nearly all workers I have interviewed thought that "poor" costumers do not behave badly.

It has been obvious that in their workplaces store workers can perceive intensively the social-class differences and deprivation of resources of consuming sufficiently when they confront the customer who have a high purchasing power.

Moreover, the experiences of the female workers have been of special attention in this study. Among the women, who are interviewed within the scope of this study, almost all the married ones highlighted that they go on working at home due to the responsibilities such as cleaning the house, cooking and looking after children. Besides, while women begin to have more places in the labour market, they are expected to stick to their "traditional" roles, so they are exploited in the two areas.

It has also been argued that socialization patterns keep most workers in their respective roles, preventing their personal development and ability to make new decisions for their lives. Finally, it has been argued that workers future hopes and unfulfilled dreams testify the hidden injuries of class. Both male and female workers explained that initially they had thought to work just for a while, but they could not

quit the job. Moreover, they referred to job security more than hopes of promotion in their workplace, maybe because it is more possible for them.

CONCLUSION

This study has been an attempt to examine the class experiences of workers who work in food retail stores in Ankara. The number of shopping centers and large food retail stores has dramatically increased and they have become increasingly important and indispensable for everyday lives of big cities. Moreover, they are also significant components of the Turkish economy in terms of large number of people employed in there. Nevertheless, the store workers as members of working class who work there have not been studied yet. As a result, we do not know much about their working conditions, challenges they face in their interactions with customers and in their relations with their managers and supervisors, and their social and cultural characteristics. In that sense I would be very glad if this thesis contributes some in class literature in Turkey by examining food retail service work which is done by workers who are the subject of the study.

The first focal points of the study have been the structure of food retailing as interactive service work, working conditions of workers, stratification, fragmentation and unionization of workers in stores. Then, it has examined how workers experience class as a matter of self-esteem in their workplaces, how they cope with discourtesy of costumers, how they classify costumers and whether they develop a sense of deprivation since they work in a consumption area and it has also analyzed gender and family relations within that context. In regard to these purposes, the field research of the thesis was employed through semi-structured in-depth interviews with 37 store workers who work in various stores in Ankara.

Similar to the case of Wal-Mart in the US, the stores in Turkey make workers work harder than they are paid for. In addition, they are confronted with humiliation and fear. Most of workers who were interviewed complained about their working conditions in the stores which cause low standards of life-quality for workers since

they have long working durations and they are underpaid. Generally, they feel themselves “useless” because of the unskilled jobs that they deal with and the fact they can be easily substituted by a large number of unemployed people waiting out there. They work in stores in where there is no room for trust among workers and sense of being worthy.

The rate of unionization among the workers of multinational stores is higher compared to small and local stores. However, it is difficult to say that union rights are completely gained. Moreover, up to now, the large stores generally have employed subcontracted workers for cleaning, security, restaurants and packing section which are non-productive areas. It can be predicted that subcontracting will expand to the most departments of large stores. According to respondent subcontracted workers employed in large stores, there is discrimination against them in the stores and they are not considered as workers of the main company. As a result, it has been suggested that fragmented and stratified employment statuses of workers and the formation of relations with managers and each other demolish the unity of the workers. It has also been posited that the relationship among the workers is not a practice of solidarity. This is thought to be connected with the tiresome work and the structure of the sector. It has been suggested that employment of subcontracted workers, differing employment practices as full-time or part-time, the intensity of workforce circulation, lack of job security and the fear to lose their jobs result in rivalry among the workers and “corrosion of character” for workers. Besides, for many workers working in a store is a temporary job. The workers’ unceasing will to quit their job can be considered as an impediment to them to develop the sense of belonging to a class, to work actively in their labour union, to be more decisive to improve their conditions. Therefore, being aware of their class interests and struggling for realizing them, that is having a "class consciousness" is a questionable subject for store workers.

The relations between customers and workers have been examined as well. I have started by examining how workers experience class as a matter of self-esteem in their

workplaces. I argued that workers who do "low status jobs" often feel that they could not succeed in making something of themselves through work. Their narratives have also presented that respectability become one of their major concern. Thus, rather than difficult and tiresome working conditions; they frequently complained about the degrading and humiliating attitudes of costumers, which cause emotional-symbolic violence in their self-perception. For example, Yonca says:

“Ben ne iş yapıyorum da yani bu kadar kötü görülyorum. Demek ki çok aşağılık bi iş yapıyorum. Halbuki orda yaptığın iş... Kasiyer olmadan market olmaz. Zincir koptu mu komple sistem çöküyo, bunu bilemiyo insanlar.”²³⁰

It has been also discussed that workers experience social distinctions in a vertical and hierarchical perspective assuming that they are treated as inferior. Therefore, they complain about the customers who “feel and think themselves superior” and who make them “feel inferior,” “see them inferior.” It is worthwhile to emphasize that it is the result of the atmosphere created by customer-driven firm in which the 'customer is always right'. Thus the workers, in the name of giving high quality service, have to respond to these demands and are left defenseless against these customers. Namely, the ethos of consumer sovereignty makes worker subordinate in the costumer-store worker relation.

It is noteworthy that workers in the position of a cashier are satisfied relatively poorly compared with the other workstations. Because, as Kenny (2004) claims, the whole challenge of the sales transaction has reached a peak when the customer arrives at the cashier for the final payment. One of the most striking examples related with this is Yonca’s expression “*kasa bölümleri genelde Nazi kampıdır.*”²³¹ The reason of cashiers’ desks becoming Nazi camps for her is the psychological pressure

²³⁰ "one starts to question himself “what am I doing?”. What is it that I do that makes these people hate me? It must be the petty job that I do. However the job I have... There wouldn't be a store without a cashier. ... When the chain is broken the system falls apart as a whole and people do not understand this,” Yonca, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

²³¹ “Cashiers’ desks are generally considered as Nazi camps,” Yonca, interviewed in Ankara, 2007.

on workers because they have to be in direct dialogue with customers; this is expressed almost by all the interviewees.²³²

Furthermore, it is posited that workers also experience the social hierarchy and differences in their relationship with their managers as a matter of self-respect. For example, Dilek told that when a worker has trouble with a costumer, their manager usually blames the worker and if the costumer wants her/him to be fired, she believes that the manager of the E store will do so. When asked how she feels in this situation, she says:

"Bana güvenmediklerini hissettim, ya bilmiyorum, sonuçta onu hiç tanııyorlar ve müşterilerin nasıl bir psikolojiye sahip olduğunu bilmiyorlar. Müşteri olduğun zaman, sen ordan bir şey aldığın zaman, sen ordaki elemana göre her zaman sen üstünsün gibi davranıyorlar, her istediklerini yapacaklar, sonra biz de orda evet efendim, tamam efendim. Çünkü E'ye girerken bize bunu öğretiler: Evet efendim, tamam efendim. Çok kötü. Ben hissettiklerimi anlatamıyorum ama emek veriyorsun, herkes senden memnun ama çıkarmak zorundayız diyorlar. Sonuçta sana verdikleri para da çok değil, 400 milyon. Kaç kişiyle... İı, hem müşterilerin kahrını çekiyorsun hem müdürlerinin kahrını çekiyorsun."²³³

Although they think that in the eyes of costumers and managers the store worker is "hep ezilen bir işçi ve değeri olmayan bir işçi,"²³⁴ it is difficult to say that they see their job entirely unimportant and internalize their perspective. This comes true thanks to their belief in moral human values (like working with decency) and their commitment to support their family.

²³² This was recognized by the Union of Tez-Koop-İs which also plans to suggest to the Ministry of Labour that the cashiers need legal regulation about being included as heavy workers because of their hard working conditions (the Tez-Koop-İs press bulletien, 30 March 2010).

²³³ "I felt that they didn't trust in me, I don't know, eventually they don't know her and they don't know what kind of psychology the customers have. When you are a customer, when you buy something there, they act like you are superior to the staff you always, they will do whatever they want and we will have to say yes sir, ok sir. Becuase while entering E they taught us this: Yes sir, ok sir. Too bad I can't tell what I feel but you work hard, everybody is content with you but they say they have to sack you. All in all the money they pay you is not much, 400 liras. With how many people..., nope, you have to stand not only the customers but also the managers," Dilek, interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

²³⁴ "Store worker are always overwhelmed and they are worthless," Metin, interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

The second focal point of customer-worker relations has been how store workers cope with discourtesy of costumers. When workers are motivated to serve costumers perfectly, it does not signify that workers are completely passive and consent to bad-mannered customers. Indeed, they have many coping strategies for responding to unrespectful customers. This study has revealed some possible responses: ignoring their demands through various ways (to behave slowly when they order them to be fast); giving no answers; not smiling and frowning down; ignoring them; using emotional labour through faking sincerity and empathy; dividing the self as the real person and as a performing individual; creating "communities of coping", namely talking to colleagues and getting support from each other; swearing or ridiculing behind their back. Moreover, I want to emphasize that contrary to the finding of Harris and Reynolds (2004), the workers I interviewed told that they were more sensible to the workers who work in the store they go for shopping. That is to say, workers have not become bad-mannered customers towards workers when they go to another store in order to buy some goods.

I also have examined how workers distinguish costumers according to their attitudes towards them and their appearances. I should emphasize that the respond of the worker changes due to her / his age, sex, cultural features, in which store s/he works, the location of the store, etc. Most of the workers thought that "rich" customers generally complain about workers and cause inconvenience, thinking that they have right to do so since they have money. For example, Dilek said: "Paraları çok, ondan mı ne... Ya paraya çok güveniyorlar, özellikle de (Ankara'nın üst orta sınıfın oturduğu bir semtte bulunan) E'de. Hepsi zengin oldukları için işte, para bende her istediğimi yapabilirim gibi düşünüyorlar". Moreover, Eray said that they behave the worker as "they can purchase you with their money."

Besides, a great number of workers think that the other group who is not easy are "*nouveau riches*" / "*sonradan görme*". That is to say, they have money, but their richness is not inherited from their family and they are also uneducated and uncultured. Moreover, for Nevin who works at K store: "Sorun çıkaranlar bana göre

düşük gelirli değil. Orta gelirlidir. Yüksek gelirlilerden çok azdır"²³⁵ It is noteworthy that in which store they work has influence upon their responds to the question of which kind of costumers behave workers badly. Generally, whereas the workers who think that "rich" customers are the ones who behave badly work in hypermarkets in Ankara used by upper middle class, the workers who think that "middle class" or "middle-income earners" are the ones who behave badly work in supermarkets used by middle and lower middle classes. Even though the difference between customers with high and middle income is uncertain since they usually use the term "parası olan," almost all workers think that "poor" costumers do not maltreat them and display shame when they request something.

Most of the workers who are sensitive to the degrading behaviour of customers generally also suffer from economic difficulties and their salary is not enough for their needs, however their sensitivity is not since they have feeling of class identity in common with the "poor" customers, it is more likely that they pity them. However, it is obvious that there are similarities between the findings of this study about workers and that of Erdoğan et al. (2002) about the poor in some ways. For example, for both of them respectability, feeling of self-esteem, self-integrity and self-worth are everyday concern. I believe that class differences find expression in status distinctions that rank individuals and groups according to the question of who have them in which extent. That makes easy to understand why class relations causes emotional-symbolic violence in workers' self-perception. As a result, it can be argued that both workers and the poor, that is, those who do not have regular jobs have similar "feeling structures" in some ways.

Other groups who generally have been mentioned as difficult costumers have been women. Because, they cannot show sympathy if they do not work in somewhere and they give so much importance to the details. Moreover, many workers have said that

²³⁵ "I don't think that the ones who cause problems are the ones with little income. They are the middle-income earner. There are not many people with high income", Nevin, interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

it is hard to grasp why they behave a worker in this way although they are worker in somewhere else.

Store workers have also stressed the importance of gender in addition to economic conditions when they were referring to customers that cause problems. Especially women workers emphasized that the troublemaker customers are generally women. Bora (2005) who deals with the concept of gender in household service relationships suggests that the hierarchical difference between women also makes their femininity different. In this framework, the hierarchical difference between household cleaning women and their employers are similar to the difference between the customers and store employees, which may have an effect on their femininity. For example Ayten, who is a cashier at the supermarket C, thinks that women customers are pickier than other customers. She defines the women customers that she has had problems with as “*bitchy / kıllık yapanlar*” and “*classy / klas giyimliler*”. In addition, this and similar definitions shows that richness becomes a social capital for “bad customers” and is attributed to ostentatious and belittling practices towards employees.

I have argued that studying working in the stores requires to handle consumption in relation to work and workers. There is a juxtaposition between production and consumption which characterizes the retail sector (Pettinger, 2004). That is why examining the consumption as a factor while arguing class relations make possible to consider the relationship between service workers and customers closely. However, the component of consumption has been ignored in many aspects, such as store design, layout, branding, marketing, advertising practices which influence costumers' shopping choices and experiences. Nevertheless, it can be seen from the discourse of the store management that workers function as components of how store brands are performed for consumers as well. In this study, especially consumption has been discussed in terms of the question how it functions as social class indicator. It has been obvious that in their workplaces store workers can perceive intensively the social-class differences and deprivation of resources of consuming sufficiently when they confront the customer who has high purchasing power. Hence, workers are

unable to buy the products that they sell in their whole working day. In addition, according to workers the high volume purchases of customers is a proof of the low wages given to the work done by them. This shows that the inability to consume “enough” and inequalities are the most important points which make visible the hidden injuries of working class. However, as a coping strategy to sustain the self reference to the moral human values appear on the scene as well. For example, Dilek says:

"Nasıl alabiliyorlar falan... Ama diyorum ki, ben 2 alışveriş sepeti doldurmayayım, bir alışveriş sepetinin yarısını doldurayım ama en azından bunlar kadar... Bana çok itici geliyorlar bunlar, böyle karakersiz, diyorum ki yarım sepet doldurayım ama en azından karakersiz olmayayım bunlar kadar, karakterim hep böyle olsun, o şekilde düşünüyorum."²³⁶

If gender is considered not as a fixed identity as Bora (2005: 50) suggests, not as a fixed identity but as a practice/ process, it becomes possible to have some clues concerning the construction of gender in everyday practices, in the context of this study within the workplace relations of the female store workers relations. In this regard, the experiences of the female workers have been of special attention in this study. Among the women who are interviewed within the scope of this study, almost all the married ones highlighted that they go on working at home due to the responsibilities such as cleaning the house, cooking, and looking after children. Besides, while women begin to have place more in the labour market, they are expected to keep to their “traditional” roles, so they are exploited in the two areas. For instance, in a supermarket, women prepare lunch, and in another supermarket, the women who work as cashier do the cleaning too. Because, works like cleaning, cooking, washing the dishes are expected to be done by women in the working places. Moreover, it can be inferred from the narratives of the female workers that sometimes working in the market is more stressful for women. For instance, some female workers noted that pregnancy and menstruation periods are more stressful and

²³⁶ “How can they afford to buy and so... But I say that I do not fill two shopping baskets up, that I fill the half of a basket but not at least as much as these people... they seem grotty to me, like this without any character, I say that I fill half of a basket but that I don't become as caharacterless as these people, that I always have a character like this, I think in this way,” Dilek, interviewed in Ankara, 2008.

unbearable than normal. Lastly, it has been related that due to their different class locations the workers hold the belief that the distance between a worker and a customer or a manager cannot be transcended, and that any kind of love affair in the store is unacceptable for the management.

Also it has been argued that socialization patterns keep most workers in their respective roles, preventing their personal development and ability to make new decisions for their lives. Thus, some workers said that they married young and became parents in an early age. Moreover, the relationship among family members have been designated by a lack of intimacy, communication, and sharing. It has been argued that this can be thought as a sign of the dissolution of the family ties. However, workers noted that in their family lives they support each other in terms of sustaining their family for example via financial support for their children education. But most of them had no deep sense of sharing and could not spend much time with each other neither at home nor outside. This should be thought in respect of hard, low-waged and long working days. Unfortunately, if their family lives economic ills and can not provide their children's educational expense, it causes to workers feel lowly in the face of their children. Moreover, it has been observed that some interviewees have tried to overcome with their lack of self-esteem that arise from their job through encouraging their children's education. That is why children's educational achievement was a substantial issue for all the families. Although it was not easy for workers, they intended to invest in educational capital which could provide the parents with an opportunity to convert their educational capital into economic capital.

In addition, it has been argued that workers future hopes and unfulfilled dreams testify the hidden injuries of class. Both male and female workers explained that initially they had thought to work just for a while, but they could not quit the job. Especially, some women workers explained that although they desired they could not return to school education at a later date due to the financial or / and cultural constraints (for example, having to shoulder household duties at an early age, such as

taking care of siblings, cleaning, etc.). Because of poverty and a lack of positive role models, some workers dropped out of school, started to work, get married, and had a child in an early age. As their youth dreams, the main attraction of some male workers were working and making money, and some female workers dreamed only of marrying a good man. As Rubin (1976) claims these are the only paths that can give working-class youth a sense of control over their lives, independent living quarters, and an adult identity. As a rule, it is easy to see that both male and female single workers' future plans concentrate on getting married and having children.

Besides, in this study many of the workers do not expect to raise to a higher rank. In order to relief, as Sennett (2005) argues, they resign, that is, acknowledge the weight of objective reality. Because of the sense of failure in their working lives, they do not prefer to rely on hopes, desires in order that they can bear failure. Moreover, they referred to job security more than hopes of promotion in their workplace, maybe because it is more possible for them.

Finally, the study have argued that food retail sector with their workers, their managers and their diverse costumers profiles are significant places so as to observe how class differences are continuously reconstructed in everyday life through work and consumption practices. However, the topics discussed in this study certainly require analysis that is more comprehensive. In this regard, it is necessary to include the customers and managers in this research, which focuses on how the store workers experience social hierarchies and distinctions, how they feel and assume, and to analyze their representations about the workers and how they experience this relationship. I should acknowledge that this relationship is too complicated to be covered within this research.

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APPENDIX A

INFORMATION ABOUT THE INTERVIEWEES:

Name	Age	Marital Status	Education *	Store	Job	Employment	Experience in Stores	Membership of Union
Aynur	22	Single	H.S.	A	Cashier		1 Year	Not A Member
Ferdi	35	Married	H.S.	A	Greengrocer		3 Years	Not A Member
Metin	48	Married	S. S.	A	Greengrocer		15 Years	Not A Member
Sadık	43	Married	S. S.	A	Butcher		8 Months	Not A Member
Salim	29	Married	P. S.	A	Butcher		4,5 Years	Not A Member
Suna	21	Single	H.S.	A	Cashier		3 Years	Not A Member
Zehra	26	Single	H.S.	A	Cashier		2 Years	Not A Member
Asiye	26	Married	H.S.	B	Self-Packer	Subcontracted	6 Months	Not A Member
Eray	24	Single	P. S.	B	Butcher		2 Years	Member
Hakkı	30	Married	P. S.	B	Greengrocer		6 Years	Member
Hüseyin	32	Single	H.S.	B	Greengrocer		1 Years	Member
Meral	30	Single	H.S.	B	Security Staff	Subcontracted	3 Years	Not A Member
Nurcan	30	Single	H.S.	B	Cashier		13 Years	Member
Ugur	28	Single	H.S.	B	Self-Packer	Subcontracted	15 Months	Not A Member
Ayhan	32	Married	S. S.	C	Charcuterie		6 Months	Not A Member
Ayten	26	Single	H.S.	C	Cashier		2 Years	Not A Member
Barış	23	Single	H.S.	C	Self-Packer		15 Months	Not A Member
Fatoş	20	Single	H.S.	C	Cashier		3 Years	Not A Member
Nilgün	27	Single	C.	C	Cashier		3 Years	Not A Member
Can	20	Single	H.S.	D	Self-Packer		2 Months	Member
Sevim	35	Married	S. S.	D	Charcuterie		10 Years	Member
Yılmaz	36	Married	H.S.	D	Self-Packer		8 Years	Member
Arif	45	Married	H.S.	E	Greengrocer		5-6 Years	Member
Dilek	18	Single	H.S.	E	Self-Packer	Subcontracted	2 Years	Not A Member
Duygu	28	Married	H.S.	E	Self-Packer		12 Years	Member
Hasan	35	Married	H.S.	E	Butcher		10 Months	Member
Kamile	27	Single	H.S.	E	Greengrocer		8 Years	Member
Türkan	23	Single	H.S.	E	Cashier		5-6 Years	Member
Yonca	29	Married	H.S.	E	Baker		10 Years	Member
Gülcan	30	Married	H.S.	F	Cashier		5,5 Years	Not A Member
Güler	23	Single	H.S.	F	Cashier		4 Years	Not A Member
Elvan	25	Single	H.S.	F	Cashier		10 Months	Not A Member
Nevin	37	Single	H.S.	F	Cashier		1 Years	Not A Member
Onur	27	Single	S. S.	F	Butcher		5 Years	Not A Member
Yiğit	20	Single	H.S.	G	Self-Packer		7 Months	Not A Member
Ahmet	25	Married	S. S.	H	Seld-Packer		7,5 Years	Member
Yasin	28	Single	H.S.	H	Butcher		6 Years	Member

*H.S. High School
S. S. Secondary School
P. S. Primary School

APPENDIX B

AN EXAMPLE OF INTERVIEWS

- **Merhaba Nurcan.**
- Merhaba.
- **Sen kaç yıldır çalışıyorsun?**
- 13.
- **Bu sektörde, market sektöründe?**
- Evet.
- **Kaç yaşındasın sen?**
- 30.
- **(Gülerek) Yalan söylüyorsun?**
- Çok ciddiim, niye?
- **Ben, benden küçük olabileceğini düşündüm biliyor musun?**
- Yok canım, sen kaç yaşındasın?
- **25 yaşındayım ben. Valla çok daha genç gösteriyorsun, küçük gösteriyorsun.**
- Teşekkür ederim.
- **Peki, daha önce de kasiyerlik yaptın, değil mi? Yani muhasebeye geçmeden önce...**
- Evet.
- **Kaç yıl kasada çalıştın?**
- Valla, hemen hemen 6-7 sene çalıştım.
- **7 yıl kasiyerlik... Ee, o zaman bayağıdır da muhasebeye geçtin, 7-8 senedir falan...**
- Hımm.
- **Hmm. Aslında bizim çalışmada daha böyle altta müşterilerle, sizin üst taraftakiler değil de hani müşterilerle...**
- Kasadayken bire bir ilgileniyorduk müşterilerle de, şimdi problemlilerle sadece, hesapla sorunu olan müşterilerle ilgileniyoruz. Onun haricinde müşteriyle şu anda şey değiliz.
- **Ama olsun biz yine de deneyimlerinden faydalanalım, dinleyelim istedim. Peki, şey, ne kadar alıyorsunuz?**
- Valla, B'ye geçtikten sonra biraz değişti, 640 civarında felan alıyoruz.
- **Önceden nerdeydin ki?**
- Önceden Gima'dayken yol parasını falan bilet olarak alıyorduk, şimdi onu paraya dönüştürdüler. Öyle, yani biraz değişti B'ye geçtikten sonra.
- **Daha mı iyi koşulları yoksa?**
- Yok, git gide daha kötü oluyormuş gibi bir his var içimde.
- **Yaa?**

- Valla.. Yani sözleşme mesela imzalandı, çok fazla bir şey vermediler.
- **Toplu sözleşmeyi diyon di mi?**
- Hımhım.
- **Peki çok örgütlü mü sendika orda?**
- Örgütl.
- **Hepsi örgütlü mü işçilerin?**
- Evet; o iyi.
- **Örgütsüz yok?**
- Yok.
- **Ama bu ücretler konusunda çok bir atılım yok yani di mi?**
- Yani çok fazla bir şey beklemiyorduk ama umduğumuzdan daha kötü oldu.
- **Daha bir kurumsal falan geldi tabi B olunca. Daha iyi olabileceğini mi düşündünüz?**
- Hımhım. Evet. Aynen.
- **Nasıl peki kötüleşmeler var, senin hissettiğin?**
- Ya mesela ilk başta söylenti şeklinde oldu. İkramiyelerimiz var bizim üç ayda bir, ikramiyeler kaldırılacak şeklinde bir söylenti geldi. Tabi bunlar hep söylenti şeklinde kaldı. Sendikayla ittifak içine girdik, olmayacağını, yapamayacaklarını felan söylediler. Başka?... Yol parasını dediğim gibi karttı, paraya dönüştürdüler. Gerçi şu an için o bizim için avantaj ama ilerde dezavantaj olur mu bilmiyorum. Yeni giren personele de mesela çok kötü. Bizim açımızdan yine iyi ama onların ikramiyeleri felan kısıtlandı.
- **Bu ilerde sizi etkileyebilir diye düşünüyorsunuz tabi.**
- Bizi etkilemez de, yeni girenler için iyi değil. Beni etkilemez ama...
- **Peki bu aldığınız 640 milyon dışında ikramiyeleri, şeyleri, kupon mu diyorlar..?**
- Kupon aylık 114 milyonluk kuponumuz var alışveriş.
- **Bu 640 dışında?**
- Hımhım dışında. Bir de üç ayda bir, bir maaş, 640 milyon ikramiye.
- **Çift maaş yani?**
- Hımhım.
- **Kasiyerlik dışında denediğin işler oldu mu market içinde?**
- Yok olmadı.
- **Sadece kasiyerlik?**
- Ya şey market Kızılay'da olduğu için diğer bir alana kayamıyorsun, yani kasadaysan başka bir işle ilgilenemiyorsun, mağaza yoğun. Sadece kasada kalıyorsun, o zaten yetiyor sana. Hani diğer küçük mağazalarda olduğu zaman aynı anda kasaya bakan bir eleman, atıyorum reyona bakıyor, şarküteriye bakıyor yani her işi yapabiliyor küçük mağazalarda ama bizim mağazamız biraz büyük olduğu için burası, kasiyer kasada çalışıyor, şarküterici şarküteride, reyonce reyonda.
- **Yani onun dışında yer değiştirmen olmadı bir ay, bir yıl?**
- Yok yok.
- **Peki kasiyerken seni en çok yoran, zorlayan durumlar neydi?**

- Ya müşterilerle... Anlayışsız müşterilerle karşılaştığım zaman zorlanıyordum. Onun dışında çok fazla zorlayan bir şey olmuyordu.
- **Nasıl peki anlayışsız müşteriler?**
- Yani ne bileyim mesela evde sorunu olan veya işte bir şeye tepkisi olan birisi sen orda çalıştığın için direk gelip sana çatabiliyor, yani sinirini almak istiyor. O şekilde.
- **Nasıl oluyor üslupları yani o seni rahatsız eden?**
- Mesela parayı fırlatıyorlar suratına en basitinden. İşte hesabı söylüyorsun fırlatıyorlar veya oyalanıyorlar, parayı vermiyorlar; arkadaki müşteri sinirleniyor, sabırsızlanıyor.
- **Sen böyle bir durumla karşılaşınca nasıl bir tepki veriyorsun?**
- Ya ben aslında sabırlı bir insanımdır.
- **Öyle bir izlenimim var yani açıkcası (Güleriz).**
- Yani çok fazla mesela o kadar kasiyerlik yaptım çok fazla hani tartışma ortamına girmedim.
- **Susmayı mı tercih ediyorsun?**
- Genelde sabırla susmayı tercih ediyorum, ve biraz daha içime atmayı, yani hani dışarıya yansıtmaktansa daha çok kendime atmayı..
- **Peki o içine attıkların ne oluyor? Yani ne söylüyorsun içinden onlara? Ne hissediyorsun?**
- Yaa, ne hissediyorum, haksız olduklarımı düşünüyorum. Nasıl böyle yapabildiklerini düşünüyorum. Kendime üzüyorum sonra. Hani diyorum sonuçta karşıdaki insan belki senden daha –hani şey olarak değil de – hakketmeyen bir insan ama sen ona saygı gösteriyorsun diye düşünüyorum.
- **Saygıyı hakketmeyen bir insan?**
- Yani göstermek zorunda olduğumuz için saygı gösteriyoruz. Üzüyorum bunun için de tabi. Hakketmeyen bir insana yani gerekmediği değeri veriyorsun ve güzel bir şey değil bu da. Başka da bir şey yapamıyorsun zaten, müşteriye kızmak veya başka bir şekilde tepkini göstermek söz konusu değil. Herhalükarda onu çekeceksin yani küfür de etse karşıdaki insan bir şekilde sineye çekmek zorundasın.
- **Mesela bunları arkadaşlarıyla, diğer kasiyer arkadaşlarıyla paylaştığımız zamanlarda benzer şeylerden bahsettiklerini işittiğinde ne hissediyordun? Ya muhakkak benzer tecrübeler yaşamışsınızdır...**
- Hıhı, zaten şeylerimiz hep aynı, ama hani diğer insanlar biraz daha böyle dışa atıyorlar, arkalarından laf söylüyorlar, bilmem ne? O an için rahatlıyorlar. Sorunlarımız zaten hep ortak, hep aynı. Sonuçta aynı müşterilerle karşı karşıya geliyoruz. Hani insanların tepkileri farklı olduğu için bi şekilde dışa yansıtıp işte geliyor veya başka birisine anlatıyor veya işte atıyorum arkasından küfrediyor, rahatlıyor felan.
- **Sen bunu yapmamayı mı tercih ediyorsun?**
- Yok, ben daha çok ya kendime kızıyorum veya ne bileyim, paylaştım da hani çok fazla değil insanlarla. Ya sonuçta o bir anlık oluyor, geliyor, atıyorum bir kasada bekleme süresi ne kadardır, beş dakika – on dakika, adam yaşıyor, o an bitiyor ve biraz sinirleniyorsun daha sonra kalıyor o orda. O kişiye kin veya

başka bir şey duyma şansın yok, zaten adamı tanımıyorsun. O an için sadece sinirini bozuyor, gidiyor.

- **Peki, böyle aklında kalmış çarpıcı bir olay var mı?**
- Ya, şey vardı mesela, kasadayken bi tane yaşlı müşteri gelmişti. O hep içime yer etmiştir. Parayı yanlış vermiş, fazla verdiğini söyledi, daha sonra ben de kasayı kapattım, muhasebeye saydırmaya çıktık. Kasayı saydık, ben haklıyım, haklı olduğumu da biliyorum. Kasayı saydılar, işte muhasebeciler de aynı şekilde söylediler. Beni de seviyorlardı biraz, savundular falan. Daha sonra ama adam ikna olmadı. O kadar emin ki kendinden. İşte küfretti, “haram zıkkım olsun sana” felan tarzında böyle. İşte “böyle mi geçiniyorsunuz siz, nasıl boğazımızdan iniyor” felan şeklinde böyle. Benim aklımda kalan müşteriyle tartışma şeyim o olmuştur. Ben de sadece ona, “eğer bana geçtiyse gerçekten de helal olmasın” dedim, “ama benim içim rahat” dedim. Ama tabi bu insana bu yeterli gelmedi. Baya söylene söylene gitti. O bayağı içime yer etmiştir. Yani, onun dışında öyle çok fazla umursadığım bir şey olmadı. Hani bu biraz kişiliğine direk saldırı olduğu için hani hırsızlıkla itham etti. O biraz canımı sıkıyordu. Onun haricindekiler... Aman diyorsun, dengesi yerinde değil diyorsun, geçiyorsun ama, o biraz zoruma gitmişti sadece.
- **Adamla ilgili hatırladığım başka şeyler var mı? Mesela, giyimi kuşamı, tavrı...**
- Yaşlıydı, şapkalıydı, zengindi de görüntüsü. Ama yani ben şey olabileceğini düşündüm, hani yaşlılarda unutmama ve öyle olduğunu düşünüyor ki herhalde o kadar isyan ediyor diye düşündüm. Hani suçlamak babında değil de gerçekten de öyle verdiğini düşündüğü için bu şekilde davranıyor diye düşündüm. Bunun da haricinde bir şey de düşünemiyorsun, yaşlı yani.
- **Peki, böylesi durumlarla karşı karşıya kalmak, sonuçta orda çalışan biri olarak ne hissettiriyor sana?**
- Çok kötü, çok kötü. Yani birkaç kez oldu, hani en şeyi, aklımda kalanıydı bu. Diğerlerinde geliyorsun, kasaya saydırıyorsun, hani hakaret etmediği sürece... İnsanlar yanılabilirler, benim de yanlış verdiğim olmuştur kasayı saydırıp da, hani benim de hatam olmuştur. Çünkü baya bi kasiyerlik yaptım ki normaldir de böyle şeyler. En ufak bir dalgınlıkta az veya fazla verebiliyorsun. Yani diğerlerinde öyle hakaretvari bi şey olmadı.
- **Böyle yaptıklarında size karşı tutumlarının nasıl olduğunu düşünüyorsun?**
- Ya çok aşağılayıcı oluyor, bunu hissediyorsun. O anda, yani çok değersiz görüyorlar seni. Sanki hani parasıyla çalıştırdığı bi köle gibi felan imajı veriyorlar yani. O anda onu düşünüyorsun. Sanki onların malıymışsın gibi davranıyorlar. Hani ben sana parayı veriyorum, istediğim gibi konuşurum veya davranırım şeklinde.
- **Peki böyle davrandıklarını düşündüklerin genelde nasıl müşteriler oluyor Nurcan? Hani böyle ekonomik durumu olsun, giyim tarzı olsun...**
- Genelde ekonomik açıdan daha üst seviyede olan insanlarda biraz daha fazla. Çünkü ezik insanlar, atıyorum eksik bile olsa parayı gelip diyemiyor ki ben parayı eksik aldım. Gerçekten de buna çok dikkat ettim. Genelde sorun

çıkaran insanlar da genelde ekonomik açıdan fazla, yani zengin olan insanlar daha çok problem çıkartıyorlar. Kendine daha... Demek ki para güven veriyor insanlara. Parayla herşeyi yapabilirim diye düşünüyorlar. Çünkü yani bu güne kadar hiç öyle fakir olan veya fakir demiyeyim de... kendine güvensiz oluyor o tür insanlar. Güvensiz oldukları için kasada da problem çıkartmıyorlar. Zannediyorlar ki hani karşısındaki insan ona kötü davranacak, demek ki... Bilmiyorum, benim rastgeldiklerim genelde o şekilde. Ekonomik açıdan biraz daha yüksek seviyede olan insanlar daha çok sorun çıkartıyorlar.

- **Peki sen böyle his olarak yakın mı hissedersin o durumda ona kendini?**
- Hangisine?
- **Daha böyle hani kibar, ezik durduğunu söylediğin...**
- Tabi. Ben daha çok severim. Ya, o şekilde gelen insana ben daha çok yardım ederim. Atıyorum, bizim kasada poşetleme olayımız yoktur ama işte böyle biraz düşük seviyede olsun, ne bileyim, biraz muhtaç, yaşlı diyelim, hani yardıma ihtiyacı olan bi insan, daha çok ilgilenirim. Hatta elimden gelse götürürüm falan aşağıya kadar müsaitse.
- **Öbürlerine tersini yaptığın oluyor mu? (Güleriz)**
- Öbürlerine de tersini yaptığım... zaten çok fazla şey davranamıyoruz. Sadece parasını alırım, parasını veririm. Onun haricinde atıyorum güler yüzlü olmaz veya ne bileyim bakmazsın suratına, o olur.
- **Yani, mesela yapman gereken bir işi bile yapmadığın onlar için?**
- Yok yapmam gereken bi işi yapmadığım olmaz. Olmaz yani.
- **Tabi kasada yapmadığın ne olabilir ki bi yandan da. Parayı almama, vermeme şeklinde... Saçma oldu tabi (güleriz).**
- Ama şu oluyo, reyon aralarında bazen dolaşıyoruz. İşte bi şey soruyolar mesela, o anda istesen yardımcı olabilirsin ama soruş tarzından dolayı... O konunun şeyi de sen değilsin, reyoncusu sen değilsin atıyorum, yardım edebileceğin bir şey ama sırf o kişinin tavrı yüzünden diyosun ki, git müşteri hizmetlerinden ilgili kişiyi anons etsinler, ordan yardımcı olsunlar. Yani o tarz olabilir. Yapıyorum da bunu.
- **Size eğitim falan verdiler mi girdiğiniz zaman?**
- Zaman zaman eğitimlerimiz sürekli oluyor.
- **Orda böyle sizi zorlayıcı olduğunu düşündüğün herhangi bir şey var mı?**
- Ya şey mesela, gerçi uygulamıyorduk bunu da, her gelen müşteriye hoş geldiniz, giderken hoşçakalın felan. Bunu sürekli isterler ama yoğunluktan dolayı çoğu kişi yapmıyor, yapamıyoruz da. Onun haricinde zaten güler yüzden fazlasını istemiyorlar. Müşteriyi memnun et, müşteri memnun gitsin sadece kasandan; tekrar gelsin.
- **Ama kasa ciddi de bir konsantrasyon işi gibi geliyor bana. Mesela yan tarafla konuşmama...**
- Onlar zaten yasak. Yasak ama tabi uyulmuyor.
- **Bu eğitimlerin en önemli amacı bu hep değil mi ama, güler yüzlü olma ve müşteriyi tutma?**
- Evet, ama bunun için de eğitim değil koşulların iyi olursa güler yüzlü oluyorsun. Atıyorum, biz kasada çalıştığımız zaman yemeğe gidemiyorduk

veya molaya gidemiyorduk. Atıyorum, tuvalete gideceğimiz zaman müdür yardımcısından izin istiyorduk tuvalete gidelim diye. Sonuçta bi insanı o kadar saat kasada bağlarsan nasıl güler yüzlü olur ya da güler yüzlü olursa ne kadar gerçekçi olur. Öyle yani, hani eğitimin çok fazla bi şeyi olmuyor, eğitim veriyorlar ama çok fazla etkisi olmuyordu eğitimin.

- **Diyorsun ki koşullarımızı iyileştirmeden güler yüzlü olamayız. Ama senden yine de o koşullara rağmen sürekli bunu talep eden bir işveren var.**
- Evet, aynen öyle. Yani hangi koşulda olursa olsun senden iyi hizmet bekliyor ama karşılığında kendisinin yaptığı bi şey yok. Şu anda da mesela bizim mağazamız, eskiden yüz tane personel çalışıyordu, 35'e düşürdüler, aynı verimi bekliyorlar insanlardan. Gerçi satışımız düştü ama bu kadar düşmedi. E, halen bi şeyler istiyorlar. Sonuçta insanlar yeteri kadar taviz veriyorlar kendilerinden. Tolerans gösteriyorlar ama hala fazlasını istiyorlar. Bu genelde işverenlerin hepsinde vardır.
- **Bu nasıl bi talep?**
- Daha fazla çalış, atıyorum dört kişinin yapacağı bir işi bir kişiye veriyor. Ee, o da ne oluyor, personeli de yıpratıyor. Sinir kalmıyor. Beyin olarak da. Eve gittiğinde de ters bi şekilde...
- **Şefiniz var mı sizin? Bu uyarıları kim yapıyor mesela size?**
- Ya uyarı değilde atıyorum mecburiyet diyeyim. Sonuçta on kişinin kasada oturması var, dört kişinin oturması... Sonuçta yönetici oturuyor dört kişi, on tane olması gerekiyor ama dört kişi. Ee, ne olacak, o dört kişi on kişinin yaptığı işi yapmak zorunda. Hani, illaki yapın diye bi şey değil de, mecburen yapıyorlar. Reyonda da aynı şekilde.
- **Sonra toplantılarınız oluyor mu? Mesela satışlar düştüğü zamanlarda...**
- Toplantılarımız oluyor sürekli de ama daha fazla çalışın şeklinde değil. Bunlar hep ne derler aba altından mı gösteriyor derler, hani açıkça bi şey söylemek değil de zoraki yapıyorsun. Yani yapmak zorunda olduğun için yapıyorsun.
- **Koşulları ona göre hazırlıyor?**
- Hımhım. Öyle yani.
- **Peki sizde de şef, mesela kasiyersen kasa şefin var, değil mi?**
- Var.
- **Peki bu şefleri kimlerden seçiyorlar Nurcan?**
- Kasiyerlerden. Kasa şefimiz kasada.
- **Kasiyerlerden seçiliyor ama herhangi biri olmuyor o değil mi? Neye göre seçiyorlar?**
- Ya biraz daha mesela bizim kasa şefimiz kendilerine yakın olan birisi değil, gerçekten de güzel çalışan bir insan, ııı, tolerans hani birisine daha az, birisine daha fazla davranan birisi değil. Seçerken güzel seçmişler. Bi de akıllı, yani shifti ayarlıyor, yemek saatlerini, çay saatlerini, kasaların arızalarıyla falan ilgileniyor.
- **O alanda deneyimli olan biri?**
- Evet.

- **Peki daha önce arkadaşlarıyla o şef, tabi birden bire şefleri oluyor. Bu, kendi aralarındaki ilişkiyi nasıl etkiliyor?**
- Ya, kendi aralarında etkiliyordur muhakkak da bilmiyorum ki.
- **Gözlemlediğin kadarıyla...**
- Gözlemlediğim kadarıyla... Söyledikleri kadarıyla daha doğrusu, benim zamanında kasa şefi yoktu, şu anda var.
- **Bu yeni bir uygulama mı?**
- Yani çok fazla olmadı. İki üç sene felan oldu herhalde. Kendi arkadaşlarına, bilmiyorum bunun doğruluk payı var mıdır, daha toleranslı olduğunu söylüyorlar. Biz hani dışarıdan baktığımız zaman bunu görmüyoruz tabi.
- **Peki ondan emir alma söz konusu oluyor, değil mi?**
- Oluyo tabi.
- **Ya da bi sorun yaşandığında kasiyere kızma, uyarma yetkisi oluyor mu?**
- Evet, oluyor.
- **Peki bu nasıl bir ilişki yaratıyor işçiler arasında?**
- Ee, çok kötü oluyor tabi ki. Kötü. Sonuçta aynı konumda olduğun bir insandan laf yiyiyorsun. Hoş değil yani. Onun için de sevilmiyor zaten (güler).
- **Peki ücret farklılaşması oluyor mu?**
- Yok.
- **Hiçbir biçimde?**
- Yok yok.
- **Bu da ilginç değil mi?**
- Evet. Bizde de mesela, muhasebedeyiz kasayla aynı parayı alıyoruz. Bizde öyle şey yok.
- **Şef de aynı parayı alıyor?**
- Hımhım.
- **Peki sadece o ünvanı almak için aralarında bir rekabet gözlemliyor musun?**
- Gözlemiyorum çünkü şeflik çok böyle aman aman güzel bir şey değil. Biraz yorucu bir şey ve çoğu insanın da yapabileceği, kaldırabileceği bir şey değil. Yani şefliği yapacak bir insanın biraz hırslı, biraz zeki, biraz gözünün kara olması lazım ki arkadaşlarıyla şey olmayı, karşı karşıya gelmeyi göze alabilsin.
- **Ama sadece bu adı almak bile anlamlı olabiliyor mu işçiler için?**
- Tabi, sonuçta bi şey olduğu zaman bi şef diyorlar veya işte sorulması gereken sorular ona soruluyor, sorumluluk alıyor. O açıdan bakıldığı zaman oluyor.
- **Daha fazla çalıştığı oluyor mu şefin mesai anlamında?**
- Yok, aynı. Aynı hatta onun avantajı sabahçı geliyor. Sırf onun için de şeflik yapıyor, hani sabahçı geldiği için sürekli. Normalde hem akşamcı, hem sabahçı geliyor kasiyerler, ama şef sadece sabahçı geliyor.
- **Değişmemiş oluyor vardiyası?**
- Hımhım. Onun için de belki tercih ediliyor, para olarak değil de mükafatı sabahçı olarak.

- **Sen kasadan muhasebeye geçtiğinde böyle bir rahatladın mı? Yoksa...**
- Rahatladım, çünkü ben o sıralar çok bunalmıştım kasadan, müşterilerden çok bunalmıştım, işten çıkmayı düşünüyordum hatta. Yöneticilerden çok bunalmıştım. Tam çıkmayı düşünüyordum işte daha sonra muhasebede boşluk oldu, geçtim. İyi de oldu ama. İlk başlarda zorluk çektim ama, sonuçta oranın sorumluluğu biraz daha fazla kasaya göre. Ama müşterilerden kurtulduğum için iyi oldu benim için (Güler).
- **Çok önemli bir şey ya değil mi? Müşteri dediğin sokakta karşılaştığında... Ya orda müşteri olması...**
- Onu lüks yapıyor.
- **Ya bi de bu bütün kasiyerlerden duyduğumuz bir şey, yani müşteri en büyük problem. Bizde de zamanla bunu daha çok anlama çabası ortaya çıktı. Çünkü bizler de sürekli müşteri oluyoruz oralarda, sen de oluyorsun...**
- Ben özellikle dikkat ediyorum ama biraz da yaşadığım için elimden geldiği kadar yardımcı olmaya çalışıyorum kasiyere. Bozuk para falan hazırlıyorum gitmeden önce marketlerde, gerçekten de.
- **Ben de bu arada bu mülakatlardan sonra görsen kedi gibiyim yani (Güleriz).**
- Ya şey mesela, reyonda en ufak bir şey olsun, fiyat farkı olsun, geliyorlar kasiyerlere saldırıyorlar. Sonuçta o işi yapan kişi kasiyer değil. Veya en ufak bir problemde, gelip bu niye böyle düzeltin, zaten hatanızı gördükleri anda hiç affetmiyorlar, başkasının hatası olduğu halde senin üzerine geliyorlar.
- **Doğrudan diyalog halinde olan sensin çünkü?**
- Yani, evet.
- **Bu senin ev yaşantını etkiliyor mu? Eve gittiğin zaman kendini çok gergin hissettiğin oluyor mu?**
- Ev yaşantımı değil bütün bir yaşamımı etkiledi markette çalışmak. Ben ilk markete başladığım zaman liseden çıktım, işte part-time girdim. Hem ders çalışırım, hem üniversite sınavına hazırlanırım diye girdim. Daha sonra tabi hiç part-time çalışmadım ben. Part-time girdim ama fazla çalıştım. Ders çalışmadım. Zaten orda kafam bir milyon olup geliyordum eve. Hiçbir sosyal hayatım kalmamıştı. Arkadaşlarım mesela, bi gün izinli oluyorum, haftada bir gün iznimiz var, onda da çok yorgun olduğun için direkt dinlenmeye ayırıyorsun. Tüm arkadaşlarımla bağlarımı felan kopardım. Eve gidiyorsun, hani sohbet etmeye halin kalmıyor, zaten sinirli gidiyorsun. Bir müşterinin bi günde bir sorunu senin bütün gününü mahvediyor. Gidip onların da canını sıkmak istemiyorsun. Ya bütün hayatını etkiliyor.
- **Ne yapıyorsun mesela çıktıktan sonra?**
- Çıktıktan sonra direk eve gidiyorum. Hiçbir şey yapmıyorum.
- **Televizyon falan?**
- Televizyon hani belki akşam. Onun haricinde ya giderim yatarım, ya uzanırım. Yani deşarj olduğum bir şey yok.
- **Kaç yaşındaydın başladığında?**
- 18 yaşındaydım.

- **Lise bitmiş miydi?**
- Hımhım. Lise bitti direk okul tatildeyken başladım.
- **Üniversite düşünmedin mi?**
- Üniversite, işte girdim sınavına daha sonra açık öğretim yazdım tuttu. Daha sonra sınavlarına felan giremedim, ders de çalışmadım, daha sonra attılar beni okuldan. Öyle kaldı. Çok da istemedim daha sonra. Hayatla bağımı kopardım belki. Hani amacım kalmadı artık.
- **Peki, hayatla kalmadı diyon ama işte en azında bazı motivasyonların yok mu?**
- İşte motivasyonun hiç yok. Ya işte gidiyorsun bi an önce günü dolduruyum da çıkayım diye düşünüyorsun. Ya severek yaptığın bir iş olmadığı için.
- **Peki kendini geçici olarak mı orda çalışıyor görüyorsun? Yoksa hani öyle işe dair başka beklentilerin var mı?**
- Ya ben işe ilk başladığım aydan itibaren şunu yapayım işten çıkacam bunu yapacam. İşte hani maddi açıdan bi şeyleri tamamladıktan sonra hep çıkayım diye düşünerekten çalıştım bu zamana kadar. Ama hiç tabi dünya hali bitmiyor. Yani, bi şeyi karşılasan bi şey çıkıyor. Şu an oldu, hala yani bizim mağazamızın kapanması söz konusu kapanırsa işte işçileri işten çıkartacaklar, hani ben hala düşünüyorum çıksam acaba daha mı iyi olur? Daha sonra diyom ki, on üç sene çalışmışım, işte sigortam yatmış, belki de beş sene daha yatsa primim dolacak... Hani, sürekli bi şeyleri bi bitiriyim de çıkayım diye düşünüyorum, sonuçta maddiyat var. O bi şeyler de bitmediği için sürekli çalışıyorum, yani zoraki olduğu için.
- **Yani, şeye dair inancın da kalmadı herhalde, başka bir iş, daha seveceğin bir iş...**
- Evet, evet gerçekten de kalmadı. Bana şey dediler mesela kaç seneden beridir, işte bu kps[s] çıktığından beridir aman kps[s]'ye gir. Ben kendimde o gücü hissetmiyorum.
- **Çalışmak lazım çünkü...**
- Çalışmak lazım da, başka yeni bir iş... Sanki kendimi tükenmiş gibi hissettiğim için hani başka bi yerde yine sıfırdan başlamayı gözüm yemiyor. Ne olacak bilmiyorum yani?
- **Kaç kardeşsiniz?**
- Dört.
- **Onlar napıyor?**
- Ablam evli, abim evli, kardeşim İstanbul'da polis. Ama ben annem babamla kalıyorum.
- **Evde bi sen kaldın kardeşlerden?**
- Aynen öyle. İşte bu zaman kadar birisinin dersanesi, birisi işsiz kaldı, birisinin evlenmesi, düğünü falan... maddi açıdan sürekli çalışmak gerekti. Gerekiyor da nitekim, insan yaşadığı sürece bi şekilde bitmiyor ihtiyaçlar.
- **Senin öyle evlilik planların falan yok henüz?**
- Yok yok. İstemiyorum da zaten. Çalışmayı kendimde şey yapmadığım gibi, evlenmeyi de gözüm yemiyor yani. O kadar şey hissediyorum ki ben kendimi, bu işle alakalı değil kişisel bir şey belki de. Neyin verdiği bir

yorgunluk, bıkkınlık bilmiyorum ama hiç yeni bir şey için kendimi hazır görmüyorum. O gücü hissetmiyorum, sanki bitecekmişim falan gibi geliyor kendi kendime, yani sıfırlamışım gibi.

- **Çok erken ama böyle söylemek için değil mi?**
- Ya bilmiyorum Derya. Belki hani liseden çıktım direk çalışmaya başladım. Çalışma ortamım çok yoğundu. Neden bilmiyorum ama öyle yani. Bugün de zaten biraz depresyundayım.
- **Canım ya, seni daha fazla yormayalım.**
- Yok yok. Mağaza çok şeydi böyle çok havasız. Bugün akşama kadar nefes bile alamadım. Bacaklarım bile tutmuyordu. Dışarıya çıktım, allahım dedim ya oksijen var. Şu anda mesela çalışma ortamımız iğrenç ve yaklaşık iki senedir de böyle. Klimalar çalışmıyor içeriye oksijen girmiyor.
- **Yemekleriniz nasıl?**
- Fena değil.
- **Ayrı bir yemekhanesi mi var içerde?**
- Hımhım.
- **Dışardan geliyor?**
- Hımhım, şirketten.
- **Peki hani bu hissi anlattın da, şeyi merak ettim o yüzden, en azından bunları dertleşmek çok anlamlı, cidden de mesela günlerdir ben anlatıyorum işte yaşadığım sıkıntıyı (görüşmeden önce benim de canım sikkındı, nedenini Nurcan'a anlattım), çünkü ben kendi kendime yaşadıkça büyütüyorum da kafamda. O yüzden sordum. Hani arkadaşlarıyla böyle bi ilişkiniz var mı? Hakkikaten o sıcaklığı hissediyor musun?**
- Var, şu an için var. Kasadayken yoktu zaten. Kasada çok fazla insanlar diyalog halinde olamıyorlar. Konuşamıyorlar, dertleşemiyorlar, ancak bi yemek saatlerinde bir araya gelebiliyorlar, onda da hani çok fazla dertleşme imkanı olmuyor. Ama muhasebede biraz daha hani konuşma, dertleşme şansın daha fazla. Göz önünde değilsin, müşteri yok. İşini yaparken aynı anda konuşabiliyorsun da. Ama sonuçta dertleşmek de dertlerini azaltmıyor veya soruna çare bulmuyor hani anlatsan bile çözümü olmuyor. Kasadayken de aynı şekildeydi. Birisine anlatayım da rahatlayayım diye düşünüyorsun ama sorunun çözümü olmuyor ki.
- **Ya en azından şu anlamda önemli diye sordum ben, yani arkadaşları ayrıca bir sorun değil senin için, değil mi?**
- Değil, değil.
- **Yani onlarla öyle gerilimli bir ilişki olsa daha çekilmez olur diye dedim hani dertleşiyor musunuz, dostluk, sıcaklık var mı?**
- Kasada yok ama şu anda. Şu anda kasada herkes birbirine düşman, bir birinin kuyusunu kazıyor gibi bi şey. Bizde öyle bi şey yok da. O onun shiftine bakıyor, yok sen fazla sabahçısın, sen şöyle yaptın, böyle yaptın. Ya onların arasında çekişme var. Hatta bu yüzden insanlar bölüm değiştiriyorlar işte. Kasada çalışan bi insan şarküteriye gidiyor sırf aralarında huzursuzluk olduğu için.

- **Vardiya sorunları mı oluyor?**
- Vardiya sorunları, genelde vardiyadan kaynaklanıyor işte, molalardan kaynaklanıyor. Sen fazla kullandın, ben az kullandım; sen önce gittin, ben sonra gittim. Çok gereksiz şeyler ama insanlar sorun yapıyorlar bunu.
- **Sen de bi süre en azından maruz kaldın buna, şimdi biraz rahatladın?**
- Evet, ya kasa zamanımızda öyleydi. Biz sürekli, bi arkadaş vardı biz sürekli onunla birlikte en son yemeğe, atıyorum sabah gelirdik, saat dörtte ancak yemeğe gidebilirdik. Sabit biz kalırdık. İşte bekar olduğumuz için kasayı hep en son biz yatırırdık. Ee, sonuçta bunlar da yıpratıyor insanı kasadayken.
- **Daha sonra aranızda müşterilere dair konuştuğunuz oluyor mu?**
- Genelde oluyor. Ya zaten şey o...
- **İlginç gelen müşterilerle ilgili falan böyle...**
- Ya şey kasalar arasında hep olur. Bugün mesela bir kasiyer anlatıyor, yaşlı bir tane amca gelmiş, bi tane şampuan almış, nasıl gülüyor kasiyer ama nasıl gülüyor, amca demiş bunun kapağı kırık, göndermiş reyona yenisini almış. Diyo ki, geldi diyo bunun da hiç kapağı yok diyo. Allahım yarabbim ya (gülüriz). Bi insan diyor hiç mi görmez ya diyor, adamın ki de dalgınlık mı neyse. Adama demiş ki amca bunun da hiç kapağı yok. Demiş, vazgeçtim ben şampuan manpuan almıyorum. İşte şey yapanlar, baston kaldıranlar kasiyerlere karşı.
- **Öyle mi?**
- Tabi canım. En ufak bir şeyden dolayı, işte bunun fiyatı böyle diyo atıyorum. Yok diyorsun, etiketi getiriyorsun gösteriyorsun, işte ben yalan mı söylüyorum felan. Bi tane bizim kasiyeri bastonlu biri dövecekti müşterileden. Allahtan güvenlikler felan devreye giriyorlar.
- **Yani böyle şiddete bile maruz kalabiliyorsunuz?**
- Tabi. Sapıkları, işte takılanlar. Cumartesi-Pazar askerler gelir genelde. Kızlara takılırlar, işte telefon numarası bırakanlar. Çeşit çeşit insanlar.
- **Peki şey oluyor mu iş yeri içinde böylesi duygusal yakınlaşmalar oluyor mu?**
- Var tabi. İşyerinden çok evlenen insan da var. Aynı şirkette yasak olmasına rağmen. Sonuçta iş dışında başka bir hayatın olmadığı için genelde insanlar tercihlerini o yönde gösteriyorlar.
- **Yasak olduğu halde...**
- Hıhı yasak ama insanlar ne yapsınlar gün boyu zaten aynı yerdeler, başka yerde bulma şansları yok, doğal olarak yakınlaşıyorlar. (Gülerek) Bende yok öyle bir şey.
- **(Gülerek) Yok öyle. Olmadı mı ama en azından?**
- Ya aynı mağazada değil de şirketten birisi olmuştu ama olmadı. Genelde de bu vardır herhalde işyerlerinde. İnsanlar sürekli aynı ortamda, başka ortamlara girmiyorlarsa...
- **Öyle, öyle... Evlendikten sonra başka yere gönderme gibi, onları ayırma gibi bi şey yok değil mi?**
- Şey vardı bizim bi tane kasiyerimiz vardı onu işten çıkarttılar evlendikten sonra. Hatta bi tane de şarküteride çalışan vardı onu da işten çıkarttılar.

- **Başka bir yere gönderme değil, işine son verme değil mi?**
- Hımhım, işine son verdiler.
- **Açıklama olarak da evlenmelerini mi gösterdiler?**
- Ya açıklama olarak, o zaman zannediyorum ki, ihtiyaç fazlası falan olduğu için demişlerdi ama gerçek sebebi o değildi. O dönemde öyle evlenen beş altı kişiyi işten çıkartmışlardı ama eşleri halen çalışıyor mesela.
- **Kadınlar mı çıkartılıyor böyle durumlarda genellikle?**
- Evet, bayanlar.
- **Bu da tuhaf değilmi?**
- Yani.
- **Sen nerelisin?**
- Babam Sivaslı, annem Ankaralı. Ben genelde Ankara'yı kullanıyorum ama. Sordukları zaman direk Ankaralıyım diyorum. Ya Sivas çok fazla görmemişiz, babam da kütüğünü felan aldırılmış. Onun için direk Ankara demek daha güzel oluyor.
- **Sivas'ı da sevmiyorsun galiba anladığım kadarıyla?**
- Sevmiyorum. Bi de bi takım olaylar olmuş küçüklüğümüzde ondan dolayı bi antipati var.
- **Ne gibi?**
- Yaa, zamanında anneme çok kötü davranmışlar orda. Kişisel biraz herhalde.
- **Kaynana tarafı mı?**
- Kaynana, hıhı, o taraf. Zor durumda kalmış annem baya. Hatta kardeşimin birisi orda ölmüş hastaneye götüremedikleri için. Ondan dolayı sevmiyorum.
- **Sen doğmadan önce olmuş bunlar?**
- Evet.
- **Sen burda doğdun yoksa?**
- Evet.
- **Taşınıyorlar?**
- Yok zaten gezmeye gittiklerinde olmuş. Zaten annem babam hep burdaymış da çocuk doğduktan sonra oraya gitmişler, zatüre olmuş felan hastaneye götürmemişler, bakmamışlar felan.
- **Baba tarafı da iyi davranmayınca annene...**
- Ben de onun için Sivas'ı sildim haritadan.
- **Alevi misiniz? Yoksa?**
- Değiliz.
- **Annen baban da böyle çok sabırlı mıdır?**
- Ailede en sabırlı benim galiba. Yani hep öyle diyorlar. Benim farklı olduğumu söylüyorlar. Annemde sabır hiç yok. Babam yine daha sabırlı.
- **Bunu iş hayatına erken girmekle mi açıklıyorsun? Etkili midir yani bu?**
- Olabilir belki de. Hani ben daha neyin ne olduğunu, Kızılay'a bile inmeyi bilmiyordum, bi anda çocuk denebilecek yaşta işe başladım, kasaya oturdum beni müşteriler kasiyer zannetmiyorlardı. Geliyorlardı, personelin çocuğu musun felan diye soruyorlardı. Çalışıyorum diyince şaşırıyorlardı. Çocuk gerçekten de ... Eskilerden abiler de söylediği zaman, çocuktu bunun elinden

tuttuk kasaya oturttuk falan diye konuşuyorlar. Demek ki o kadar küçük mü gösteriyormuşum neymişim.

- **Şimdi de küçük gösterdiğine göre mümkündür.**
- O zamanlar demek ki baya küçükmüşüm. Müşterilerden de hatırlıyorum, hiç yani beni kasiyer yerine koymuyorlardı, geldikleri zaman ilk önce çalışıyor musun kızım diye soruyorlardı, ondan sonra kasaya giriyorlardı.
- **Çalışmaya nasıl karar verdin?**
- Ya çalışmaya... aslında ablam iş arıyordu, daha sonra buraya geldik eleman ihtiyacı olduğunu söylediler. O zaman da çok az para veriyorlardı, ablam dedi ki ben bu paraya çalışmam dedi, part time çalışıyorlardı. Ben de dedim ki part time çalışıyorlarsa ben çalışırım hem yarım gün ders de çalışırım, orda da çalışırım diye düşündüm. Daha sonra girdim, beni bir tane kasiyerin yanına verdiler. İlk ona verdikleri için ben diğerlerinin yanına da gitmedim. Biraz da şeydim o zamanlar içime çok fazla kapalıydım. Onun yanına verdiler diye direk onun yanında kaldım. Bi hafta boyunca bana kız hiç oturtturmadı kasaya, sürekli poşet yaptım. Daha sonra şefimiz geldi, dedi ki işte ne olacak bu kız ne zaman kasaya geçecek, kasanın başına oturacak mı felan. O da olur felan dedi. Sonra kız beni çekti dedi ki, ben dedi seni kasama oturtturamam dedi. Benim yanımda kalacaksan dedi kusura bakma ben seni kasama oturtturamam ben seni, hep arkadan bakacaksın dedi. Ben de ne kadar safmışım ki o zamanlar, tamam dedim sırf senin yanında oluyum da. Halbuki kız benim hiçbir şeyim değil, herhangi bir yakınlık göstermedi ve sırf beni onun yanına koydular diye (güler).
- **O niye kasaya oturtmam diyor anlamadım.**
- Ya o biraz şeydi, onun yanına niye verdiler onu da bilmiyorum. Daha sonra kızını hırsızlıktan işten de attılar. Ya, kasaına hiç kimseyi oturtturmuyordu. Biraz kişiliğiyle alakalı mı bilmiyorum. Biraz farklı bir insandı. Daha sonra işte onun yanından aldılar beni. Biraz demek ki artık gözüm mü açıldı ne olduysa, ben dedim artık kasaya geçmek istiyorum. Şey vardı bir abimiz vardı müdür abimiz oldu sonra, o dedi Nurcan dedi gel kasaya otur, onun yanında durursan kasaya oturamazsın felan. Tamam abi dedim. Daha sonra işte bi başladım kasaya oturmaya daha sonra kasadan kaldıramazlardı beni. Yemek saati gelirdi ben hala gitmezdim. Öyle başladım işte. Nerden geldim buraya bilmiyorum ama o zaman çocuktum daha, hiçbir şeyi de bilmiyordum. Bir ay boyunca kasiyer diye işe alınan birisi arkada poşet yaparsa demek ki çocukmuşum. Normal değil yani.
- **Biraz korkmuşsun ve ona güvenmek istemişsin herhalde, bi de ilk onunla tanıştırmışsın.**
- Evet evet.
- **Sen böyle hırsızlık deyince aklıma şey geldi, hiç böyle hırsızlık olayları oluyor mu market içinde?**
- Yani, o zamandan işte onu hatırlıyorum. Daha sonra işte kredi kartıyla ilgili bi kasiyerde olmuştu.
- **Müşterilerin yaptığı hırsızlık var mı?**

- Müşterilerin tabi. Olmaz olur mu? Yani, şu anda alarm sistemi var, alarmda çok fazla hırsızlık yapamıyorlar... kameralar var, kameralardan izlenebiliyor ama yani içerde dolaşan birisi çok rahat bir biçimde hırsızlık yapabilir.
- **Genelde kimler hırsızlık yapıyor?**
- Öğrenciler.
- **Görünce onları ne düşünüyorsun?**
- Ya ben aldıkları şeye bakıyorum. Eğer ki hani ne bileyim ihtiyacı olan bir şeyi almışsa hak verebiliyorum, demek ki parası yok diyorum. Ama atıyorum, gitmişse kozmetik ürünlerini doldurmuşsa çantasına çok kızıyorum. Sonuçta orası bizim ekmek yediğimiz yer. Yani temel ihtiyaç almışsa bi şey yapmıyorum ama temel ihtiyaç değilse aldığı lükse giriyorsa çok kızıyorum, sinirleniyorum. Zaten bize kızmaya gerek kalmıyor, güvenlikler hemen yakaladıkları zaman baya bir kızıyorlar (güler).
- **Karakola göndermiyorlar mı?**
- Ya karakola gitmeyi kimse göze alamadığı için ödeme yapıyorlar, fazlasını ödüyorlar, mislisini ödüyorlar. Genelde göze alamıyor insanlar. Asker yakalanmıştı bir kez, rütbeli bir asker. Rütbesi de baya yüksekti. Ya adama o kadar para ödettiler ki o zaman. Sırf polise haber verecekler... Sonuçta adamın şeyi gidecek.
- **Fırsattan istifade mağaza da kazanmış oluyor.**
- (Gülerek) Öyle oluyor zaten açıklarımızı onla kapatıyoruz.
- **Bir sürü hırsızlık arasından yakalananlar... Çok acımasız oluyorlarmış ama ya (Ben yakalanan arkadaşlarımdan başına gelenleri anlatıyorum burda).**
- Bizim şey... ilk işe girdiğim zamanlar iki tane mağazanın kendi güvenliği vardı. Şimdi firmanın güvenliği. Ama adamların kendilerinden korkardım. Bi tane odaları vardı. Hırsızları yakaladıkları zaman oraya götürürlerdi. Allahım, bir döverlerdi, bir döverlerdi, mağaza inlerdi var ya.
- **Gerçekten mi?**
- Vallahi, ay adamları gördüğüm zaman ben hiç bi şeyim olmasa bile kaçacak yer arardım, o kadar korkardım.
- **B'un çalışanları mıydı onlar?**
- Yok Gima'nın.
- **Şey yani, mağaza çalışanı mıydı?**
- Hıhı, kendi çalışanıydı o zaman.
- **Şimdi taşeronu yaptırılıyor bu iş.**
- Hehe.
- **Güvenlik kameraları sizin odanızda da mı var?**
- Var. Derya geldiğinde gördü hatta kameramızı.
- **Yalnız ama, kamera dedik, o sırada acaba çalışıyor mu diye hepsi tedirgin oldu (güleriz).**
- Sesi alıyor mu acaba diye. Yok, kameranın çalıştığını, görüntü aldığını biliyoruz, yan taraftan izleyebiliyoruz da. Sesi alıyor mu acaba felan olduk. Eğer sesi alıyorsa zaten çok kötü.
- **Bugüne kadar konuşulanlar, edilenler hakkımızda delil olarak...**

- Ee, şirket hakkında az atmadık yani (güleriz). Direk şut yaparlar bizi.
- **Onu öğrenemiyor musunuz, sesi kaydediyor mu, etmiyor mu?**
- Yaa söylemezler herhalde. İzliyoruz, görüntümüzü görüyoruz bizi çektiğini de sabit, fiks.
- **Ben sana söyleyeyim, ses alıyordur o.**
- Ses alıyorsa çok kötü valla. Orda amaç sadece çalıyor musun diye... Mesela atıyorum ben para alsam ses çıkmaz ki görüntüden adamlar... Bilmiyorum, belki de alıyordur dediğin gibi ses de biz almıyor diye düşünerekten...
- **Almayabilir gerçekten dediğin gibi... Hani o bu tür şey...**
- Caydırıcı. Zaten güvenlik sistemi hep öyle, mağazalarda da aynı şekilde caydırıcı olması açısından. Yoksa hani çok şey değil.
- **Caydırıcı da sahiden herkes göze alamıyor. Ciddi dayak atılıyormuş he?**
- Evet.
- **Bu yakın zamana kadar yapılıyor muydu? Kaç yıldır yapılmıyor mesala?**
- Benim ilk işe girdiğim zamanlar çok rastgeliyordum.
- **Bi de sen küçükmüşsün o zaman?**
- Evet. O zamanlar bana ne kadar korkutucu geliyordu ama. Hani bi de görmemişim öyle bi şey. İnsanları gördüğüm zaman kaçıyordum, o insanları gördüğüm zaman.
- **Ne zamandır taşeronlaşma var mağazanın içinde Nurcan?**
- Taşeron?
- **Yani firmacılar dedikleri. Hani, B çalışanı değil de firmadan gönderiliyor ya? Mesela banvitin elemanı...**
- Ya o hep vardı ki.
- **Ama B'de çok yoğunlaşmış. Marketler arasında en yoğun onda olduğunu söylediler.**
- Bizim mesela ben girdim gireli, yanlış hatırlamıyorsam, kasap atıyorum hep şeydi işletici firmaydı. Kuruyemiş işletici firmaydı, yine aynı; unlu mamüller girdiğimde işletici firmaydı, halen işletici firma. Yani genelde vardı. Ben 95'te girdim. 95'ten beri var.
- **Şimdi alımlar genelde öyle mi oluyor peki? Onu en azından fark etmiş olabilirsin.**
- Alımlar? Onların alımı zaten bizi bağlamıyor. Yanlış mı anladım acaba?
- **Yok doğru.**
- İşçi alımı... Kendi bünyelerinde alıyorlar onlar.
- **Şimdi o yapılıyor değil mi genelde?**
- Yani. Daha karlı ama. O satıştan komisyon alıyorsun. Durduk yerde firma ondan para kazanıyor. Belli bir bölüm veriyor ona, hem satış yapıyor, hem de para kazanıyor. Onun sattığı ürün üzerinden komisyon alıyor.
- **İşçi maliyeti yok. Peki yani şimdi B elemanı olarak kim çalışabiliyor şu an o zaman, genelde onlar öyle alınıyorsa hep?**

- B olarak, şeyden, Gima ile B arasında sadece güvenlikler fark etti. Güvenlikler eskiden bizim şeydi, kendi mağazanıdı, daha sonra işte firmaya döndü.
- **Genelde reyon ve kasiyerler B elemanı oluyor?**
- Evet, mağaza elemanı kasiyer, şarküteri, reyon, işte bilgi işlemi muhasebe. Onun haricinde temizlik taşeron, güvenlik taşeron. İşte atıyorum kasap, kuruyemiş, meze, pastane... Bunların hepsi taşeron.
- **Çoğu taşeron. Taşeron diye alt işverene derler. Ana işverenin değil, onun altındaki işverenler.**
- B'de şey anlayışı da çok fazla, Gima'dayken bu kadar değildi, atıyorum işte neyin malını satıyorum ben. Ülker'in malını, Eti'nin satıyorum veya kozmetikten bazı firmaları satıyorum. O firmaların elemanlarını çok çalıştırıyorlar. Şeydeyken bu kadar değildi mesela Gima'dayken bu kadar firmacıları çalıştırmıyordu. Firmacı geliyordu sadece kendi ürünü neyse, atıyorum Ülker'in ürünü, Ülker'i sadece diziyordu. Ama B'ye geçtikten sonra bir firmacıyı mağazanın her tarafında çalıştırıyorlar.
- **Yani artık kendi işçisini de öyle almaya başlıyor dışardan, taşeron firmadan?**
- Kendi işçisi olmuyor o zaman da. Hani kendi işçisini daha az çalıştırmak için veya daha az işçi çalıştırmak için firmacı sayısını fazla yapıyor ve firmacıya da fazla yükleniyor ki kendi maliyeti fazla olmasın, daha az personel çalıştırsın.
- **Şimdi sendikada onlar kapsam dışı?**
- Kapsam dışı çünkü zaten elemanı değil.
- **Evet. İşte öyle bir sorun da var. O işçiler açısından daha dezavantajlı bir durum. Muhtemelen sizin faydalandığınız haklardan faydalanamıyor olabilirler.**
- Faydalanamıyorlar çünkü onların işvereni şey değil, onların işvereni tamamen farklı ve onların da sendikası olduğunu zannetmiyorum zaten.
- **Yok. Peki B işçisiyle bu firmacılar arasında sorunlar olabiliyor mu?**
- Oluyor. Onlara ikinci sınıf muamelesi yapıyorlar. Mesela bugün bi tane firmacı gelmiş bi reyoncuyla çağırıyor. Yukarda reyoncu, firmacı da aşağıda bir şey soracak, reyon gösterecek. Sen kim oluyorsun da, yani firmacıya, sen kim oluyorsun da reyoncuyla ayağına çağırıyorsun. Halbuki kız gayet iyi niyetli reyonda bir şey gösterecek. Dedim niye böyle yapıyorsun, sonuçta o insan değil mi? Firmacılar hep böyle, sonuçta kendi personelimiz olmadığı için biraz daha ikinci sınıf vatandaş gibi görüyorlar ve biraz daha fazla üzerlerine gidiyorlar insanların, daha fazla iş yaptırıyorlar.
- **Kaç yıldır sendika var orda? Gima'yken yoktu değil mi?**
- Vardı. Ben girdim gireli sendika var.
- **Sen kaç yıldır sendikalısın?**
- Valla, girdiğimizde direk sendikalı yaptılar bizi diye biliyorum ben.
- **Nasıl sendikalı olunuyor? Mesela ben girdim B'ye daha iş sözleşmesi yapılırken mi?**

- Bize söylediklerine göre bir iş yerinde çoğunluk neyse sen seçsen de seçmesen de sendikalı oluyorsun dediler bize. Doğru mu, değil mi bilmiyorum ama. İşçi temsilcileri var mağazalarda yeni girenlere form dolduruyorlar.
- **Ama yeni girenler şunu demiyor değil mi, ben istemiyorum diyebiliyor mu?**
- Ya bugüne kadar diyen olmadı.
- **İşveren zaten izin verdiği için değil mi?**
- Hıhı evet. Hani belki şey olsa, işveren izin vermese de, sendikalı olanlar şöyle olacak veya böyle olacak tarzında yaklaşım yapsa hiç birisi olmazdı.
- **Demek ki dezavantajlı bir duruma düşürmüyor sizi mağazada sendikalı olmak?**
- Ee, yani evet.
- **Senin sendikasız arkadaşların var mı orda?**
- Mağazada yok.
- **Firmacılar var...**
- Firmacılar ayrı zaten.
- **Ama sen sendikayı önemsiyorsun anladığım kadarıyla. Eğitimlere katılıyorsun?**
- Evet, önemsiyorum. Salih abiden dolayı biraz daha yakınlık duydum. Hani birlikte çalıştığımız için. Sonuçta hakkımızı savunuyorlar. Bunu yalnız başımıza bizim yapmamız mümkün değil. Gerekıyor yani bir yerde bi savunulması. Özellikle işte bu yeni firma (B) pesoneli çok fazla sözmürmeye çalıştığı için yani birilerinin muhakkak personelin hakkını savunması lazım. Çünkü sonuçta hani burda çalışan kişilerin seviyesi, kültür düzeyleri, yani kendilerini ne kadar savunabilirler koca şirkete karşı. Çok fazla aktif olan insanlar değil. Onun için muhakkak birilerinin savunması gerekiyor.
- **Salih abi eskiden Gima’da mı çalışıyordu?**
- Hıhı. Muhasebede birlikte çalıştık biz onla.
- **Öyle mi? İlk yıllarında mı?**
- Salih abinin son yıllarında. İlk yıllarında değil.
- **Senin muhasebeci olduğun ilk yıllar?**
- Hıhı, evet, benim...
- **Ordan bir güven var zaten.... Eğitim için İzmir’e de gittiğin oldu yani?**
- Hıhım.
- **Çok güzel bir şey ama...**
- Evet.
- **Genelde üyelik kağıt üzerinde kalıyor ama sen gerçekten önemsemişsin.**
- Güzeldi, eğitim de güzeldi.
- **Ne zaman oldu bu eğitim İzmir’e gittiğin?**
- Dört sene felan oldu herhalde. Yanlış hatırlamıyorsam.
- **Volkan Yaraşır ile orda mı tanıştın?**
- Tanışmak da değil tam olarak da sadece eğitmen olarak gördüm. Grup olduğumuz için öyle tanışma şeyi olmadı. Ondan sonra bi daha görmedim.

- **Sendika eğitimleri nasıl oluyor? Ben hep geleceğim geleceğim diyom ama...**
- İşte ben sadece sendikanın eğitimine o zaman gittim. Başka bir sendikanın eğitimine pek çağırıyorlar zaten. Genelde işçi temsilcileri veya sendikada aktif görev yapan insanları eğitime alıyorlar.
- **Haberiniz olmuyor zaten?**
- Hıhı. Bizim gittiğimizde de örgütlenmeden felan bahsetmişlerdi İzmir’de. Güzeldi, baya aktif bir eğitimdi ama aklında bi şey kaldımı diye sor... (gülür).
- **Ama şey, hani insanın aklında motomot bir şey kalmaz ama önemli olduğunu kavramış olman zaten aslolan. Yoksa dört yıl önceki söyleşiyi kim hatırlar.**
- Hıhı, evet, evet, öyle. Geçen sene değil ondan önceki sene mesela ilk yardım eğitimi aldım. İlk yardımdan sertifika verdiler bana. Şurda birisi bayılsa... Enteresan ya. Mesela sınavlarına falan giriyorsun. O an için anlıyorsun. Sınavına girdim, sınavdan da gayet yüksekti notum. Sertifikasını da aldım ama. Şimdi düşünüyorum, şurda birisi bayılsa ne yapmak lazım acaba? (Güleriz). Eğitimler benim hep böyle geçer, neden bilmiyorum bir sorun var herhalde, çok fazla kalıcı olmuyor.
- **Ama pratik olmadan olmaz zaten. Bir kereyle olmaz o iş. Tekrarlı olması lazım ve o bilgiyi kullanabilir olman lazım...**
- Öyle mi?
- **Hıhı. Peki baban ne iş yapıyor?**
- Babam emekli.
- **İşçi emeklisi mi?**
- Evet.
- **Annen çalışmıyor?**
- Çalışmıyor.
- **Bi de sen varsın çalışan. Ev sizin mi?**
- Bizim.
- **Nerde oturuyorsunuz?**
- Birlik mahallesinde.
- **Bilmiyom ben.**
- Kırkkonaklar’ın bir diğer tarafı.
- **Seviyor musun orayı?**
- Ya seviyorum. Şöyle seviyorum, bizim evimiz eskiden gecekonduydu. İşte orası yıkıldı, bina yapıldı. Yeni taşındık bir hafta felan oldu taşınalı.
- **Öyle mi? Hayırlı olsun.**
- Sağolasın. Daha önceden işte kirada oturduk ve kirada oturmak gerçekten müthiş zor bir şeymiş. Hani insan diyo ki evim olsun da semt artık hiç şey değil yani.
- **Tabi siz yapılırken evler kirada oturdunuz?**
- Evet kirada oturduk.
- **Kirayı vermiyor muydu size müteahhid?**
- Ya, müteahhid verdi de o parayı başka bi alanda kullandık (gülür).
- **Anladım. İyi ya güzel olmuş. Sevdin mi evi?**

- Sevdim, sevmez olur muyum? Şimdi soruyorlar ev nasıl. Evi gördüğüm yok ki, kira vermiyorum o kadar güzel bir şey ki. Şimdi şey yapıyorum mesela Coşkun abiler, mağazada çalışanlar. Tek maaş çalışıyorlar, kira ödüyorlar, ev geçindiriyorlar, çocuk bakıyorlar, hayret ediyorum ya. Ben diyorum, hani şey, tek başıma olmadığım halde yetiştiremiyordum yani, o kadar zor bir şey ki. Bilmiyorum kira veriyor musunuz?
- **(Gülerek) Hepimiz kira veriyoruz.**
- İnşallah herkes ev sahibi olur. Gerçekten de çok zor bi şey ya. Bi de aldığın para çok fazla olmayınca, düşünüyorsun bir ay boyunca başka bir adam için çalışıyormuş gibi oluyorsun.
- **(Kendi ailemin de kiracı olduğundan vs. söz ediyorum burda). Hakikaten bazen düşünüyorum, ezkaza yaşıyoruz çoğumuz.**
- Gerçekten öyle.
- **Yani yarın ne olacağını bilmeden yaşıyoruz.**
- Ama her şey para için işte. Bütün sıkıntıları çektikimiz. Yani ne bileyim, hep maddiyat için.
- **Peki böyle geleceğe ilişkin nasıl hayaller, umutlar...?**
- Geleceğe yönelik tek hayalim emekli olabilmek. Onun haricinde hiçbir şeyin hayalini kuramıyorum. İnşallah olursa emekli olmayı çok istiyorum. Onun haricinde hiçbir hedefim... (Gülerek) Hedefsiz insan boş insanmış bu arada. Ben öyleyim ama. Ee, öyle geleceğe ilişkin herhangi bir beklentim yok, isteğim de yok. Sadece emekli olayım, benim için yeterli olacak.
- **Kendini çok fazla güvencesiz hissettiğin için mi?**
- Belki de, bilmiyorum. Geleceğim belli değil sonuçta. En azından bir emekliliğim olursa rahat ederim diye düşünüyorum.
- **Ne zamandan söz ediyoruz tabi?**
- Emekli olmaya mı?
- **Yaş beklemek diye bir şey var galiba?**
- Ama primimi doldurayım, yaşı beklerim herhalükarda. (Gülerek) Ne yapayım, çalışmasam da beklerim. Primimi doldursam benim için yeterli şu an için.
- **Prim doldurmak mı?**
- Hıhı. 15 yılda prim doluyor işte. Primimi doldurmak... Tek isteğim şu an için en azından kendimle ilgili bu.
- **Ne zaman dolacak primin?**
- İnternette bakmıştım, dört sene felan gözüktüyor ama.
- **Çok kalmamış.**
- Part time'ken eksik yatıyordu bizim. O zaman eksik yatmasaydı belki daha az kalacaktı ama.
- **Annenle babanla aran nasıl?**
- İyi. (gülerek) Ben uysalımdır. Ne kadar övdüm değil mi kendimi?
- **Yok canım.**
- **Uysal olduğun belli oluyor ama.**
- İyi, sonuçta aynı evde yaşıyoruz annem babamla.

- **Ama evde bir dayanışma ilişkisi olmuş sanırım. Dedin ya, kardeşim okudu mu dedin, ona baktık, işsiz kaldı abin falan... Ailedeki o dayanışma bir güven veriyor herhalde ama değil mi?**
- Zaten hani başka bir yerden tutunacak bir şeyimiz olmadığı için, gelirimiz ya da başka bir şeyimiz olmadığı için mecburen bu zamana kadar dayandık ama, dayanıştık ya da, bundan sonra ne olur bilmiyorum. Abim evlendi zaten. Hani insanlar evlendikten sonra biraz daha şey oluyor, sonuçta artık yeni bir evi oluyor...
- **Kendi sorumlulukları...**
- Hıhı, kendi sorumlulukları. Ablam aynı şekilde. Artık çok fazla şeyimiz yok...
- **Kalan sağlar bizimdir diyip devam (güleriz).**
- Aynen.
- **Benim de iki tane çalışan ablam evlendi. Ben de ordan biliyorum.**
- Güzel ama ya insanın ailesiyle dayanışma ilişkisi içinde olması en azından.
- **İzlediğin bir dizi var mı?**
- İzlediğim bi dizi.. şey var... Dün ne vardı?
- **Yaprak Dökümü.**
- He, o var. (güler). Şeyi de çok seviyorum, Hatırla Sevgili'yi de çok seviyorum. Denk geldiğim zamanlar onu da izlemeye çalışıyorum.
- **Bitti.**
- Bitti mi? Ne zaman bitti?
- **Ben çok üzüldüm. Çok güzel bir finali oldu. Anlatamam sana.**
- Ayy!
- **Sen Hatırla Sevgili'yi neden seviyordun?**
- Geçmiş anlattığı için, gerçekçi olduğu için. Çok bi de gerçekten yaşıyorlar. Olaylar da gerçek zaten. Ya çok hoşuma gidiyor. Geçmiş ve olduğu gibi anlattılar. Güzeldi yani.
- **Geçmiş nasıl gözükte gözüne peki?**
- Geçmiş kötü gözükte ya. Çok karışık gözükte. İyi ki o devirlerde yokmuşuz diye düşündüm. Ve çok gereksiz geldi bana olan tartışmalar, kavgalar. Bir sürü can, bir sürü insan öldü. Bir sürü insan asıldı. Hepsi çok gereksizdi yani.
- **Seni en çok orda etkileyen olay neydi?**
- Ya şey, Deniz Gezmiş'i asmaları falan baya şey oldu. İşte onların yazdığı mektuplar. İşte hapse girdikleri zaman birbirleriyle dayanışmaları felan. İşte evleri bastıkları zaman olan olaylar. İşte insanları bir yerlere götürdüler, nereye götürdükleri belli değil. Oralar çok etkili yani. Nasıl olur dedim böyle bir şey dedim ya burası Türkiye dedim. Gerçi oradaki insanlar da öyle düşündüler ama. Yuh, dedim yani. Gerçekten de yuh dedim.
- **(Gülerek) Ama Yaprak Dökümü devam ediyor.**
- Denk geldiğim zamanlar izlemeye çalışıyorum. Biz bi hafta sabah, bi hafta akşam çalıştığımız için.
- **İki haftada bir izliyorum diyorsun (güleriz).**
- Bi de bazen evde işler olduğu zaman yetişemiyorum da.

- **Onda ne hissediyorsun?**
- Yaprak Dökümünde ne hissediyorum... Kaynanasını seviyorum dermişim (güleriz). Ya ailenin dayanışması çok hoşuma gidiyor onda da. Yani her şeye rağmen, yanlışlarına rağmen birbirlerini tutuyorlar. Ailenin dayanışması güzel yani.
- **En çok hangi karakteri seviyorsun? Kendine yakın hissediyorsun?**
- Fikret. Bayılıyorum ya, ne kadar sabırlı bir insan. Ve çok çok benzetiyorum.
- **Kendine yakın mı hissediyorsun?**
- Evet. Çok çok benzetiyorum.
- **Neyi mesela?**
- Ya bütün her şeyimi benzetiyorum ben bilmiyorum. Bi o kadar sabırlı değilim. Sabırlıyım ama onun kadar sabırlı değilim hani onun kadar değilim. Sabırlıyım ama... Ya bütün özellikleri, kardeşlerine yakınlığı, işte sorunları anlamaya çalışması veya yardımcı olmaya çalışması. Ya kişiliğini tamamiyle benzetiyorum kendime. (Gülerek) tipi de benziyor.
- **Tatil günü ne yapıyorsun?**
- Genelde evde temizlikle geçiyor (güler). Annem biraz yaşlı olduğu için ev işleriyle çok fazla ilgilenemiyor. Ee, izin günlerim genelde temizlikle... Çok nadir işte arkadaşlarla buluşursak, o da nadir.
- **Şey peki Nurcan, yöneticiyle karşı karşıya geldiğin oldu mu?**
- Yöneticiyle karşı karşıya geldiğim eskiden çok fazla olurdu. Kasadayken çok fazla olurdu. Ama şimdi muhasebede olduğumuz için biraz daha bize ihtiyaçları var, bi çok işlerini biz yapıyoruz. Onun için çok fazla karşı karşıya gelmiyoruz. Ama kasadayken müthiş. Çok canımı sıkarlardı, hatta onlar yüzünden işten ayrılmayı düşündüm.
- **Nasıl bir şey oldu?**
- Ya en ufak bir şeyde, kendilerini üstün gördükleri için her şeyden haberleri olsun istiyorlar. Atıyorum tuvalete giderken insan söyler mi? Özel bir durumun bile olsa bilgi istiyorlar veya bi sorun olduğu zaman müşteriyle ilgili ilgilenmiyorlar, senin üzerine bırakıyorlar, çağırıyorlar gelmiyorlar, işte fazla çalıştırıyorlar. Kasadayken o şekildeydi, ben kasadayken. Çok bunalmıştım. Bi de hani sonuçta karşıdaki insanlar bilmiyorum ya hak etmiyorlardı. Ben öyle düşünüyorum, benim gösterdiğim saygıyı hak etmiyorlardı diye düşünüyorum.
- **Nasıl yani?**
- Atıyorum, işte bi şey yaptım, ben sana gösteririm tarzında ve bunu hani başkalarından da duyuyordum veya işte başka birisinin hakkında söylediği şeyi, bunu yaptı ama atıyorum yarım saat geç geldi ama ben bunu burnundan getirecem, ben şahit olmuşumdur, görür bundan sonra felan tarzında. Yani yetkili olduğu için istediği şekilde kullanacağını düşünüyorlardı personeli.
- **Ve bunu kullanabiliyorlardı değil mi?**
- Kullanıyorlar, tabi kullanıyorlar. Yani sonuçta, atıyorum, o akşamcı gel dediyse akşamcı gelemek zorundasın, başka bi seçeneğin yok. Senin bir işin var diyelim, izin almak istiyorsun, izin vermezse, çok önemli bir işin bile olsa izin vermezse gidemiyorsun, yapamıyorsun o işini.

- **Peki böyle bir yetkiye sahip olmaları, hani bunun burnundan getirecem... Buna şahit olduğunda ne hissettin, ne düşündün?**
- İşte, dolma noktası oluyor. O an diyorsun ki, kurtulayım şurdan felan diyorsun. Ya yapıyorlar, bana da yaptılar zamanında. Hani, en ufak bir ters çıktığın zaman veya işte atıyorum yalakalık yaparlar insanlar genelde, yalakalık yapmadığım zaman ters tepki yaratıyorlar. Sürekli akşamcı yazıyorlar seni veya işte istediğin saatte yemeğe göndermiyorlar. Bi şekilde sinirini bozacak şeyler yapıyorlar muhakkak. İşte kasayı kapatacaksın atıyorum izin vermiyorlar, on dakika daha çalış, yirmi dakika daha çalış. Ee, sinirleniyorsun doğal olarak da elinden başka bir şey gelmiyor, sinirlenmekten başka yöneticiye bir şey yapamıyorsun ki.
- **Sinirini dışavurabiliyor musun?**
- Vuramazsın çünkü geri dönüşü daha kötü oluyor.
- **Peki, bu, çok sinirlendin, hani hakkatten bizim de olur ya, patlama noktası dedin az önce ama bunu dışavuramamak...**
- Ee, patlatıyor insanı. Mesela benim ailemde hiç saçı beyaz olan insan yok, benim saçım şu anda boya ama, en küçük olmama rağmen benim saçım hepsinden daha şey veya işte sağlık sorunun belki hepsinden daha fazla.
- **Ne tür sağlık sorunları?**
- E, benim psikolojim iyi değil benim. Deliyim ben dermişim (güler). İyi değilim, gerçekten de iyi değilim. Yani iyi hissetmiyorum kendimi (Gözleri dolar). Belki de hani bu dolgunluktan dolayı olabilir. (Sessizlik) Ee, bi şey yapamıyorsun, sonunda çaresizsin. Üstüne karşı çıkmak gibi bir şansın yok. Çıkarsan daha kötü olacak. İşten çıkamıyorsun, rest çekip gidemiyorsun, çünkü yılların çalışmışlığı var. Tazminatını bırakmak istemiyorsun, hadi çıktın iş bulabilecek misin, işsizlik çok fazla. Rest çekip gidemiyorsun veya işte karşılığını veremiyorsun. Sadece sinirleniyorsun, yıpranıyorsun o kadar. (sessizlik). Onu da eve yansıtıyorsun. Gidiyorsun, ne oldu kızım, bir şey mi oldu, yok bir şey, direk yat uyu. Hiç uykum olmadığı halde benim erken saatte yattığım çok olmuştur. Hani sırf o diyaloga girmeyeyim, ne oldu, ne bitti, onlara çatmayayım diye (sessizlik).
- **İş arkadaşlarıyla dışarda görüşemiyor musun?**
- Ya dışarda, işte sabahçı olduğumuz zamanlar, eğer yorgun değilsek, çok nadir, ayda bir veya işte düğünlerde, ne bileyim, özel günlerde... Onun haricinde çok fazla bi toplantımız yok bizim.
- **Herhalde haftada bir gün olması ve ayrı günler olması sonucu...**
- Evet. Mesela uzun süredir bir piknik ayarlayalım felan diye düşündük ama hiç bi türlü denk getiremedik, birimizin shifti uysa birimizinki uymuyor.
- **İki kişi öyle çıktığınız zamanlar oluyor mu? Yani denkleştirip bulduğunuz yakın bir arkadaşınla?**
- Akşam çıkışlarda buluşuyoruz ancak. Hani gün değil de, hani iki kişi sabahçı olduğumuz zaman akşam çıkıp oturuyoruz. Onda da şey oluyor ya, anlatayım rahatlayayım olmuyor da, insanlar hep anlattıkça, ben bunu da fark ettim, bi süre hatta şey diye düşündüm, hiçbir sıkıntımı anlatmayacam veya kimsenin sıkıntısını dinlemeyecem. Sorunlara çözüm olmuyor, daha çok insanın canı

sıkılıyor. Anlattıkça böyle yapılanlar, haksızlıklar... Ee, çözüm bulamıyorsun, dinliyorsun şişiyorsun zaten. Sen de yaşıyorsun zaten şişmişsin. Böyle birbirimizi şişiriyoruz, iyice galiyana geliyoruz gibi geliyordu. Bir ara karar aldım artık anlatmayacam da dinlemeyecem de ama sonuçta doluyorsun bir yerde anlatmak gerekiyor rahatlamak için. Çözüm olmuyor ama...

- **Hiç böyle güven sorunu yaşayıp anlatmadığın oluyor mu? Ya da başına öyle bir şey geldi mi?**
- Güven sorunu olan insanlara anlatmıyorum zaten genelde. Ya o şekilde de çok fazla var. Mesela bir şey söylüyorsun, onu çok rahat gidip yöneticiye yetiştirebiliyorlar. Çünkü alakasız, yani ben bi şey konuşuyorum mesela, ertesi gün geliyorum bakıyorum yönetici duymuş. Çok alakasız bir şey ama insanlar ne hikmet, niye anlatıyorlar bilmiyorum ama anlatıyorlar. Var yani, çok var. Bilmiyorum başka yerlerde de var mıdır ama bizimkilerde müthiş haber yayma hızı var.
- **Bu da tabi güvensizlik yaratıyor ve anlatmıyor insanlar?**
- Yani.
- **Hani mesela bi de işyeri sendikalı ya, yani sendikann toplu sözleşme yetkisi var falan, böylesi çok ağır durumlar olduğunda yani biri gelip, ya arkadaşlar başıma şu geldi bir şey yapmalıyız ya da onu gören biri biz bu insan için bir şey yapmalıyız, buna hakları yok... Böyle deneyimlerin oldu mu?**
- Bundan önceki yönetimde baya bi bunaltmıştı bizi müdürümüz. Daha sonra biz işte sendikaya gitmeye karar verdik. Karar verdikten sonra bunun bize geri dönüşü kötü oldu. Bir çok insanın mağazasını değiştirdiler.
- **Müdür değişmedi mi?**
- Müdürümüz en son gitti ama tabi o baya bi insanı değiştirdikten sonra gitti. Ya bi de mesela şu andaki müdürümüz de aynı şekilde şey diyor, mağazadan hiçbir şey hani benim haberim olmadan sendikaya gitmeyecek diyor. Eğer benim çözemeyeceğim bi durum varsa diyor...
- **Mağaza müdürümü diyor bunu?**
- Hıhı.
- **Peki onunla sorun olunca?**
- İşte... Benle bir sorunuz varsa bölge müdürüne gidin diyor, benim mağazamda diyor, müdür yardımcısı var diyo, ben varım diyor, insan kaynakları var diyo. Sorununuzu diyor, eğer ki onlarla çözemerseniz diyor, ondan sonra sendikaya gideceksiniz diyor.
- **Sendikayı olabildiğince etkisiz hale getirme...**
- Yani, yani. Bundan öncekinde de mesela, biz bi kez sendikaya gitmiştik, niye gitmiştik?... O zamanlar toplu iş sözleşmesi mi ne vardı, işte kimin gittiğini felan öğrenmişler, tek tek çağırdılar felan. Siz niye böyle bi şey yapıyorsunuz, işte işverene güvenmiyor musunuz; sendika sizin gözünüzü boyuyor felan tarzında baya bi şey... İşte beni çağırdı, sana hiç yakıştıramıyorum, sen geride durmalısın... Birisi gidiyosa bile hani sen gitme arkasından, hani muhasebede olduğum için, herdalde biraz daha onlara yakın olduğum için baya bi laf söylemişti tabi...

- **Bi şey demedin tabi?**
- (Güler)
- **Siz aranızda bunu tekrardan konuştunuz mu?**
- Ne gibi?
- **O sizi teker teker çağırdıktan sonra?**
- Toplu olarak da çağırdı. Herkes biliyordu zaten niye çağırıldığını çünkü zaten onun direk sendikaya karşı bi tepkisi vardı.
- **S: Nasıl bir intiba uyandı sizde böyle, senin gözlemlediğin kadarıyla?**
- Ya biz zaten o kişinin karakterini bildiğimiz için çok yadırgamadık. Çünkü zaten tepkili bir insandı. Gittiğimizde de tepki alacağımızı bilerek gittik biz.
- **Ona dair şikayetleriniz vardı değil mi?**
- Hıhı.
- **Yine de sizi o çağırıyor karşısına... Peki nasıl duyulmuş gittiğiniz?**
- İşte diyorum ya, şeyi kimin gittiği bile, hani tek tek kimin gittiği bile duyulmuş. Böyle yani, insanlar böyle. Çok güvensen bile içinden bi tanesi... Bi de işi çok biliyorlar, hani adam çağırıyor mesela iki tane personel vardı bizim, onu yönetici yaptılar sırf hani böyle şeyleri gelip söylediği için onlar yönetici oldu. Daha sonra başarısız oldular onlar felan. Ben dedim hani bunları yönetici yaptınız ama dedim sizin yüzünüzü kararttılar dedim. Sonuçta hak etmiyorlardı ve yapabilecek vasıfta insanlar değillerdi dedim. Biliyordum yapamayacaklarını ama yapmam gerekiyordu dedi. Yani...
- **Böylesi şeyler... Hani aranızda muhbir falan olduğunu düşünmek bile zaten örgütlü durmanın önünde engel oluyor değil mi?**
- Yani, yani. Şeyi yapacaktık mesela, işte bu ilk geldiği zamanlar imza toplayalım felan diye düşündük, daha sonra ona da korktuk. Şimdi mesela bizim mağazamız merkezi bir yerde biz çok rahatlıkla çok uç noktada olan bir yere gönderebilirler diye, ya bi çok şeyi elin kolun bağlı olduğu için yapamıyorsun. Sonuçta sen orda çalışansın ve ihtiyacın olduğu için çalışıyorsun, hani ters düşmek istemediğin için bi çok şeye göz yumabiliyorsun.
- (sessizlik)
- **Buraya çok çeşitli müşteri geliyo ya, böyle mağazadan senin maaşın kadar alışveriş yapan müşteri oluyordur...**
- Tabi, tabi.
- **Ne hissettiriyor bu sana?**
- Yaa, üzülüyorum. Niye diyorum. Yani mesela kasada olduğumuz için alışveriş yapıyorlar, dediğin gibi benim maaşımdan fazla harcadıkları bile oluyor, aldıklarına bakıyorum, sonra ben kendime bakıyorum, bir ay boyunca çalışıyorum diyorum, ben bu kadar maaş alamıyorum diyorum. Bu insanlar ne yapıyorlar, nasıl yapıyorlar... veya ne yapmalıyım felan diye aklımdan geçtiği oluyor... de yapacak bir şey yok, düzen bu şekilde. Çok acı bir şey ama.
- **Müşteri olarak da aynı şeyi deneyimliyorsun ya, alırken mesela ne kadar, fiyatının ne kadar olduğuna bakıp...**

- Tabi canım, yani. Ama öyle değil insanlar, dediğin gibi benim maaşım kadar çok fazla alışveriş yapan insan var. Ve bunu için de yapabilecek bir şey yok, düzen bu şekilde. Bazıları çok çalışıyor az kazanıyor, bazıları az çalışıyor çok kazanıyor. Yapılabilecek bir şey yok herhalde burda.
- **Bu düzen değişir mi peki sence?**
- Değişmez.
- **Neden?**
- Değişmez, nasıl değişsin ki? Mucize olması gerekiyor değişmesi için.
- **Öyle bir inancın da yok?**
- Yok. Ya haksız kazanç çok fazla. O olamaz yani, zannetmiyorum öyle bir şey. Umudum yok. Sizin var mı?
- **(*Tebessüm ederek, var anlamında kafamı sallarım*)**
- Benim yok.
- **Umut olmayınca çok zor olduğu için var aslında. Yani böyle demek daha doğru. Yani yaşamla kurduğumuz ilişkiyi çok etkiliyor. Çünkü ona inmak başka bir enerji veriyor ya.**
- Ama inanabileceğin bir şey olsa belki inanabilirsin de, inanılabilecek gibi bir şey değil. Hani mucize bile değil benim için.
- **İmkansız?**
- Yani. Ben öyle görüyorum.
- **Ve bu durumda önüne koyduğun tek şey sabırlı olmak mı?**
- Başka bir şey yok ya. Mecburiyet karşısında o da herhalde. Ama iyi ki de öyle. Sabırsız olsaydım veya tahammülsüz olsaydım daha kötü olurdu herhalde ya da daha mı iyi olurdu bilmiyorum. Hani sinirimi bir yerlerden çıkartsaydım veya karşı çıksaydım daha mı iyi olurdu bilmiyorum.
- **Nurcan ne tür müzikler dinliyorsun?**
- Özel bir şeyim yok. Kulağıma hoş gelen, halk müziği, sanat müziği, hepsini dinlerim. Psikolojime göre biraz da. Hani biraz daha şey olduğum zamanlar, durgun olduğum zamanlar daha hafif müzikler ve neşem iyi olduğu zaman halk müziği felan.
- **Halk müziği seviyorsun?**
- Severim.
- **Özellikle dinlediğin birileri var mı?**
- Sanatçı isimleri pek fazla aklımda olmaz ama Güler Duman'ı felan seviyorum. Dediğim gibi, sanatçı isimleri değil de, ses daha çok dikkatimi çekiyor benim. Sesi güzel olan herkesi dinliyorum.
- **Hüzünlüdür ama biraz böyle Güler Duman.**
- Ben de hüzünlü bir insanım. Severim ama, halk müziğinin hareketlisini de severim. Sanatçı şeyim yok benim, kültürüm yok öyle çok fazla. Yeni çıkan sanatçıları da bilmem, eskileri de çok fazla bilmem. Ama dinlerim yani, halk müziğini severim özellikle.
- **Çalışırken markette de müzik koyuyorlar mı?**
- Hıhı var.
- **Ne tarz müzikler oluyor?**

- Karışık, şey değil. İnsanlar cep telefonlarına çektikleri şeyleri... Gündemde olan şeyler çalınıyor genelde.
- **O ses nasıl bütün gün?**
- Ben duymuyorum çok fazla bizim radyomuz var (güler) ama tabii kötü bir şey. Bir ara verdiler bize, bir hafta boyunca aynı şeyi dinledik, gına geldi bize, artık yeter falan olduk. Güzel değil sürekli aynı şeyi dinlemek. Bi de mecbur olduğun için dinlemek de güzel değil.
- **Mağazanın bi de seni rahatsız eden fiziksel yapısı da var değil mi? Mesela havasız dedin. Başka seni böyle rahatsız eden neler var çalıştığın mekanla ilgili?**
- Ya mesela yemekhaneyi aşağıya aldılar, aşağısı o kadar havasız... ve pis kokuyor. İnsanın gidip yemek yiyesi bile gelmiyor ama yukarısı da havasız olduğu için, aşağısı en azından biraz soğuk diye, sırf soğuk olduğu için havasız yere gidebiliyorsun, hani kötünün biraz daha iyisi olduğu için. Başka da gidebileceğin bir yer yok.
- **Mağazadan çıkmak yasak di mi molalarda?**
- Yasak. İzinle çıkabiliyorsun, onda da kırk minnet etmen gerekiyor ki...
- **Gün içinde hiç çalıştığın süre içinde hava alma şansın yok?**
- Yok.
- **Klima da yok şu an?**
- Klima yok, havalandırma yok. Bulduğumuz katta kapı pencere de yok zaten açabileceğimiz.
- **Müşteriden şikayet gelmiyor mu?**
- Geliyor da şimdi yerin sahibiyle alakalı olduğu için, adam kasıtlı çalıştırmıyor. Hani, mahkemeliyiz şu anda, çıkartmak istiyor bizi, ya kasıtlı çalıştırmıyorlar. İşverenli alakalı değil aslında, mülk sahibiyle alakalı. Yapılabilecek bir şey yok herhalde ona da, çıkana kadar böyle.
- **Daha fazla yormayalım seni. Çok teşekkür ederiz Nurcan.**
- Rica ederim, ne demek. Yararı olduysa...