

Human Enterprise of Global Capitalism and the
Golden Collars:
Producing the Producer

Thesis submitted to the Institute for Graduate Studies in Social Sciences
in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts
in
Sociology

by
Sezai Ozan Zeybek

Boğaziçi University

2006

ABSTRACT

This thesis is about the production of a specific kind of producer, i.e., “golden collars.” Golden collars are the most valuable production factor in the contemporary capitalism; they are mostly assigned to tasks that involve innovation, information generation and analysis. In this regard, their productivity is the primary concern of firms, since golden collars create the main comparative advantage in the global competition.

In the scope of this study, production denotes not the production of commodities but the production of golden collar subjectivities: their aspirations, desires, bodies, and performances. In this regard, this study focuses on the discursive formation within which the norms of effectiveness, self-development and productivity are asserted and how through these norms a space is opened up in which golden collars in Istanbul make claims regarding “them” and “us”; the West and the East respectively.

Therein, work is a realm of innumerable disciplinary techniques targeting the time, the body, emotions, and the mind-settings of golden collars; but these disciplines in turn produce specific hierarchies, differentiations, distinctions, and exclusions in which golden collars invest.

Keywords: Production, work, capitalism, globalization, professionals, self-development, discipline.

ÖZET

Bu çalışmada belli bir tür üreticinin, “altın yakalıların,” üretilmesi ele alınıyor. Altın yakalılar şu anki kapitalist ekonominin en değerli üretim faktörleri; çoğunlukla yaratıcılık, bilgi üretimi ve analiz içeren işlerde çalışıyorlar.

Bu çalışanların üretkenlikleri şirketleri çok yakından ilgilendirmekte; zira rekabetçi piyasa koşullarında mukayeseli üstünlüğü; yani farkı yaratan onlar.

Bu çalışmada kastedilen üretim, meta üretimi değil, daha ziyade belirli arzuların, özlemlerin, bedenlerin ve bedensel pratiklerin üretimi; yani altın yakalıların öznelliklerinin üretimi. Dolayısıyla bu araştırmada etkinlik, üretkenlik ve kişisel gelişime dair belirli normları üreten söylemleri, bu söylemler aracılığıyla da İstanbullu altın yakalıların “bizlere” (Doğu) ve “onlara” (Batı) dair iddiaları inceleniyor.

İş hayatı, çok sayıda disiplin tekniğinin uygulandığı bir alan. Altın yakalıların zamanları, bedenleri, beden pratikleri, düşünce yapıları belli şekillerde hizaya sokuluyor. Ancak bu disiplinler aracılığıyla aynı zamanda altın yakalıların da yatırım yaptıkları belirli hiyerarşiler, farklar, seçkinlikler ve dışlama mekanizmaları kuruluyor.

Üretim, İş, Kapitalizm Küreselleşme, Profesyoneller, Kişisel Gelişim, Disiplin.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

With the completion of this thesis, a significant period of my life is coming to an end. Even though I had difficult times, it was a great experience all along. Yet I was never alone in this journey. These two pages can express only a small part of my thanks to all those who have helped, supported and encouraged me during this time.

I have my deepest thanks to Meltem Ahiska, my advisor, who have provided valuable reviews, feedback and suggestions to improve my research. She was patient with me when I was having trouble and I am also grateful for that. Without her help, I could never have done what I have done.

I wish to express my thanks to Ayşe Öncü. She has always supported me from my undergraduate years to this day. I must thank her for having introduced me to sociology when I was stuck in my old discipline. She is one of the persons who have most influenced my life. I thank her for everything.

I am very grateful to Zafer Yenal for his support and encouragement. His comments helped me to establish the overall direction of this research. I have also greatly enjoyed attending his classes and discussions. The research project with him and Biray Kırılı was enlightening in many ways. I thank both of them for accepting me to the team.

Taking classes at Boğaziçi was an enjoyable experience, and I thank the entire faculty for their help, especially Nükhet Sirman for her stimulating courses and ideas.

I greatly appreciate Kathryn Kranzler for her efforts in editing this thesis. She corrected an embarrassingly large number of errors.

I would like to thank Mehmet Kızılay and Mine Tekman who helped me get through these years of graduate school. I will miss their support and friendship whenever I am far away.

I am also indebted to Esra Demir, Efe Erdem and Merve Akbaş for the valuable contacts they provided.

Then there are the people who consented to be interviewed. Each interview has been revealing and contributed to this study.

I owe this study to my parents for their continuous support.

Last but not least, special thanks go to Hilal Alkan who has become a source of inspiration and endurance for me for many years. All along, she has been the best companion I can ever imagine.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER 2: NEW GEOGRAPHIES	7
How to Spot Productive Subjectivities	7
A Preliminary Inquest into Center/Periphery	11
The Magnetic Field of Center	19
New Professionals in New Geographies	25
Chapter 3: “I LOVE MY JOB!”	41
Ahmet and Zeynep-The Entrepreneurs	41
Justice at Work	50
Producing the Distinction	60
• <u>Bureaucratic Rationality</u>	64
• <u>Merits</u>	71
Concluding Remarks	74
Chapter 4: HUMAN ENTERPRISE	77
Predictive Index (PI)	79
Continuous-Learning	88
• <u>Management of Emotions</u>	93
• <u>Body</u>	95
• <u>Gender Relations</u>	96
• <u>Dress Codes</u>	100

• <u>Dealing with Stress</u>	101
Self-Motivation	104
Leadership	108
Concluding Remarks	111
 CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION	 114
 APPENDIX A: Secretaries	 122
APPENDIX B: Resignation Letter	124
APPENDIX C: Predictive Index	135
 BIBLIOGRAPHY	 148

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

I have enough of being too busy
and the stress is dreadful, too. I wish people would not rush...
If only we walked.¹

Kayhan,
Complaining in Internet chat

This is a study about busy professionals- or as I call them, golden collars. Golden collars are the manifested model workers of the last few decades with far greater control over the product, and the process of production; they are defined as more of entrepreneurs than proletarians, responsible for their own performance. Their value addition is mostly through innovation and information generation. They are relatively autonomous, responsible, highly skilled workers with upgraded abilities in interpersonal communication, leadership, and motivation. They have outstanding analytical capabilities; they make up the brain trust of global capitalism.

¹ Valla ben doluluktan bıktım, stres de çok fena keşke diyorum herkes koşmasa da... yürüsek

Global capitalism is about speed when viewed from the perspective of golden collars. They are forced to adapt to meticulously planned time schedules both in their leisure time and also in their working time. Indeed, the two domains often overlap, as will be discussed in this research and so, an optimum life is required in all realms and at all time.

I take up this question as a problem of “effectiveness” – one of the central significations, which assumes a central role in modern capitalist society, hence in bureaucratic organization. Striving for more effective technologies, more effective production chains and more effective lives are the inviolable, undeniable truth in contemporary discourses. “Everything is actually subordinated to effectiveness –but effective for whom, in view of what, and in order to do what?”²

Why is there such a rush? What might be missed exactly? What is it that strived for? Golden collars build up an existence corresponding to the inconceivable speed of globalization and permanent stretching of limits. They are exposed to permanent change of their environment and forced to catch-up with it. “If only we walked” -repeating Kayhan- “instead of all this hurry”.

The great calculating technologies of modern powers conceive everything as a material to be processed. “The world can be changed, indeed, it has to be changed”, is the motto of the modern mind. To invoke Bauman:

(T)he modern world is a world containing a desire, and a determination, to defy its *mémete* ... –its sameness. A desire to make itself different from what the self is, to remake itself, and to go on remaking it. The modern condition is to be on the move.³

² Cornelius Castoriadis, *The Imaginary Institution of Society* trans. Kathleen Blamey (Cornwall: Polity Press, 1997), p.159.

³ Zygmunt Bauman. “In the Beginning was Design” in *Wasted Lives: Modernity and its Outcasts*, (Cornwall: Polity Press, 2004).

The subjectivities of golden collars, in this sense, become a “maximization” problem that is shaped within the rationale of global capitalism. Human beings, as production factors, are subjected to insurmountable disciplines for the sake of productivity. Their existence is the struggle to achieve their full potential –a rather limitless potential that is recast within the constraints of commodity production. These disciplines are in one sense exploitative and repressive, but on the other, obedience to them is empowering and productive when one thinks of golden collars.

Obviously, golden collars are not the major victims of capitalist society. Their problems are seemingly nothing compared to the rest of the people who partake in the cruel relations of production: immigrants, slaves, children who are forced to work, part-timers, workers without security, etc. So, why is it important to look at golden collars in the first place?

First, they are standing at the critical nodes of the economy. Although they don’t necessarily own the capital, they are the ones who control it. Second, the linkage of their personal goals and desires to the social order is also a linkage of subjectivity to power. Their advantageous position does not mean that they are free of subjection and mechanisms of power. Their productivity and performance, their every day practices and time, their body and emotions are under permanent (self-) monitoring. As a matter of fact, through various techniques, almost all aspects of their lives are connected to their work activity. In this sense, the separation between leisure and work blurs. There are a variety of documents, books, seminars, training programs, and even human management gurus for teaching the ways of being an “effective” worker.

Last, golden collars are actually under-explored in the sense that their norms and universality claims remain unidentified throughout. My research question deals

with the “desires”, with the silent norms of the upper middle classes regarding their jobs. Hence, this study is an attempt to spell out the normative frames and the objectified history of the “network society” of global capitalism by looking at the productive activities of golden collars. So, not only golden collars’ consumption patterns, but also their productive activities provide insight for comprehending the imagination of the “global professional” in Turkey.

I examine different realms throughout my research. The second chapter, “New Geographies”, focuses on the restructuring of capitalism for revealing the transformation in jobs that are assigned to golden collars. I examine the constitution of a new space, which entails new forms of relations, reference points and hierarchies. I focus particularly on the fluid, changeable membrane of this space, through which inclusive/exclusive classifications operate and the rules of submission/empowerment mediate.

In the third chapter, “I love my Job”, I examine how golden collars invest in/denied by global flows– how they evaluate themselves through the scope of global professionalism. At some point of this desire for professionalism, incongruence between the locality (i.e. Istanbul -and more broadly Turkey) and the global become visible. Through this encounter of global and local, certain emotions, sentiments, attachments and performances are revealed and then they are connected to the classifications regarding in/out positions. I contend that this is the site where the globalization of the workforce is imagined and enacted. This is the site where the “meaning” of work is constituted in traversing through beliefs, personal narratives and performances.

Last, I will deal with the “technologies of the self” in the Foucauldian sense – technologies that are designed for improving the efficiency and productivity of

golden collars. This, I call the “Human Enterprise” (fourth chapter), i.e. as the “human project” of global capitalism. Actually, the underlying problem in pointing out of such project refers to the scope of capitalism I take up. The productivity of workers that I will seek throughout this study requires much more than the hard work and the diligence of the “human capital.” It requires specific attributes and a specific state of mind to be acquired by those who are subjected to the “technologies of the productive self”. The realm of economy is not only, or even principally, a material entity. It is above all a cultural production, a way of producing subjects and social orders of a certain kind. So, I take up a very specific question: How does capitalism’s restructuring consolidate with a new type of producer? So in this chapter, I engage in the assembled “expert knowledge” in managerial textbooks or in psychometric tests and put that knowledge into its original political context: What are the specific techniques to increase efficiency?

Regarding methodology, I have used a variety of materials including the business pages of mainstream newspapers, namely *Hürriyet*, *Milliyet* and *Sabah*, journals on human resources and self-help books that have been published in Turkish, women’s magazines –their tips on how women can succeed in the office, TV series, “The Apprentice” and its Turkish counterpart, “Çırak”- both have been broadcasted on CNN Turk. These materials were most revealing in marking norms within the discourse. In addition, I acquired and investigated the psychometric test PI and the educational materials of one HR counseling firm, which is a local affiliate of a Swiss company.

Beside written materials, I used interviews in my research. Friends from the management department were most helpful in establishing connections with executives in multinational firms in Istanbul. I conducted qualitative in-depth

interviews with 14 people -six women and eight men. The interviews were mostly semi-structured, but at some times I pursued a rather non-structured interview/chatting if it was more suitable. At times, I allowed other professionals to intervene in the interview and share their opinions on the topic; hence some interviews happened to be quasi-focus groups.

Other than formal interviews, I was invited to meetings/barbeque parties, concerts, dinners etc. outside the office, so I was also able to “chat” about working in those informal settings.

For my purposes, I examined different objects- not only golden collar employees but also cities or companies. So, it is an eclectic research project pursuing the same question within different realms.

CHAPTER 2

NEW GEOGRAPHIES

How to Spot Productive Subjectivities

At the very beginning of this chapter, I would like to elucidate the scope of my research. During my entire study I had difficulties in defining a concrete group of people concerning golden collars. Moreover, I was not able to find a sector based-demographic distribution or distinguishing statistical data for golden collars. Existing categories (professionals, white collars, contractual labor etc.) were not satisfactory. All along, my concern was the following: Who can be summed up under the category of golden collar? Who are the productive subjects of global capitalism? How can one define such a category? Let me go over several of the difficulties I encountered.

First of all, global capitalist's restructuring involves the transformation of job contents in each and every sector. That is to say that the most valuable activity of global capitalism, i.e. information generation, which is principally assigned to golden collars, is not restricted to a few economic realms. The tasks of golden collars cannot be equated merely with financial or marketing activities. The information economy - to borrow from Castells- "does not denote the kind of activity humankind is engaged on, but its technological ability to process information as a productive force in any

kind of economic activity, be it agriculture (informational agriculture) or manufacturing (informational manufacturing).”⁴ In this sense, golden collars are to be found hypothetically in almost every economic activity, in every sector though in limited numbers. Therefore, I did not want to limit my scope by using sectoral statistics (e.g. taking up employees working in finance as golden collars), for it would be in conflict with one of the main hypotheses of my research.

Moreover, statistical data on Turkey’s labor does not cover the “content” of jobs, i.e. there is no way to derive conclusions whether who is actually doing those jobs assigned to golden collars. In other words, golden collars are not only salaried corporate professionals. Golden collars may be found in academia, in the state bureaucracy, in the media, in non-governmental organizations, in political parties, etc. They may own their business or they may be hired –temporarily or permanently. They even may be counted as capitalists.

The level of education or income would also not suffice to present a meaningful concrete classification. In what respect can we think of every university graduate as golden collar? How could we draw a line regarding education level? Would a master’s degree do the job?

Income also would not reveal the “content” of jobs investigated in this thesis. I personally witness how academics are primarily golden collars in their relation to their work, but this is not necessarily in line with their salaries. As this tiny observation indicates, it would be erroneous to look for a correlation between these variables and golden collars. So, through statistical data one cannot decide whether a person in the banking sector (or in any other sector) should be labeled golden collar.

⁴ Manuel Castells. *The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture Vol. I the Rise of the Network Society*, (Cornwall: Blackwell Publishers, 1996).

Although I decided to conduct my in-depth interviews with employees in multinational corporations in Istanbul- mostly with employees in executive positions, I think the scope of my research transgresses multinational-corporate employees. As will be argued in the coming chapters, domestic firms, too (let alone state agencies and NGOs), are incorporated into global flows and alongside their scopes have shifted from domestic markets to the “outside world”. They too demand that golden collars be able to compete like their multinational counterparts. They use similar education programs, techniques and organizational schemes. In fact, both golden collars and their secretaries are subject to discourses on productivity, as will be seen below though the ranges of their scopes may differ.

On these grounds, the question of golden collars is taken up not to spot a “distinct entity” or to point out a new segment in the labor class based upon statistical evidence. The available statistics on the web site of DİE (The State Institution of Statistics) are not designed to concretize golden collars. Rather, the relation between global flows and their disciplinary power embedded in/constituted with the specific desires of the productive subjectivities in Turkey are examined.

In this line of thinking, I examine a gray area including owners of capital, high salaried employees, and even middle managers and secretaries who are subject to the same discursive formation on productivity. So, this research is essentially not about the “achievers” of globalization, but about how differentiation from the rest takes place within the framework of global achievement.

Moreover, I do not focus specifically on human beings, i.e. on a number of employees; but also on several cities and certain companies to trace the “desire of inclusion to global flows” in different contexts. So, my research does not take-off

from a specific research site, instead it touches to different fields and moves on to the next one in the axis of the same question. Thus it is a problematization of a relation that cut across different realms. I investigate the normative frames and the universality claims inherent in productive activities –particularly of golden collar professionals. I examine their uneasy articulation into the ”network society” of global capitalism. Therefore, the materials I picked out for my analysis are not necessarily affiliated with multinational executives solely; nor are they limited to a specific sector like finance. The emphasis on multinational executives in this study is due to their exemplary aspirations and investments that enable them to partake in the objectified history of capitalism.

Obviously, this is not to say that the relation I am investigating is binding for all. Not all employees have turned into golden collars. Not all workers are subjected to the same disciplines, especially if one thinks about the profound disjunctions in new geographies that will be elaborated below. For generic labor, there is no need for detailed psychometric tests or expensive executive training programs; the same-old direct supervision would be enough.

As will be seen, a series of personality traits, needs, and corresponding education programs are defined for golden collars, and in the meantime, “other” human characteristics are excluded or identified with non-golden collars like consistency and non-dominancy. There are plain and sharp divisions among working people, which are materialized through firms’ policies, disciplinary mechanisms and their poles-apart investments in different segments of labor. Having said that, let me begin with the transforming geographies within which globalization is materialized.

A Preliminary Inquest into Center/Periphery

The global economy materializes a worldwide grid of strategic places. According to Sassen, we can think of this global grid as constituting a new economic geography of centrality and marginality, one that cuts across national boundaries.⁵ The most powerful of these new geographies of centrality binds the major financial and business centers: New York, London, Tokyo, Paris, Frankfurt, Los Angeles, Sydney, and Hong Kong. This geography also includes Buenos Aires, Sao Paulo, Istanbul, and Mexico City, among others. Manuel Castells describes these new geographies as having a form of “networks.”

Accordingly, networks of capital, labor, information and market link up valuable functions, people, and localities around the world, while switching off populations deprived of value and interest for global capitalism.⁶ The switched-off areas are culturally and spatially discontinuous: “They are in the American inner cities or in the French suburbs, as much as in the shanty towns of Africa or in the deprived rural areas of China and India.”⁷ In other words, networks denote the technological systems that dominant social groups, dominant territories and dominant functions in each country have connected into. Consequently, they do not have to coincide with countries as a whole; it is rather a different unit of analysis.

Markets for goods and services are becoming increasingly globalized. This does not mean that all firms sell worldwide, but the strategic aim for all firms has

⁵ Saskia Sassen, *Globalization and its Discontents*, (New York: The New Press, 1998).

⁶ Manuel Castells, *The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture Vol. 3 End of Millennium*, (Cornwall: Blackwell Publishers, 1998), p. 337.

⁷ Castells (1996), p.37.

become to compete globally and to sell wherever it is possible. With the new transportation and communication technologies, there are opportunities and channels to sell everywhere. Even the dynamism of domestic markets depends ultimately on the capacity of domestic firms and networks of firms to compete globally. So, although domestic markets and state bureaucracies constitute the bulk of employment, core economic activities almost all over the world are connected to the global capitalism.

The impact of the capitalist restructuring on firms is their re-organization in relation to networks. Ghoshal and Bartlett define the contemporary multinational as “an inter-organizational network,” or more precisely, as a network that is embedded within an external network.⁸ This means that although multinational enterprises seem to be still highly dependent on their national basis, the networks formed by multinational corporations, such as the global financial network, do transcend national boundaries, identities and interests. All through, they institute a new geography of centrality and also corresponding peripheries. It signals the emergence of a transnational space for the formation of new claims by global capital.

With a sharp distinction, Castells claims that these networks have a “binary” logic regarding in/out positions. “All there is in the network is useful and necessary for the existence of the network. What is not in the network does not exist from the network’s perspective.”⁹ Accordingly, alongside the new global and regional hierarchies lies a vast territory that increasingly has become excluded from the major economic processes. That is to say that a large amount of the world’s population is

⁸ Ghoshal and Bartlett quoted in Castells. (1996) p.192

⁹ Manuel Castells, “Materials for an Exploratory Theory of the Network Society” in *British Journal of Sociology*, 51,1, (January/March 2000).

forced to live outside of these networks, i.e. in off-network communities. Their value addition to the global economy is minimized; their skills are degraded. As a result, a significant part of the world population is shifting “from a structural position of exploitation to a structural position of irrelevance” as Hoogvelt puts it.¹⁰ Irrelevance denotes not only poverty; irrelevant people are not just poor; they are redundant. No knowledge, no welfare politics may be produced in the future concerning them - except the knowledge of how to “contain” them.¹¹

In this line of thinking, Castells distinguishes between “space of flows” and “spaces of places”. Space of flows refers to the spatial logic of global capitalism, i.e. it links dominant functions in society, like global financial networks. Spaces of places, on the other hand, refer to the spatial organization of our common experience. He claims that space of flows transcends places; that they are based upon ahistorical flows, superseding the logic of any specific place and history¹² whereas spaces of places is deeply rooted in the social-political control of historically specific local/national societies.

This is a very problematic argument. Manuel Castells is inclined to see a world that is set apart into two with their own particular secluded communities. In his investigation, he ends up with “two” distinct objects of analysis in the company of “two” set of social relations, i.e., of cosmopolites and of locals.¹³ Quite the reverse, I would avoid completing the theoretical narrative of globalization to its own “logical” end and instead I would like to stick to the ambiguities and contingencies of the

¹⁰ Ankie Hoogvelt, *Globalization and Postcolonial World: The New Political Economy of Development*. (London: MacMillan Press, 1997).

¹¹ Bauman, (2004).

¹² Castells, (1998), p.350.

¹³ Castells. (1996), p.415.

global geography. Because the narratives of globalization do not only “reflect” or predict what is going on in reality; instead, they constitute the reality.

By no means could the geography of centrality be stripped its history. Although the narrative of capitalism is no longer a narrative of the history of Europe and “for the first time, non-European capitalist societies make their own claims on the history of capitalism”,¹⁴ Castells’ ahistorical flows are denied by the fact that capitalism itself has an intrinsic history that cannot be taken for granted. It is *the* institution that exhibits most strikingly the domination of very specific imaginaries at every level. Following Cornelius Castoriadis, take for example, the definition of “needs” pertaining to capitalist society:

More than in any other society, the arbitrary, non-natural, non-functional character of the social definition of needs is apparent in the contemporary capitalist society. And more than any other society, too, modern society permits us to see the historical manufacturing of needs that are produced every day before our own eyes.¹⁵

Neither the maximum amount of consumption, nor the saintliness is an ahistorical instinct of the human psyche. There are no ahistorical institutions or spaces of geographies. The very idea of the accumulation and conservation of wealth as the meaning of life in capitalist society has been plugged in deeply a very specific imaginary; it would be sheer madness to a Kwakiutl Indian, who amasses wealth in order to destroy it.¹⁶

The domination of the imaginary (hence contingency) could also be grasped regarding the place of individuals at all levels of the capitalist mode of production.

¹⁴ Arif Dirlik, “The Global in the Local” in *The Postcolonial Aura: Third World Criticism in the Age of Global Capitalism*, (Colorado: Westview Press, 1997).

¹⁵ Castoriadis, (1997), p. 156.

¹⁶ Ibid, p. 26

How is it possible that men and women are being “calculated” for the sake of efficacy? How is human’s identification with an object possible?

To treat a person as a thing or as a purely mechanical system is not less but *more* imaginary than claiming to see him as an owl. ... For not only is the *real* kinship between a man and an owl incomparably greater than it is with machine, but also no primitive society ever applied the consequences of its assimilations of people with things as radically as modern industry does with its metaphor of the human automaton.¹⁷

The point here is that with the deployment of space of flows, which is presumably bounded neither to any place nor to any history, we are by implication expected to accept the “universality” of globalization as it is narrated. As such, it locks up any contestation that denies the basic premises of economic rationale. Of course, it would be preposterous to claim that modern societies could give up accumulation, with the exposure of one example; or on behalf of a “return” to historicism, but yet, it is important to note that there have always been other possibilities of subjugated knowledge. The Kwakiutl Indian is worth remembering not as a model of our future, but as a reference point calling the contingency of the present time.

More importantly, the peril of Castells’ narrative is that the processes that are encapsulated under the term globalization are reduced to a modular “package” that thrives in different places though with some variations. In view of that, it emerges as already “imagined” -not with the launch of print capitalism as Benedict Anderson tells us for nationalism, but with the information technologies as Castells proposes. It decrees that most of the world, especially places in the peripheries, is the perpetual

¹⁷ Ibid, p. 157-158 –original emphasis

consumers of globalization. A structural determinism haunts such a political model, which overlooks the agency and contingency in the making of the global flows.

There remains nothing to say, nothing to create from the margins –at most a “cultural” variant of the network logic.

Once introduced, the information networks, through competition, gradually eliminate other organizational forms, rooted in a different social logic –the hierarchical, vertical structures in chain, pyramid, tree, circle, etc., forms.¹⁸

With this globalization narrative, places are depicted either as articulated to global flows (by the elimination of different social logic) or as degraded to wasteland. Since the story of global capitalism (i.e. one version of it) is claimed to be universal, off-network places become the universal prehistory of economic development; they become sites of stagnant, backward, and undeveloped “pasts” that definitely lack the productive forces. The incorporation process itself (or the lack of it) dictates the future of particular places and the implantation of ready-made organizational forms. So, places are reduced to a modality of the modular imagination of globalization.

In fact, places and global flows are not contradicting entities; on the contrary, I want to give emphasis to the parasitic ability of capitalism, i.e., how capitalism could be incorporated into places, into communal bonds, into fraternity, into love, etc, which necessarily call for specificity and creation. However, I do not attempt to find a revolutionary kernel in hypothetical places against the globalization which are again hypothetically have remained out of capitalism and modernity. Instead, I “invoke” another narrative of globalization – a narrative that depicts globalization

¹⁸ Castells, (2000).

(new geographies and their populations) not as an effect of information technologies but as a “creation” through the encounter between places and global flows.

The question of what should be done to be a member of network society (and the particular answers to these questions) provides the main workbench of an investigation of such an encounter. How do specific places deal with the competition and inclusion? How do specific groups -take professionals for example- interpret their stance towards global flows? How do they produce/imagine globalization? They are likely to lead us to a fundamental critique of capitalism within itself.

In Castells’ analysis of globalization, connection becomes a technical problem: do places have adequate infrastructure, do they have sufficient capital accumulation, are their businesses compatible with global ones, etc.? The mode of connection, however, i.e., the imaginary constitution of global/local –to invoke Castoriadis again- is not subsumed. Simply put: globalization is not only about the production/consumption of commodities but also about the production/consumption of belongings, desires, differentiations, and also certain disciplines.¹⁹

With the advent of economic globalization, particularly of financial markets, different companies, sectors and places are connected in a new and fundamental way. All the extracted profits (from producers, consumers, technology, nature and institutions) is reverted to the meta-network of financial flows, since there is an increasing gap between profits in the production of goods, services and rents generated in the sphere of circulation. “Firms of all kinds, financial producers, manufacturing producers, agricultural producers, service producers, as well as governments and public institutions, use global financial networks as the depositories

¹⁹ See chapters 3 and 4.

of their earnings and as their potential source of higher profits.”²⁰ From this financial network, capital is re-invested in all kinds of sectors globally, and then this capital goes through cycles back to the global financial network. New technologies allow capital to be shuttled back and forth between economies in a very short time, so that capital, and therefore savings and investments, are interconnected worldwide, from banks to pension funds, stock exchange markets, and currency exchange. Since currencies are interdependent, so are economies everywhere. Capital flows become at the same time global and increasingly autonomous *vis-à-vis* the actual performance of economies.

All economic activities have become primarily the basis to generate the necessary surplus to invest in global flows, or the result of investment originated in these financial networks. This “*network of networks*” both unifies and commands capitalist accumulation across sectors and realms of activity: “not without conflict, but under the same overarching logic.”²¹ Entire economies, particularly those of developing countries, become dependent on movements of capital largely determined by subjective perception and speculation.²² In return, the rhetoric of economics lays the ground for unpredictability, chaos and volatility and expects employees, local initiatives and even nation states to be able to cope with crisis, to be flexible and to be proactive *vis-à-vis* constant change. Accordingly, there is always the risk/threat of being expelled if one does not “catch up” with the global world. This risk is the

²⁰ Castells, (1998), p. 343.

²¹ Castells, (1996) p. 474-475

²² The logic of financial markets is barely clear to its investors or cutting-edge economists; it doesn’t follow any market logic regarding supply and demand. This market is twisted, manipulated, and transformed by a combination of strategic maneuvers, crowd psychology, unexpected turbulences, and incalculable anticipations caused by the complexity in the interaction of capital flows on a global scale. Economic theories become insufficient to build any comprehensive mathematical model regarding such global flows –unpredictability and the collapse of economy as a “science” leads to a world that has gone awry!

central question under discussion among local bureaucrats, employees, development agencies and companies, as I will elaborate below. The imposition of “global competition”, I argue, generates a set of rules, claims and hierarchies in connection with the discourses on productivity.

The Magnetic Field of Center

In my opinion, globalization is an ordinary dining table.

Those who are able to get a seat can eat –more or less.

Those who cannot, they starve to death.

Bülent Eczacıbaşı²³

Peripheries of global geographies strive for investment in order to survive. The ability to receive investment is what separates different localities, hence their capacity to benefit from the often-narrated opportunities of globalization.²⁴ To magnetize investment, a locality has to “encourage” and even directly support the investors -more than the other localities. They also have to have the appropriate infrastructure (e.g. fiber optic lines), skilled and unskilled labor pools, transportation facilities, supplementary industries, and of course, localities have to be attraction centers for experts and professionals. Besides, such a competition compels actors to offer “donations” as a part of their competitive strength. Yavuz Donat, a journalist at a national newspaper, *Sabah*, printed a letter he received from the mayors of Niğde

²³ Bana göre küreselleşme bir sofradır. Oturabilenler iyi ya da kötü doyuyor, oturamayanlar açlıktan ölüyor.

²⁴ Çağlar Keyder, “İstanbul’u Nasıl Satmalı” in *Ulusal Kalkınmacılığın İflası*, (İstanbul: Metis, 1996).

and Bor, who were very excited by the idea of granting land for a possible Hyundai investment in their locality.²⁵

Brother Yavuz,

We heard that Hyundai wants to build a plant in Turkey. There is an appropriate site between Niğde and Bor. On the one side there is a railway, and on the other side there is a motor highway, which is still under construction. We can grant the land as a gift. We can build the necessary infrastructure for free. We only want Hyundai to come. People are dying because of unemployment. ... If Hyundai comes, we will pave its road with roses. We will roll out carpets under their feet. ... Please tell the government. Give a hand to us and we will erect a statue of you. ... We could even give our own houses to the investors. What we want is Hyundai to invest in our cities.²⁶

Unfortunately, Niğde was not an option for Hyundai. The plant will be built either in Czech Republic or in Büyükçekmece in Istanbul because of the connections of these places to commodity networks.²⁷ However, the main point in this Hyundai story is that it exemplifies that how economic ventures both divide and also transgress the “nation”. Niğde does not only compete with “foreign” territories in the Czech Republic but also with Büyükçekmece in Turkey. In other words, Büyükçekmece, Niğde and another district in Czech Republic turn out to be

²⁵ Yavuz Donat, “Hyundai Heyecanı” in *Sabah*, 25 December 2005

²⁶ In Turkish: “Yavuz Abi, Hyundai Türkiye’de fabrika kurmak istiyormuş. Niğde ile Bor arasında uygun bir arazi var. Bir yanı demiryolu, diğer yanı yapımı devam eden otoyol. Arsa Hediyeğimiz olsun. Altyapıyı parasız yapalım. Yeter ki Hyundai buraya gelsin. Millet işsizlikten kınıyor. Gençler işsizlikten inim inim ağlıyor. (...) Hyundai gelsin yollarına gül dökelim. Ayaklarının altına halı serelim. (...) Ne olur hükümete söyleyin. Elimizden tutun. Sizin heykelinizi dikelim. (...) Kendi evlerimizi bile yatırımcılara tahsis edelim. Yeter ki gelsinler.”

²⁷ Czech Republic did actually succeed in the competition. According to *Hurriyet*, the newspaper, Hyundai issue has divided the government. Whereas Minister of Industry and Trade declared his disappointment due to the loss; the Minister of State, Ali Babacan said: “One cannot say that a country donates this and why we do not. We have basic principles regarding the intensives. The Republic of Turkey is gaining and increasing its credibility with solemnity and fundamental principles. No one should think that they could acquire intensives with negotiation, shaking hands (el sıkışarak in Turkish) and competition (kızıştırarak) ... This did not and will not happen.” (Source: <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/ekonomi/3779007.asp?m=1&gid=69>)

competing places -regardless of their national belonging- for the transnational practices of corporate actors –the financial network.

The rules of global competition are set by the homogenizing rationale of global capitalism including the incitement of investors, the education of professionals and the establishment of proper urban life for recreational activities. In other words, the project of national development –nation as a homogeneous unit- is transformed in line with the emergence of new geographies connecting different particular locations/regions. As a consequence, places have to be restored as commercial items that connote a comparative advantage over other places. Since there is a continuous threat of being excluded from the global networks, places have to be converted into “nodes” in those global networks and employ “surpassing of boundaries” as their principal motto.

Now, look at an exemplary city, Gaziantep, one of the industrialized centers of southeastern Anatolia, which makes every effort to become a “trademark” to draw investment and strives for strengthening its connection with global flows of capitalism. A newspaper, *Milliyet-Business* on 25 December 2005, introduced Gaziantep, because its Industrial Chamber (*Gaziantep Sanayi Odası*) was awarded the 1st prize in the World Chambers Competition with the project “Gaziantep as a Trademark”. The newspaper gives place to the interviews with the local industrialists of Gaziantep in this context.

Throughout the interviews, one can recognize a narrative plot with two main axes concerning the past and the future of Gaziantep. In these narratives, global flows are incorporated into locality by means of national/regional histories. They become the primary sites where the nation/region and the global world are united and concretized.

The past of Gaziantep, being the basis of contemporary success, is identified with the local/national characteristics of the place, primarily with the National Struggle of the Turkish Republic. Not surprisingly, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk is quoted in the advertisement of Gaziantep Industrial Chamber:

Each city, each town and the smallest Turkish village that says, “I am a Turk”, can take the people of Gaziantep as the examples of heroism.²⁸

The new “heroism” is refashioned within the lines of industrial production. Production is reinserted as a continuation of the National Struggle, thus economic development is constituted as an extension of this struggle. The primary foundation of the city’s success is said to be its history going along with the resilience and passion of its inhabitants.²⁹ “The people of Gaziantep are ambitious, contestant. That the National Struggle had started here is not chance.”³⁰

The future, on the other hand, is associated with becoming “extroverted”³¹, doing business in foreign markets. The goal is to become a global/regional actor by “surpassing the boundaries” –the boundaries of nation states by implication. Eyüp Barlık, the president of Eyüp Logistics located in Gaziantep, manifests their goal, as

²⁸ M. K. Atatürk quoted in advertisement in *Milliyet-Business* on 25 December 2005.

²⁹ There is also another version of the foundation of Gaziantep’s success, which emphasizes its heritage from Armenians, Muslims, Christians and Jews. According to this narrative, the cultures and the different aptitudes of these communities, who had lived in Gaziantep throughout the history, are transferred to people of Gaziantep, which then gave way to contemporary industrial culture. (A. Konukoğlu. President of Sanko Holding.)

³⁰ N. Topçuoğlu CEO of Gülsan, [(Gaziantep’li) hırslıdır, mücadelecidir. Milli Mücadele boşuna burada başlamadı.]

³¹ In Turkish: “*Dışa açılmak*”

building Gaziantep up into the “Dubai of Turkey”³² –the global city that has become a central node in the networks of flows.

The referential measure of success regarding production is set as the “outside world”; hence success is measured in sequence with the engagement to global networks of commodities. Selling solely to internal market is insufficient. Financial flows and global networks discipline domestic actors to be able to compete “globally”. For that, “China” is mentioned as the biggest threat for domestic industries in Gaziantep in that newspaper. Competing against the Far East is defined as futile because of their comparative advantage in production.³³ While financial flows might switch the places of production relatively easy, productivity of a specific place become the foremost problem of survival.

More than ever the spaces of places are vulnerable to global transactions. In other words, while protected domestic markets are evaporating, local actors/regions are forced to penetrate into the global economic networks, and they need to become compatible with the standards set by those networks. This happens in a both fragmented and homogenized way.

Let me clarify this argument: Periphery is subject to fragmentation in the sense that production and economic activity (hence, “economic development”) become localized in regions below the level of nation. In view of that, Niğde, Bor, and Gaziantep, among many others, increasingly are becoming isolated from national development policies. The new pathways for economic development increasingly are cutting across national economies. Meanwhile, with power lodged in transnational

³² Ibid.

³³ Can Koçer, CEO of Sentefil Textile Company, quoted in *Milliyet-Business* on 25 December, 2005. In Turkish he uses the expression, “*kör dövüşü*”.

corporations, which by definition transcend nations in organization, the power of the nation-state to regulate the economy internally is constricted. Therefore, the concept of development is subject to redefinition in the fragmenting and isolating framework of globalization. In short, the idea of “Turkey as a unitary economic entity” is under scrutiny. Significantly enough, the two mayors mentioned above do not cry for public investment in Niğde and Bor; what they expect from the government is not the fair distribution of the nation’s wealth. In a different way, they wish for the government to be a mediator to “negotiate” between their cities and the transnational actor Hyundai. Amusingly, if Hyundai would invest in Niğde thanks to Yavuz Donat, his statue and that of Atatürk would signify two distinct eras of “development” in the history of Niğde, global and national, respectively.

Parallel to the fragmentation, the management of economic activities, which require supranational supervision and coordination, has been exposed increasingly to homogenization.³⁴ That is to say that global economy needs the coordination and the transformation of economic functions, techniques and consequently economic actors for incorporating them into larger regional or global economic units. Hence, the formation and then the disciplining of productive factors are required for the sake of competition. This is where I take up the question of golden collars.

Below, I will point out the difficulties of the interpenetration of global and the local as regards to the persuasion of professionals to work in the periphery. Then, I will examine how the contents of jobs and skills are transformed in relation to restructuring of capitalism.

³⁴ Arif Dirlik, “The Global in the Local” in *The Postcolonial Aura: Third World Criticism in the Age of Global Capitalism*, (Colorado: Westview Press, 1997).



The above caricature was published in the national newspaper, *Milliyet*, to illustrate the opportunities that Anatolian cities provide to professionals³⁵.

According to the article, Anatolian based companies provide excellent opportunities for those who are ready to take on the burden of living in the provinces. Companies in the provinces, it is told, enthusiastically expect professionals to choose these places over Istanbul. The article states that there are better career opportunities, higher premiums, and very strong support for self-development in these companies in comparison those in the three big cities, Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir. Moreover, it is emphasized that because of less competition there is greater opportunity that one can prove oneself.

³⁵ *Milliyet İnsan Kaynakları Gazetesi*, 21 November 2004.

In the caricature on one side is the professional, who is headed towards Istanbul, the metropolitan area of Turkey. On the other side there are icons of opportunities that are meant to attract the professional: a car, a house, good education for the kids (college), recreational facilities (tennis) and linkage with the metropolitan areas i.e. the plane as a sign of “there are no longer any remote places.”

In the text box under the caricature, several cities and their feasibilities are listed. Accordingly, connection to metropolitan areas, i.e. Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir, is what makes these Anatolian cities attractive, or rather less unattractive, for professionals. Denizli, for example, is highlighted with its airport and with its five flights per week to Istanbul. Kutahya has no airport, but it has the advantage of being located only 3.5 hours to Istanbul by car. Kahramanmaraş seems a bit far: although it has an airport, there are no flights at all. Therefore, its connection is limited to only regional centers: Its distance to Adana and to Antep is 2.5 hours and 1.5 hours, respectively. In this sense, the plane in the caricature signifies the facility of easy connection to the center. “One does not have to be ‘*disconnected*’ when working in the provinces.”

With this article in hand, one can mark the contours of a different map- different from the homogeneous one-color map of the nation state. First of all, not all Anatolian cities are included in the picture. While Konya, Denizli, Kayseri, Adana, Gaziantep, Kütahya, Karabük, Van, and Kahramanmaraş, comparatively industrialized cities within their regions, are included, the rest of Turkey with their “lack of business activities and with the non-existence of big firms” are not mentioned. That is to say that from a business perspective, “irrelevant”

cities/economies -to use Hoogvelt's definition³⁶- are left off of the map. Second, there is an obvious separation between the metropolitan areas, chiefly Istanbul, and the rest of Turkey. Whereas Istanbul is depicted as the center, Anatolian cities are portrayed to a great extent according to their ability to connect to the center; hence they are located in the periphery of Istanbul. In fact, the word "Anatolia" itself connotes the distant country when viewed from the center. Although it inhabits the so-called "real roots" of the Turkish Nation according to the national narratives, it is also depicted as the land of solid relations, sluggish time, and the place "behind".³⁷ Third, the content of the connection mostly is specified by the center. In other words, the industrialized provinces have to provide everything (and even more than everything) that the center provides in order to seduce professionals to work in "Anatolia". They have to offer a proper "urban life" for the professionals, i.e. professionals should not feel the "lack." They should be able to live in the province as if they were living in Istanbul, i.e. in the center.

In this regard, it is claimed that all qualities that a professional possibly seeks are found in Anatolian cities: Hotels, prestigious high schools, universities, shopping malls, cultural centers, and sport facilities. Denizli is an illustrating example:

Denizli: Good shopping facilities

- Two hotels, one with five stars and one with four stars.³⁸
- Four private schools, one is the primary school of ODTU (a prestigious university in Turkey) and the University of Pamukkale.
- EGS Park- shopping mall

³⁶ Hoogvelt, (1997).

³⁷ Ömer Türkeş, "Orda Bir Taşra Var Uzakta" in *Taşraya Bakmak*, ed. Tanıl Bora, (İstanbul: İletişim, 2005).

³⁸ Why good hotels are mentioned in the article is a question. Is it an index of the development of the city? Or do not some professionals see the province as a permanent home and are expected to stay in those hotels?

- Five flights per week to Istanbul from Çardak Airport.
- The rents of luxury apartments and villas range between 1,000-1,500 YTL.³⁹

Despite the good facilities that these cities provide, the professional in the caricature is depicted as being pulled with a lasso. A “lasso” is needed because most professionals are not willing to work in the province despite its better prospects. Efe, manager in a multinational firm’s planning department in Istanbul, comments on working in the province of Aksaray:

Ehmm, Aksaray... It is hard to find a man to quit all his jobs and would like to go to Aksaray. It is not exactly the middle of Anatolia... A strange place... To which school would you send your children? They give great amounts of money to those who accept to go there. It is like a place of bereavement. I would never consider (going there).⁴⁰

Consequently, the fourth point of our inquiry regarding the business map is that as in all center-periphery relations (putting aside the totally neglected places) there is a hierarchy in their seductive powers. Centers pull not only commercial goods and financial sources, but also people and more specifically they lure the desires of people. Peripheries, on the other hand, turn towards the center, they try to “catch up” with the center, try to resemble the center. The center sets the norms for professionals’ demands from the firms, and the firms in the periphery strive to comply with those norms. They adopt education programs, career planning prospects, performance evaluation techniques, promotion opportunities, business

³⁹ *Milliyet İnsan Kaynakları Gazetesi*, 21November 2004.

⁴⁰“Ya Aksaray. Kolay değil her işi bırakıp Aksaray”a gidecek adam bulmak. Tam böyle Anadolu’nun ortası da değil... Garip bir yer yani. Çocuk orda eğitsen hangi okula göndereceksin? Çok büyük paralar veriyorlar oraya giden adamlara. Çünkü gerçekten mahrumiyet bölgesi gibi. ... Ben asla düşünmezdim.”

trips to foreign countries, etc., in an attempt to be like their counterparts in the center.⁴¹

Such compliance is crucial since, as argued above, peripheries compete strongly with each other. The only way to remain in the networks of global flows is by adopting the rules of the “global business”. What is at stake is the survival of a particular business or of a whole region. Disconnection from global networks means the dying out of in-flows of income. Fulya, a former lawyer of Arthur Andersen, explains the importance of connection:

Arthur Andersen had to integrate itself into a global network after its decomposition. Otherwise the number of employees would have shrunk from six hundred to about one hundred. Only through this network can they get deals from big foreign companies. When the veins are cut off, who would do business with them? Who would know Mr. Ş (her former boss in Arthur Andersen)? Everyone comes for the name, Arthur Andersen.⁴²

Connection to networks provides opportunities, resources, and prospects.

Every year there is an education seminar in Eindhoven, Holland. All the personnel go there, which means one can go nine times in nine years. There you can meet lawyers of Arthur Andersen from all over the world. Your network enlarges in a way. Friends with whom I became acquainted made it possible for me to establish my own business later on. After I quit the job, I sent them messages telling them that I was working freelance. So, they sent many clients to me back then. ... It is the best part of working in these multinationals. Your perspective, your vision alters, which is not possible in oriental companies.⁴³

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² “Arthur Andersen yıkılıp bittikten sonra kendisini uluslararası bir networke yamaması gerekiyordu. Eğer yamanmasalar 600 kişilik şirket 100 kişiye falan inerdi. O network sayesinde bu insanlar o uluslararası yabancı büyük firmaların işlerini alabiliyorlar. Yoksa damarlar kesildiğinde kim gelecek? ŞE’i (eski patronu) kim tanıyacak yani? Amerika’dan gelen bilmem ne firması. Herkes Arthur Andersen diye onun adına geliyor.”

⁴³ Yurtdışında her sene eğitim oluyor Hollanda’da Eindhoven’da bir seminer. Eğitim merkezi oraya gidiyor elemanların hepsi. 9 yılda 9 kere gidebiliyorsun yani. A.Anderson’un bütün dünyadaki avukatlarını orada bir arada görüyorsun. Network bir bakıma genişliyor yani. Benim şu an kendi işimi yapabilmemin sebebi de oradan edindiğim arkadaşlar. Ayrıldıktan sonra hepsine mesaj atıp ben ayrıldım artık bağımsız çalışıyorum. Onlar da bana bayağı bir müşteri yolladı. Dünyanın dört bir

Networks, in this sense, supply the sense of being a proper/global professional –a professional with a vision that has an “extrovert” orientation. Like firms, professionals too, seek contact with the global flows.

Obviously, networks do not benefit each and every worker; they even devalue the majority. But my focus is on a specific segment that seeks promotion with global activities. One point has to be clarified: not all golden collars actually are engaged in global economic activities; not all of them conduct business with foreign customers. Instead, I use golden collar as a classification for a new worker type that has the “potential” to do so. In other words, golden collar refers to some specific abilities that are compatible with the global transactions. In addition, golden collars are not the only ones that are affected by the global economy. Different worker types are required for different kinds of tasks.

The space constituted by the new global grid is perhaps one of the most strategic spaces for the formation of new worker types. With the advent of information technologies and with the re-organization of the production systems of all kinds (agrarian, manufacturing, service), the role of labor, especially the role of golden collars has been redefined, both socially and technically. Concomitantly, Robert Reich identifies in his book, *The Work of Nations*, three kinds of jobs that are essential for global capitalism: First, routine production services entailing the kinds of repetitive tasks. This kind of labor is exchangeable and disposable and co-exists in the same circuits with machines and with unskilled labor from around the world.

yanından avukatlar geliyor. Hollandalı parisli avukatlar da eğitimci olarak. Gerçekten çok güzel şeyler bunlar. Yani bu şirketlerin en iyi yanları bu.

Bu şirketlerde perspektifin değişiyor, vizyonun değişiyor. Bunları oryantal şirketlerde yapamazsın.

Analogous to the new geography of networks, such labor is spatially discontinuous:

They are found even “amid the glitter and glitz of high technology”.

Contrary to prophets of the ‘information age’ who buoyantly predicted an abundance of high paying jobs even for people with the most basic skills, the sobering truth is that many information-processing jobs fit easily into this category. The foot soldiers of the information economy are hordes of data processors stationed in ‘back offices’ at computer terminals linked to worldwide information banks. They routinely enter data into computers and take it out again. ... The ‘information revolution’ may have rendered some of us more productive, but it has also produced huge piles of raw data, which must be processed in much the same monotonous way that assembly line workers ... processed.⁴⁴

Second, in-person services, which also entail repetitive routine tasks, but in the service sector. In addition to the ones in the first category, these workers “must smile and exude confidence and good cheer; even when they feel morose. ... They must make others feel happy and at ease.”⁴⁵ He continues later on why women are more suitable for these kind of jobs, remarking the gendered division of labor.

Last, symbolic-analytic services –the new emergent sector, which is characterized by a high level of education, transferable skills, and flexibility. Employees of these kinds of jobs are self-programmable -to borrow from Manuel Castells- in the sense that they are equipped with the ability to retrain themselves and adapt to new tasks, new processes and new sources of information, as technology demands. “Skills can be quickly made obsolete by technological or organizational change. Education (as distinct from the warehousing of children and students) is the process by which labor acquire the capability constantly to redefine the necessary

⁴⁴ Robert B. Reich, “The Three Jobs of the Future” in *The Work of Nations*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf Inc., 1991).

⁴⁵ Ibid, p.176.

skills for a given task, and to access the sources for learning these skills.”⁴⁶ They can reprogram themselves according to the endlessly changing tasks of the production process, hence they are able to cope with the unpredictable, chaotic and often-hostile environment of the global economy as mentioned above.

The paradigmatic worker in the global economy, Arif Dirlik argues, is the symbolic analyst, who is not just a recipient but also a creator of his/her own subjectivity.

Unlike the proletariat of capitalist modernity who, even when highly skilled, was subject to the drudgery of mass production and management decisions over which s/he had little control, the new worker modeled after the symbolic-analyst is a closer approximation of the pre-capitalist artisan who has far greater control over the product, and the process of production. Indeed, with the new controls over the process of production, this worker is more of an entrepreneur than proletarian, responsible for his/her own performance.⁴⁷

Alternatively, Leslie Sklair conceptualizes golden collars/symbolic analysts not as constituents of labor but as capitalists- to be precise, as members of a transnational capitalist class in the making.⁴⁸ Matching with the new geographies of centrality, the concept of the transnational capitalist class implies that there is a central inner circle that makes system-wide decisions and that they have more interests in common with each other than they have with their fellow citizens. In other words, the economic interests of its members increasingly are globally linked rather than exclusively local and national in origin.⁴⁹ Though they may run “purely”

⁴⁶ Castells, (1998), p. 341.

⁴⁷ Dirlik, “The Postmodernization of Production” (1997), p.197

⁴⁸ Leslie Sklair, *The Transnational Capitalist Class*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001).

domestic firms, the capital under their control is connected to the global financial network -at the very point they use the banking system for any kind of transaction.

Sklair divides the transnational capitalist class analytically into four main categories:

- 1) TNC executives and their local affiliates (the corporate fraction).
- 2) Globalizing bureaucrats and politicians (the state fraction).
- 3) Globalizing professionals (the technical fraction).
- 4) Merchants and media (the consumerist fraction).⁵⁰

Accordingly, TNC executives, including the leading salaried employees in the corporations, are those who own the capital and/or who make and influence key decisions. Therefore, golden collars are difficult to label. While they are primary subjects of the discursive formation targeting the productivity of “labor”, it utterly would be confusing to analyze golden collars solely in the category of labor within the traditional labor/capital division since there have been transformations in the organization of both capitalism. That is to say that it might turn out to be futile trying to find an underlying principle that unites the experience of golden collars with the rest of the labor.

Another conclusion from what Sklair proposes is that TNC executives could come virtually from any source, regardless of national origin i.e. golden collars could be cultivated in former “Third Worlds” -creating “First Worlds within the Third”.⁵¹ Organizationally, this suggestion corresponds to new horizontal structures of operation that shifts decision making from the center to the locality. In this juncture of interpenetration of global and local, the problem of how-to-manage-difference

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid, p.17

⁵¹ Dirlik, “The Postmodernization of Production,” (1997).

comes into view. This, Arif Dirlik claims, to be the source of the new interest in the issue of culture.

Transnationalism and the management of transnational production were very much in evidence in management studies by the late seventies. *Managing Cultural Differences* was the revealing title of a management text published in 1979 that addressed questions of ‘multiculturalism’ or ‘polyculturalism’ that managers faced with regard to organizational behavior, production and marketing in an age of multinationalism. The text argued for a new kind of training for managers that would enable them to operate more effectively in this new situation that demanded cultural flexibility. Such training would not only minimize the effects of “culture shock” as they moved from one cultural realm to another, but would also prepare them for the newly required tasks of creating a ‘corporate culture’ that was to be constituted “synergistically” out of multiplicity of cultures.⁵²

Managing the cultural difference, however, requires the “leveling out” of the inequalities. The term “multicultural” presupposes a normative imagery of cultural variety without the divisions of place/time; it presupposes a society constituted in “spaces of flow.”

In the fourth chapter I will discuss how managerial textbooks take up certain –supposedly universal- human qualities and leave others out in representing the universal traits of productive employees. I will look at how “difference” is either excluded or domesticated as a “cultural diversity” throughout the formation of human enterprise of global capitalism.

As a matter of fact, not all cultural diversities, and in this manner not all people, are embraced. An article in *Hürriyet İK* informs its readers how wealthy American-families are looking for Chinese nannies who can speak Mandarin-Chinese to teach their children Mandarin, since China is becoming a global power in the world economy.

⁵² Ibid.

Jim Rogers, The ex-partner of George Soros, makes his most significant investment of his life. His two-years-old daughter, Hilton, speaks Chinese with her found nanny all day long - even before she has learnt English. She says 'niunai' when she demands milk from her mother, and she greets her father by saying 'zao an' in the mornings. Rogers believes that he has done the best for his daughter, since China will be the super power in 21st Century.⁵³

However, Rogers and his wife, it is told, had to wait six months for an appropriate nanny. Most of the Chinese people currently living in America were not apt for being a nanny, since they speak Cantonese –the language of rural and poor people of China. The Chinese elite living in big cities, on the other hand, speaks Mandarin Chinese. The language of off-network communities cannot be converted into an asset; it does not circulate in “multicultural” spaces- spaces that link only valuable cultures and relegate others. In fact, Cantonese has never been an asset; the emphasis is rather on what has become an asset (Mandarin), in which terms it has become an asset and in which milieu. Selected cultures or selected elements of cultures are de-territorialized through circulation and in the meantime their “differences” are domesticated⁵⁴ –domesticated in sequence with the economic rationale of the center. In a nutshell, although the geometry of center has to a certain extent been transformed by transgressing old –mostly national- geographies, this does not mean that it becomes “ahistorical” for the reason that “inclusion” has its own historical criteria. The deployment of “global trade”⁵⁵ as *the* way for “social cohesion” and for surpassing “our differences” –differences among “world citizens”-

⁵³ *Hürriyet İK*, 1 January 2006

⁵⁴ Arjun Appadurai. “Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy” in *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. (Minneapolis:University of Minnesota Press, 2000).

⁵⁵ Thomas Friedmann. *The Lexus and the Olive Tree: Understanding Globalization*. (n.p.:Anchor Edition, 2000).

ignores the structural inequalities inherent in those flows. Former divisions articulate into new ones.

(Regarding the work permit in Germany) They set hurdles; they say that you have to have a distinct specialty compared to the German counterparts, like the ability to speak Chinese fluently. You have to persuade the Arbeitsamt (office for work permit) with such arguments. They (people in that office) stated it plainly: you, being a Turk... There are a lot of Turks in Germany... And they are a bit... Clearly, they don't want more Turks to go there.⁵⁶

Efe, Manager.

Nations and nationalisms prevail as current classificatory tools to separate the valuable from the invaluable, the harmful from the harmless, the good minorities from the bad ones, and the potential terrorists from the ordinary citizens. Flows are regulated, and in fact they are restricted against the majority of people. However, Efe talks about a “better” version of a network to be found in US that binds valuable resources, (and only valuable resources), supposedly unbiased by the old remnants of nationalist/traditional thought:

Europe has still a traditional shell. Although they do not want to admit, they are approaching the issue in a much more nationalist (than US). This is why there is a discrepancy between them: The US is a talent pool, they attract people from all over the world. The Germans, the English, the French are much more rigid and traditional. You cannot even imagine that the top executive in Daimler-Chrysler is not a German. ... Mercedes Benz/Turkey is the Tochtergesellschaft (sister-company), even so, they don't let a Turk hold the top position. They do not consent in spite of the enormous costs. (German executives) increase the expenses four times for the company. Educational expenses for their kids in the German College (an expensive high school in Turkey), villas for 4,000-5,000 \$ near the seaside, etc. The costs for these men are

⁵⁶ (Almanya'ya gitmekle ilgili) bayağı bir sorun çıkarıyorlar, ekstra bir Alman meslektaşınızdan sizi ayırdeden atıyorum mesela bir Çince'ye hakim olmak falan gerekir dediler. Şirket Çin'de iş yapıyor, Çin'de otobüs çalışıyor; bu adam bir de Çince biliyor. Almanya'da Çince bilen adam bulmak zor. Bu tip argümanlarla bizim bunu Arbeitsamt'a (çalışma iznini veren yer) izah etmemiz gerekiyor. Adamlar dediler; zaten Türk olmanız da...yani bir... Birsürü Türk var ortalıkta zaten. Biraz şeyler... Türkler'in de daha fazla gelmesini istemiyorlar tabi açık açık.

beyond limits of calculation. Interesting. One has to pay tribute to Americans in this matter.⁵⁷

Efe

The issue here is not to find out which nations are more traditional or to what extent the US is unbiased. This quotation has a much more interesting point; it has a claim about what the economic conduct in the new geographies should be.

Accordingly, a truly global company should pursue pure economic rationale in selecting people (over others) apart from their origins. There should be no room for “irrational” discrimination (national prejudices in this case) regarding golden collars. The normative imagery of the multicultural flows mentioned above is in fact what Efe states. His rejection (he was actually rejected by German “Arbeitsamt”) does not destroy the imagery, but emerges as a lack, as a deviation from that no-border network society.

In fact, authentic drawbacks rooted in origins, he tells, could be ameliorated through the connection to those flows; our cultural characteristics could be adapted to the outlook of the global businesses:

As I say, individually, we (Turks) are very clever, but we get inane when we act as a collectivity. We need a system that will put us in order. It has to enclose over us. Then we’d have good performance. ... A multinational company that inserts a system over us seems healthy to me, for the sake of the smooth functioning of the business.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ Avrupa’nın hala bir gelenekselleşmiş kabuğu var, o kabuğu değiştirememişler. Çok daha milliyetçi bakıyorlar, kendileri ne kadar kabul etmek istemeseler de. İkisi arasındaki fark o yüzden zaten, Amerika bir talent havuzu yani, dünyanın dört bir tarafından adam çekiyor. Almanlar İngilizler çok rigid, tradisyonel, Fransızlar keza yani. (DaimlerChrysler’de) üstteki adamın Alman olmaması düşünülemez. ... Mercedes Benz Türkiye Tochtergesellschaft (kardeş şirket), tepe noktasını bırakmıyor gene de adam Türk’e. Bırakmıyor ve çok büyük maliyete rağmen bırakmıyor. Yani bir adamı Türkiye’ye getirip koymasını üst düzey yönetici olarak, adama dört katı maliyet demek. Adamın bütün çocuklarının Alman Lisesindeki eğitiminden tut bilmemensinden tut, adamlara Boğaza nazır 4000-5000 dolar kiralı villalar tutuluyor yani. Bu adamların maliyeti hesaplanacak boyutta değil. İlginç bir şey. Amerikalıları o konuda takdir etmek lazım.

One point regarding the new workers of the global economy still needs to be clarified: Putting symbolic-analyst as the paradigmatic worker in the multicultural networks of global economy or to emphasize the melting of divisions between salaried employees and owners of capital is not to say that old-fashioned industrial production based on traditional workers fades away, but the value addition, thus the importance of such production, becomes less in the global capitalism. Consequently, traditional workers do not disappear in the new economy, their numbers even expand, but they are disaggregated in their performance, fragmented in their organization, diversified in their existence, divided in their collective action. Labor loses its collective identity, becomes increasingly individualized in its working conditions and in its interests. Individualized reward systems and the coordinated decentralization of work cut off their interrelations. So, whereas capital becomes globally coordinated, labor, on the contrary, is individualized.⁵⁹ The global circulation of capital endows it a stronger hand against labor. Whilst capital has the option to “choose” among places, labor remains mostly place-bound. Global capital, especially when one thinks of financial flows, is narrated as chaotic and volatile whereas the labor market is expected to be consistent and calculable. The competing places have to offer guarantees; they have to minimize social security nets in order to “survive” in competition.

⁵⁸ Diyorum ya işte bireysel bazda zeki milletiz, kolektif olduğumuz zaman aptallaşyoruz diye. Yaa biraz böyle, çekip çevirecek bir sistemin olması lazım şemsiye gibi bizim milletin üstünde, ardından iyi performans geliyor. Ama öyle tek başına bıraktığın zaman, kendi içine bıraktığın zaman, haa o zaman pek başarılı olamıyorlar. O zaman ucundan kıyısından bir multinational bir şirketin gelip bir sistem oturtması bana sağlıklı gibi geliyor. İşlerin yürüyüşü açısından.

⁵⁹ Castells, (1996).

Along with individualization, a move from regular employment towards increasing reliance upon part-time, temporary or subcontracted arrangements has surfaced. “The traditional form of work, based upon full time employment, clear-cut occupational assignments, and a career pattern over the lifecycle is being slowly but surely eroded away”⁶⁰ Besides, clerical positions are also re-skilled, by integrating tasks for greater flexibility and adaptation to the changing needs of an increasingly diversified industry. “Multi-skilling of jobs and individualization of responsibility are often accompanied by ideologically tailored new titles (for example, assistance manager instead of secretary), thus enhancing the potential for commitment of clerical workers without correspondingly increasing their professional rewards.”⁶¹ *Milliyet İnsan Kaynakları Gazetesi* (Newspaper for Human Resources) manifests a new era for secretaries as the “right hands” of bosses.⁶²

Traditional secretariat is over. From now on, executives are looking for assistants, who are able to represent their bosses.⁶³

For this aim, secretaries have to upgrade themselves through education seminars. Several programs are suggested for prospective assistants.⁶⁴ In Chapter Four I will dig into the issues of “education”, and self-development by scanning the discursive formation regarding the self-programmable workers.

In tandem to crafting of new jobs, the “authorial” status of management has been transformed by the participation of workers in decision-making. Mobility,

⁶⁰ David Harvey, “The Political-economic Transformation of late Twentieth-century Capitalism” in *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change*. (n.p.:Blackwell, 1992).

⁶¹ Castells, (1996) p. 250

⁶² In Turkish: Patronların Sağ Kolları

⁶³ *Milliyet İnsan Kaynakları Gazetesi*, 05 December 2004

⁶⁴ See Appendix A (Secretaries)

empowerment, horizontal organization structures, teams are the new catchwords of organizations which designate the presumably willing compliance on the part of the “workers” by allowing them greater initiative and giving the sense of partnership in the organization. Such a partnership, of course, is the delusion of centrality that subjects laborer to unprecedented supervision and re-engineering. The “enthusiasm” for working is what makes a quality product out of the working people –an effective “production factor.”⁶⁵

⁶⁵ The question of “how” will be discussed in Chapter 4.

CHAPTER 3

“I LOVE MY JOB!”

Ahmet and Zeynep-The Entrepreneurs

We want every employee to be a businessperson.

Ralph Stayer, CEO of Johnsonville Foods

I was invited to an open-air barbeque party. It was a lovely Friday evening and an exquisite place for a barbeque in the Fatih Forest on the road to Kilyos. The guests of the party were mostly employees of multinational companies in Turkey between 28-35 years of age. The place belongs to the Forestry Ministry, which rents such recreation places like the forest to private entrepreneurs for 10-year periods. Our host, Zeynep, had rented a part of the forest and with her father made it a tranquil place. She works for a multinational advertising company. For her, this place is a resting place outside of her work. On weekends she helps her very old father manage the place. While her father makes the barbeque, she works as a waitress, as the manager or sometimes she does the customer relations of the place. Managing

this place is a relaxing activity for her. She seems to enjoy what she does. She chats with the customers, sits beside them for a while, makes them laugh, though she is careful not to interrupt their conversations for too long. She is energetic, very amiable, charming and concerned.

The place has equipment to show movies: a large white screen, a powerful sound system, a laptop computer for playing DVDs and a projector. People sit or lay down on the ground in front of the screen on large comfortable cushions. It is a small, clean place surrounded by dense forest. You feel like you are isolated from the disorder and the confusion of metropolitan life, though the place is very close to Maslak, the business center of Istanbul. The place is exquisite, the activity itself – watching a movie in an open-air space on a summer night- is wonderful; the food, the environment, the people were all perfect.

That night, all present were professionals; one was a software engineer at Sony, one was marketing a manager at Ariel, one was the director of product development department at Turkcell, one was a brand manager at P&G, one was a department manager at Dışbank. They were all young and successful. They were all promising employees at their firms.⁶⁶

Ahmet, the Field-Marketing Manager of the multinational corporation Henkel, told us his hobby: he was a juggler, a conjurer, in his spare time. He attended circumcision feasts to do his tricks and earn some money. He told us about how people reacted to his tricks, how children generally did not react since for them everything was usual, or how some inquisitive persons tried to unravel his tricks.

⁶⁶ On the threshold, I was feeling a bit like a stranger although I had some old friends among them. For me, it was a very big opportunity to make some connections for the research, listen to them while they were chatting about their jobs and also enjoy the place myself. It was indeed much more insightful than to conduct a straight-forward interview in a limited time- an interview which has always an embarrassing beginning, some awkward questions, and tongue-tied moments as a condition.

Initially, I thought that his being a juggler was only a leisure activity, just to make a difference in his routine. To a certain extent, this was true. But how his narration turned into a story of entrepreneurship was remarkable. First, he described how he had lost some “customers” since they had demanded a clown in addition to a conjurer. He did not know a clown so he had found an agency to arrange a clown for him. But given that Ahmet was a very enterprising person, he cut out the agency and began to call the clown directly. Thus he was able to take the money instead of the agency and make a net 20 Lira. At first, this little cunning-story seemed unnecessary, a bit out of context, a bit gluttonous. Did he need that 20 Lira? Obviously, he did not. So, why did he do that?

Afterwards, he began to talk about the “sector” of jugglers. He was planning to do street performances. “There is a lot of money in juggling,” he said. “In addition, right after the performance you can sell some juggling items! There are some tricks that one can perform immediately - think of it. Fathers would like to surprise their kids at home. And the crucial point is that you can buy it for one and sell it for one hundred. You add a tremendous value to the item with your performance. This is marketing.”

He was a marketing manager and he saw the world in terms of the marketing potential. There were many opportunities – “think of it”. After a while he described his other plans: “Metropolitan people are dying for some peace, they want to relax on the weekend. Yes, some drink wine and dance and whatever... But there is a ‘niche’; some people are looking for meditation and yoga and spiritual recreation. My friend and I have looked for a place near Istanbul –a place for shock (immediate) purification.” One Yoga disciple among the addressees asked him if there was any such purification. “Does it matter? We can make one up!” Surely, what mattered

was finding/creating the “niches,” the opportunities of doing business. You could condense everything into a nice, cute package –the marketing miracle!

Ahmet had a hobby, which provided at the same time an opportunity to establish a small-scale business. He saw it as a sector: there were providers of conjuring items –mostly Chinese; there was technical information (know-how) about how to juggle; there were latent businesses, like acting as the clown agency; there was some sort of value addition, i.e., the performance; and there were also consumers. There was a market and an entrepreneur who saw that market. Like a real firm, he planned to expand the business with its own resources. He did not want to invest in the conjuring business from the outside: “What I earn from conjuring, I am going to invest back into conjuring (i.e. buy new items), so it will grow by itself.”

This kind of “pioneer spirit” is what Henkel also demanded from him as its Field-Marketing Manager. Ahmet’s character trait of (entrepreneurship) and the firm’s expectation overlapped in this instance, and, of course, this trait was compatible with/deduced from free-market capitalism. What you had to do is to find a “niche” –his favorite term- in the market and exploit it. Follow the trends; follow what people need! Find a product and add value through marketing strategies. This was also his job at Henkel. Given a new product, he would seek a market for that product.

Tom Peters, a famous management guru and author of best-selling business books, proposes in *Crazy Times Call for Crazy Organizations* that every job be “entrepreneurized” to induce zest, creativity and almost automatic symbiosis with the customer. According to him, the organization of businesspeople-entrepreneurs is miles beyond any organization. He defines a businessperson as an “entrepreneur who has the flair and commitment to go anywhere, to find anyone, and to break any box

for getting the job done fast and well.”⁶⁷ Accordingly, jobs have to be turned into micro-businesses and the employees into businesspersons. Firms need not just employees of the ordinary kind, but people who run their own show, who have the entrepreneur attitude like Ahmet has. As a result, they will make the job their own, enjoy what they do and serve their firm best. Hence their productivity and efficiency will increase which are the major and familiar targets of capitalism.

Such a list of overlapping traits of new organizations and efficient employees could be made longer right away: They both are should be flexible, self-learning, responsible, sensitive, proactive (as opposed to reactive), risk-taking, self driven, creative, and swift. They both have to make a difference in life, both should not prefer routine work, both have to deal with uncertainty in creative and innovative ways, both should scan the environment all the time and seek opportunities to obtain profit, and both should try to enjoy what they do. In fact, the exchange of these traits ends up in the idea of the human as the enterprise itself. Managerial textbooks define a golden collar as someone more than a regular employee; in view of that, the golden collar should be like a business, like an individual company. They become the business personally. The ever-new buzzwords for new organizations and the ideal workers -as they are mentioned in managerial texts- are crucial for understanding “the human enterprise.”

The new discourses on work, chiefly on golden collars, claim to transform “the working self” as a new territory through definite techniques, which are objectified hand-in-hand with the subjects of those techniques. They shape the way individuals construct themselves as subjects. The effectiveness of these political technologies relies on a combination of external “subjection” and internal

⁶⁷ Tom Peters, *Crazy Times Call for Crazy Organizations*, (New York: Vintage, 1994).

“subjectification;” consequently, the “productive self” of late capitalism becomes governable through the “technologies of the self.” Employees become self-activating and free agents on their own. They become self-motivating, self-learning, and self-programmable subjects of power. Like Ahmet, they become entrepreneurs or their own marketing managers. “Corporate culture, invests itself ‘inside’ the worker, as an inner manager of the self. The boundary between organization and the self, between management and self-management, has collapsed.”⁶⁸

Four levels of self/management were described by one of my interviewees, Mustafa. The first level consists of the lowest rank of workers. They work like machines. They should be switched-on and switched-off i.e., to be supervised like automatons. These workers are mostly in routine production services and they have to be managed by an outside party. In the second level, the employee knows how to accomplish the task, but s/he does not accomplish it without directives. Officers in state bureaucracies are typical examples of such employees; they, too, have to be managed continually by their supervisors. On the third level, employees use initiative during their tasks; however, a supervisor to monitor them is still required. And the fourth level is a self-managing employee, for whom there is no need for supervision. Rather, they appropriate the business; they become “identical” with the business.

You become the business itself and the business becomes Mustafa. When there is a problem in the business, they ask immediately where Mustafa is. As an example, I am at this level (fourth level).⁶⁹

Mustafa, director and software programmer

⁶⁸ J. Flecker and J. Hofbauer, “Capitalizing on Subjectivity: The new Model Worker and the Importance of Being Useful” in *Workplaces of the Future*, Eds. Paul Thompson and Chris Warhurst, (n.p.: Macmillan Business, 1998).

⁶⁹ Sen işin kendisi haline geliyorsun. İş Mustafa oluyor. İşte bir sorun çıktığında, Mustafa nerede, diyorlar. Ben bu seviyedeyim mesela

The melting of the boundaries between management and the self-management is what constitutes a successful working life. In this regard, the disciplines of productivity are disseminated through the production of specific desires that are not only enforced, but also appropriated by the employees. Below is the statement of one of my interviewees- a software programmer who considers herself the model worker.

I love my job very much. I enjoy it very much. I get out of my office at almost ten o'clock each day, but it does not disturb me at all. This is what I love ... I do not care about the money ... Of course, more would be better, but I do not work for them to pay me more. I work because I enjoy working. ... Some times I get curious about some topic and I go to the office on Saturdays. I go, because I want to go. ... This job enriches my professional skills. I learn new things all the time- just like I wished for. Money is a second or third concern for me. Money, private health insurance, distance... My priority (among them) is the kind of job I can enrich myself. ... If I love the job, I can work all day long in full concentration without distraction.⁷⁰

Mine, Software Programmer

Loving the job is the foremost condition for productivity, which is an ideological edifice that presents Ideology at its purest -as non-ideology, as a trans-ideological, good-natured “love” for work. The reference to such trans-ideological kernel, Zizek states, is what makes the ideology workable: “If an ideology is to become operative and effectively ‘seize’ individuals, it has to batten on and

⁷⁰ Ben yaptığım işi çok seviyorum. Bu çok zevk aldığım bir şey. Ben bunun için nerdeyse her gün 10’da işten çıkıyorum. Ama hiç rahatsız etmiyor beni. Sevdiğim bir şey çünkü. ... Benim parayla bir zorum olmadığı için... yani tabi daha çok alsam iyi olurdu. Kaldı ki hiç bir zaman bana çok para versinler diye çalışmıyorum. Parayla ilgilenmiyorum. Zevk aldığım için çalışıyorum. Yani benim parayla bir zorum yok (...)Arada bir kendim merak edip cumartesileri de gidiyorum işe. Çalışmak isteyip kendim bankaya gidip çalışıyorum. (...)Bu iş mesleki olarak bana çok şey katıyor. Yani hiç durmadan yeni bir şeyler öğreniyorum, tam istediğim gibi. Para ikinci üçüncü planda olan bir şey. Para, özel sağlık sigortası, uzaklık... ama en çok kendimi geliştirebileceğim bir iş olması. (...) Sevdiğim bir iş varsa sabahdan akşama kadar full konsantre yapıyorum. Dikkatim dağılmadan.

manipulate some kind of ‘trans-ideological’ vision which cannot be reduced to a simple instrument of legitimizing pretensions to power.”⁷¹

Love plays its part in the morality of work. Other tenets, like family metaphors, off-job classifications, and conjugal relationships, are also incited on behalf of the work morality as will be discussed below. They all seek to produce specific effects on the account of loyalty, support, and conflict resolution, which propose sometimes competing and contradicting advice.

Through love, the conventional boundaries of work and leisure blur. The job becomes a part of Mine’s spare time activity (e.g., Mine willingly goes to work on Saturdays), which melts the divisions between specific tasks that are labeled as work and non-work.

My job requires 24 hours working, both active and passive.⁷²

Tuğçe Gürel, HR Director

Indeed, it has always been a compound undertaking to separate work from leisure or, more broadly, from non-work. In the common conception of work, it is the opposite of leisure: it is something that people have to do, something they may prefer not to do and something for which they get paid. But people must also eat and drink, they shop, they enjoy a movie and so forth, without considering those as work. Besides, activities like washing, ironing, breastfeeding, cooking, and a myriad of other domestic duties are not conventionally recognized as work. Or when we think of artists, how can we define separate domains of work and leisure for them? Work,

⁷¹ Slavoj Žižek, “Seven Veils of Fantasy” in *The Plague of Fantasies*, (New York: Verso, 1997).

⁷² Quoted in *Cosmopolitan*, October 2003

then, is socially constructed: there is no permanent or objective thing called work. The difference between work and non-work seldom lies within the actual activity itself and more generally inheres in the social context that supports the activity. While watching sport, for example, is an occupation for some people; it could be an enforced “leisure” for those who are unemployed.

In Mine’s case, self-realization and the fulfillment of potential do occur within work – before, they were exclusively associated with what we might call hobbies or leisure activities. For Mine, work is not a “necessary evil” in Adam Smith’s words that individuals have to trade off material improvements for their leisure. Rather, work has become an end in itself in her narrative. A distinctive class identity is developed and promoted where working/producing become a part of the lifestyle. Celia Lury remarks that the symbol of permeation is the personal organizer, or laptop for a more recent account, which function as entertaining accessories within the realm of consumption (watching DVDs with laptops, for example) and also as working tools.⁷³ They squeeze two activities within one medium as the new lifestyle of golden collars. That is to say, work is extended into the leisure time, and leisure time is taken over by work. Both domains become the objects of the discourse of efficiency.

First, the exploitative and alienating character of work will be investigated and the problem of justice at work will be discussed. Then, the production of certain distinctions, categories, and identities in the work setting will be evaluated under two subheadings that I picked up: bureaucratic organizations and merit. Meanwhile, the production and mobilization of modern aspirations of golden collars will come up.

⁷³ Celia Lury, “Habitat and Habitus” in *Consumer Culture*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1996).

Justice at Work

Apparently, global companies' main goal is to extract "more" profit. Their reason for establishment is neither the distribution of justice nor the betterment of interpersonal relations among their employees. Their endeavor is not to be just, but to be profitable. From this perspective, there are only more expendable and less expendable employees for the sake of the profit, a truly impersonal approach that the rhetoric of professionalism seeks. In this context, a detour should be made for elaborating on the issues of alienation and exploitation.

First, as mentioned in the Chapter One, for the majority of workers alienation and exploitation remain the norm, and in fact harsh conditions are not getting better especially in off-network places like refugee-camps and occupied territories. The conditions in rich territories should not be and indeed cannot be evaluated in themselves. Increasing rates of capital accumulation do not occur in a vacuum, but at the cost of increasingly deprived populations. So, golden collars, as said earlier, are the bright side of global capitalism, which then creates as a rule also a dark side.

Second, golden collars also are exploited and alienated. As Richard Sennett⁷⁴ notes, the struggle of workers for surviving in the harshening competition sucks the vitality of workers and damages human relations for the sake of more accumulation. Thus, the disciplinary mechanism of love, though very productive, contains exploitation and alienation for the sake of the capitalist order. In the next chapter, disciplines of productivity will be put in the picture, but for now, Karl Marx will be

⁷⁴ Richard Sennett, *The Corrosion of Character: The Personal Consequences of Work in the New Capitalism*, (New York: W. W. Norton & Co Ltd, 1998).

mentioned on alienation. Does alienation really end when golden collars love their jobs?

Marx broke down the formulation of alienation into three discrete but empirically related facets.⁷⁵ The first facet derived from the absence of control by the producer over the product. To a certain extent, one can speak of some sort of control that golden collars have over their products, but products still are designed and produced as profit maximizers within the rationale of overarching market strategies. The second aspect of alienation stems from the ever-increasing division of labor, which is also related to the first facet, individual workers losing control over the product. However, unlike the majority, most golden collars do not have to accomplish ostensibly unrelated tasks that are fragmented into meaningless repetitive procedures. They have more or less a general picture about what they do and they can exercise relatively more initiative.

It is very tough as well as very good to begin to work in a restructuring company. I enjoy producing something, bringing something into being, raising a structure from zero.⁷⁶

Duygu, HR Director

When I first joined the company, there was nothing. The law department was a mess. I gathered the department together, tidied it up. At that time we were two in the department, after two years the number of staff increased to fifteen.⁷⁷

Fulya, Lawyer

⁷⁵ Keith Grint, *The Sociology of Work: An Introduction*, (Cornwall: Polity Press, 1998).

⁷⁶ Yeniden yapılanan bir yerde işe başlamak bir yandan çok zordur, bir yandan çok iyidir. Bir şeyler ürettiğini, bir şeyler ortaya çıkardığını görmek, sıfırdan bir yapıyı inşa ediyor olmak bana keyif veriyor.

⁷⁷ A..’ya 3 sene emeğim geçti o sıra hiçbir şey yoktu A...’da hukuk departmanı kurmuşlardı saçmasapan çamur çirkef gibiydi. Orayı ben derledim topladım yola soktum. Ben gittiğimde 2 kişiydik iki sene sonunda 15 olduk.

The market economy and the commodity exchange is the third facet of alienation, for they turn each productive individual/group into competitors, setting individual against individual and reducing the individual relations between people into economic exchanges of commodities. In this regard, the “love” to which the model workers refer rarely runs smoothly. Being golden collars does not avert their awareness about exploitation or cutthroat competition.

There are grim strategic games going on at work. How do I persuade someone to do something? How do I crush others? How do I cause another to glide? If I say something, what would be the benefit for another, what would be the harm? Would I promote him or would I worsen him?⁷⁸

Mine

You are an obstacle (for those below you). Each of them craves your position.⁷⁹

Fulya

Golden collars are well aware of the risks and of the instabilities of the capitalist system and how it pits everyone against each other. Risk and pressure, Richard Sennet explains, is to become a daily necessity shouldered by the masses and a cause of alienation.

In the Chapter One, I discussed how skills become obsolete in shorter periods by technological and organizational change. Concomitantly, capitalism resembles gambling more and more, as again mentioned in the first chapter. On the level of experience, it becomes the celebration of youth qualities, i.e., risk-taking, constant

⁷⁸ Çok ciddi stratejik oyunlar dönüyor iş hayatında. Bir şeyi nasıl kabul ettiririm? Birinin tepesine nasıl binerim? Birinin ayağını nasıl kaydırırım? Bunu ben böyle dersem diğerine ne zararı olur, ne yararı olur? Yüceltir miyim, batırır mıyım?

⁷⁹ Çünkü onların önünde sen devamlı bir engelsin. Hepsinin gözü senin yerindedir.

renovation, and flexibility. It results in the constant fear of falling behind – fear of past experience does not count. To quote Sennet:

The current conditions of corporate life are full of prejudices against middle age, disposed to deny the worth of a person's past experience. Corporate culture treats the middle aged as risk averse, in the gambler's sense ... Flexibility equals youth; rigidity equals age.⁸⁰

Coherency is also flawed with the flexible-fragmented present, Sennet argues, "it may seem possible only to create narratives about what has been, and no longer possible to create predictive narratives about what will be."⁸¹

In this manner, capitalism deregulates both space and time, more so in some jobs like stock brokering. In stock brokering, the length of one's experience does not contribute to one's value. Success becomes ephemeral, non-accumulative, and non-sequential. The stock market moves every day. Independently of whether the traders make an action or not, it generates some results. The market is too volatile to value one's experience. Each day is new; each second is independent from the previous one. Below, Duygu complains about stock brokering:

At one point one seeks consistency in one's life. Being a stockbroker was a very shaky ground and it was in conflict with my internal qualities. ... I had begun to ask myself to where I was oriented. ... I was spending days to compute the ratios of some corporations and to make some projections ... (but) after six months all my projections were turning out to be a piece of paper without any value. This was tiring me a lot.⁸²

⁸⁰ Sennett, (1998), p 91-93.

⁸¹ Ibid. p 135.

⁸² ... Ama işin mahiyetinde devamlı bir tedirginlik söz konusu. Geleceğe dair projeksiyonel bir bakış açısı geliştirmene çok müsait bir yer değil. Türk sermayesinin açısından kurtların sofrada oturduğu, büyük kurtların arasında küçük kuzuların sürekli ordan oraya kendilerini yalpalanırken buldukları bir şeyden bahsediyoruz. Bu da benim hayata bakış açımdaki o istikrarı zedeleyecek bir durumdu. Ben mesela orada bir şirketin rasyolarına bakıyorum bu şirketin 6 ay sonra şu noktaya gitmesi gerekir diye plan yaparken, bunun için ben günlerimi harcarken yan tarafta üç trilyonu olan bir adam o tahtayı, hisse senedini lobadak diye atıp atıp yere doğru çarpıyor. 6 sonra benim yaptığım

Time, conceived as growth, development, change or accumulation in the ordinary working life, discords with the time of trading business and results in the incongruence of temporalities, opposition of the self and financial net; thus alienation.

Intimacy and personal relations are also flawed. Employees are required to use superficial masks to show off certain character traits in office. The sociologist Gideon Kunda calls such use of masks “deep acting,” “because it obliges individuals to manipulate their appearances and behavior with others”.⁸³ Employees are expected to display signs of cooperation, friendliness, mutual understanding, debonairness, and positive thinking during office hours, which Sennet calls “shared superficiality” at work.⁸⁴

You overlook certain things, you don’t object, you try to appear likeable, you behave toward others in a phony way and as a consequence they will love you. You have to regard not only your superiors but also your inferiors. Otherwise they would rat on you.⁸⁵

Mehmet, Director

By distrust I mean: You should not expect anything from anyone. For that matter, teamwork may not be possible due to competition, when you work with those who are more or less at the same level as you –. But then, a team soul is to be injected by taking all to a dinner and so forth. It is such a conflict... One has to accept it as a part of the business life; but it decays one’s character as well. During an entire month they give the message that you are fragmented and alone and that you have to try to fight as an individual, but at the end of the month they advise

projeksiyonun ufak bir kağıt parçasından başka hiç bir değeri kalmamış oluyor. Bu da beni bir süre sonra çok yormaya başladı.

⁸³ Kunda quoted in Sennett, (1998), p. 112.

⁸⁴ Ibid, p 108.

⁸⁵ Belli şeylere göz yumarsın, itiraz etmezsin sempatik gözükmeye çalışırsın insanlara sahte davranırsın zorlamazsın dolayısıyla seni severler. Sadece yukarısı değil aşağısı da önemli yani. Aşağıdakilerin gammazlamaları şikayetleri.

you to cooperate and act as a team member. You cannot know what to do. You are an individual; but you are also on a team.⁸⁶

Duygu, HR Director

To return to our departing point: in some sense, alienation, as it is, may not be the foremost problem for golden collars; but anxiety, fear, corrosion and indifference are.⁸⁷

As a result, a very significant difficulty in justice arises in relations among employees. Personal relations are not arranged on the merits of “righteousness” or “honesty,” but on a very utilitarian value addition of individuals to the company. Employees are left to the mercy of their supervisors or of company policies. Since companies abolish the terms of intimacy for the sake of the bureaucratic organization and act upon “impersonal relations,” they have no word regarding mobbing, humiliation, discrimination, belittlement, and scorn unless one’s value addition is low enough to encumber the company to deal with the problem.

My director and my subordinate came together and a real mobbing story had begun. It turned into gang warfare. I was marginalized, my job description was tapered and I was bypassed as my subordinate began to report to my director. They made me feel incompetent by repeating that I knew nothing. It

⁸⁶ Güvensizlik şu: İş yaşamında herkesten her şeyi bekle ve başına her türden kötü şey gelebilir. Hatta ekip çalışması gibi bir kavram aynı seviyedeki çalışanlar için çok da mümkün değil. Rekabetten ötürü. Onun dışında bize siz ekipsiniz ruhu verilmeye çalışılır; işte berebar bir yerlere götürülür, buluşulur. Öyle bir çelişki ki... Yani iş hayatının dinamiği olarak kabul edilmesi gereken bir şey; ama insanın karakter yapısına inanılmaz zarar veriyor. Bir ay boyunca bölük pörçüksün ve yalnız başına birey olarak savaşmak zorundasın mesajı verilir, bir ayın sonunda sen aslında ekipsin birlik olarak hareket etmen lazım gibi bir çelişkinin sürekli olarak verildiği ve senin ne yapacağını bilemediğin bir ortam. Bireysin; ama ekibin içindesin.

⁸⁷ See Pahl, Sennet and Bauman for more on the topic: Ray Pahl. *After Succes: Fin-de-Siècle Anxiety and Identity*. (Cornwall: Polity Press, 1995), Richard Sennett, *The Corrosion of Character: The Personal Consequences of Work in the New Capitalism*, (New York: W. W. Norton & Co Ltd, 1998), Zygmunt Bauman. *Wasted Lives: Modernity and Its Outcasts*. (Cornwall: Polity Press, 2004).

lasted for six months. Afterwards, I began to feel emotional and physical pain, so, I quit.⁸⁸

Duygu

During my interviews, I encountered many stories depicting the office as a battlefield. The accustomed severities of personal interactions compounded with cutthroat competition engender a very harsh environment. Fairness is nothing but a naive wish, because work mostly pitted everyone against the each other and there is no ground for justice within the limits of the office. The desire for revenge (for gratifying the justice) is either swallowed or the consequences of retaliation are shouldered. Let me quote a conversation between Duygu and Mine, talking about Mine's boss mobbing her.

Mine: I don't care if he sues me. I won't quit that job without harming him. I really don't care. I will find a way to harm him.

Duygu: This would also harm you.

Mine: I won't give up, in no way. I already have been harmed. First, I have to find a new job. Then, I will write a resignation letter that denounces everything about him. I am planning on it. I am filled with the desire of revenge. ... But the guy, who is mobbing me, is a very successful man. He expanded the department from ten to fifty people in five years. So, my plan involves subtler, cleverer things than the usual.

Duygu: Why do you care?

⁸⁸ Yöneticim altımdaki insanla birleşti ve gerçek bir mobbing hikayesi başladı. Çete ve savaş haline geldi. Her şeyin dışına itildim; baştan verilen görev tanımım daraltıldı ve altımda bana raporlayan kişi üstüme raporlayarak beni by-passlayarak bilimum yerlerde sen zaten anlamıyorsun bilmiyorsun deyip yetersizlik duygusu verilerek ve böyle yaklaşık altı aylık süreç devam etti. Bu altı ayın sonunda ben fiziksel rahatsızlıklar da hissederek noktayı koydum.

Mine: No. He shouldn't get away with it. For the time being, he gets away with it. No one in my life has harmed me so much, no one –in no way!

Duygu: My sense of justice is also not satisfied at work. I can only endure with my purification project.⁸⁹ (She practices Reiki).⁹⁰

The grounds, and the only grounds for justice is the relatively high salary that golden collars receive each month. However, in this realm too, company policies exploit them as much as possible and there is no possibility for objection. Even within the internal structure of the global company, different locations or nodes are forced into competition.⁹¹ The headquarters squeeze regional managers or country managers and in turn managers squeeze employees. This means compulsory overtime, cuts in overtime payments, or worse, the never-ending risk of being fired. With the pressure of harsh competition, the responsibilities of the company are subdued; the voices of employees are choked and submission becomes an obligation. “A good player should not whine!” Yet good players rarely have the power to whine.

⁸⁹ Mine: Bana dava açması hiç önemli değil; ben bir zarar vermeden oradan ayrılmayacağım. Açsın istiyorsa umurumda değil. Ben o herife zarar vermeden işten ayrılmayacağım.

Duygu: Bu keskin sirke küpüne zarar olayı ama.

Mine: Olmaz! Olmaz çünkü. Ben zarar gördüm zaten. Ama önce başka bir iş bulmam gerekiyor. Neler yazacağım var kafamda istifa dilekçesinde böyle bir intikam siniriyle doluyum şu anda. (...) Bana mobbing uygulayan çok başarılı bir adam işinde. 5 senede departmanı on kişiden 50 kişiye çıkarmış. Yani benim intikam planlarımda daha derine işleyen, daha zekice bir şeyler yapmak da var.

Duygu: Sana ne?

Mine: Şu an için yanına kalıyor. Bana bu kadar, yani hayatımda hiçkimse bana bu kadar zarar vermedi. Hiç kimse, hiçbir anlamda.

Duygu: Şirkette benim de adalet duygum tatmin olmuyor. Arınma projesiyle yaşamıma devam ediyorum ben.

⁹⁰ Please see the resignation letter –unfortunately not Mine’s- in the Appendix B. An employee of a multinational bank listed all his complaints in his resignation letter and sent it via every possible medium to every person he could reach. The letter reduces all problems to inter-personal relations i.e. to some mean behavior by some sick persons, yet still, it shows how harsh could be. In the end, while the author of the letter quit, the persons about whom he complained are still working in the same company.

⁹¹ Remember the Chapter 2 about competing localities

Our workload is too much and our working hours are flexible. Usually it ends at 6 pm but if there is a project to be finished, my colleagues work for 18 hours in the field. Whether they get overtime payment depends on the local conventions. According to the international conventions, there has to be a pay. But our director, for example, does not pay. If someone demands it, he shows the door to him/her. This is a local convention for displaying higher profits in the accounts. He claims that we didn't make enough profit and says that we have to be seen as profitable ... Any dispute would be in vain. These types of disputes turn into demagoguery. Until a certain point nobody objects.⁹²

Mehmet

The only legitimate criterion in valuing people is their marginal productivity.

If one serves this purpose well, rules bent in his/her direction.

Nobody intervenes with people who accomplish many jobs, since they are important for the firm.⁹³

Mine

There is no one above this man (her former boss). He would never accept someone above him ... He could promote someone very incapable just because he had flattered him. Meanwhile, many capable men work like horses; they are the ones who actually run the company. They work like clerks. But he props up very incapable, sycophantic men as partners- men that will never threaten him. Everybody knows that, but nobody can speak. There is no resort to complain. If someone would speak up, he could have his salary reduced in two days ... Multinational companies just care about how much money they earn. If they don't earn money, then they have to account for the problem. If they do, they don't bother at all –they leave him alone. If I would

⁹² İş yükü çok fazla... çalışma saatlerimiz flexible. 6'da biter ama iş varsa proje varsa mesela arkadaşlar alanda 18 saat çalışırlar. Ha karşılığını alırlar almazlar o da yerel uygulamaya bağlı... internasyonel uygulamada verilmesi lazım. Mesela bizim müdür vermiyor. İsteyene, kapı açık, diyor. Mesela bu bir yerel uygulama. Ülke kârlarını yüksek göstermek için. Bu işten fazla kâr etmedik kârlı gözükmeliyiz falan diyor. ... Onunla bu tip bir tartışmaya girdiğin zaman tartışma tıkanır. Bu tip tartışmalar demogojiye dönüşür. Belli bir noktaya kadar kimse o yola (şikayet etmeye) gitmiyor.

⁹³ Çok iş yapan insanlara kimse karışmıyor. Şirket için çok önemli insanlara kimse karışmıyor.

complain to the foreign office, it would be in vain; they wouldn't care. Everything is money. Like all the time and everywhere.⁹⁴

Fulya

To sum up, personal relations do not disappear when companies or professionals act as if they have. Impersonality, in this sense, results in unfair demeanors instead of its promise of bureaucratic fairness. Familiarity and intimacy are unrecognized in the ideal work setting and, as mentioned above, it is reduced to deep acting. However, deep acting does not suffice to control hostile feelings, unless relations are regulated with the mechanisms of family or friendship as will be exemplified below.

After all, golden collars still desire to work; they identify themselves as elites not only among company personnel, but also among individuals in society. The “rest” is signified by specific “weaknesses” when compared with what global companies introduce as “the way” of carrying out business. This is professionalism. This is where class distinctions and differences operate and in this sense, an imagined professionalism emerges as a calling of transnational elites. But it will also be claimed that in the Turkish case that professionalism is never fully achieved, mostly due to the flaws of Turkish-ness. These cracks in professionalism create a necessary distance, but also operate as classificatory tools, this time an inverse

⁹⁴ Bu adamın üstünde hiç kimse yoktur. Hayatta öyle bir şey tanımaz. ... O son derece dandik hiç bir bilgisi olmayan adamı sırf kendisine yalakalık yaptığı için partnerliğe yükseltir. Yıllardır dirsek çürütmüş son derece bilgili adamlar eşşek gibi çalışıyorlar, firmayı götürenler onlar. Bunlar memur gibi çalışır. Bir de hiç bir şey bilmeyen, yalaka, kendine hiç tehdit teşkil etmeyecek adamlar vardır. Onlar böyle oooo partnerliğe yükseltirler. Bunu da herkes bilir ve kimsenin de sesi çıkmaz. Bir merci de yok. Sesi çıkanın adam istese maaşını bile tenzil eder iki gün sonra. ... Uluslararasıların (şirketlerin) hepsi ne kadar para kazandığına bakıyor. Şayet Türkiye’de para kazanamıyorsa o zaman hıı deyip dönüp bakıyorlar. Şayet para kazanıyorlarsa hiç karışmıyorlar burdaki adam ne yaparsa yapsın. Ben istersem gidip yurtdışındaki müdüre yazayım benim şu country manager bana şöyle yaptı böyle yaptı ehheeee hayatta umurlarında olmaz yani her şey tamamen parada bitiyor. Her zaman her yerde olduğu gibi.

classification between “the network” and “us.” In the next section, it will be examined closely.

Producing the Distinction

A mafia organization is trying to get some (business-related) documents and for that they make ‘sorties’ and kill some people (on other teams). But our team actually possesses all the documents they are seeking. ... One day, when all of the other people are out, they sneak into the office. Meanwhile, I am also in the office since I had to get some documents from the office and I had to pick up some things ... I hide in a wardrobe when I see them. Bang Bang! Guns are being fired. ... (After I got out) I came to a place near the sea, 20-30 kilometers away from there. This is the place where I can set up the purification center (a reiki/yoga center). Until I get there I do not open my mouth. Just after I have arrived there I call the police and say that documents have been stolen and people have been killed. Until then, my mouth has been shut. This (dream) refers directly to my working life. The only reason for my return to business is to accumulate enough amount of money for the purification center I am dreaming of and to get out of working life. Until that time I swore to myself that I would not open my mouth about anything I see, hear or do.⁹⁵

A dream of Duygu, HR Director

Immediate submission to order does not necessarily require a totally submissive “state of mind.” Not all golden collars love their jobs as they are

⁹⁵ Bizim grupla ilgili belgeleri ele geçirmek için bir mafya grubu ... sorti yapıp birilerini öldürüp öldürüp gidiyorlar; ama almaya çalıştıkları tüm belgeler bizim grupta. Bir gün şeye karar veriyorlar tamam diyorlar bilgi alabilecekleri grubun biz olduğumuzu fark ediyorlar fakat grubumuzdaki insanlar çok mafya kılıklı insanlar oldukları için bize bulaşmak istemiyorlar. Bunlar çıksın biz sonra gelelim diyorlar. Herkes çıktıktan sonra benim de bir toplantım varmış ben geç girdim ve bir şeyler almak zorundayım içeri giriyorum ... içeri bekçi kılığında gelmişler. Ben dolaba saklanıyorum bunların geldiğini görünce. Tak tak tak silahlar patlıyor ortalıkta. Benim odama doğru geçen bir yer varmış o tarafa doğru geçiyorum Hiç bir şey olmamış gibi dışarı çıkıyorum. Ve oradan 10 km 20 km uzağa deniz kenarında bir yere geliyorum. O anlattığım arınma merkezinin açılabilceği yere gelinceye kadar ağzımı hiç bir şekilde açmıyorum. O saatten sonra polisi arıyorum. İşte evraklar çalınıyor, öldürülen insanlar var, diyorum. Ama ben oraya varıncaya kadar hiç ağzımı açmıyorum. İşte bu direk benim iş hayatım. Şu an iş hayatına dönmemin tek sebebi parasal olarak o kuvveti sağlayıp hayalini kurduğum arınma merkezini açmak ve çıkmak iş hayatının içinden. O vakte kadar da kendi kendime yemine ettim, ne duysam ne görsem ne yapsam... ağzımı açmayacağım diye.

supposed to do. Not all of them describe their working lives like the shiny happy people of capitalist society would. So, the question of “investment” is a much more complicated issue that extends far beyond the personal avowals of people. To restate Zizek, our beliefs and convictions are not materialized in what we feel, in what we think, or in what we know, but in what we do.⁹⁶ So, if the “fissures” in personal narratives do not necessarily result in disobedience or non-complicity, it is because the agents never know completely what they are doing. “What they do, has more sense than they know.”⁹⁷

The viability of any institution depends on its objectification not in immediate oral acceptance, but also in durable dispositions, in cognitive schemes, in classificatory categories, in gestures, in some central significations, in beliefs and even in some narrations of deviations that accentuate the lack of a supposed harmony in agents’ experiences. Thus, what is at stake is the production of a common-sense world. In this way, Bourdieu tells us, “relations of power and domination no longer exist directly between individuals,” but become objective mechanisms, social institutions which reproduce relations of domination without the need for direct intervention by the dominant group in society.⁹⁸ The strategies of domination developed by those in control therefore tend to become increasingly indirect.

The dream above cites working as a violent setting from which the dreamer tries to escape. But why does one remain in the business in the first place? How does

⁹⁶ Slavoj Zizek, “How Did Marx Invent the Symptom?” in *The Sublime Object of Ideology* (New York: Verso, 2002).

⁹⁷ Pierre Bourdieu, “Belief and the Body” in the *Logic of Practice*, (CA: Stanford University Press, 1990), p. 69.

⁹⁸ Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), p195

one become articulated into the structures of work? How do people become caught up in the “game,” to borrow from Bourdieu? How do people identify themselves with their work? How are shared values and meanings created and reproduced in the work setting and more extensively inside the global flows? How does commitment to certain presuppositions happen to be an objective necessity, a necessity of common perception among the members of a social group, i.e., of golden collars? In other words, how is the network society objectified and enacted when viewed from the perspective of production?

For this purpose, I will look at how one appropriates what one does and in what terms. In this line, I will elaborate on professionalism vs. non-professionalism. This dichotomy will be considered in relation to two concepts, which come up frequently in interviews, namely rationality, and merit system. They provide the arguments for comparison between such pairs as Turkish/ foreign, oriental/ western, global/ local, multinational firm/ family-owned firm, private sector/ public sector, and business districts of Istanbul/ other districts of Istanbul.

Global flows (like places) are productions. These classificatory categories, personal and interpersonal mind-sets, moral attitudes, and actions compounded with socio-political institutions produce a relation that links objects, events and certain segments of the population at a level that is above the locality or the nation.⁹⁹ A transnational capitalist class/network society is in the making not only with the convergence of its members’ tastes or consumption habits, but also with their stance towards their productive activities and aspirations.

⁹⁹ In addition, transactions of companies, financial flows and the reduction in trade barriers produce the ‘global.’ But this is a study about the production of the global producer, hence the scope is limited.

There, a split occurs between the two levels, i.e., between the imagined network society and the actual experience of networks. This split creates a space where, on the one hand, the elites of the business world with “universally” shared cosmopolite qualities can attain and invest in and in the meantime dissociate from the rest of the population. This is the realm where class distinctions and differentiations operate. Production practices are linked to class-specific codes, meanings and competencies on which I will elaborate below.

On the other hand, members’ ideological identification with the multicultural flows is never attained fully; exploitation and subjugation can never be subdued. There is an on-going negotiation between the productive elites and the global flows.

The network society is not a homogeneous entity that equals “transnational” golden collars by their productive abilities. Not surprisingly, factors such as nationality, gender, ethnicity, occupation, and religion do create asymmetries and subordination in the networks –remember Efe’s rejection by Arbeitsamt of Germany.¹⁰⁰

However, as said above, ideology does not disappear when faced with “true facts,” i.e., with asymmetries. Indeed, it becomes operative inasmuch as it provides a “distance” between the individuals and the objective conditions. “Not all is ideology, beneath the ideological mask, I am also a human person, and I am well aware that I make others rich” is the very form of ideology, of its practical efficiency.¹⁰¹ Thus, the very distance *is* ideology.

To summarize, the production of global flows entails both the “distanced” and also “distancing” stance of golden collars. Golden collars produce the binary

¹⁰⁰ Chapter 1

¹⁰¹ Žižek, “Seven Veils of Fantasy,” (1997).

geography that is divided into two; “them” and “us”: “them” stands for the global companies and interchangeably for the “West” that one never truly belongs to and “us” for the Turkish-ness from which one can never fully escape. Below, I will elaborate more on the material from my personal interviews: how they use specific categories, evaluations, values and significations that materialize the imagined common professionalism that golden collars share with one another.¹⁰²

Bureaucratic Rationality

Flexible rational bureaucracy is a sign of professionalism at work. A proper system is what differentiates “us” from “them.” Accordingly, we Turks are not used to working following procedures in a rationalized way. Regardless of our positive qualities, this inability holds us back.

With the influence of German mentality, they have a different “work ethic.” There is a huge difference in their approach to work, they are much more solemn. Well, they are a bit like robots; they are infamous because of that. But no matter what, they are solemn; they rate accomplishing tasks in an ordinary, neat and procedural way. ... Generally speaking, our nation (Efe uses the word “*millet*” that also associates community) is individually intelligent, but collectively dumb –so to speak. All our advantages sum up in collectivity, but create a negative synergy and converge to zero. They have this eminence. They may be less intelligent than us, but since they comply with the rules of the system, less intelligent people acquire more effective

¹⁰² So, like Castells, I ended up with two societies and two spaces as if in contradiction to my earlier objection. But there is a fundamental difference in our approaches; let me emphasize: he tells how things really are (he tells how information technologies launch networks and detach off-network places), whereas I tell how things are told to be. (I am telling how golden collars imagine the boundaries of the new geographies. This is where I seek the production of geographies instead of evaluating them as an ‘globalization effect’.)

results than our more intelligent people do. There, things go smoothly.¹⁰³

Efe, Manager

What is lacking is the adherence to a rational way of doing things. However, the problem is not always the lack of a system, but also the excessive replication of it. Germans resemble robots in this excess, but they have a “proven” achievement. In our replication of bureaucratic organization, something is erroneous. We sometimes replicate it in a very inflexible way. Thus, a correct blueprint does not mean that a Western-style global organization is established.

Z...(a family-owned firm) is oriental in its orientation despite the fact that it is a holding. It has not been institutionalized. Some firms, whether they are big or small, could be oriental. At first glance, the divisions, boss etc. may seem appropriate, but even to set a pencil sharpener you may need the signature of the boss. The difference (between a multinational company and a Turkish company) is the style in which people conduct business or how individuals approach to each other...¹⁰⁴

Mehmet, Director

The lack of adherence to rational procedures is not an organizational problem, but a deficiency in “our national characteristics.” The kernel of this deficiency burgeons due to the lack in impersonality and the enduring personal relations. In other words, an ordinary professionalism is supposed to depend on

¹⁰³ Yani Alman mantalitesinin de etkisiyle birazcık daha onların work ethic’i farklı. Yani işe yaklaşımları, yani işe yaklaşımlarındaki ciddiyet farkı var; çok büyük ciddiyet farkı var. Tamam, biraz robot gibiler, Almanların biraz öyle bir ünü de var; ama sonuçta gerçekten işi çok ciddiye alıyorlar ve düzgün prosedürel yapmaya değer veriyorlar ... Yani bizim genel milletin özelliği bence o yani. Bizim millet bireysel anlamda zeki ama kollektif anlamda biz aptalız, açık söylemek gerekirse. Kollektif anlamda artı artı artı toplanıyor negatif sinerji yaratıyor, sıfıra gidiyoruz. O adamlarda da işte o özellik var. Onlar bireysel anlamda bizden daha az pratik zekalılar belki ama... sisteme falan daha çok riayet ettikleri için... daha az akıllı adamların toplanması bizdeki çok zeki adamların toplanmasından daha efektif bir sonuç yaratıyor, daha işler tıkr tıkr yürüyor yani.

¹⁰⁴ Z. holding olmasına rağmen oryantaldir. Kurumsallaşamamış. Bazı şirketler küçük büyük fark etmez çok oryantal olabiliyor. Bakıyorsun patronu falan divisionları her şey kitaba uygun ama kalemtraş alırken bile bir patronun imzasına gerek oluyor. İş yapılma tarzı, kişilerin birbirine yaklaşımı... Daha farklı oluyor.

impersonal-rationalized courses of action. For instance, wage increases are expected to be based on pre-determined, objective and -if possible- scientific evaluations.

Impersonality, the principal quality of rational bureaucracy eliminates a bundle of social forms of possible actions. “He has a child to take care of, therefore his wage increase is higher than yours” type of explanations become illegitimate since they call for personal acquaintanceship and intimacy.

The aspiration for impersonality is what differentiates professionals from the rest of the population and this is why firms try to use impersonal evaluation techniques however ineffective they may be as will be discussed later. Impersonality is a domain constituted with/colonized by supposedly rational judgments, techniques and conceptualizations. The domain of personal relations is denoted/ encountered as the deficiency in “us,” a deficiency that permeates other realms of social institutions as well.

This holds for almost everything in Turkey, including students, workers, etc. We are discussing the standards of the European Union, but in Turkey we do not have any standard at all. There are a lot of amnesties for students, for example, ok we cheer up and so, but this is not what we should do. Amnesty spoils the order - the mechanism. It is the same at work. Laws and rules are changing too often. It's the approach of people.... Very unstable... This is what we call oriental or “*şarkvari*” (a word with negative connotations denoting the Eastern way of doing things). It depends way too much on individuals.¹⁰⁵

Mehmet

If someone would apply the system properly, good things could happen; but unfortunately in our country...¹⁰⁶

Fulya

¹⁰⁵ Bu bence Türkiye’de hemen her şey için geçerli öğrencisinden çalışanına kadar. Avrupa Birliği standartlarından bahsediyoruz. Türkiye’de hemen hiçbir şeyin standardı yok. Öğrenciyken birsürü af çıkıyor tamam seviniyoruz meviniyoruz ama olması gereken bu değil. Afların çıkması düzeni, mekanizmayı bozuyor. İşte de öyle. Kanunlar kurallar çok sık değişiyor. İnsanların yaklaşımı. Çok değişken. Bizim oryantal dediğimiz, şarkvari dediğimiz o. Kişilere çok fazla dayanıyor.

¹⁰⁶ Sistemi doğrudürüst uygulayan biri olursa çok güzel şeyler olabilir ama maalesef bizim memleketimizde yani...

The lack of professionalism is directly connected with the level of capitalism. Accordingly, with the advent of capitalism, old types of business-styles will be abandoned and the new types of professionals will replace people with the old mind-settings.

The concept of professionalism has to differentiate between a small-scale manufacturing facility and a big company that produces two hundred thousands (cars) annually. The transition will be step by step. The old staff, for example, the elderly people in the company, behave like a skilled masters or brothers. They take action without depending on the system, as if in a middle-scale company. But that business cannot continue this way is for sure. It relies more on more on systems and old personnel may not accept this completely.¹⁰⁷

Efe

The imagination of professionalism enables golden collars to distance themselves from the gooey intimate relations of the Turkish-ness. When matched up to the Western models of face-to-face relations, golden collars in Turkey reveal a pronounced lack of impersonal-rational conduct. Mümin Sekman, a management guru contrasts the Turkish way of relations to American one:¹⁰⁸

When an American meets a rich, happy and distinguished person, he asks questions like, how did you succeed, how do you make your financial decisions, what can you suggest for me to succeed,

¹⁰⁷ Ufak çapta imalat yapan bir şirketle yılda 200 bin üretim yapan bir şirketin profesyonellik anlayışlarının fark etmesi lazım. O geçiş kademe kademe olacak. Şimdi hala daha eski kadro mesela biraz daha yaşlı olanlar biraz daha işte arkadaş modunda, işte usta-kardeş modunda, işte “aa yaparız biz onu” yani işte sisteme çok fazla bağlı kalmadan orta ölçekli bir şirket zihniyetinde gider zannedenler var. Ama öyle gitmeyeceği gün gibi aşık. Nitekim zaten olaylar daha bir sisteme bağlanmaya başlıyor. Eski kadro bunu yüzde yüz manasıyla hazmedemiyor olabilir.

¹⁰⁸ Mümin Sekman, *Türk Usulü Başarı* (Turkish Style Success), (İstanbul: Alfa Yayınları, 2003), p. 201.

etc.? And what about the Turk who meets a rich, happy Turk?
Where are you from, my fellow?¹⁰⁹

Sekman notes that whereas the American uses information for success, the Turks uses acquaintanceship (fellowship) to accomplish tasks. In almost every institution, he claims, Turks try to find a fellow to get their job done.

If a Turk would go to a Mexican village and earned money there, he would first move his brothers/sisters, then his relatives and lastly his fellow villagers to the Mexican village.¹¹⁰

The preferential treatment patterns of Turkish-ness are manifested as outmoded and labeled as backward. In other words, impersonal relations are mobilized against other forms of relations and practices. That is, they are set against the non-professional majority of the population. Alongside, preferential treatment is replaced by other preferences, supposedly by more impersonal ones, like education or meritocracy. It is claimed to be the modern form of conducting business and the rest of population becomes the target of imposition of the rules of the modern enterprise. Communal bonds are claimed to be the obstacle in the way to progress.

However, this is not to say that other types of knowledges (of doing business) or organizational forms have been overtaken by the history of rationality. Rather, they have innumerable points of entry, as adjacent formations to the pure bureaucratic rationality. Intimate and familial metaphors, classifications, and forms

¹⁰⁹ Bir Amerikalı, zengin, mutlu ve seçkin bir insan ile karşılaşınca ona “Nasıl Başardınız, bulunduğunuz yere nasıl geldiniz?. Finansal kararlarınızı nasıl alırsınız, bana başarılı olmam için neler önerirsiniz?” gibi sorular sorar. Varlıklı, mutlu ve başarılı bir Türk ile karşılaşan bir diğer Türk ne sorar? “Nerelisin hemşerim?”

¹¹⁰ Eğer Meksika’nın bir köyüne bir Türk giderse ve yaptığı işten dolayı para kazanırsa; ilk önce kardeşlerini, ardından akrabalarını; sonar mahallesini o köye taşır.

of relation are mobilized for the transformation of the productivity discourse. Duygu talks about her previous job:

You used to feel like you were in a family. We were two people at the beginning –the board chairman and I. He was a peaceful, very humble, and reconciled person. He was the father figure. Another person was the assistant general manager. S/he was guiding but didn't use to intervene in your job. S/he used to point the way and then watch you at a distance. S/he would allow you to make mistakes and used to help you to correct them. Now, I think that s/he was a real manager –helping you to grow up... Actually, s/he was parenting. Later on, two other inspectors joined us. They were my subordinates. They were similar to children. Like children, they would cause problems and let you fix them. Nobody used to quarrel with each other. The only target was finishing the job in a correct and delightful manner. In this setting, our production multiplied by four. Despite only three hours sleep, I used to wake up robust and active. It didn't bother me. I enjoyed it.¹¹¹

Duygu, Inspector back then

Different from the mainstream management rhetoric, the family metaphor is neither the blessing of the horizontal work-structures, nor the celebration of survival efforts on an individual level; instead, it calls for care, guidance and protection. It connotes intimacy and personal relations. Her metaphor of the family resolves the problems and conflicts by assigning individuals to specific roles and obligations by fixing their places in the hierarchy. "Everybody knows her/his place in the family." The cunning aspect is the cloaking of competition with familial relations.

¹¹¹ Şöyle aile gibi olduğunu hissediyordun... En başta iki kişi başladık. Yönetim kurulu başkanı ve ben olarak. Çok kendiyle barışık biri, çok alçakgönüllü. Oturmuş biri... Baba rolü onda. Diğer kişi, genel müdür yardımcısı, o da yol gösteren ama senin işine çok karışmayan yani yol gösterip sonra seni izleyen uzaktan uzağa. Hata yapacağını fark ettiği noktada buna müsaade eden ve sonra toparlamada yardımcı olan insan. Gerçek yönetici olduğunu düşünüyorum şu an. Senin gelişimine de müsaade edip bir yandan da bir noktada ebeveyn aslında. Sonra iki müfettiş arkadaş daha katıldı aramıza. Onlar benim altımda çalışıyorlardı. Onlar çocuk modunda böyle. Sürekli böyle çocuk problem çıkartır sen onu toparlarsın falan. Kimsenin birbiriyle bir çekişmesi... tek hedef oradaki işi düzgün keyifli bir şekilde bitirmek ... Bu ortamda bizim üretimimiz 4 katına çıktı. Yani 3 saatlik uykuyla ertesi sabah dünyanın en diri insanı halinde hiçbir şey koymuyordu yani. Bunun keyfini de yaşayarak.

However, though different, family metaphor still generates a discourse on the productivity of human subjects. With the help of family relations, their production had multiplied by four.

Partha Chatterjee argues that this is one of the several strategies when encountered with disciplines in colonial context.¹¹² It is a claim for an alternative form of relation that calls for intimacy, i.e., familial rights and obligations, yet directed at the same object of knowledge, which is productivity. Family metaphor carves out a space that is no less “disciplinized” but where local intimate relations would define the position of the employee.

For this, Duygu composes two different realms; she describes a family in who-does-what format and applies it to the work setting. Like Mine, love helps Duygu to boost her performance. Like love, family is mobilized along with the disciplines of the self.

The morality of work borrows also from other social domains and incites a variety of discourses on performance.

I told my boss that I had found a better job and therefore I wanted to quit. He replied: ‘this is not ethical what you do. You would also divorce your newlywed wife for a more beautiful woman you had met.’¹¹³

from www. itiraf.com

¹¹² Partha Chatterjee, “The Disciplines in Colonial Bengal” in *Emerging Disciplines in Colonial Bengal* Ed. Partha Chatterjee. (Minneapolis: U of Minneapolis P, 1995), p. 1-29.

¹¹³ Patronuma daha iyi bir iş bulduğum için işten ayrılmak istediğimi söyledim. "Bu yaptığın ahlaki bir davranış değil. Sen evlendiğinin ertesi günü daha güzel bir kadın bulduğunda eşini de boşarsın" dedi! Nasıl yaniiii?

So, the discourse of productivity is not singular. It does not necessarily function with the abolition of intimacy and the insertion of impersonal bureaucratic rationality. Instead, the discourse of productivity is an assemblage in which different metaphors, tools, or organizational schemes are mobilized.

Yet, all disciplines target the increase of performance. The “truth” in all of these claims is that human beings have a greater potential than they already have. However, Chatterjee states, there are innumerable differences in the manner of the appropriation that result in the discursive transformations. That is to say that the assemblage opens up strategic possibilities for the positions of desire in relation to discourse. Chatterjee states that “to take seriously the possibility of such transformations as internal to the field of discourse is to introduce an entirely new source of instability into the formation of the disciplines.”¹¹⁴

Merits

Again, the topic of merits comes into sight through a comparison between local work-settings and multinational companies. Golden collars seek just, rational and performance-based appraisal of their values. They believe in earning the rewards rather than bestowments. For this purpose, state institutions, academic institutions or family-owned companies are not preferred because employees there cannot demonstrate their abilities.

I wouldn't prefer to work in a state institution, since state employment is a bit more despotic... ehmm... not despotic. But they wouldn't appraise your performance. They only care if you are at your desk at 8:00 am and leave the office at 5:30 pm. This

¹¹⁴ Chatterjee, (1995), p. 25.

is how they conceive of work. It is like Haluk (a TV character in Turkey in a famous TV show). He goes to the office and reads newspapers on any given day. State employment is similar. But here (referring his multinational company), it's not like that.¹¹⁵

Necati, Marketing Manager

Most men disappear because of the “work ethic” (in Turkey). There are politics going on at work: jealousy, resentment, etc. For the reason that Eastern mentality has permeated into all of our cells –including the domain of work, there is a lot of repression, fraud and “Byzantine trickery” (a term that denotes slyness) occurring in companies. Real high-quality men are repressed- they are not promoted in the Eastern culture. They are not appreciated.¹¹⁶

Efe

Diligence and quality are what distinguish golden collars from the rest of the workers and in general from the rest of the population. Their competency at work is what makes the difference. But this difference is likely to be choked in the Turkish work settings, which neglect merit in favor of individual relations.

Doing research in an academic institution is fine, but there is not much motivation. You have to be sycophantic towards your professors and etc. I don't like that kind of relation with professors.¹¹⁷

Necati

¹¹⁵ Ben devlette çalışmak istemezdim, çünkü devlette biraz daha şey var, ını asarım... Asarım keserim değil de... Yani performansına bakmazlar. Saat sekizde geliyor mu beş buçukta çıkıyor mu, ona bakarlar. Çalışma anlayışları bu kadar. Çocuklar Duymasın'daki Haluk gibi. Oraya gidip gazete okuyor her gün. Bunun gibi bir şey devlet dairesi yani. Burası öyle değil.

¹¹⁶ Work ethic filan diye bahsettiğim olay var ya çoğu adam yarı yolda o yüzden yok olup gidiyor yani. Politik olaylar, işte böyle çekememezlikten, hasetlikten. Çünkü Türkiye'de her alanda olduğu gibi işte de bu Şark zihniyeti bütün hücrelerine kadar sinmiş durumda. Birisini bastırmak alt etmek, resmen Bizans oyunları dönüyor şirketlerde. Yani öyle böyle değil. ... gerçekten iyi insanların Şark kültürünün egemen olduğu yerlerde üstüne basılıyor, yukarı çıkması engelleniyor. Takdir edilmiyor adam.

¹¹⁷ Research yapmak (akademide) güzel ama motivasyonu çok fazla olan bir şey değil. Biraz daha hocalara yalakalık ve bilmem ne... Hocalarla olan o ilişkiyi çok sevmiyorum.

Apple-polishing of the top-executive...flattery. They occur so much in everyday life.¹¹⁸

Mehmet

Everybody in the office is like that; they are buttering up: I butter you up with 1 kg; no, I butter you up with 2 kg.¹¹⁹ (To give a sense of the original quotation)

Fulya

(About her former boss) He was awfully oriental in mentality like you know –he was a “village cunning” (a phrase used for malice compounded mostly with short-term intentions. It denotes futile performance in the long term). He is a type of individual that creates a social network around himself and chooses men that are no threat to him. He eliminates people who may be a threat to his status. So, he was entirely a “village cunning”. He is in fact from Siirt (A southeastern city of Turkey; again a city with negative connotations: backward, small, underdeveloped etc.) He was already unattractive, and a villager (and during our dispute) his face got skewed completely.¹²⁰

Fulya

The difference extends far beyond the professional competencies to physical appearances and to origins. To invoke Bourdieu: “Social subjects, classified by their classifications, distinguish themselves by the distinctions they make, between the beautiful and the ugly, the distinguished and the vulgar, in which their position in the objective classifications is expressed or betrayed.”¹²¹

¹¹⁸En baştaki adama en fazla yalanmaca. Yalakalık. Günlük hayatta o kadar fazla olan şeyler ki..

¹¹⁹ Her alanda yalamak. Ofiste herkes öyle: Saniyede 100 dil atarım abi, abi ben 200 dil atarım...

¹²⁰ Acayip oryantal zihniyetli tam köylü kurnazı vardır ya tipler her gittiği yerde bir çevre yaratıp kendini devamlı üstlere taşıyabilecek ortamları adamları seçer. Kendine tehdit oluşturacak insanları birtakım entrikalarla safdışı eder. Tamamen bir köylü kurnazı. Siirtli zaten kendisi. (...*Fulya işten kovulurken*) Bu(*Siirtli eski patronu*) hemen koşa koşa yaka paça dağınık muhasebeye gitti... zaten allahın köylüsünün tipsizin teki ağzı burnu çarpıldı iyice. Gittim muhasebeye benim ilişkim kesildi böylece.

¹²¹ Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984).

In this line of thinking, Fulya creates a sphere for golden collars to which not everyone can be admitted. Being an executive, i.e., status, does not suffice to be a proper professional. A former division, the deep-rooted partition of Turkey, is mobilized and recast: the villager and the city dweller. Her boss, all things aside, “is from Siirt,” a city that falls into the village part of Turkey. Consequently, he is not only deficient in character, but also *ugly* in appearance. When he gets angry, his face has a repulsive expression. By implication, a proper professional should be white (in skin color), beautiful in appearance (a more European look), and have a cultural capital that corresponds to urban people. Character traits like calmness or fairness also are associated with a decent, learned city dweller. By this maneuver, an inner membrane is set against the inappropriate members of the professional class apart from their status. Certain practices at work define and create a realm outside of the economic achievement: a consecrated realm with its own producers. In other words, residual hierarchies are reproduced in the domain of professionalism to constrain claims on the “true professional.”

Concluding Remarks

In the preceding two chapters, I mainly problematized the new geographies from the vantage point of production. On the whole, the production that I examined was not that of commodities or financial transactions; rather it was the production of particular desires along the new geographies. It was the production of specific tensions, negotiations, discriminations, classifications and some resentful experiences throughout. My take-off point was that work (along with other aspects

like consumption) is the embodiment of desires, emotions, and even dreams that have global reference points from which they derive their meanings. Through them, I investigated how work setting of golden collars is objectified.

For this purpose, I took up desires as embedded in external relations -external to human psyches, hence desire is not the subject's own invention, but rather it is the other's desire. The question was: What do they (global networks of golden collars/world citizens) want from me? I used a variety of materials for this purpose, like the Gaziantep case, or Chinese nannies to provide an explicit account of globalization, of how certain aspirations, longings and differentiations are mobilized through globalization. Notably, there are flows-in and flows-out between global and local. That is to say, global referential hierarchies on exclusion and inclusion intermingle with local existing hierarchies, metaphors, classifications and so on, like family or like marriage. Following that, I argued that the discourse of productivity is not uniform, rather it is an assemblage that mobilizes adjacent knowledges as well.

In addition, I discussed that the symbolic texture of being a golden collar is transgressed inherently by a constitutive "split," so the materials above do mark accord as well as discord. For example, they pronounce a merit system and infringement in the merit system. This transgression is what makes ideology "workable." Furthermore, I proposed that this split also enables golden collars to distinguish themselves from the rest of the working class (read as population). In this regard, I elaborated on their claims about 'true professionalism', in which old divisions (like origin) also are deployed to support distinction and difference.

To conclude: such a "split" enables the feeling that it is as if one had a choice among many options. In accordance with common sense, "of course, we 'choose' to love our jobs"- as if there is any other choice. Subsequently, the ideology

of work refers to the sacred principle of “freedom” by creating a space for people “willing” to partake in multinational flows. This I called the magnetic field of the center. All along, the desires of golden collars were at stake. Consequently, each narrative turns out to be a narrative of choice that each individual willingly enters. This “empty gesture”¹²² of accepting to enter by choice is what constitutes ideology in the first place.

In the next chapter, I will recount one more problem on golden collars, what exactly are the disciplines of the productive self? How they are installed throughout the new geographies, i.e., how the productive self is subjected to discourses of efficiency.

¹²² Žižek, “Seven Veils of Fantasy,” (1997).

CHAPTER 4

HUMAN ENTERPRISE

In the last instance, we are just numbers on a paper.¹²³

Yavuz, Director

Since the Hawthorne Experiments,¹²⁴ productivity and efficiency have begun to be understood in terms of the character traits of employees, in terms of their feelings, and in terms of their attitudes towards their job.¹²⁵ Thenceforth, a new terrain has been discovered for the intervention of psychology into the domain of work. Human resources departments are striving to single out the individuals with more “productive” character attributes for their organizations. This is not only a matter of drawing attention to the human side of the worker. It means also that a range of new tasks emerged to be grasped by specific kinds of knowledge. But how to measure the psychological terrain of human beings to recognize whether one person is suitable for work or not? A bundle of definitions, categories, interpretative

¹²³ Sonuçta biz bir kağıdın üstündeki sayılarız.

¹²⁴ Hawthorne Experiments are carried out between 1880-1949 in the facilities of Western Electric Company. They brought forth the Human Resources Approach – a very influential approach in the management literature.

¹²⁵ Nikolas Rose, *Governing the Soul: The Shaping of the Private Self*, (London: Free Association Books, 1999).

tools, mathematical models, and psychometric tests are developed; in addition, performance evaluation techniques, communicative skills probations, task assessments, and customer feedback are used to “quantify” talent, dexterity, intelligence and a whole range of effective personality traits. In other words, the main task of the Human Resource department has become to identify personal attributes, measure them, compare them and make an effort to enhance those attributes with education programs.

Such techniques are most obviously political phenomena, yet it is a feature of these techniques that some sort of objectivity disguises their political nature. As Dreyfus and Rabinow put it, “political technologies advance by taking what is essentially a political problem (the productivity of labor), removing it from the realm of political discourse, and recasting it in the neutral language of science.”¹²⁶ Thus, it becomes incontestable, inviolable, and beyond political debate, i.e., it becomes common sense knowledge. “Obviously, if you do love your job, you will succeed!” Central to this process is the assemblage and the use of “expert” knowledge in the design of concepts, evaluation tests, and institutional procedures.

Below, I introduce a personality test, the Predictive Index (PI), devised by a Swiss company and applied by several enterprises to find the personal traits of their employees since 1955 and in 62 different countries. Afterwards, I will examine three key personal aptitudes I found in most tests and managerial textbooks: continuous-learning, self-motivation and leadership. Several others, like communicative proficiency, body language, anger management, dominancy, sociability, patience etc. could enrich the list of the necessary skills for success. I will discuss them along with

¹²⁶ Dreyfus, Hubert and Rabinow Paul, *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983).

the three characteristics I picked out. Golden collars' sense of the "self" is deconstructed/ reconstructed in the region of these propensities. These operative concepts are vital for forging the heroes of the new capitalism.

Predictive Index (PI)¹²⁷

Today, personality can be tested and measured with industrial psychology ...

Industrial psychology entirely depends on concrete evidence.

Deniz Öniş, CEO of Theta Metrics, an HR counseling company

Predictive Index, as the name suggests, predicts the qualities of persons, their abilities and also their flaws. I obtained the test from Bahar Güvenç, the head of the HR department of a multinational company in Izmir, Turkey. She said that they use the test for several purposes (recruitment, the planning of education programs, promotions etc.) for all levels of employees except blue collars. "(Because) blue collars perform a very straightforward task. Besides, they become content easily –a small increase in their salary suffices to augment their performances"¹²⁸ White collars, however, are not satisfied with salary only, especially if one goes up in the ranking. "They are looking for other things. Primarily, they seek enjoyment in what they do. We, the HR departments, have to take the personal attributes of our employees into account to satisfy their needs. They are not all the same." So, they

¹²⁷ Other tests that are applied in Turkey are the followings: A) General Intelligence Tests: Stanford-Binet Intelligence Test, Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Adults, K.I.T Intelligence Test, Merrill-Palmer Scale, Cattell Intelligence Test, Otis Beta Mind Test, Analytical Intelligence Test. B) Dexterity and Talent Tests: Torrenca Creative Thinking Test, Macquarrie Mechanical Endowment Test, Metropolitan Maturity Test, Work Habits Test, Bourdon Attention Test, Consistency Test, Reaction-time Test, Lincoln-Oseretzky Scale, Wechsler Memory Test, Kohs Test. Available [online]: <http://www.insankaynaklari.com/cn/ContentBody.asp?BodyID=300>)

¹²⁸ Bahar Güvenç, interview by author.

design their career planning, promotions, and education programs in line with the data that the test (PI) provides. On the authority of finding the “difference” among employees, they level them up in a personality diagram with six personality factors.¹²⁹ The main contribution of the PI is that the abstract qualities of human beings become concrete data, i.e.; human beings are turned into a diagram in which their qualities are measurable, comparable, and modifiable. It provides data to classify people, select them over others, and offers the facility for matching the jobs and employees in a consistent manner. However, in displaying the character traits, it simplifies, thus, disregards differences like gender, class, location, nationality, background, and age. In short, the test categorizes people independent of any context whatsoever and assumes homogeneity among white collars in the various countries and firms in which PI is applied.

The test has a very simple process. There is a two-sided page with adjectives (like trustworthy, dependent, aggressive, cheerful etc.) on each side. First, one chooses the adjectives that one thinks apply for oneself. Then, on the other side of the page, one chooses those adjectives that one thinks that others think about oneself. The first page is supposed to refer to the “real self,” to the “natural behavior.” The second one refers to the person’s perception of his/her environment, i.e., it refers to the “concept of the self” that the person thinks to be the appropriate one. And there is one last diagram called the synthesis, a combination of the previous two that manifests what one *is* currently, the actual person who emerges between the absolute natural and absolute social.

¹²⁹ See Appendix C (Predictive Index)

To fill out the form takes approximately 10-15 minutes. The test giver enters the data into a software program with the PI's algorithm.¹³⁰ Afterwards, the computer puts out three diagrams that measure and describe the person's behavioral patterns.¹³¹ These three diagrams have four primary and two secondary factors A, B, C, D, M and E, correspondingly. They are called motivational factors and exist in each and every person (regardless of anything), but in different degrees.

Accordingly, factor A is dominancy, B sociability, C patience, D formality, M reaction level and E, objectivity. By just selecting several adjectives on the form, and with the help of an arcane algorithm, character traits, motivational needs and appropriate jobs are claimed to be determined. The factors have straightforward applications. Let us take one factor, C (patience), for example, and examine it more closely.

Factor C can be high or low on the given scale and its degree corresponds to different personality traits with different motivational needs. Persons with a low C are impatient, anxious, nervous, tense, work faster, more adaptable to changing environments, busy, and intolerant of routine work. Persons with a high C are, in contrast, patient, uncomplaining, and tolerant; they seek security and consistency in their work. Motivational need, for example, for a high C person, is depicted as routine work with familiar co-workers in the PI Work Book.

Different factors are interpreted differently when they are combined. High C (patience) together with low A (dominancy), in other words, a patient/consistent –

¹³⁰ The software program is sold by the Swiss company for 3000 \$ for a one-year service. Plus, the Swiss company with his Turkish affiliate gives the trainings and workshops, again for thousands of dollars that craft a profitable business.

¹³¹ As far as I understood the algorithm take into account which adjectives one chooses, how many, and computes the difference between the choices on each page.

high C- and uncompetitive (risk averse, team player, satisfied, cooperative, minor) person-low A- ends up in the categories of zealous, operational, and artisan.¹³²

In the booklets, it is emphasized that these traits are value-free, in other words, they are supposed to be neither good nor bad. “All kinds of people are needed in organizations,” it is said in the reference book. Nonetheless, PI’s principal function is to situate people in the hierarchical order of the organizational scheme. Achievers have to have certain traits, thus, not achieving means a lack of definite propensities. Although all kinds of people may be welcomed in a firm, they are not positioned equally. During the interview with Ms. Güvenç I asked for further description of what weight the different categories have. Although she emphasized several times that the described traits are not valuing people, the employees in the category “operational,” for example, certainly have less value, or at least they make less money. These are workers who are satisfied with routine work, have limited passion, prefer to obey, do not want pressure, and do not like change and for example. The person is a typical assembly line worker- the example is given in the workshop.¹³³

In contrast to the assembly line worker, top positions require the opposite qualities. The president is an entrepreneur. The qualities of an entrepreneur are defined as the followings: self-motivation, takes initiative, goal-oriented, fast, independent, risk-lover, authoritative, favors novelty, delegates details and deals with the big picture.

PI complicates the issue by assuming variations of different organization types or different schemes. What if the organization is a mature one? What if it is a

¹³² See Appendix C

¹³³ See Appendix C

newcomer? What types of persons can work with a director in the wisdom category for example? In short, PI creates its own world and its own playground, like horoscopes do. It corresponds qualities to different persons with a mathematical algorithm, creates categories of persons, and arranges real people accordingly. It establishes relations and also hierarchies between them.

Actually, there is already an acclaimed hierarchy between human qualities regarding the business world. PI is just a version. The hierarchy could be stated in simple comparisons: Creativity is better than the opposite. Rapidity is favored. Self-motivation is better. Consistency is not that good. Change is indispensable.

Certainly, all these qualities correspond to the economic realm. The often-narrated rapidity, change, and ruthless competition of the global world (explained in the first chapter) favor proactive, thus flexible persons. The increased speed of innovation, i.e., the acceleration of the destructive powers of global capitalism, make the habitual methodologies, the skills necessary for a job and even the experience promptly obsolete- owing to the rapid technological restructuring as described by Castells.¹³⁴ The quality of flexibility, for example, becomes *better than* inflexibility in most instances: Flexible prospects or decisions are *better than* the old fashioned five-year development plans. Flexible working hours are *better than* rigid working hours. Flexible production is *better than* outmoded Fordism. Being a flexible person is *better than* being an obstinate one. Such transfers from capitalism into the everyday language or into the psyches of individuals become common-sense perceptions.¹³⁵ In fact, they are discursive constructions through which they

¹³⁴ Manuel Castells, *The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture Vol. I the Rise of the Network Society*, (Cornwall: Blackwell, 1996).

assemble our reality. Not only are the relations of production inflicted by “flexibility,” but also the relations that humans are supposed to have with their entire setting are prompted to be “flexible.”

Flexibility and flexible practices, though the word’s positive connotations, derive from the submissive power of labor control. Richard Sennet describes the time of flexibility as the time of a new power: “Flexibility begets disorder, but not freedom from restraint.”¹³⁶ For the majority of workers it means the disappearance of the security net (i.e., easier trimming of the work force according the market demands) or fewer gains when compared to a full-time job. For golden collars, on the other hand, it means pushing harder and harder until the project finishes. Meanwhile, no supervision is needed; since –remember the previous chapter- the golden collar is the business itself. It is “love” that justifies hard work- not enforcement by an outside party. I will return to this point later on in the discussion of governmentality.

While favorable human qualities like flexibility are defined and constructed in line with the economic categories, some other qualities are devalued or totally ignored, like maturing through patience (*kemale ermek* in Turkish), mortifying worldly desires, asceticism, altruism... Or think of other qualities, like the ability to love or be satisfied with little (*kanaatkârlık* in Turkish), of which there is no word said throughout the PI booklets. Numerous qualities that seem to be less significant are distinguished from others. They do not belong to the economic rationale of capitalism where unlimited consumption is provoked, desires aggravated, and asking for more (of almost everything) is strongly encouraged. There is no place for risk

¹³⁵ Ms. Güvenç told that she handed out the test even to her husband and so she got the confirmation that her husband is a ‘leader’. She avowed, half jokingly, that she has made a right choice also in her love affair.

¹³⁶ Sennett, (1998), p. 59.

averse, consistent, routine, impassionate life forms among the golden collars, i.e., among the human enterprise of capitalism. They are debilitated into the PI category; they are “operational.”

During the interview, Ms. Güvenç confirmed that the results of PI are correct 93% of the time. Yet she does not know how the correctness of this statistic can be confirmed, or how the 93% is computed in the first place. PI is totally blind to certain social divisions. It ignores the culture, ethnicity, class, gender, age, religion and any other division that bound and surround chosen adjectives. It assumes homogeneity among the applicants. In fact, human qualities are dependent on different factors. For example, upper-middle class children, especially if they are male, are motivated while they are brought up, to be more assertive or more dominant in their relations. The “selection” of preferred qualities begins far earlier than when one fills out the form. Therefore, the reduction of certain attributes into less valuable categories overlooks former divisions or values and avers in this reduction some sort of universality.

How can one think of analytical skills without a high level of education? How can one be positive towards constant change when one suffers from that change, or when one feels like an outsider during the change? How can one receive directions (and obey) more than he gives directions to other people (and dominates)? In fact, PI finds out not only who we are and what our differences (say inequalities) are, but also re-inserts those inequalities, reproduces them in the work structure and confirms them. People with a good university degree never end up in the assembly; their test results would never allow that.

Thus, the qualities defined in PI are embedded in social meanings, which not only provide a normative context for the human psyche, but also operate as a frame

within which people are classified and interpreted according to their efficiency rates. In other words, the presumably universal human qualities -by implication, the qualities of high-ranked people in business world- are invented/re-stated in conjunction with economy, cultural realm, and golden collars' subjectivities. These qualities are tied to specific norms, values, and symbols sequential with productivity and effectiveness.

Consequently, by its contention to measure human attributes, The predictive Index shares the positivist credo, which strives to make the world calculable and predictable with the alleged neutrality of scientific methods. All things, processes, and in this case, the realm of human attributes, are being translated into the so-called objective language of numbers and diagrams for the purposes of efficiency and productivity. Meanwhile, the objectification of humanly attributes, i.e., the invention of tools to measure them, commodifies those attributes. Attributes become outstanding assets in the labor market for white collars, and especially for golden collars. Moreover, it is suggested that one can and indeed should invest in those qualities with business workshops or self-improvement seminars. There is a huge sector consisting of self-help books, management gurus, and HR counselors that assists persons to develop ideal qualities. The whole procedure is called "self-investment," the investment that one makes in him/herself to increase his/her own value: This, I think, is the manifestation of the human enterprise.

In short, once human qualities are turned into a "thing," they become buyable, sellable, comparable, improvable, modifiable, and even erasable. It represents a great plunge into the modern rationality, where people see one another as objects to possess and treat each other as variable data. Like a Taylorian engineer, an industrial psychologist isolates gestures, decomposes the person into wholly

invented “factors” and then recasts the person as a secondary object. This object –”a production of the human brain appearing as an independent being endowed with life- enters into the relation both with other fetish objects and the human race”. This is what Karl Marx called Fetishism.¹³⁷

In consequence, the essential characteristic of the world turns out to be the fact that it can be reduced to a system of formal rules, including those that enable one to calculate the future, like the Predictive Index attempts to do. Such objectification enables the rationalization of both the work process and aspects in it, including living men and women.

A rational and calculable administration, Weber wrote, requires that their elements be depersonalized and objectified. Accordingly, it could increase the autonomy and the strength of the individual, but at the same time, it could (in fact, it did) facilitate internal and external domination in an unprecedented scale.¹³⁸ “Science, and modern rationality more generally, represents the Puritan obsession with calculation, impersonal rules and self-discipline without the Puritan belief in their divine origin.”¹³⁹ The impersonality or rather the impersonalisation of the “production factors” permits the incorporation of disciplinary mechanisms into the working life in order to rationalize all elements of the bureaucratic organization methodically and consistently and to make them function more effectively.

Like Foucault said, discipline is not necessarily repressive; on the contrary, when men and women are “caught up in a system of subjection,” their bodies

¹³⁷ Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. 1, (New York: International Publishers, 1967) pp. 72-74

¹³⁸ Max Weber, “Bureaucracy” in *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*. Eds. H.H. Gerth, C. W. Mills. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975).

¹³⁹ Jeffrey Alexander, “The Dialectic of Individuation and Domination: Weber’s Rationalization Theory and Beyond” in *Max Weber, Rationality and Modernity*. Eds. S. Whimster and S. Lash, (London: Allen and Unwin, 1987)

become more efficient and productive, what might be called the “political technology of the body.”¹⁴⁰ Such subjection aims to extract maximum effectiveness and fertility from the bodies of the productive subjects.

Now, I am going to continue with the examination of three qualities (continuous-learning, self motivation, and leadership) that golden collars have to possess necessarily. My analysis will pursue the previous ones: how the discourse of an upgraded, productive self is congregated with market capitalism; how the implantation, advancement, and transformation of the self become a personal issue; and meanwhile, how human attributes become a realm of constant intervention where one happens to become the mentor of ones self. For this, I will examine a variety of materials with different subject matters -including body language and anger management- and through them I will elaborate on the “regime of truth” of productivity. At the end of this chapter I will discuss how the effects of the discourse on productivity far exceed the purpose of the profitability rates of firms. I will inspect it as one of the basic elements in the making of “space of flows,” and sequentially, in the producing of the productive subjectivities.

Continuous-Learning

Learning envelops a range of different tasks, various types of information, skills and competencies. It may include learning recent technological innovations, sector news, technical skills, or even non-technical skills like anger management, body language, and appropriate dress codes for the office. The problem becomes more complicated when one thinks of the reduced durations for valid information in

¹⁴⁰ Michel Foucault, “Panopticism” in *Discipline and Punish*. (New York: Vintage, 1995).

the flexible global economy or of competencies that easily become obsolete with the rapidly restructuring capitalism boosted with technological innovation. The global economy is constructed/conceptualized as networks of faster and faster flows. The new management rhetoric is no longer composed of straightforward resource-allocation control. Innovation, change, and excellence are the new fundamental trails of management. “The new entrepreneur is a survivalist surrounded by change.”¹⁴¹ Capitalism endorses continuous change in line with “development.”

One of the vital aspects of the notion of development is that it is signified as “infinite,” “endless,” and “limitless.” It is a constant movement along an undefined axis; growth becomes simply the provision of “more” –more commodities, more years to live, more scientific publications, more people with Ph.D.s and more productive character traits.¹⁴² Accordingly, one should/can never say enough; progress should always be welcomed.

Progress increases the quality of life, but what this quality is remains vague because of constant progress. Yılmaz Argüden, a business counselor, defines life quality as the effort to exceed all expectations, and in fact places it in an unreachable domain. “Quality of life is a feature with which one never catches up, but always seeks.”¹⁴³

Desires are also posited as infinite as well as the “potential” of human beings to realize them. There is no limit to your achievements and also to your needs.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴¹ Pahl, (1995).

¹⁴² John Tomlinson, “Modernity, Development and Cultural Fate,” in *Cultural Imperialism. A Critical Introduction*, (Baltimore: John Hopkins University, 1991).

¹⁴³ Yılmaz Argüden, “Her Gün Gelecekteki Yaşam Kalitemizi Arttırmak”, in *İnsan Kaynaklarında Yeni Eğilimler*, Ed. Deniz Yalım, (İstanbul: E&Y/Hayat Yayınları, 2005), p. 410-419.

Thus, “inner-worldly asceticism, or the delayed gratification of Puritanism has been replaced with a concern for the pragmatics of material gain and the immediacy of desire”.¹⁴⁵ –Take the waiting out of wanting! The appetites thus excited, have become freed of any limiting authority. Durkheim recognized the abolition of these limits in accordance with the limitless prospects of global capitalism of his era.

A thirst arises for novelties, unfamiliar pleasures, nameless sensations, all of which lose their savor once known ... (I)t is seen that all these new sensations in their infinite quantity cannot form a solid foundation of happiness to support one during days of trial. The wise man, knowing how to enjoy achieved results without having constantly to replace them with others, finds in them an attachment to life in the hour of difficulty ... What blinded (the unwise man) was his expectation always to find further on happiness he had so far missed ... He cannot in the end escape the futility of an endless pursuit.¹⁴⁶

In contrast to Durkheim, management rhetoric celebrates the “endless pursuit” for more. The woman’s magazine *Cosmopolitan* manifests satisfaction as “the most disappointing characteristic of average people” in its career pages.¹⁴⁷

In line with the modern conception of development, it creates an “iron-cage” in the sense that the worldly success and the striving for more would in turn possess

¹⁴⁴ In a discussion on Samanyolu TV on May 2004, Islamic values and the values of ‘self-development culture’ are contrasted. It is told that there exists a ‘mature form’ of human beings in Islamic conception and proper development means simply to achieve this mature state. To do so, one has to master himself/herself, one has to control his/her passions, one has to mortify his/her lusts or pride -unlike the ego of the ‘self-development’ that asks for more in every instance. Accordingly, the development is finite; it ends up in God, when you become the true servant of God. The only infinite entity is God.

This is, of course, one interpretation of Islam among many. However, what I try to emphasize is that there are other possible significations other than infinite development.

¹⁴⁵ Jean Comaroff, John L. Comaroff, “Millennial Capitalism: First Thoughts on a Second Coming” in *Public Culture*. 12 (2/2000), p. 291-343,

¹⁴⁶ E. Durkheim. *Suicide*. Trans. J.A. Spaulding and G. Simpson, (London: Routledge, 1952), p. 256.

¹⁴⁷ *Cosmopolitan*, March 1996.

the possessor:¹⁴⁸ This is what Daniel Bell thought would happen: “Behind the chiasm of modern man is the megalomania of self-infinetization. In consequence, the modern hubris is the refusal to accept limits ... Modern world proposes a destiny that is always beyond.”¹⁴⁹

The human psyche is also subject to improvement. Once the psychological terrain of human has become the object of coefficients, rates, and diagrams, why not enhance them? The employment of continuous learning shares this very same belief, i.e., human qualities could/should be enhanced and there is no end to improvement.¹⁵⁰ The enhancing of human qualities is the way-the only way to alleviate the threat of falling behind. Management gurus mention learning, to be more precise, “learning to learn through entire life span,” as the fundamental solution for golden collars’ anxieties regarding the world that has gone awry. “The guarantee of life-long employment depends on the ability of life-long learning. The cultivated person of the information society is the one who learns how to learn.”¹⁵¹

The improvement in the ability of learning performs as the tool to catch up with the novelties, and to upgrade oneself for the sake of effectiveness. The range of topics that one has to learn is quite outsized. In line with performance evaluations, almost all companies provide training/education seminars to their employees on a regular basis. There is again a variety in the subjects of the seminars. Competing

¹⁴⁸ Tomlinson, Comaroffs, Castoriadis, Weber, Benjamin... all discuss the capitalist modernity in terms of ‘loss’ –a disenchantment (and re-enchantment of the world) that breaks the spell of traditional beliefs and practices. It leaves a hole at the center of culture, which Castoriadis believes that this hole cannot be adequately filled with stories of growth or development. Capitalism as such has no moral or transcendental ethic.

¹⁴⁹ Daniel Bell quoted in Pahl, (1995), p. 23

¹⁵⁰ I do not claim that the conception of infinite development is the sole reason for everything happening. Instead, I deal with one meaning package in the formation of the improvement obsession. I see it as one of the key presumptions of modernity.

¹⁵¹ Necdet Kenar, “Yaşam Boyu Öğrenme” in *PY₊* (June 2005).

counseling firms in the sector promote different models for improvement. Some firms educate employees with games (paintball, simulations), case studies, ordinary seminars, or even with the performing arts.

Selin Alemdar, who is a “success psychology” counselor, defines learning as having four stages.¹⁵² In the first stage, the person is unaware of what he/she does not know. This level is called as “unconscious inability.” At this stage, Alemdar states that there is no struggle, no performance and no results since one has first to become aware of the unknown. The second stage is the “conscious inability,” at which most people give up learning because there is great effort though very little return. However, if one keeps learning, mistakes become fewer and returns increase. This is the third stage, the stage of “conscious ability.” The person at this stage both knows and also is able to perform. The final stage is called “unconscious ability.” The person at this stage learns “unconsciously,” i.e., learning becomes something like breathing for the person. It becomes a pre-reflexive custom, a part of the habitus.

Pierre Bourdieu defines habitus as a “system of durable, transposable dispositions that mediates between an individual’s actions and external conditions of production.”¹⁵³ Accordingly, golden collars have to recognize and comply with the specific demands of the new economy. For the functioning of global capitalism, certain pre-existing relations have to be objectified in bodies and in human qualities as a form of durable dispositions. Not only pure economic relations are embedded in the habitus, but also the differentiations and hierarchies that are mentioned in the Chapter Three.

¹⁵² Selim Alemdar, “Başarının Ortak Süreçlerinin İnsan Kaynakları Bakışıyla Yorumlanması” in *HR*, (October, 2005).

¹⁵³ Pierre Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice*. (CA: Stanford University Press, 1990), p. 53

A few issues for golden collars to “learn” are listed below including the management of emotions, body language, gender relations, dress codes and the control of the stress level. They are on the one hand arrangements for increasing productivity. But on the other hand, they are signs of distinction. Consequently, adaptation to the rules at work confirms that one is modern (*çağdaş* in Turkish). Accordingly, work is the stage where golden collars play out modern aspirations of the Turkish elites and substantiate their status. Therefore, issues mentioned below are both disciplines and signs of distinctions.

Management of Emotions

Emotions are the fundamental issue in the seminars and in self-help books, in which they come up as sites of permanent surveillance and self-control. Their disciplining is crucial, since they have to substantiate existing hierarchies of submission and domination. Now, let me quote a case from the book *İş Yaşamında Duygusal Zeka* (Emotional Intelligence at Work) as an example of emotion management:

Assume that you are in the middle of the meeting and your chief abases your suggestion with his shrill voice. When you reciprocate with anger, even if you think you are right, you may be fired. Now see, how we can solve the problem with our emotional intelligence. First, become aware of your anger ... Then, guide yourself into a positive inner-dialog: “He behaves illogically; I will not come down into his level; I will not demonstrate my anger; I know my suggestion is good.” And then, regulate your breathing and the other physiologic

distortions. You may use relaxing techniques ... Leave the meeting room to drink some cold water perhaps.¹⁵⁴

Of course, positive thinking is not always possible. A woman's magazine, *Elele*, suggests acting if necessary.

As a natural woman, you may not like "acting;" you may deny smiling, if you don't feel that way, and despise social masks. But think of a work environment in which people behave as they really feel. It would be chaos, many people would be fired and none of the projects could be accomplished.¹⁵⁵

Accordingly, an employee has to learn to express herself/himself in an appropriate way. Here is a simple scheme:

<u>Emotion</u>	<u>Its Appropriate Expression</u>	
I am shocked	I am disturbed/ puzzled	
It hurts	I feel disappointed	
I fear	I feel uneasy about it	156

All kinds of emotional excesses are posited as dangerous for the career. One has to control all excesses of emotions. Anger, envy, hatred, hopelessness, greed...all have to be truncated by certain techniques. Employees are not allowed to lose themselves and "roar" at their colleagues. Professionalism requires a "frozen" smile on the face.

¹⁵⁴ H. Weisinger, *İş Yaşamında Duygusal Zeka*(Emotional Intelligence at Work), trans. Nazif Süleymanlı. (İstanbul: MNS Yayıncılık 1998), p.47-48

¹⁵⁵ *Elele*, November 2003

¹⁵⁶ *Elele*, November 2003

Body

The materiality of body is another realm in which one has to acquire proficiency. A woman's magazine manifests that body language "reflects" emotions much more directly than the words do. "According to research, only seven percent of the trust that you give to other people is through words. Your voice and the way you talk have a share of 38 per cent. Your facial expressions and gestures have the biggest share: 55 percent."¹⁵⁷ Therefore, the body is the target of power. It is subjected to forces of discipline and control, through which the docile bodies of employees are used, transformed and improved.¹⁵⁸

Professionals have to be aware of what kind of messages they send with their bodies. Of course, there are techniques and suggestions for correction: "You may ask one of your friends to tape you with a hand-camera on the weekend. So, you can see what your facial expressions and gestures look like and you can work on them."¹⁵⁹

There are also tips on "correct" and "false" gestures. For example, when one talks to someone one has to have eye contact with her. "When you talk in a meeting; straighten your back, pull your chair closer to the table, and stand energetic. Otherwise, your listeners won't take your speech seriously."¹⁶⁰ Our body language sends messages that we cannot fully control and sometimes it may even work against us. But "if you can control your body language, you will seem more self-confident

¹⁵⁷ *Cosmopolitan*, (April, 2002)

¹⁵⁸ Foucault "Docile Bodies," (1995).

¹⁵⁹ *Cosmopolitan*, (April, 2002)

¹⁶⁰ *Cosmopolitan*, (November, 2003)

and people come close to you more easily. Your boss will notice the difference in a while.”¹⁶¹

Bodily gestures, along with any kind of performance, are regulated within the office. Through acts, gestures and clothes, an identity is fabricated that is confined in discursively constraint performative acts. Constrained in the sense that being energetic and the related performances are celebrated whereas signs of depression, for example, are muted within the boundaries of the office.

Gender Relations

Another issue that is muted in the office is the production of gendered performances. Conversely, the work setting is described as if in the office there was no such division at all. Instead, equal opportunities are celebrated. Accordingly women and men are equally apt at any kind of job and they are appraised as mere humans, not as women or men. To be sure, corporations do not apply different policies for women and men for their high-level employees with which they deal. Indeed, this feature was narrated by golden collars as in sharp contrast with the rest of Turkey.

I have had difficulties because I am a woman in almost all domains of life –but not in the workplace.¹⁶²

Mine

¹⁶¹ *Cosmopolitan*, (April, 2002)

¹⁶² İş hariç bütün her yerde kadın olmamdan ötürü sorun yaşadım.

We (as women) are quite comfortable in the office ... There is no difference in the firm's policies regarding men and women. We are all equal. ... There is no harassment whatsoever in the office. Once you get out of this district (she means Gayrettepe), it becomes quite tough. You cannot walk alone. But this neighborhood is ok. You could go to a restaurant or café alone and nobody would disturb you.

Halide, Marketing Director

The neighborhood Halide talks about is a business district in Istanbul. In view of that, regulation of gendered roles is differentiated between places that are somehow connected to global flows and between those that are not. In this sense, offices are presumably the primary gender-free sites in accordance with the supposedly gender-free division of labor that constitutes the homogeneous global network of golden collars.

Obviously, gender relations have not melted all of a sudden. There are still material discrepancies between men and women. A journal, *The Economist*, gives statistical data on various countries about the “glass ceiling,” - the rates of women in high executive positions. The journal states “the top of the corporate ladder remains stubbornly male, and the few women who reach it are paid significantly less than the men that they join there.”¹⁶³ In Turkey, women account for 25% of the total workforce. They only occupy 7% of executive positions. Female workers' earnings average 60% of their male colleagues”.¹⁶⁴

Other than material discrepancies, there are still sharp divisions that regulate practices of manhood and womanhood at work even among high-ranked employees. In other words, offices do not represent a shift to more “egalitarian” relations

¹⁶³ “The Conundrum of Glass Ceiling” in *The Economist*. (21 July 2001).

¹⁶⁴ [online]
http://www.ucansupurge.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=79&Itemid=76

between the sexes since former divisions cannot be bracketed in the office as one could suspect.

There was one girl –Ceren. People didn't like her. There were some rumors about her since she had a close relationship with the assistant general manager. He was always after this girl since she was beautiful. You know, there is a phrase; 'kuyruk sallamak' (flirting, but in which a woman play up to a man, usually negatively connoted.), I do not think that she was doing that. She was a very good girl –not my favorite, but she was solid. She was just doing her job, wasn't meddling with others, i.e., she was not gossiping ... The other day, I heard someone call her a "whore" –very ugly. The guy who said that was an unrelated person. The Assistant Manager took her to lunch. He always takes people to lunch on occasions; this is no secret (The restaurant is in the office facility). But he takes some people more often than others. This attracts other people's attention; since she was a new recruit and it resulted in that comment.¹⁶⁵

Mine

In this instance, supposedly gender-less office sites do not hold. Whether she really attempted to seduce her boss does not matter. What matters is that her behavior was seen, judged and classified as treachery –she being a woman. Her being suffices to sexualize specific acts and sites (Going to lunch with the boss is instantly sexualized and gossiped about). In this axis, specific acts, gestures, postures etc. of women are monitored and marked through the male gaze. Women are expected to act upon the gendered construction of social practices –both in and outside of offices.

¹⁶⁵ Bir kız vardı Ceren diye. İnsanların hoşlanmadığı bir tiplere. Dedikoduların üstüne kurulduğu bir insan çünkü genel müdür yardımcısına çok yakın. Genel müdür yardımcısı devamlı bu kızcağızın peşinde. Güzel bir kız. Ben kızın kaba tabirle kuyruk sallamak vardır ya öyle bir şey yaptığına inanmıyorum. Kız çok iyi, çok sevdiğim bir insan değil; ama sağlam bir kız. Sadece işini yapıyor, insanlarla muhatap olmuyor; yani dedikodu yapmıyor ... geçen gün onun hakkında çok çirkin bir laf duydum orospu diye! Bence çok çirkin bir laf. Çok alakasız bir erkekten duydum. Bunu yemeğe götürdü genel müdür yardımcısı. Genel Müdür yardımcısı ara ara yemeğe götürüyor insanları. (Bankanın içinde restoran) gizli bir şey değil. Herkesle çıkıyor aslında elinden geldiğince; ama bazı insanlarla daha sık çıkıyor. Bu da diğerlerinin dikkatini çekiyor; çünkü sonuçta yeni başlayan bir eleman. Bunun üzerine işte o arkadaşın kuyruk salladığına dair bir yorum geldi çok alakasız bir insandan.

Moreover, gendered roles in marriage or in parenting do extend to the supposedly genderless sites of production, though this does not strike golden collars as much as it would low-level female employees since they cannot hire “nannies” for domestic work.

Marriage didn’t affect my working life, but the child did. I would not have quit my job at that time, if I didn’t have my baby. I mean I had a very good position and also a very good wage. But I would be charged with negative energy all day long and reflect it on my child ... Now, the child has a nanny. If she weren’t there... I don’t have the troubles like taking him from school and that kind of stuff. If I’d have to, it would be tough. The nanny also takes care of the domestic work. Therefore, my work is easygoing.¹⁶⁶

Fulya

At this point let me call attention to the polarity again: for the majority of workers production still depends structurally on gendered divisions, unlike in golden collars’ jobs.¹⁶⁷ In other words, the option of Internet payment still is unavailable for most inhabitants of this world. The high-tech office does not “represent” the future of working life or points to an upcoming network society that will include each and everyone. Rather, it denotes simply the structural differentiations and inequalities inherent to capitalism. And to repeat, gender divisions do not evaporate when one acts as if they have.

¹⁶⁶ Evliliğin iş hayatıma hiçbir etkisi olmadı ama çocuğun etkisi oluyor. O dönem çocuğum olmasaydı işimden ayrılmayabilirdim. Yani çok iyi bir kazancım çok iyi bir pozisyonum vardı. Ne olacak bütün gün negatif enerjiyle yüklenip geleceğim ve eve geldiğimde çocuğa yansıtacağım bunu. (Fulya şu an kendi işini kurmuş) çocuğun bakıcısı var. O olmasa zaten... Bir de okula gidiyor çocuk altıda alınacak falan gibi şeyler olsa, böyle düşüncelerim olsa gerçekten çok zor olur. Evin işlerini falan da o (bakıcı) hallediyor. Onun için rahat.

¹⁶⁷ Cynthia Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics*, (Los Angeles: University Of California Press, 2001).

Yet the crucial point is that golden collars' assertion of equality is not an "illusion." Rather, as argued before, it calls the modern-equal relations between men and women. Actually, work setting is the stage where golden collars play out the modern relations of gender. It is *the* setting where "old, archaic, communal" forms of relation are kept out, in this case, the patriarchy. In this sense, equality refers to golden collars' aspiration for being modern (*çağdaş* in Turkish). Work is the site of modern (non-patriarchal) performances with which golden collars differentiate themselves from the rest and also seek approval by the global audience. I will come back to this subject in the conclusion.

Dress Codes

Clothes also fabricate a "modern" (*çağdaş*) identity through corporeal signs, which one has to learn and enact accordingly. Almost all companies have dress codes related to the appearances of employees.

If the initiative is yours in choosing what to wear, you have to be careful and take some points into consideration: You have to stay away from clumsy and 'inappropriate'¹⁶⁸ dress. You have to care for your hygiene; your make up shouldn't be hyped and your perfume should be light.¹⁶⁹

Dress codes are part of the business. Being "presentable" –a very vague term used mostly for women- is a communication skill, according to Gülnaz Arsel, a television programmer. Appearance creates the difference.¹⁷⁰ Look is the marketing asset of personalities. It is also a sign of respect to colleagues, to the job, and also of self-

¹⁶⁸ In Turkish: Uygunsuz. For women it means: Ahlaka mugayyir –against moral values.

¹⁶⁹ *Cosmopolitan*, (November, 2003).

¹⁷⁰ *Elele*, (November, 2003).

respect. Corrective action is employed when the look is not “right”. A “healthy femininity” is required at work:

Once, we have that one of our employees- a woman, who had face-to-face relations with customers seemed very ‘unhealthy’ since she didn’t wear make up. Her director suggested she put on light make-up with the intention that her face gains color.

(Manolya Küçükınacı, Manager) ¹⁷¹

Fridays are “casual,” which means employees can wear more relaxed outfits. On these days, most firms allow them to wear blue jeans. However, relaxed outfit does not mean that women can wear headscarves. Women with “religious”¹⁷² signs are eliminated in the recruitment process, even before the recruitment process, in most multinational companies in Istanbul. ¹⁷³ Application forms demand a photo without a headscarf. Unless they agree to take off their scarves, they are not accepted into the privileged sites of global flows. Therein, supposedly non-modern (*çağdaş olmayan* in Turkish) “appearances” are eliminated.

Dealing with Stress

Another skill that one has to enhance is the ability to overcome stress. It is denoted as an individual problem. If one is uncomfortable due to stress, one has to learn some techniques, do yoga for example, or quit the job. Each document I

¹⁷¹ Quoted in *Elele*, (November, 2003)

¹⁷² As if other kinds of dresses are void of signs.

¹⁷³ There are obviously other types of multinational work settings that allow women with headscarves (like the Islamic banks). They allocate different forms of belongings and open up different domains for performances. However, these questions are beyond the scope of this study.

reviewed defined stress as an inseparable part of daily life. It is a “fact.”

Accordingly, what matters is the way one deals with it. One can accept the position of a victim or fight back, but one cannot abolish stress.

The ways to deal with stress are as follows: First of all, one has to change one’s perception regarding stress. In view of that, the external world is a just production of our minds. When we are mixed up emotionally in today’s world, we have to solve it again in our minds. A body of solutions –though they may really be effective – takes “the individual” as their starting point of the solution. Such a perception turns the vision upside down as in a camera obscura; it makes the individuals responsible -not the stressful conditions of work- for what they experience.

We are already familiar with one of the solutions: employees are expected to love what they do. “Do the job that you love to get rid of excessive stress ... be a voluntary worker in the office, unite yourself with your work.”¹⁷⁴ As I discussed in the previous chapter, love is the trans-ideological kernel that mediates between ideology and its subjects.

Other than loving their job, employees need to keep their internal “balance” to resist their emotions in the work place: no anger, no disappointment, and no dark feelings. Besides, employees have to make use of their leisure time to decrease stress levels; it is suggested they work out, keep their form, keep their social relations alive, make jokes if necessary, and enjoy life. So, governing the emotions requires extensive techniques that flux out of the office. In this sense, the disciplines of productivity dissolve the separation between the leisure and the work. They exceed

¹⁷⁴ Zuhâl Baltâş, *Verimli İş Hayatının Sırrı: Stres. Hissedilen Ağırılık, Görülmeyen Güç*, (İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 2002).

to the realm usually connoted with the leisure activities. All spans of time are disciplined sequential with productive purposes.

Indeed, a low level of stress is necessary for productive performance. “Stress is the key for a productive business life.”¹⁷⁵ A certain amount of stress enables employees to adapt themselves to changing conditions, it activates energy, and it makes life more colorful. “A life without stress would be boring”¹⁷⁶. Therefore, not repressing but managing emotions is suggested for a more productive existence. Productivity and effectiveness in all aspects of life, even in stress management, is the key claim in this discursive formation.

There is much more to learn for professionals in order to improve. I had to omit many other skills, techniques, and models like NLP, 7 Sigma, Quality Circles, and Cultural Intelligence. In point of fact, they all hold the same essential characteristics: they all require continuous and constant learning on the part of employees. Like the corporation, “human enterprise” has to be adapting himself/herself to the permanent novelty by means of improvement.

The geographies that I examined in the previous two chapters constitute specific relations of control and domination that particularly target golden collars. The whole array of techniques, expert knowledge, documents, and strategies replicate the discourse for being more efficient. Accordingly, golden collars have to “wish” to learn more and more each and every day.

However, this does not mean that they are willing and blindly obey the disciplines of global flows. Disciplines have cracks, illusions, and repulsive advises.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid

¹⁷⁶ Ibid

I am not into that kind of American stuff. In that regard, I am very old-fashioned and old school. Sometimes, they force me to join those education programs; recently they took me again. Reportedly, they claimed to reveal the hidden properties of people. They let you play games, make you find your direction while your eyes are closed or they give you a piece of rope and a club for you to assemble a catapult. Actually, I can get the logic behind it; but I feel cold to such stuff. There are certain sentiments that spring from our culture on which I count more.¹⁷⁷

Haydar, Director

Whether one chooses to stick to local sentiments or join stylish education programs, the truth about human beings remains the same: “there is a potential in human beings that needs to be improved.” To put it differently, although the extent and content of the techniques mentioned above may vary, they all produce a discourse on the productivity of human beings. In this sense, what I am trying to put my finger on is the regime of truth on productivity that enables one to distinguish true and false statements, “the techniques and procedures ... in the acquisition of truth and the status of those who are charged with saying what counts as true.”¹⁷⁸

Self-Motivation

An old man is disturbed by the noise of some youngsters who are playing basketball next to his house. He tries everything to get rid off them, but he can't; one day he finds another solution. He begins to give money to the youngsters if they fulfill one condition; they have just to keep on playing in the same place.

¹⁷⁷ Ben bu tür Amerikan tarzı işlere hiç sıcak bakmıyorum. O anlamda çok geri kafalı, çok klasiğimdir. Bazen beni zorla eğitime götürüyorlar; geçenlerde yeniden götürdüler. İnsanların gizli kalmış yönlerini ortaya çıkarıyorlarmış. Oyunlar oynatıyorlar, gözlerini kapatıp yön bulduruyorlar. İşte eline iki tane ip, bir tane sopa verip bundan mancınık yaptırıyorlar. Esasında lojiğine baktığında, yap dediklerinde ne istediklerini üç aşağı beş yukarı hissediyorum. Bana soğuk geliyor. Bizim kültürümüzden kaynaklanan bir hissiyat var, ben ona daha çok güveniyorum.

¹⁷⁸ Michel Foucault, “Truth and Power” in *The Foucault Reader*. Ed. P Rabinow. (n.p.: Penguin Books, 1991).

First, they are puzzled, but who cares; they were already playing in the same field, so they take the money for what they are already doing. For three days, the old man pays them for playing basketball. On the fourth day, he gives less money to the youngsters and the next day less than the previous one. On the seventh day, he says to them that he has run out of money. From now on, he declares, he won't pay money for their game. The next day, the old man is happy in his quiet house. How? Previously, youngsters loved playing basketball there. Now they think they played there because he paid them for their game. The old man's trick altered the aim of the youngsters and killed their motivation. The moral of the story: Don't work for rewards. 'External' motivations will decrease your performance. Do your job with your 'inner'-motivation. Successful people work not for money; they work for the satisfaction they get from work.¹⁷⁹

Motivation is connected directly to the performance of the employee. Like in the above story, two kinds of motivations are defined: an inner one and an external one. External motivations are considered to be such things as the salary, vacations, status, and bonuses. Inner motivation, on the other hand, corresponds to the enjoyment that one acquires from working.

Leave the distance I go, leave the salary I get; they are bad. The only thing that holds me in office from morning to evening working in full concentration is that I love my job.¹⁸⁰

Mine- software programmer

Even though the importance of external motivation is admitted, it is claimed to be insufficient or rather to be the natural outcome of the inner-motivation. Contrarily, for lower income levels (blue collars, part-timers, workers without any security) all the motivational needs are claimed to be transferable into a certain monetary value. Their needs are thought to be at minimum levels i.e. physical; hence

¹⁷⁹ Baltaş, (2002)

¹⁸⁰ In Turkish: "Gittiğim yer, yer değil; aldığım maaş, maaş değil. Sadece işimi sevdiğim için sabahdan akşama kadar 'full' konsantre çalışabiliyorum ." (Mine spends 2,5 hours in firm's service bus each day)

material. Remember- that's why Ms. Güvenç did not apply the Predictive Index to blue collars. For golden collars, on the other hand, "reducing all the motivational needs into money would be very expensive as well as unsatisfactory".¹⁸¹ The satisfaction of needs regarding golden collars requires higher levels of motivation. So, there is a hierarchy of motivational needs, which fits exactly in the model of "hierarchy of needs" developed by Abraham Maslow. He differentiated and classified different types of human needs. The only form of need, monetary need, defined by the Scientific Management Approach, superseded with the new conception of worker as a psychological creature. In ascending order, five levels in Maslow's hierarchy are as follows:

- 1) Physiological needs: hunger, thirst, and etc. Its application in business: Wages.
- 2) Safety needs: the desire for security and protection against danger. Its application in business: Pensions and medical care or/and a career prospect.
- 3) Social needs: the need to belong, to gain love and affection; to be in the company of others, especially friends. Its application in business: Recreational facilities, parties or trips organized by the firm; an organizational structure, which enables bonds of friendship and loyalty among colleagues.
- 4) Esteem needs: a person's desire to be respected for his/her achievements. Its application in business: promotion opportunities, bonus payments, worker of the month awards, increase in responsibility and the autonomy of the worker.
- 5) Self-actualization needs: self-actualization is the need to achieve one's full potential. This will vary from person to person, according to Maslow. Its application into the business: making work as the chief meaningful place for the workers.¹⁸²

After the human qualities are put on a scale, needs are categorized and put in order as the next step. Given these levels, one is able to put each person into a

¹⁸¹ Üzeyir Garih, *İş Hayatında Motivasyon*. (İstanbul: Hayat Yayınları, 2000), p: 65

¹⁸² Gareth Morgan, *Yönetim ve Örgüt Teorilerinde Metafor* (Metaphor in Management and Organization Theories), trans. Gündüz Bulut, (İstanbul: MESS Yayınları, 1998).

specific category (again, void of any social/historical divisions) and relate them with the corresponding “hierarchy of rewards.” Golden collars’ biggest reward turns out to be the job, which they love. Yet, “Money, status, or appreciation (read as external motivators, read as the lower levels in the hierarchy of needs- my addition) comes as a result of inner motivation. So, employees have to find ways to motivate themselves.”¹⁸³

In view of that, inner motivation is the responsibility of each and every employee- especially if one goes up in the hierarchy. Consequently, the “self” has to be formed and transformed by the “self”, i.e., subjectification becomes subjection. Governmentality is the "autonomous" individual's capacity for self-control and this is linked to forms of political rule and economic exploitation. In other words, through governmentality Foucault links power to the formation of the subject.

Self-motivation, as a norm, is both individualizing and totalizing. Individualizing in the sense that “it applies itself to immediate everyday life which categorizes the individual, marks him by his own individuality, attaches him to his own identity, imposes a law of truth on him.”¹⁸⁴ Totalizing in the sense that “an ensemble formed by institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, the calculations and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific albeit complex form of power, that has as its target population”, which Foucault names as governmentality.¹⁸⁵ “Population,” that is the primary subject of governmentality cuts across the borders, forms a society owing to digital technologies, and derives its

¹⁸³ Hande Yaşargil from Mentor Counseling Company, quoted in *Sabah*, 14 August 2005.

¹⁸⁴ Michel Foucault, “The Subject and Power,” in *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*. Afterword to Hubert Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983).

¹⁸⁵ Michel. Foucault, “Governmentality,” in *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*. Eds. Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon, Peter Miller, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991).

identity increasingly in relation with the geographies explained in the previous chapters.¹⁸⁶

Last but not least, remember that not all employees can motivate themselves as expected. The last remark on the subject of self-motivation will be about faking i.e. how can one save the appearance? First of all, one has to change one's attitude. Most working people find going to their offices on Mondays distasteful. However, the woman magazine *Elele* suggests that every Monday is an opportunity for re-birth. Smile... Today is Monday!¹⁸⁷ "A good start up will make the rest of the week more productive ... so, clear your mind and force yourself to smile to your colleagues. Their smiling responses will cheer you up."

Leadership

"...(T)he leader is the personally recognized as the innerly 'called' leader of men. Men do not obey him by virtue of tradition or statue, but because they believe in him."¹⁸⁸ This is how Max Weber defined charismatic leadership. In the new management rhetoric, we witness the return of the "charismatic leader," however, this time, in a very different fashion, even in an opposing one. Contemporary leadership is being re-defined within the frame of rational bureaucratic organization of the firms and it is being labeled within the rational economic conduct -in contrast with what Weber proposed regarding the charismatic leader. "Charisma, and this is decisive, always rejects as undignified any pecuniary gain that is methodical and

¹⁸⁶ Castells, (1996).

¹⁸⁷ *Elele*, (October, 2003)

¹⁸⁸ Weber. "Politics as a Vocation" (1975), p. 79.

rational. In general, charisma rejects all rational economic conduct.”¹⁸⁹ Additionally, Weber calls charismatic domination the “very opposite” of bureaucratic domination, where charisma necessarily escapes from the meticulous calculations and rationalizations. “It knows no agency of control or appeal, no local bailiwicks or exclusive functional jurisdictions; nor does it embrace permanent institutions like our bureaucratic ‘departments,’ which are independent of persons and of purely personal charisma.”¹⁹⁰ So, there have been a few amendments to adapt the charisma into to rational processes of the firm.

First, the “new” leader in the bureaucracy does not have the necessary qualities inherently; instead, they have to be developed with education and/or mentorship within the organization. Second, the leader becomes again the object of calculation in which necessary skills or different leader types are matched to different conditions. Psychometric tests like the PI provide the tool to diagram out the “leader.”¹⁹¹ With PI, “leaders” could meet with appropriate positions and beside one can replace leaders with one another where necessary. And last, the “vision,” the “change” or the “motivation” that the leaders are supposed to provide to their followers, turn out to be the pursuit of purely economic interests. In other words, the novelty that they are supposed to create is confined in the rational process of the organization.

Nevertheless, contemporary leaders are being expected to “create devotion of the followers”, as Weber put it.¹⁹² “Leadership means transmitting a vision, creating

¹⁸⁹ Weber, (1975), p. 247

¹⁹⁰ Weber, (1975), p. 79

¹⁹¹ See Appendix C

¹⁹² Ibid

enthusiasm among followers, and motivating them.”¹⁹³ Leader is defined differently from an office holder or an ordinary director who completely complies with the procedures of the bureaucratic organization. Under the circumstances where global capitalism dictates constant change and a relatively irrational market (Chapter One), leaders play the role of handling excesses or dealing with the unexpected/incalculable events and make the firm to take a proactive stance vis-à-vis the change. Whereas old-fashioned directors stand for stability and order, leaders get on with the changes; former deals with the present, latter with the future.¹⁹⁴

Besides, leaders are supposed to monitor the diversity within the organization. S/he amalgamates diversity around a common value (around the value of the firm of course) and eases the disputes.

Below is a comparison of a director, who is a “cog” in the bureaucratic machine, and a leader who shows the way during constant change and “transgresses” the rationality that the machine induces.

The director applies the procedure; the leader brings forth novelty,
The director provides consistency; the leader makes improvement,
The director leans on the system; the leader leans on human,
The director trusts in control; the leader trusts in people,
The director makes the things right; the leader makes the right things.¹⁹⁵

The notions of team and project are what leaders were invented for. “Project” is the new form of accomplishing tasks in the work place. The necessary units for

¹⁹³ Acar Baltaş, *Değişimin İçinden Geleceğe Doğru: Ekip Çalışması ve Liderlik*. (İstanbul, n.p. 2000), p. 107

¹⁹⁴ *ibid.*

¹⁹⁵ www.sourtimes.org

accomplishing these projects are teams. The time of teams is flexible and oriented to specific, short-term tasks. They enable their members to feel “in” the business; they distribute responsibility and initiative and demand commitment in return. “Synergy” is the catchword in self-development books regarding teamwork. The common metaphor is the football team: there may be individual talents, but they cannot win the game by themselves. There must be solidarity, harmony, *and* individual talents for success. Enabling such harmony is also the responsibility of the leader.

Concluding Remarks

In this chapter, I showed the discursive formation, i.e. the incited truth regime on productivity. I analyzed the assumptions and the existing hierarchies in the discourse of contemporary management. I also investigated the human enterprise, the human project of global capitalism, and how it is subjected to disciplines of character formation.

Personality tests, evaluation forms, education materials, game concepts, stories, anecdotes, jokes, and comparisons, in short, a bundle of documents circulate through the global flows. In addition, companies apply the same sort of education programs, performance assessment techniques, innovative work practices, and interior office designs. Whilst all this accumulated knowledge is deployed to increase profitability in firms, it also has become a commodity in itself. Management gurus are cutting-edge professionals- they are also apt at marketing themselves. Knowledge about productivity can be immediately sold; hence expertise in this field constitutes a profitable business. A bulk of management/self-development books is published, mostly translated, each year. There are large sections on self-development in

bookshops. And remember the Swiss Company, the owner of the PI Test, which sells its product on the international level.

All in all, the discourse on productivity, which is set within the framework of capitalist production, intervenes into the psychological terrain of human beings. The pedagogic and scientific tone of the rhetoric's voice targets directly professionals' feelings and practices for augmenting their productivity. In this sense, professionals become both the object of this knowledge and the effect of it. "It assures the great disciplinary functions of distribution and classification, maximum extraction of forces and time, ... optimum combination of aptitudes, and, thereby, the fabrication of cellular, organic, genetic, and combinatory individuality."¹⁹⁶

The effects of this disciplinary power, as mentioned earlier, cannot be described only in negative terms. Other than repression, exclusion and concealment, power facilitates production. It produces reality; it produces domain of objects and rituals of truth.¹⁹⁷ In this study, I particularly focused on the production of professional desires aligned with global geographies.

Relations that are imbued in such power are not univocal; they are put through confrontations, instabilities, conflicts, and struggles, and at times the temporary inversions of power relations as discussed in the second chapter.¹⁹⁸ Mümin Sekman lists several Turkish proverbs and idioms that contradict the logic of self-development. He claims that the arguments behind them frequently come up in the contemporary attitudes of ordinary people.

¹⁹⁶ Michel Foucault. "The Means of Correct Training" in *The Foucault Reader*. Ed. P. Rabinow, (n.p: Penguin Books, 1991).

¹⁹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁹⁸ M. Foucault. "The Body of the Condemned," (1995).

Sokma akıl yedi adım gidermiş → Uygulanınca hiçbir işe yaramazlar, havada kalıyorlar.
At koşar, baht kazanır → Başarı şans işi, öğrenilemez öğretilemez.
Kelin ilacı olsa kendi başına sürermiş → Bu işi yapanlar hayatta ne kadar başarılı olmuşlar ki onların dediğini yapayım.¹⁹⁹

According to Sekman, this is the mentality that “we” (Turks) have to get rid of. In this regard, the disciplines of self-development inspected in this chapter are tied in with a major organizing principle: the idea of infinite development (asymptotic progression) as possibility, value and cultural goal, which Castoriadis calls “imaginary social signification.”

(T)he export of technology and capitalist enterprise (economic imperialism) is simultaneously the export of the Western social imaginary signification of development. “Cultural imperialism” can therefore be said to appear on the plane of the imaginary ... Projects of “development” by Western nations can be seen as instances of the colonization of the social imaginaries of Third World societies.²⁰⁰

Therein, the economic dominance of the West is linked to the discovery of *the* way of life that is imbued with particular imaginary significations. This also is permeated with the disciplines of the self: particular meanings and a particular orientation mark the golden collars. This topic will be re-examined in the conclusion.

¹⁹⁹ Sekman, (2003). p. 228. Exact translations are impossible. Yet they assert that success is a matter of luck; they claim that application of management techniques does not result in any good at all; and they question the personal success of the experts, i.e., management gurus

²⁰⁰ Tomlinson, (1991).

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

In this thesis I traced the contours of globalization as part and parcel of the regime of governmentality regarding golden collar professionals. I claimed that beside the economic restructuring of companies and territories, the globalization of production symbolizes a wider process that goes on through the imagination, meaning, the belonging and the contestation that originate from the realm of productive activity. In other words, the work activity of golden collars opens up a domain that enables them to make certain claims about the global networks, about themselves, and about the rest of the Turkish population. These claims mostly are derived from the connection to the global networks through which the notion of “proper” professionalism is facilitated. As a result, Turkey in large appears as a site that lacks the connection for proper (modern) relations necessary for such professionalism.

For elaborating on these different forms of relations, I initially defined the new geographies of globalization within which global transactions are executed. Accordingly, they divide and also transgress the old borders of nation states. However, global geographies are neither an already finished process nor a binary

setting consisting of only in and out positions, i.e., they are malleable. They mobilize different periphery places in different ways.

Other than the digital circulation of money and the material circulation of commodities, imaginations, norms and desires are rallied throughout those flows. That is to say that alongside the new geographies, a space of desire, or rather an urge for inclusion is produced because the survival of peripheries depends on connection. Employment, investment, financial circulation, in short development turn out to be a function of globalization –as opposed to the development launched by the nation state. Within these geographies, “valuable” functions and people are linked to each other, or to put it another way, through the connection to global flows, employees, companies and places are appraised.

At this point, let me mention one more time the other side of the coin as I did several times in this thesis, because the two sides are inherently related to each other. With the assertion of the new geographies, “worthless” places/populations of the world are relegated to the category of waste. Their existence becomes a problem of “containment.” For instance, how to contain millions of refugees in an optimum way within restricted zones, say, in Palestine? How to contain the violence in ghettos, say, in Paris? How to prevent “terrorists” from fluxing into the political centers or business districts, say, with pre-emptive actions after 9/11? So, it is not only impoverishing to stay out of global networks, but it is also dangerous. Any given day, horror stories come up that combine unemployment with violence, with theft, or with terror. “The streets are unsafe,” is the often-repeated dictum, “because of the immigrants living in shantytowns.” As a consequence, security guards, fortified

enclaves, alarm systems, and surveillance cameras appear as the devices for the physical parting of those who are already left “out.”²⁰¹

To sum up, globalization appears as less an opportunity than a must for the majority. The only vestiges of the off-network places are wars and poverty that are recast in the rhetoric of ethnic or tribal struggles and “non-development.” Therefore, business actors in the peripheries undertake the replacement of old forms of business structures with updated ones. They declare to provide “professionalism” for those who would agree to work with them, both for employees and for other companies.

From the perspective of golden collars, the foremost condition of professionalism is production. But, in this study, I claim that production involves not only the production of commodities or the information processing, but also the production of the productive self. Productivity is the concept that becomes operative in the production of new desires, and new subjectivities. Put simply, golden collars’ aspirations for belonging to the new transnational capitalist class²⁰² (the network society²⁰³ or the invisible continent²⁰⁴) is a process of subjectification (i.e. subjectivation).

For this matter, I have taken up the main problem that professionalism brings in: how to achieve excellence at work, the techniques for achieving excellence in oneself. Excellence of professionals requires psycho-technologies come into alignment with the human psyches. In this way, a new terrain of human qualities is

²⁰¹ On a larger scale, migration between territories has become a critical problem. This is actually one of the most debated issues in the negotiations between Turkey and the EU. See Peker, B. “ ‘Kaçak Göçmenler’, ‘Yasadışı’ İnsanlar: Yeni Köleci Dünya Düzeninde Türkiye” in *Birikim*, February, 2002.

²⁰² Sklair, (2001).

²⁰³ Castells, (1996).

²⁰⁴ Kenichi Ohmae, *Görünmeyen Kıta: Yeni Ekonominin Dört Stratejik Buyruğu*. trans. B.G. Akbay. (İstanbul: Henkel Yayınları 2001).

reinvented as the object of expert knowledge. Qualities like motivation, satisfaction, entrepreneurship, leadership, flexibility, learning skills, communication skills and the whole range of other mental skills are put in a complex of calculative practices for the sake of efficiency. The target of such knowledge is to integrate the subjectivity of the working individual into the objectives of the organization.

Yet expert knowledge about the productive self is more than a number of techniques that responds to the inner needs of capitalism. Rather, it is a part of a wider family of political programs that seek to use scientific knowledge to advance national/organizational/individual efficiency. But how does it come? Contemporary expert knowledge shares (beginning with Taylorism) a “belief” in the improvement of the efficiency of persons through the application of expertise. Efficiency is more than the mere pursuit of functionality – it is a meaning. Efficiency is the central imaginary of capitalism as it used by Cornelius Castoriadis.²⁰⁵

A meaning appears here from the very start, one that is not a meaning of the *real* (referring to what is perceived), one that is neither strictly rational nor positively *irrational*, neither true nor false and yet does belong to the order of *signification* and that is the imaginary creation proper to history, that in and through which history constitutes itself to begin with ... Relations between individuals and groups, behavior, motivations are not simply *incomprehensible* for us, they are *impossible in themselves* outside of this imaginary. A ‘primitive’ who would want to act not taking into account distinctions between clans ... would most likely be mad- or would soon become so.²⁰⁶

²⁰⁵ “The imaginary of which I am speaking is not an image *of*. It is the unceasing and essentially undetermined (social-historical and physical) creation of figures/forms/images, on the basis of which alone there can ever be a question of ‘*something*’. What we call ‘reality’ or ‘rationality’ are its works.” Castoriadis, (1997), p.3

²⁰⁶ Ibid, p. 160-161.

The problem of efficiency cannot be reduced to functionality nor to needs, because the function and the needs are not pre-given natural entities. What are the “real needs” of a society? For what does the capitalist institution function? The answers are rather given by the system of imaginary significations that value or devalue, structure and hierarchize an intersecting ensemble of objects and corresponding lacks; and “it is here that one can read, more easily than anywhere else, what is just as uncertain as it is contestable –the orientation of a society.”²⁰⁷

Thus, the technologies of the self mentioned in this study -their very specific contents and beliefs- do not appear as a result of natural necessities or rational functionalities. Meaning is situated at a level different from any functional determination. The meaning of globalization, therefore, is not dictated, like Manuel Castells claims, by the functionality of the global networks; nor is it an effect of information technologies.

Instead, the constitution of the meaning of globalization is a story of colonization, the colonization of social imaginaries. It is the infiltration of a certain social “orientation.” In this regard, the search for personal excellence presupposes the deployment of certain disciplines and performances sequential with global capitalism.

Let me emphasize one more point: the disciplinary power that is inherent in the technologies of efficiency is not exercised simply as an obligation or a prohibition on those who do not have it; it invests them, is transmitted by them and through them. In this regard, I particularly focused on power’s positive/productive effects. By no means are these positive effects related to some sort of celebration or to sheer pessimism; instead it is just for emphasizing the “reality” of productivity

²⁰⁷ Ibid p. 150

norms. “On this reality reference, various concepts have been constructed and domains of analysis carved out; psyche, subjectivity, personality, consciousness, etc.; on it have been built scientific techniques and discourses, and the moral claims of [professionalism].”²⁰⁸ Therein, power is a productive network, which runs through the social body, much more than as a negative instance whose function is repression; “it produces things, it induces pleasure, forms knowledge, produces discourse.”²⁰⁹

In consequence, power is incorporated in the bodies of professionals, in their acts, and modes of everyday behavior. It creates a normative framework on professionalism, through which golden collars make claims about “them” (with proper professional mentality) and “us” (with oriental/Turkish mentality). For golden collars, professionalism means more than material rewards; it means modern evaluation techniques, systematized-impersonal performance assessments, education programs, certain dress codes, employment of equalitarian gender relations, and a business-focused orientation (as opposed to gossiping and trickery at work).

In this study, I argued that golden collars differentiate themselves through their work (other than their consumption habits) from the rest of the population. Subsequently, work is more than an activity in itself; it is the domain of belonging into the new geographies of globalization –and also the domain of breakup from “communal” relations. With professionalism, old ties, measures and organizations - like fellowship (*hemşerilik*) or personal favors- are denied. Impersonal conducts, in the bureaucratic sense of the word, is linked with fairness, rationality, and development (as an advanced mode of relation), whereas conducts based upon

²⁰⁸ Foucault, “The Body of the Condemned,” (1995).

²⁰⁹ Foucault, “Truth and Power” and “The Means of Correct Training,” (1991).

acquaintanceship is pointed as the “source of our problems.” So, golden collars’ mediation with the global turns out to be a claim about their position in the business world and in Turkish society at large.

Criteria for proper professionalism are linked to productivity and efficiency - as mentioned earlier. Golden collars differentiate and distinguish themselves through their productivity. The terms of this distinction are established upon the existing divisions of Turkey -like the city dweller and the villager. In this regard, the problem of productivity becomes an extension of the “modern” codes of performativity: The treatment of women and men as equals, proper appearance at work, cultivated acts that suit urban people: enhanced communicative skills, emotional control, friendly but professional attitude, a certain level of courtesy, and a motivated mind-set – all imbued with the disciplines of productivity- become the means for achieving “the modern” (meaning *çağdaş* in Turkish). Work, in this sense, functions as the stage for displaying the modern relations and aspirations of Turkish golden-collar professionals. Performances at this stage are not only for gaining money; it is not that simple. Instead, work supplies the setting, in which the ‘West’ can approve modern golden collar subjectivities. In other words, working provides the stage for the performativity of modern relations both for the national and the global audience, as for themselves.

However, there exist discrepancies between imagined professionalism and the actual experience of golden collars. Discrepancies open up a space in which golden collars negotiate with the categories of “them” and “us.” This is the space in which the refusal stories come up when encountered with the global flows (read as “West”). This is the space where modern subjecthood is performed against the rest of the population and yet also questioned when confronted with the West. This is the space

of conflicts, struggles, instabilities and inversions of power: at times, the search for efficiency is associated (rightfully) with exploitation, or the workplace is called a battlefield that kills personal intimacy.

To repeat and to conclude: all subjectification, productions and consequently aspirations that are mentioned throughout this research are mobilized within capitalism. They all target to produce the producer. So, I have approached globalization from the side of production (as opposed to consumption). Obviously, globalization involves much more than commodity production.

APPENDIX A

SECRETARIES

Yönetici asistanlığı sekreterleğin modern zamandaki adı olarak bilinsede aslında bir nevi yöneticilik. Onlar sekreterlerin görevlerini üstleniyor ama dahası var:

Bağlı olduğu yöneticinin programını, şirketin diğer departmanları ve yöneticileriyle ilişkilerini düzenliyor, şirket içi ve dışı ilişkilerde köprü vazifesi görüyor, gerektiğinde yöneticisini temsil ediyor. Ayrıca, gerekli verileri kullanarak bir takım raporlar hazırlayıp sunmaları da bekleniyor.

Bu kadar işe yetiştirmek için çok farklı donanımlara ihtiyaçları var. Ekip çalışması, inisiyatif kullanma, değişen önceliklerle başede-

bilmek için yeterli esnekliği gösterebilme, stres ve zamansızlıkta başa çıkabilme, yönetici ve diğer çalışanlara geri besleme yapabilme, toplantılarda müdürünü temsil edebilme, ofis giderlerini takip etme, kriz anında soğukkanlı olma, iyi bir raporlama tekniğine ve dosyalama sistemine sahip olma... Liste uzayıp gidiyor.

Çeşitli kurslar sayesinde, iyi bir yönetici asistanından beklenen bu listeyi artırlarla doldurmak mümkün. Eğitimler sonunda 600 milyon ile 1 milyar arasında ücretle işe başlayabilen yönetici asistanlarının deneyimleri artıka aldıkları maaş 2 milyar lira ve üzerine kadar çıkıyor.



İki günlük hızlı eğitim

Eğitimde şu konular işleniyor: Yönetimsel alan ne demektir?

Organizasyon kuramları, yönetim dili ve yönetimsel kavramlar, yönetici asistanının nitelik ve sorumlulukları, yönetici asistanının temel görevleri, görgü, konuşma ve yazım kuralları, yönetici asistanının bireysel gelişme sorumluluğu.

Süre: 12 saat (2 gün).

Ücret: 350 milyon artı KDV.

Tel: 0 216 574 07 85

Web: www.ekalite.com.tr

E-Kalite

Okul gibi kurs programı

Ders programı şöyle: Altı kur İngilizce, bilgisayar, muhasebe ve işletme bilgisi, performans değerlendirme sistemi, yönetim becerileri, karar verme süreçleri, organizasyon becerileri, etik pazarlama iletişimi, iletişim yönetimi, basın ile olan iletişim, sponsorluk uygulamaları.

Süre: 600 saat (8 Ay)

Ücret: İçeriklerin herbiri ayrı ayrı alınabiliyor. Aylık 300 milyon artı KDV. 8 taksit.

Kadıköy şube: 0 216 330 85 90

Osmanbey şube: 0 212 247 45 70

Web: www.brain.com.tr

Brain Eğitim

Bir yıl taksit olanağı

Katılımcılara eğitim sonunda iş de bulan İ.B.M'de bilgisayar office programları, muhasebe, İngilizce, halkla ilişkiler, insan kaynakları ve büro yönetimi dersleri veriliyor. Programa başvurmak için en az lise mezunu olmak yeterli.

Süre: 550 saat. Hafta içi yoğun bir eğitimle program 35 haftada tamamlanıyor.

Ücret: İki milyar lira. 12 ay taksit yapılıyor.

Tel: 0 216 349 89 54

Web: www.ibmekm.com

İ.B.M

APPENDIX B

RESIGNATION LETTER

Ocak 2000 tarihinde başlamış olan XXXbank çalışmamı Mayıs 2005 tarihi itibariyle sonlandırıyorum.İstanbul Üniversitesi İşletme Fakültesi FİNANS bölümü mezunu olarak; İmar Bankası Dış İşler Müdürlüğü' nde memur olarak başlayan çalışma hayatım, sırasıyle , yeniden yapılanma döneminde Demirbank' ta İnsan Kaynakları ve İdari İşler sorumlusu,sonrasında Midland Bank (HSBC Bank) ' ın kuruluş ve faaliyete geçişiyle devam eden 3,5 yıl boyunca İnsan Kaynakları Müdür Yardımcısı sorumluluğuna(ek olarak, İdari İşler, Vergiler, Satınalma sorumlusu olarak) ve XXXbank öncesi en son olarak Star Gazetesi İnsan Kaynakları Müdürü olarak sürmüştü.

XXXbank' daki 5,5 yıl süren çalışmamın ilk 3 yılı İnsan Kaynakları Bölümü' nde Müdür Yardımcısı olarak sürdürdükten sonra, Genel Muhasebe Bölümü' nden "Yetkili " olarak ayrılmaktayım.

XXXbank' daki bu muhteşem yükselişimde olağanüstü çaba harcamış olan kişilere teşekkür etmek istiyorum.

Daha mülakat sırasında " Ben bağırırım, kızarım, bozarım" diyerek (kişiyi tanımadan söylenebilmesi enteresandır.) karakterini ortaya koyan ve sonrasında bu davranış şeklini hiçbir dayanağı olmayan suni gündemler yaratarak yıllarca sürdüren

- Seçmiş olduğu bu davranış şeklini herkese uyguladığı ve bu nedenle herkesin en fazla 2 yıl kendileri ile çalışabildiklerini öğrendiğim ve bu tür davranış

ile karşılaşmam için mutlaka hata yapmam gerekmediğini daha başından bana da hatırlatma gereği duyan,

-Nedeninin kendisi olduğunu saklamak, daha önce benim konumunda çalışıp ayrılan kişilerin bu değişim hızını sorduğumda, kiminin evlilik, kiminin yurtdışına çıkma planları olması nedeniyle ayrıldıklarını bildirip, hepsinin halen farklı kurumlarda çalışmakta olduklarını saklayan

- Kendisine yardımcı güç olarak seçtiği ve aynı çizgideki davranış şeklini haddini aşarak uygulamaya çalışan, bırakın eğitim düzeyi olarak yeterli olup olmamasını, iş bilgisi olarak da çok eksik olduğunu gördüğüm, kendisinin bana bağlı olmadığını her fırsatta belirterek, daha 2. günümde " Sizin yedeğiniz benim" diyen, bir telefon görüşmemde " ... toparlıyorum." sözümü hemen üstlerine bildiren ve bu konuda uyarılmamı sağlayan,(Bu sözden gocunacağınıza toparlanacak önemli işler bırakmayacaktınız canım) bu satırlarda, yardımcı uygulayıcı olarak haddini bilmeksizin beni olduğu gibi arkadaşlarımı da kırdığı, üzdüğü için yer bulan Uzman Yardımcısı Arzu Bektaş (Hatunoğlu)' nun bu davranışlarını asla kınamayan, aksine desteklemiş olan

- Şube ile iş konusunda yapmakta olduğum telefon görüşmesini yerinden kalkıp telefonumu kapatarak kesebilen

- Zam dönemlerinde bir post-it üzerine yazılmış artış oranımı masamın yanından geçerken masamın köşesine yapıştırarak bildiren,

- Hastalandığınız ve tedavinizin sürmekte olduğu günlerde bile " boynunu düzeltip, cumartesi günü yapılacak çalışmaya gelsin" diyebilen

- Toplantılara katılmamı isteyip, asla bir cümlelik söz hakkı bile vermeyen
- Kişileri seslenerek masasına çağıran ama vurgulamasında " Herşeyi bırak, hemen burada ol" havasını veren ve bu seslenişlerinde asla ismin arkasından " Bey" , "Hanım" kullanmayan
- Departman yemeği için ortak görüş olarak arkadaşlarımın seçtiği bir restoran için, çalışanlarına " Kendi paranızla gidemediğiniz yerleri mi seçtiniz? diyerek insanların onurunu kıran ve sözde onları küçümsediğini sanan
- İşine gelmediğini yada bilgisini aştığı yada mesaj içeriğinin üstlerine kendi görüşü gibi aktarmanın kendisi için daha yararlı olduğunu düşünerek olsa gerek ki, her mesajımı açmayan ve alttan yada yandan okuyan ve mesajda bahsedilen konu ile ilgili olarak da bana dönme gereği görmeyen ve dolayısıyla işlerin tamamlanma sürecini uzatan ama bunun kendisi için hiç önemli olmadığını bildiğim,
- Benden önce ve sonra uygulanmadığını bildiğim ancak beni zor duruma düşürmek, sıkıntıya sokmak, üzme ve stress içine sokmak amacıyla olduğuna inandığım, doğal olarak sistemde yapılmakta olan ve tekrar tekrar kontrolden geçirilerek doğruluğundan emin olunarak ödenen personel maaşlarının sisteme rağmen " MANUEL OLARAK HESAPLANMAMI VE BENİM BULDUĞUM TUTARIN, SİSTEMİN ULAŞTIĞI TUTARLA UYGUNLUĞUNUN AĞLANMASINDAN SONRA MAAŞ ÖDEME TRANSFERİNİN BAŞLATILACAĞINI BİLDİREN" ve bu uygulamayı 3 yıl boyunca sürdüren
- Saat 18.00 de " İşleriniz bitmiş olsa da çıkılmayacağını bildiren ve bunun teklif edilmesi halinde insanları son derece onur kırıcı bir şekilde arkadaşları

yanında küçük düşerebilen, insanları bu tür davranışla karşılaşacaklarına evlerine çocuklarına gidememesinden zevk aldığını sandığım,

- Değil mesai sonunda ayrılmak, öğle yemeğine çıkarken bile izin alınmasını isteyen, insanların işlerini kaybetme endişesi duymalarını sağlayarak bu uygulamalarını rahatlıkla sürdüren

- " Bizde 2 Hafta üstüste izin kullanmak lükstür " diyen görüşleriyle şu anda çözümlenmeye çalışılan yıllık izin kaosunun yaratıcısı olan,

- Parafım olmadan hiçbir yasal bildirimi imzalamayan ama nasıl düzenlendiği hakkında en ufak bir fikri olmadığını bildiğim

- Verdiğin onca emeğe rağmen herşeyi görmezden gelme adına muhteşem çaba harcayan

- Gerek bölüm arkadaşlarıma gerekse şube operasyon yetkililerine yeri geldikçe bilgilerimi aktarmış olmamı onların işlerini daha kontrollü ve hatasız yapmalarını sağlama adına vermiş olduğum çaba yanında çalışma arkadaşlarımla kurmuş olduğum, saygınlık ve sevgiye dayalı stressiz ortamı içine sindiremeyen

- Geçmişe dönük tamamlanmamış işler için 1997 yılına dönüp, (Tasarruf Teşvik Bildirimleri) güncellemiş olmamı da görmezden gelebilen- 99 yılı 4 Aylık SSK bildirimlerini sistemin çökmesi nedeniyle ulaşılamaz halde iken, bu bildirimleri gece gündüz çalışarak 15 gün içinde manuel Genel Müdürlük ve tüm şubeler için tamamlamış olmak ve sonuçta o günkü ceza uygulamasına göre bankanın yaklaşık 20-22 milyar ceza yaptırımını içine girmesini engellemiş olmamı bir başarı olarak görmek istemeyen,

- Gemiř dnemde yapılmamıř, eksik bırakılmıř, yanlış yapılmıř hibir iř iin sorumlu tutulmayan, sorgulanmayan

- İřimi ok sevdiğim, stelik arkadaşlarıma da tm bilgimi aktarmıř olarak birlikte mutlu bir alıřma ortamı yaratılmıřken beni artık sakinleřtirici ilalar alarak iřini yapabilen bir insan haline sokan,

- Sonunda dayanamayıp bařka bir departmana geiř yapma isteėinde bulunmama neden olan,

- Hatırlayabildiėim bunca iřkenceyi insanların aresizliėini ve iřlerini kaybetme korkularını kullanarak devam ettirebilen

Bu onur kırıcı davranıřları ile abartısız hergn mutlaka bir arkadaşımı arkadaşları yanında mahup eden, aėlatan,

Katkılarıma ve alıřma disiplinime ve yararına raėmen beni hergn stlerine ktlediėine inandığım,

- Herřeye raėmen asla kendisine bir kez olsun "Hanım" ve "Siz" dıřında hitap etmediėim ve bu saygınlıėımı ve terbiyemi, " Bana her zaman kibar davranmıřtır." diyerek 3. kiřilere bildirebilen ancak- "Hayatım, Ege gibi adamlarla uėrařmakla geti " de diyerek bu itirafında bile dřncelerinin samimi olmadıėına, yařattıėı kabus dolu gnler nedeniyle inanamadığım,

- Tek řansının, eėitimini bařarı ile yrtmekte olan kızım olduėunu bilmesini istediėim,

- Sonunda departman deęiřiklięimin onaylanmasıyla kendisinden kurtulduęum,

- Bankayı bir terapi merkezi, çalışanları da terapide kullanılan aparatlar olarak gören,

- Ancak kendisinin de bir çalışan olduęunu hep unutan,

- řimdi yeterli oyuncadı kalmadıęı için kendisinin de *alt tarafı bir çalışan* olduęunu hatırladıęından emin olduęum,

PINAR D.' e ,

- Tüm bu yaşadıęım - tek istisnası yukarıda bahsettięim ceza yaptırımını engelledięim için takdirlerine layık görölmem olmuřtur - olumsuzluklara ve nedensiz davranıřlara seyirci kalan

- Bir kez bile, acı içinde, gururları sürekli kırılan, řahsiyetlerine dokunulan insanları dinlememiř olan

- Onca katkımı sonrasında her nedense görmezden gelen ve o kiřinin karalamalarına inanan, beni bir gün bile dinlemeyen

- 2 yıl sonra imza derecemi soran ama parafım olmadan bir tek belgeyi imzalamayan

- Geriye dönük yapmıř olduęum temizlięi takdir etmiř olmasına raęmen sonradan nedense unutabilen ama bu iřlerin neden zamanında yapılmadıęını birlikte çalışmaya devam ettięi kiřiye sormayan, soramayan aksine o

kişinin, ben de dahil tüm çalışanları kötölemesine inanabilen ve sağlıklı çalışma ortamının sağlandığını görmezden gelmeye inanılmaz şekilde devam edebilen,

- " Telefon görüşmesi sırasında görüştüğüm kişiye " toparlamaya çalışıyorum" sözcüğümün P.D' nin uygulamalarında yardımcı kuvveti olan Arzu Bektaş Hatunoğlu tarafından kendisine bildirildiğinde " Bu tür konuşmalar yapmayalım" diyen ve beni uyaran ancak eksikliklerin ve tamamlanmamış işlerin neler olduğu hakkında benden fikir almayı aklına bile getirmeyen,

- Her ay ceza yemekten başları dönmüş iken, bu gidişe son verilmiş olmasını görmezden gelen ancak cezaların bilgisizlik nedeniyle kontrol edilemeyişi konusunda yetkilisini sorumlu tutmayan, tutamayan suçlayamayan, sorgulayamayan

- Hatta bilgisizlikleri nedeniyle yeterli savunma yapamadıkları için geçmişte ödenmiş cezayı SSK' dan geri almış olmamı bile görmezden gelebilen

Son olarak departman değişikliği talebimin onaylandığını, bir sabah yerime geldiğimde kullanmakta olduğum tüm sistemi bloke edilmiş olduğunu görerek anlamış olmamı sağlayan ve buna neden gerek gördüğünü çözemediğim

- Bu departman değişikliği talebimi de " Sana teşekkür edip, gönderebilirdik, ama bu talebini karşılıyoruz" diyerek, bildiren ve bir kez daha kırııcı olan

- Oysa bu talebimi beni işten çıkarmasını gerektirecek hiçbir neden bulamamış olduğu gerçeği bir yana, teşekkür ederek göndermesi gerektiğine inandığı halde neden halen kırııcı olmaya devam ettiğini anlayamadığım

- Çalışma sürem içinde uygulanan tüm ücret artışlarında beni
Bölümün/Bankanın uyguladığı taban artış oranı ile değerlendiren

- Departman değişikliğimi bildirdikten sonra çok enteresan ama " Orada da başarılı olacağına inanıyorum" diyerek kendi bölümünde de başarılı olduğuma inandığını ve gördüğünü dil sürçmesi değilse eğer görmüş olduğunu sandığımı ama sonuç olarak yaşanan onca olumsuzlukları ne sebeple olduğunu anlayamadığım bir şekilde gözmezden gelebilen

- Departmanda bunca yaşananandan haberi olduğuna ve çoğunun da kendi direktifi doğrultusunda uygulandığından emin olduğum,

HAMDİ A.' a

- 2 yıl, 5 ay görev yaptığım Genel Muhasebe Bölümü' nde kendisi ile hiç karşılaşmadığım

- Benimle tanışmak lutfunda bulunmayan,

- Hakkımda kendisine İ.K. tarafından bildirildiğini tahmin ettiğim " gözden çıkarılmış personel" görüşünü kabul ettiğine inandığım

- Özgeçmişimi merak edip bakmadığından emin olduğum

- Profesyonel bir yönetici olarak "kim ne derse desin bu kişiyi tanımalıyım ve nasıl değerlendirebilir diye düşünmeliyim" diyemeyen

- Emekli olup, 5-6 ay daha çalışmak istiyorum talebimi, "Ayrılacağı günü belirten istifa dilekçesinin alınması" kaydına bağlayan

- Elbette ki hiçbir fikri olmadığı için de ünvanımı yeni yapılanma sırasında
Müdür Yardımcılığından " Yetkili" ye indiren

- En son ücret artışında zam oranımı % "0" olarak değerlendiren

- ŞU ANDA GENEL MUHASEBE BÖLÜMÜ' NDE ÇALIŞMAKTA OLAN
HANGİ KİŞİYİ YENİ BAŞVURU YAPMIŞ OLSALAR İŞE ALIRDI ACABA?
sorusunu kendisine sormak istediğim

MEHMET G. ' ye

Göstermiş oldukları üstün yöneticilik performanslarından dolayı kutluyor -
ve bundan sonraki yaşamımı bir hipertansiyon hastası olarak geçirecek olmamdaki
inanılmaz katkıları için sonsuz teşekkürler ediyorum.

Tüm bunlara neden dayandığım hemen aklınıza gelen ilk soru
olabilir.Hepiniz işinize neden geliyorsanız ben de o nedenlerle geldim. Hiçbir
farkımız yok.Yaşadıklarımı sizlere iletmeseydim, Anayasa Mahkemesi Başkanı
Sn. Bumin' in hissettiği ve açıkladığı gibi ömür boyu rahatsızlığını çekecektim.

Sevgili arkadaşlarım,

Dünyanın en çağdaş çalışma prosedürleri yazmış da olsanız, etkin sonuçlara
ancak sağlıklı uygulamalar yapabilen, sağlıklı insanlarla ulaşabilirsiniz.

Birlikte olduğumuz dönemde yardımlarını aldığım, işlerimizi paylaştığımız
tüm arkadaşlarıma teşekkür ediyorum. Böylesine bir ruh hali içinde çalışırken
istemeden kırmış olduğum arkadaşlarım var ise kendilerinden özür diliyorum.

Bunları neden yazdım?

Neden biliyor musunuz sevgili arkadaşlarım;

Yaşamımda hiç yanımdan ayırmadığım doğrularımı bundan sonra da gururla taşıyabilmek ve İncinmiş, kırılmış, boğazında hıçkırık düğümleri ile çalışmak zorunda kalan arkadaşlarımı yalnızca izleyip hiçbir şey yapamamanın ölçsüz ezikliğini yaşadığım için. Sizlere , çok beğendiğim ve her adımmda beni bir kez daha düşünerek hareket etmeye iten, bir değışle veda etmek isterim.

"Bütün renkler hızla kirleniyordu, birinciliğı Beyaz' a verdiler" diye bir söz vardır, çok hoşuma gider .

Kirlenmişlere , kirlendiklerini , kirlettiklerini hissettirmeniz, bu kirlilikten ancak sevgi ile arınabileceklerini hatırlatmanız ve buna , *önce kendilerini sevmeyi öğrenerek başlamaları* gerektiğini önermeniz dileklerimle ,

Sağlıkla Kalın,

Sevgiyle Kalın

Beyaz Kalın,

Hoşçakalın,

Tel : 532

Not: İsteyenlerle, diledikleri platformda görüşmeye hazırım.

APPENDIX C

PREDICTIVE INDEX

PRO FORMU SONUÇLARI

Cevaplayan: _____ Tarih: _____

		TOPLAM	
A			
B			
C			
D			

FAKTÖRLER

Ne Ölçüyoruz?

İnsanlar belirli davranışları doğuran belirli temel ihtiyaçlar ve dürtüler ile motive olurlar. PI'da biz bu motivasyonel ihtiyaçlara "faktörler" diyoruz. Her kişide değişik derecelerde de olsa bu dört faktör mevcuttur. Hiçbir faktör bir diğerinden daha önemli değildir. Hepsi eşittir. Bir faktör "iyi" veya "kötü" olarak değerlendirilmemelidir.

Faktörler motivasyonel ihtiyaçlar ve davranışlardır.

Faktör A- kişinin diğer kişilere ve olaylara müdahale dürtüsünü ve etkileme gücünü ölçer.

Faktör B- kişinin diğer insanlarla sosyal etkileşime girme dürtüsünü ölçer.

Faktör C- kişinin gerginliğinin ve temposunun yoğunluğunu ölçer.

Faktör D- resmi kurallara ve yapıya uyum gösterme dürtüsünü ölçer.

Düşük ve Yüksek



REFERANS PATERNLERİ

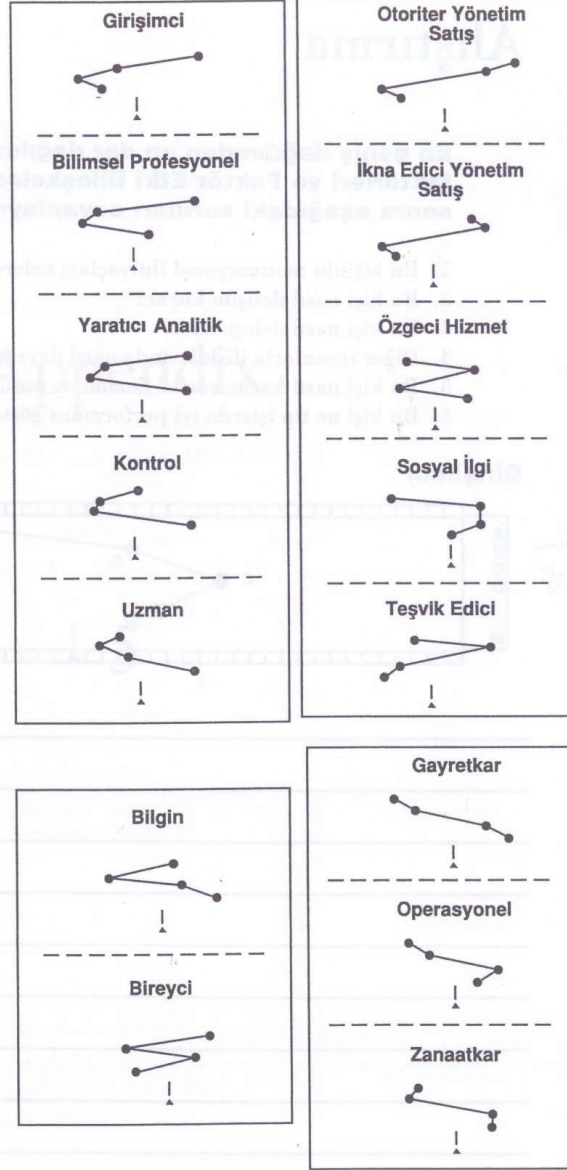
Referans paternleri organizasyonlarda görülen işle ilgili geniş kapsamlı davranışların özelliğidir.

Referans Paternleri:

Organizasyonlardaki insanlarda görebileceğiniz tipik davranış paternleridir.

Çok farklı türlerdeki işlerin özelliğidir.

Farklı paternleri farklı iş davranışlarıyla çabucak ilişkilendirmenize yardımcı bir eğitim kılavuzudur.



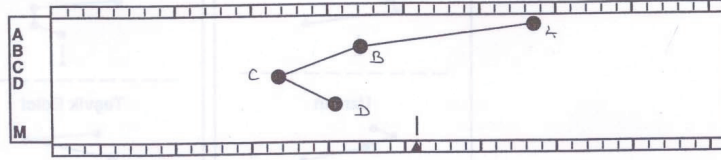
Alıştırma

En geniş dağılımdan en dar dağılıma doğru sırasıyla faktörleri ve Faktör Etki Bileşkeleri'ni inceledikten sonra aşağıdaki soruları cevaplayınız.

1. Bu kişinin motivasyonel ihtiyaçları nelerdir?
2. Bu kişi nasıl iletişim kurar?
3. Bu kişi nasıl delege eder?
4. Diğer insanlarla ilişkilerinde nasıl davranırlar?
5. Bu kişi nasıl karar verir? Sorunları nasıl çözer?
6. Bu kişi ne tip işlerde iyi performans gösterir?

Girişimci

Ürün Geliştirme
- Sentez Eği



ORGANİZASYONLARIN KURULMASI

Alıştırma

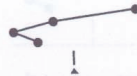
Takım olarak, organizasyondaki hangi işlere hangi referans paternlerinin en uygun olacağına karar verin. Burada 15 pozisyon var. Referans paternlerinin hepsini kullanın.

1. Bir koordinatör, bir yazıcı ve bir sunucu seçin.
2. Koordinatörün rolü, organizasyondaki hangi işe hangi paternin en iyi uyacağı konusunda takımınızın fikir birliğiyle karar vermesini sağlamaktır.
3. Takım fikir birliğine varmanın çok uzun zaman aldığı farkederse, karar almakta başka bir strateji (oy çoğunluğu gibi) kullanma kararı vermelidir.
4. Yazıcı organizasyon şemasını flip chart kağıdına geçirmelidir.
5. Sunucu bütün gruba şemayı açıklayacaktır.

Süre: 20 dakika

REFERANS PATERNLERİ

Girişimci



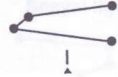
- Konuları kendi başlatır, kendini motive eder, inisiyatif kullanır
- Sonuç ve amaç eğilimli, hızlı, gergin
- Bağımsız genelleyici, yapısalıktan uzak
- Gözüpek, risk alan, otoriter, dışa vurumcu
- Yeni fikirler, yeni teknolojiler, buluşlar
- Detayları delege eder, otoriteyi değil
- Yaratıcı problem çözücü, arabulucu, sorun giderici

Bilimsel Profesyonel



- Sonuç eğilimli
- Yenilikçi, değişim taraftarı, hesaplanmış riskleri alan
- Konuları kendi başlatır, kendini motive eder, inisiyatif kullanır
- Analizci, eleştirici, yaratıcı düşünen
- Yetkinin az delegasyonu, sıkı takip
- Denetleyici, insanlara karşı sert
- Yüksek standartlar, yüksek kaliteli iş, uzman

Yaratıcı Analitik



- Kendine ve diğerlerine karşı talepkar
- Kesin performans standartları koyan
- Riskten hoşlanmaz, karar vermede zorlanır
- Yoğun analizci, detaycı ve disiplinli
- İletişimde ketum, içine dönük, şüpheli, hesapçı
- Karar vermede tedirgin, ikinci görüş

Kontrol



- Uzman, güçlü yapısalığa ihtiyaç duyan, kuralcı
- Yüksek kaliteli detaylı iş, az delegasyon
- Sadık, dikkatli, temkinli, tutucu
- İşleri hızlı ve doğru yapan, gerçek verim
- Teknik işlerde uzman
- Sistemler, kavramlar, nesneler, değişime karşı
- Keskin, eleştirici, etkili

Uzman



- Uzman, güçlü yapısalığa ihtiyaç duyan, kuralcı
- Yüksek kesinlik, yüksek kaliteli detaylı iş
- Otoriteye saygılı
- Ketum, analizci, içe dönük
- Ciddi, kuşkucu, hassas
- Dürüst, gerçekçi, temkinli iletişim tarzı
- İşleri hızlı ve doğru yapan, gerçek verim

- Kalite, üretim
- Etkilik yapabilir
- Uzmanlık her şeyden
her yer olabilir

Bilgin



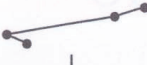
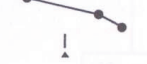
- Uzman, yapısalığa ihtiyaç duyan, kuralcı
- Detaycı, hatasız, dikkatli, kesin
- Ketum, içe dönük, hayal gücü kuvvetli, analizci
- Yüksek seviyede teknik uzman
- Otoriter, etkili
- Sabırlı, istikrarlı, yöntemci, az delegasyon

Bireyci



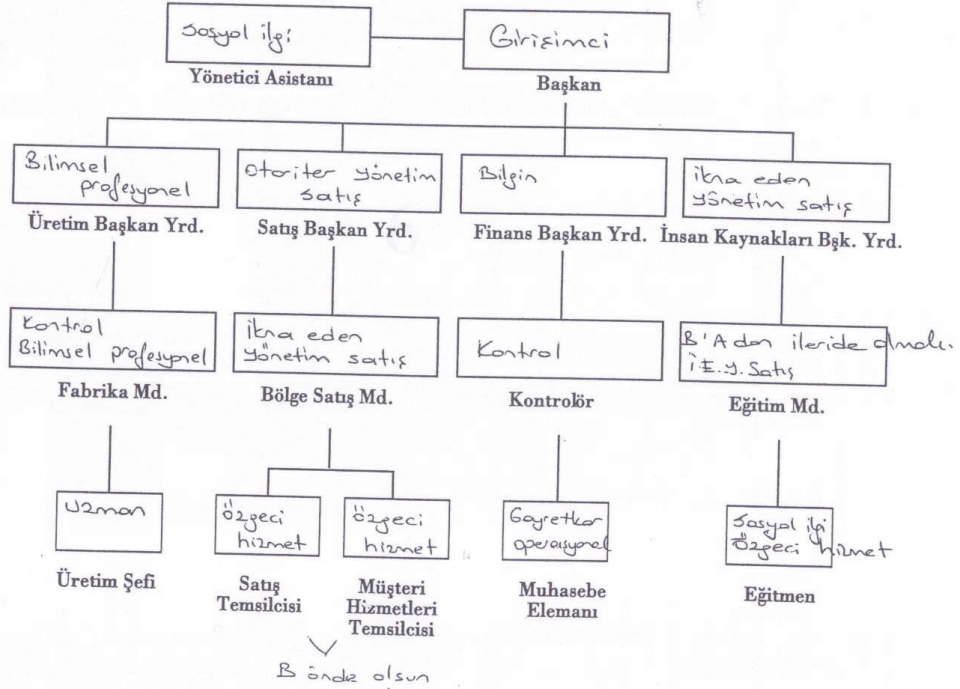
- Son derece bağımsız ve genelleyici
- Yapısalığa ve otoriteye karşı koyan
- Büyük resim, detaylarla az ilgili
- Girişimci, risk alan
- Sonuç ve amaç eğilimli
- Otoriter, etkili
- İnatçı, işleri kendi bildiği gibi yapan

Formula 1 yarışçısı.
İşletmelerde çok fazla
yeri yok.

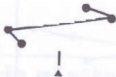
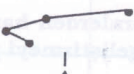
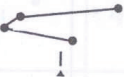
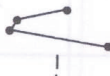
Otoriter Yönetim/ Satış 	• Problem çözücü, değişimi ve yeniliği seven • Girişimci, risk alan, kendinden emin, başlatıcı • Genelleyici, bağımsız, yapısalıktan uzak • Sonuç eğilimli, hızlı, gergin, sabırsız • Büyük resmi denetleme dürtüsü • Otoriter, etkili, diplomatik, ikna edici • Sisteme uyum sağlayabilen, insanları etkileyen	- Bilge satış müd - i.k. yöneticisi - "Tatlı sert"
İkna eden Yönetim/ Satış 	• Sıcak, cezbedici, sosyal ilişkilerde dengeli ve yetenekli • Empatik, ikna edici satış tarzı • Takım kurucu ve organizasyon geliştirici • Genelleyici, güçlü yapısalıktan uzak • Girişimci, risk alan, bağımsız • Sonuç ve amaç eğilimli, yetki delegasyonu • Kendinden emin, güçlü ego, inisiyatif	- İnsan Kaynakları - Satış - pazarlama - "Motivatör"
Özgeci Hizmet 	• Uzman, yapısalığa ihtiyaç duyan, kurallara uyan • İşbirliği ile çalışan, talimatlara uyum sağlayan • Özgeci, "Size nasıl yardımcı olabilirim?" • Risk almaz, baskıya olumlu tepki verir • Empatik, dışa dönük, hevesli, satış • Hızlı, yoğun, verimli, sıkı detay takibi	
Sosyal İlgisi 	• Cana yakın, dostça, canlı, dışa dönük, rahat • Takım oyuncusu ve üyesi olmaya istekli • Sabırlı, istikrarlı, baskıya olumsuz tepki verir • Aşına olduğu kişilerle daha rahat • Eleştirmeyen, yardıma hazır, tedbirli, risk almaz • Avera detay takibi, az inisiyatif • Uzman, yapısalığa ihtiyaç duyan, kurallara uyan	
Teşvik Edici 	• Bütünüyle dışa dönük, sıcak, dostça • İkna edici satış, iletişim, empatik • Kavram satmada başarılı, verilere ve detaylara az önem • Gruplarla etkili • Yetki ve detay delegasyonu, az takip • Başına buyruk, rahat, sınırlanmayan • "Hayır" cevabını kabul etmez	
Gayretkar 	• Uzman, güçlü yapısalık ve kurallara bağlı • Talimata saygı duyar, olmasını ister • Yetenekli detaylı çalışma, doğruyu yapmayı ister • Grupta uyumlu çalışır • Bencil olmayan, dostça, yabancılara karşı çekingen • Sabırlı, istikrarlı, tekrar eden işlere yüksek toleranslı	- Muhasebe - Gire yetkilisi - Puantör (eleştiriyi hassastır.)
Operasyonel 	• İstikrarlı, sabırlı, huzurlu • Değişmeyen ortamlarda çok daha başarılı • Tekrar ederek öğrenen • Uzman, güçlü yapısalık ve kurallara uyan • Talimata saygı duyar, olmasını ister • Bekleneni yapmakta hevesli, işinde dikkatli • Vasatın üzerinde detaylı iş	- Bent isaligi
Zanaatkar 	• Kurallara bağlı olarak çok doğru ve düzgün iş çıkarır • Uzman, güçlü yapısalık ve kurallara uyan • Güçlü otoriter yönetime saygılı • Bencil olmayan, yardıma hazır • Eleştiriyi hassas • Doğru sözlü, gerçekçi, gördüğünü söyleyen • Analitik düşünce	

Organizasyon Şeması

Organizasyon şeması imalat yapan bir şirketteki farklı kilit pozisyonları ve iş süreçlerini gösteriyor. Bu şirket hızla büyüyor, pazar payı yükseliyor ve üretim hacmi devamlı artıyor.

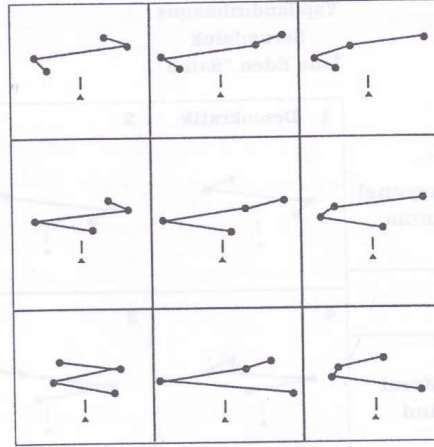


Yönetim Liderliği Tarzları

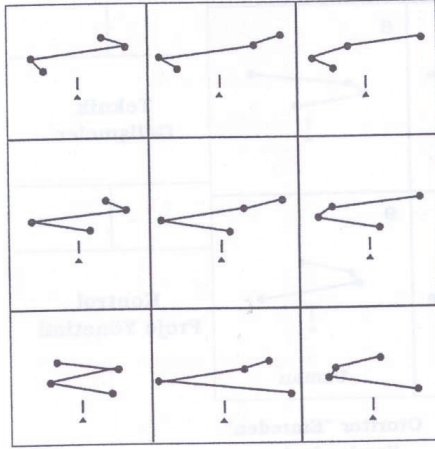
Değişiyor			Durum	Değişiyor			
Yapılandırılmamış Sorumluluk İkna Eden "Satan"				Yapılandırılmamış Sorumluluk Otoriter "Emreden"			
Organizasyonel Yapılanma	1 Demokratik		2		3 Otokratik		Risk Yönetimi Yenilik
	4		5		6		
	İnsan-Moral Gelişimi						
Takım Çalışması Proje Yönetimi	7 Katılımcı		8		9 Uzman		Kontrol Proje Yönetimi
İkna Eden "Satan" Yapılandırılmış Sorumluluk				Otoriter "Emreden" Yapılandırılmış Sorumluluk			
İstikrarlı			Durum	İstikrarlı			

Yönetim Liderliği Tarzları

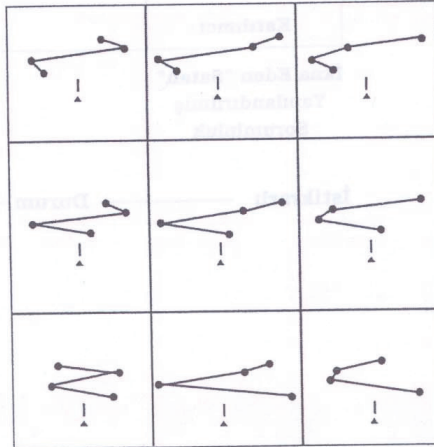
Şirket şu anda aşağıdaki paternlerden hangisine daha çok ihtiyaç duymaktadır?



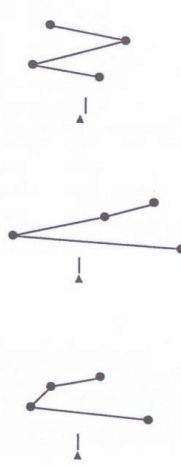
Şirket aşağıdaki paternlerden hangisini gelecekte daha fazla geliştirmeyi planlamalıdır?



Aşağıdaki şekilde temsil edilen farklı kişiler, güçlü bir şekilde motive edilmeleri, işin içine girmeleri ve verimli olmaları için şirketten ne gibi ihtiyaçlarının karşılanmasını isterler?



STRATEJİYİ PLANLAMA

Pazar Durumu	Başlama	Hızlı Büyüme	Olgunluk
	- yapısallaşmamış sorumluluk - hızlı değişim - yüksek risk - yüksek ödül - sistem eksikliği - teamül eksikliği - çabuk karar verme	- büyürken yapısallığın oluşturulması - hızlı değişim - daha az risk - az ödül - gelişen sistemler - gelişen teamül ve kültür: - karar verme - toplantı kalitesi - organizasyonel öncelikler - müşteri/süreç odaklanması - takımlar, fonksiyonlararası	- yapısallaşmış sorumluluk - az değişim - çok az risk - yüksel ödül - sistemler - teamül - karar verme - yapısallaşmış
Liderlik Statejisi	Liderlerin göstermeleri gereken - girişimci dürtü - değişimi zorlama - rekabet 	- çeşitli işlerle ilgilenirken organizasyonel yapılanma - demokratik/katılımcı ile otokratik/girişimci arasında gerginlik 	- sürekliliği sağlamada uzmanlık - süreç denetimi - iş yönetimi 

Notlar: Tüm evrelerde girişimci liderlik ceplerini muhafaza edin.
Değişim bölümler, kısımlar, alanlar, aynı zaman diliminde gelişimin farklı evrelerinde olabilirler.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Alexander, Jeffrey, “The Dialectic of Individuation and Domination: Weber’s Rationalization Theory and Beyond” in *Max Weber, Rationality and Modernity*. Eds. S. Whimster and S. Lash, (London: Allen and Unwin, 1987)
- Appadurai, Appadurai, “Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy” in *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000).
- Bauman, Zygmunt, *Wasted Lives: Modernity and its Outcasts*, (Cornwall: Polity Press, 2004).
- Bourdieu, Pierre, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977)
- Bourdieu, Pierre, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984).
- Bourdieu, Pierre, “Belief and the Body” in the *Logic of Practice*, (CA: Stanford University Press, 1990).
- Castells, Manuel, *The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture Vol. 1 the Rise of the Network Society*, (Cornwall: Blackwell Publishers, 1996).
- Castells, Manuel, *The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture Vol. 3 End of Millennium*, (Cornwall: Blackwell Publishers, 1998).
- Castells, Manuel, “Materials for an Exploratory Theory of the Network Society” in *British Journal of Sociology*, 51,1, (January/March 2000).
- Castoriadis, Cornelius, *The Imaginary Institution of Society*, trans. Kathleen Blamey, (Cornwall, Polity Press, 1997).
- Comaroff, Jean and Comaroff, John L., “Millennial Capitalism: First Thoughts on a Second Coming” in *Public Culture*. 12 (2/ 2000), p. 291-343.
- Cruikshank, Barbara, “Revolutions Within: Self-Government and Self-Esteem” in *Foucault and Political Reason: Liberalism, Neo-Liberalism and Rationalities of Government*, eds. Andrew Barry, Thomas Osborne and Nikolas Rose, (London: UCL Press, 1996).

- Dirlik, Arif, “The Global in the Local” and “The Postmodernization of Production” in *The Postcolonial Aura: Third World Criticism in the Age of Global Capitalism*, (Colorado: Westview Press, 1997).
- Donzelot, Jacques, “Pleasure in Work” in *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*, Eds. Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon and Peter Miller, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991).
- Dreyfus, Hubert and Rabinow, Paul, *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983).
- Durkheim, Emile, *Suicide*, trans. J.A. Spaulding and G. Simpson, (London: Routledge, 1952).
- Enloe, Cynthia, *Bananas, Beaches and Bases, Making Feminist Sense of International Politics*, (Los Angeles: University Of California Press, 2001).
- Flecker, Jörg and Hofbauer, Johanna, “Capitalizing on Subjectivity: The new Model Worker and the Importance of Being Useful” in *Workplaces of the Future*, Eds. Paul Thompson and Chris Warhust, (n.p.: Macmillan Business, 1998).
- Foucault, Michel, “Panopticism” and “The Body of the Condemned” in *Discipline and Punish*, (New York: Vintage, 1995).
- Foucault, Michel, “Truth and Power” and “The Means of Correct Training” in *The Foucault Reader*, Ed. Paul Rabinow, (n.p.: Penguin Books, 1991).
- Foucault, Michel, “The Subject and Power,” in *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*, Afterword to Hubert Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow, (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1983).
- Foucault, Michel, “Governmentality,” in *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*. Eds. Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon, Peter Miller, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991).
- Freeman, Richard and Katz, Lawrence, *Working Under Different Rules*, (New York: Russel Sage, 1994)
- Grint, Keith and Woolgar, Steve, “Technology and Work Organizations,” in *The Machine at Work: Technology, Work and Organization*, (Cornwall, Polity Press, 1997).
- Grint, Keith, *The Sociology of Work: An Introduction*, (Cornwall: Polity Press, 1998).

- Harvey, David, “The Political-economic Transformation of late Twentieth-century Capitalism” in *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change*, (n.p.: Blackwell, 1992).
- Hoogvelt, Ankie, *Globalization and Postcolonial World*, (London: MacMillan Press, 1997).
- Keyder, Çağlar, “İstanbul’u Nasıl Satmalı” in *Ulusal Kalkınmacılığın İflası*, (İstanbul: Metis, 1996).
- Lien, Marianne, *Marketing and Modernity*, (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 1997).
- Lury, Celia, “Habitat and Habitus” in *Consumer Culture*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1996).
- Marx, Karl, *Capital, Vol. 1*, (New York: International Publishers, 1967).
- Marx, Karl, “Introduction to a Critique of Political Economy”, in *The German Ideology*, ed. C.J. Arthur, (New York: International Publishers, 1988).
- Méda, Dominique, *Emek: Kaybolma Yolunda bir Değer mi?* (Le Travail: Une Valeur en Voie de Disparition), trans. Işık Ergüden, (İstanbul: İletişim, 2004).
- Myers, Tony, *Slavoj Žižek*, (Cornwall: Routledge, 2003).
- Ohmae, Kenichi, *Görünmeyen Kıta: Yeni Ekonominin Dört Stratejik Buyruğu*, trans. B.G. Akbay. (İstanbul: Henkel Yayınları, 2001).
- Pahl, Ray, *After Success: Fin-de-Siècle Anxiety and Identity*, (Cornwall: Polity Press, 1995).
- Peker, Bülent, “ ‘Kaçak Göçmenler’, ‘Yasadışı’ İnsanlar: Yeni Kölecilik Dünyası Düzeninde Türkiye” in *Birikim*, (February, 2002).
- Reich, Robert, B., “The Three Jobs of the Future” in *The Work of Nations*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf Inc., 1991).
- Rose, Nikolas, “The Productive Subject” in *Governing the Soul: The Shaping of the Private Self*, (London: Free Association Books, 1999).
- Sassen, Saskia, *Globalization and its Discontents*, (New York: The New Press, 1998).
- Sennett, Richard, *The Corrosion of Character: The Personal Consequences of Work in the New Capitalism*, (New York: W W Norton & Co Ltd 1998).

- Sklair, Leslie, *The Transnational Capitalist Class*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001).
- Tomlinson, John, “Modernity, Development and Cultural Fate,” in *Cultural Imperialism. A Critical Introduction*, (Baltimore: John Hopkins University, 1991).
- Türkeş, Ömer, “Orda Bir Taşra Var Uzakta” in *Taşraya Bakmak*, ed. Tanıl Bora, (İstanbul: İletişim, 2005).
- Weber, Max, “Bureaucracy” and “Politics as a Vocation” in *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, Eds. H.H. Gerth, C. W. Mills. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975).
- Whyte, William H. JR., *The Organization Man*, (n.p.: Simon and Schuster, Inc, 1956).
- Žižek, Slavoj, “Seven Veils of Fantasy” in *The Plague of Fantasies*, (New York: Verso, 1997).
- Žižek, Slavoj, “How Did Marx Invent the Symptom?” in *The Sublime Object of Ideology*, (New York: Verso, 2002).
- Available online:
http://www.ucansupurge.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=79&Itemid=76

Managerial Books, Websites, and Periodicals

- Alemdar, Selim, “Başarının Ortak Süreçlerinin İnsan Kaynakları Bakışıyla Yorumlanması” in *HR*, (October 2005).
- Anderson, Kristin and Zemke, Ron, *Şapka Çıkarttıran Hizmet Sunmak* (Delivering Knock Your Socks off Service), trans. Günhan Günay, (İstanbul: Rota Yayın, 1998).
- Argüden, Yılmaz, “Her Gün Gelecekteki Yaşam Kalitemizi Arttırmak”, in *İnsan Kaynaklarında Yeni Eğilimler*. Ed. Deniz Yalım, (İstanbul: E&Y/Hayat Yayınları, 2005).
- Baltaş, Zuhal, *Verimli İş Hayatının Sırrı: Stres. Hissedilen Ağırılık, Görülmeyen Güç*, (İstanbul: Remzi Kitapevi, 2002).
- Baltaş, Acar, *Değişimin İçinden Geleceğe Doğru: Ekip Çalışması ve Liderlik*, (İstanbul: Remzi Kitapevi, 2000).

- *Cosmopolitan*, (March, 1996).
- *Cosmopolitan*, (October, 2003).
- *Cosmopolitan*, (April, 2002).
- *Cosmopolitan*, (November,2003)
- Donat,Yavuz. “Hyundai Heyecanı” in *Sabah*, 25 December 2005.
- *Elele*, (October, 2003)
- *Elele*, (November, 2003)
- Friedmann, Thomas, “*The Lexus and the Olive Tree: Understanding Globalization*, ” (n.p.: Anchor Edition, 2000).
- Garih, Üzeyir, *İş Hayatında Motivasyon*, (İstanbul: Hayat Yayınları, 2000).
- *Hürriyet İK*, 1 January 2006.
- Kenar, Necdet, “Yaşam Boyu Öğrenme” in *PY*, (June, 2005).
- *Milliyet-Business*, 25 December 2005
- *Milliyet İnsan Kaynakları Gazetesi*, 21November 2004.
- *Milliyet İnsan Kaynakları Gazetesi*, 05 December 2004.
- Morgan, Gareth, *Yönetim ve Örgüt Teorilerinde Metafor*(Metaphor in Management and Organization Theories), Trans. Gündüz Bulut, (İstanbul: MESS yayınları,1998).
- Peters, Tom, *Crazy Times Call for Crazy Organizations*, (New York, Vintage 1994).
- *Sabah*, 14 August 2005.
- Sekman, Mümin. *Türk Usulü Başarı*, (İstanbul: Alfa Yayınları, 2003).
- Sümer, Canan. “Performans Değerlendirmesine Tarihsel Bir Bakış ve Kültürel Bir Yaklaşım” [online]
www.insankaynaklari.com/cn/ContentBody.asp?BodyID=240
- *The Economist*, 21 July 2001.

- Weisinger, H. *İş Yaşamında Duygusal Zeka* (Emotional Intelligence at Work), trans. Nazif. Süleymangil. (İstanbul: MNS Yayıncılık,1998).
- [online] <http://www.insankaynaklari.com/cn/ContentBody.asp?BodyID=300>
- [online] www.sourtimes.org