

SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF TIME PRESSURE AND SLEEP UNDER THE
CURRENT WORKING CONDITIONS OF CAPITALISM: A CASE STUDY ON
WHITE-COLLAR WORKERS IN İSTANBUL

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
OF
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

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IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF SCIENCE
IN THE
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

AUGUST 2017

Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

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ABSTRACT

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August 2017, 195 pages

In this thesis, the main concern is to explore the time experience in the contemporary conditions of capitalism in Turkey. This thesis tries to do that through sleep and work both of which together take workers' most of life-time, voluntarily or involuntarily. Sleep as a bodily act is mostly ignored to research by sociologists. However, nowadays, as long as sleep-deprivation or sleep-disorder becomes prominent issues for the workers, sociological analysis has become a requirement. This thesis claims that the transformation of sleeping practices and their perception, in one aspect, is about the current changes in capitalism and its working regime. After the analysis of semi-structured in-depth interviews with private sector-high qualified-under 35 ages-white collar workers in İstanbul, I come to the conclusion: In the face of acceleration and flexibilization both in working and leisure time relatedly, sleep frequently becomes a practice which can be seen as totally or partially renounceable for the workers to be able to have 'more time', even if it is thought as necessary or healthy for the body. However, at the same time, for the workers who are under pressure in terms of sleep duration and timing, sleep quality in a certain segment of time becomes more important, in order to perform better.

Keywords: time pressure, sleep, work, acceleration, flexibilization.

ÖZ

GÜNÜMÜZDEKİ KAPİTALİST ÇALIŞMA REJİMİNDE ZAMAN BASKISI VE UYKUNUN SOSYOLOJİK ANALİZİ: İSTANBUL'DAKİ BEYAZ YAKALI ÇALIŞANLAR ÜZERİNE BİR ALAN ÇALIŞMASI

Kurmuş, Emir

Yüksek Lisans, Sosyoloji Bölümü

Tez Yöneticisi: Yrd. Doç. Dr. Çağatay Topal

Ağustos 2017, 195 sayfa

Bu tezin temel meselesi Türkiye’de kapitalizmin çağdaş koşullarındaki zaman deneyimini araştırmaktır. Bunu da çalışanların, isteyerek ya da istemeyerek, yaşamlarında en çok zamanlarını alan uyku ve iş pratikleri üzerinden yapmaya çalışmaktadır. Bedensel bir eylem olarak uyku sosyologlarca çoğunlukla göz ardı edilmiş bir araştırma alanıdır. Fakat günümüzde, uyku bozukluğu veya uyku yoksunluğu giderek önemli bir sorun haline geldikçe, sosyolojik analiz bir gereklilik haline gelmiştir. Bu tez, uyku pratikleri ve algısındaki değişimlerin bir yönüyle kapitalizm ve çalışma rejimindeki güncel dönüşümlerle ilişkili olduğunu iddia etmektedir. İstanbul’da özel sektörde çalışan, 35 yaş altı, yüksek vasıflı, beyaz yakalı işçilerle yapılan yarı-yapılandırılmış derinlemesine mülakatların analiziyle şu sonuca varılmıştır: İş ve bunla bağlantılı olarak boş zamanlarda yaşanan hızlanma ve esnekleşme karşısında uyku, zorunlu veya beden için sağlıklı olduğu düşünülse de, işçiler için, sıklıkla ‘daha çok zaman’a sahip olabilmek adına tamamen ya da kısmen feragat edilebilir bir pratik haline gelmiştir. Fakat aynı zamanda, uyku süresi ve zamanlaması yönünden baskı altında olan çalışanlar için, uyanık oldukları zaman periyodunda iyi performans gösterebilmek için birim zamandaki uyku kalitesi daha çok önem kazanmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Zaman baskısı, uyku, iş, hızlanma, esnekleşme.

“Hello hello, planet Earth; planet in distress
Little overworked man among SOSes
Little man oblivious to his own unease
Running to forget; he forgot himself in his appearance.

(...)

Hello hello, people in a hurry with wrecked nerves
Advocating a kingdom that looks like hell
Ready to die fighting for the cage which killed our souls
And what was within factory colors or iron bars
A horizon of hedges where walls encircle us

(...)

Hello hello, people in a hurry, your face inside your plate
A whole life spent looking through the window
Dreaming silently of another life, another self
So forgetting about oneself will have to do
Anguish and cries stifled by appearances
Knots in your head, hands tied, heir of the unease,
Break your chains!

(...)

People hurry on, not knowing where to.
Anguish and stress; bad luck, distress
A mind square as a TV set
Abandoned human being
A rich country and its crowds of homeless
Hey you victims, stand up and fight

(...)

If we fail, we become servants
If we give in, we're dead.
We know nothing comes easy,
But life is bound to prevail,
So break your chains!”*

* From a song by Keny Arkana, “Gens Pressés” (People in a Hurry). The translation of the lyrics is taken from: <http://lyricstranslate.com/en/gens-press%C3%A9s-people-hurry.html>

*To Ezgi Pınar, in the name of all those who were
dismissed from their job unfairly...*

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

At first, I would like to thank my thesis supervisor Assist. Prof. Dr. Çağatay Topal for his precious support and suggestions from the very beginning. In a troublesome year from different aspects, his sympathy, tolerance, and thoughtfulness kept me out of giving up or delaying this study. The comfort he provided and his academic discipline at the same time make this study possible to be completed. I will always appreciate his effort to help me to keep up with the deadline even during his holiday. Furthermore, I would like to thank the dear jury members Assoc. Prof. Dr. Emel Memiş and Assoc. Prof. Dr. Erdoğan Yıldırım for their respect and curiosity to the topic of this study, for the trust and support they provide me as well as the encouragement for further researches. Their critical, insightful comments and questions will always be in my mind for further researches.

I am grateful to Prof. Dr. Aykut Çelebi whose courses helped me to shape the topic and the theoretical background of this study. In addition to his vast knowledge that he does not hesitate to share, his encouragement and support are sincerely acknowledged. Besides, I would like to thank Assoc. Prof. Dr. Yiğit Karahanoğulları and Assist. Prof. Dr. Mustafa Öziş for significant contributions and critiques. They did not hesitate to help me and encourage for further researches even if they do not know me at all. I would also like to thank Assist. Prof. Dr. Murat Akan for the small but important contribution that helped me for motivation and for convincing myself to that I am doing an important study.

I am deeply indebted to my dear colleagues Pedriye Mutlu, Kıvanç Yiğit Mısırlı, Buğra Demirtaş, Ezgi Akyol, Mustafa Kahveci and Sezen Çilengir. They take upon themselves my own responsibilities and helped me to focus on the thesis. When necessary, they did not care their own workload and helped me for this study. In addition to their direct contributions to the study, by their moral support, I would

have the motivation to complete this study. Without their solidarity, it will be impossible to complete this study.

I would like to emphasize my sincere thanks to my dear friends who accepted all of my requests about this study: Merve Akdemir, Murathan Kurfalı, Gözde Tuna, Ertan Bat and Mehmet Ali Türesay. I feel lucky for being their friend. Even though they could not make tangible contributions to this study, their faith and support, Ufuk Daştan, Burcu Türkoğlu, Kenan Özçelik and Berhan Alp Yurdakul's faith and support was always with me. They did a lot for the necessary motivation to accomplish this study.

I owe special thanks to Zerrin Gürkaya who was the most important supporter of my university life patiently so far. Without her assistance this study would not start, without her contributions, I would not be even a student. I also would like to thank Ashı Gürtunca, İsmail Büyükçoban, Nur Üstündağ, and Sibel Bekiroğlu. They made important contributions at critical periods. Without their help, this period would be more difficult and I will always appreciate about it.

My sincere thanks also go to my previous flat mates Derviş Can Deda, Mehmet Ali Karlı and especially Umutcan Akca who is also in a sense my professor. I miss them. I also would like to thank my new flat mates Cansu Günay and Buğra Kezan for their patience and support. I also apologize for being isolated at home during the thesis writing process.

I am deeply indebted to my parents, Süleyman Kurmuş and Nihal Kurmuş for their faith and support in every stage of my life. I am also grateful for their patience and their extraordinary effort to reduce my problems during the thesis period. I also apologize for being away from them physically and mentally.

I am also grateful to the respondents of this study who spare their time for the long interviews despite the time pressure they feel. I really appreciate them for renouncing their leisure for this study. I hope this study can make a tiny contribution to their life.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

It is difficult to find a study directly addressing the issue of time in the field of sociology in Turkey. Articles and dissertations on the topic of time are found in philosophy which can be deemed as a field that has a lot in common and in interaction with social sciences. Although economy which is another important social science field has handled this topic from different perspectives sociologists have remained distant to the discussions about time. One of the most important reasons for that is the fact that the concept of time being considered as an “abstract” object. Nevertheless, a lot of “abstract” issues are also social at the same time and most of the topics of this kind have been dealt with by sociologist so far.

Another tendency is thinking of time as a phenomenon belonging to nature rather than social life and being apart from culture is another reason for this lack of attention. In contrast to “abstractness” discussion, this conception argues that notion of time is a research object of the fields like physics and mechanics that identify themselves with “concreteness”. As it has been envisaged as a phenomenon that pertains to nature and has existed before humans and will continue to exist after humans, in other words as social life cannot have an effect on it, no connection between sociology and time has been built. In this study, another opposing line of argument tends to refer to psychology or similar fields on this issue due to their persistence on the “interiority” of the phenomenon and its link to psychic part of human nature. Since they isolate the psychological one from the social one, some

other opinions even confine the discussion to the boundaries of theology as a result of defining time concept as something religious and divine.

The common feature of all these approaches that exclude time from the research area of sociology is their insistence on drawing strict lines between scientific disciplines. Nevertheless, sociology has a tendency to spill over from such boundaries when it is forced to fit into a frame because social issues are not restricted to certain areas. Interest areas of sociologists are not only the interactions stemming from the social existence of human beings but they also examine people's relationship with nature since human is a part of nature and it realizes its role in nature to some extent through society. Besides, "natural" activities of humans can also be a subject of sociology due to social pressures, norms, incentives, presumptions, desires, details etc. that also come from these natural activities. As Nowotny said, "time dwells in us not only through the biological or natural rhythms but also because we are social beings and subject to the changing temporal structures of the society" (Nowotny, 1994: 6).

1.1. Background and Context

While the topic of time and some other concepts related to it were generally overlooked from social sciences area for a long time, the complaints about the neglect and marginality of time problem in social research are on the rise for the last decades. However, the reflections of this rediscovery on the relationship between the social and time have remained rare, unsystematic, dispersed in addition to some deficiencies about conceptual tools and empirical knowledge (Schedler & Santiso, 1998: 5; Colley et al. 2012: 372). One of the aims with studying this field is to be able to contribute to the sociological research in Turkey by indicating some of the overlooked points. This thesis can be read as a modest effort for an invitation to think about time and temporality of contemporary society.

Time is "an essential precondition of any thoughts on human society or social order, and on stability or change within them" (Šubrt & Cassling, 2001: 212). Therefore, I quite agree with Rosa who claims that we cannot sufficiently understand the characteristics of modernity and capitalism unless we add temporal perspective to

social and political analysis (Rosa, 2009: 79). In this view, temporal structures provide a special point of access to the necessary connection between systemic macro and micro levels of social experience. Yet, according to them, mainstream social sciences tend to hesitate to underline the need to analyze social temporality seriously (Rosa & Scheuerman, 2009: 15). This study's framework offers to pay attention to the historicity of social orders' temporality conditioned by mode of production but also to the distinctions of historical periods and experiences of different social groups in different spaces (Colley et al., 2012: 374).

Temporal structures can be handled as a nexus for integration and coordination of individual perspectives on time, even if the structures themselves sometimes cause to the opposite. Integration and coordination do not occur and process automatically; it requires at least a power network to impose itself. This situation is one of the lines that express the close connection between the personal and social. Therefore, "How should I spend my time?" is one of the most fundamental political and inevitably social questions since the basic structures and patterns of temporal experience are beyond the immediate reach of any individual. Besides, ignoring the dominant temporal norms and social rhythms can lead to various sanctions or social exclusion (Rosa & Scheuerman, 2009: 16). Not only the coordination and harmony but also the current changes of time experience and conflicts about time should be analyzed. As Nowotny put it:

In the analysis of the conflicts over time, if not before, it becomes clear that time represents a central dimension of power which manifests itself in the systems of time that dictate priorities and speeds, beginning and end, content and form of the activities to be performed in time (1994: 105).

For social and political analysis of the dimension of power about time, Rosa & Scheuerman offers the concept of social acceleration which is an indispensable tool for recent temporal structures of contemporary society (Rosa & Scheuerman, 2009: 3) since it is obvious that enormous increases in the number and intensity of events and situations that take place in a unit of time. Besides, compare to previous eras, more shifts of events and necessities occur in a certain segment of time (Zherebin et

al., 2015: 197, 201). Therefore, speed has become one of the most important criteria of evaluation both for the economy, social life and politics (Chesneaux, 2000: 409). The reflection of social acceleration to individuals is the feeling of worrying about time constantly, always rushed, never had enough time to certain activities, difficulty of keeping up with ceaseless changes, necessity to move, think and act fast. I gather them under the same concept of time pressure to analyze.

1.2. The Position of Research Topic in Sociology Discipline

Within its widest framework, this thesis seeks to demonstrate the necessity to sociologically handle both time phenomenon which has been excluded from the sociological field just because of the above-mentioned considerations and sleep as a bodily act, which has also been regarded as a “natural activity” of human, ignored by sociologists. It is illogical to presume that an activity which covers almost one-third of human life will not be affected by social life. Yet, sleep was even excluded from some time-use analysis. In contrast to this neglect, some of the most prominent sociologists of the twentieth century, such as Norbert Elias and Marcel Mauss, put emphasis on the human body in sociology and did not overlook sleep as a bodily act related with the social world.

The main argument of Elias’ about sleep is that sleep has become slowly but increasingly a more private matter and has separated from most other social relations during the civilizing process. He thinks that in medieval society, people slept in any place and time that was convenient and the space they slept was shared by many others. Before the civilizing process, sleep was relatively undisciplined and undifferentiated. However, by the civilizing process which is about individualization and rationalization, it mostly occurred in private bedrooms and when there is nobody except the members of the nuclear family. Elias calls this process as the etiquette of the bedroom. However, seeing that Elias associates this process with individualization and rationalization of a certain historical era, it can be possible to say that the body through sleep is tried to be investigated by Elias with all its social aspects, not limited only to the transformation of bedroom behaviors (Elias, 1978, 163-6; Williams, 2005: 39-41; Marinache, 2015: 22).

Another important figure Mauss, parallel with Elias, makes his emphasis on the socialness of bodily practices. Mauss criticizes the idea that sleep is something totally natural and presents very different examples about sleeping patterns of very different societies from different parts of the world. These include 'sleeping on horseback', sleeping without any assistance of an instrument except the floor, sleeping covered or uncovered, with or without a pillow, sleeping together with other members of the community. He claims that, even, lying down for sleeping is not universal. He also mentions about his own sleeping pattern which actualised anywhere and is quite discontinuous and transient at the front during World War I. The main and common point of these, for Mauss, is that they are techniques of the body which are social in principle (Mauss, 1973: 80-1). On the other hand, since sleeping is a bodily act, this technique of the body presupposes a biological apparatus and has biological echoes. However, this apparatus (body) is not the cause of the technique; it is the 'cog-wheel'. Adaptation to the technique is an individual psychological and physiological matter but the technique itself, in general, governed by the circumstances of life. In short, what we encounter when analyzing sleep is an 'assemblage of the physio-psycho-sociological' (Mauss, 1973: 85-6).

Mauss has a tendency to analyze society as a whole so he does not put so much emphasis on differences in a particular society. His examples also create an illusion as if each member of society has the same bodily practices and patterns. However, even if they are very limited, telling that "these 'habits' ... vary between ... educations, proprieties and fashions, prestiges" (Mauss, 1973: 73), he gives some insights into the causes of different member's differentiated techniques in a particular society. Mauss also states that there are biological and psychological factors get involved in sleep but the individual cannot be the single analysis unit for a sleep research. Psychologists and physiologists, as long as they focus on the individual by isolating him/her from social relations, can only make vague explanations without the collaboration of sociologists (Mauss 1973: 77). What is absent in Mauss' article is that he does not discuss sleep practices, in contrast to Elias, related with broad historical transformations such as modernity or civilizing process.

Despite the prominent sociological figures who pointed to sleep as a field of study, it was classified out of investigation area by sociologists. Social scientists have tended to assume that sleep is an activity that is not affected by social context. It was considered just a physiological or natural phenomenon and abandoned to natural sciences. Although, it is a physiological act, it can and must be a subject of sociology because, as I will argue later on, it is also a social act. Besides, carrying on a study about sleep will be helpful for analyzing other sociological phenomenon and problems (Marinache, 2015: 18-22; Chatzitheochari & Arber, 2009: 32-3).

Another reason for this exclusion is that sleep is commonly characterized by a 'reduced level of consciousness' and as an act which belongs to a different order of experience. This approach does not take into account the overlapping dimension of activities the sleeping body can still be a part of and more importantly, it fails to notice the engagement between sleep and the waking activities (Hsu, 2014: 224). Yet, even if scarcely, sleep also has started to be a field of interest in social sciences worldwide in the last decades and sociology has been the precursor. The prominent sociologists that study sleep were mostly the ones that study health sociology, as well.

One side of the coin is that after the medical sciences point out the sleep importance on physical and mental health, on the individuals' capacities etc. the social problems of sleepiness started to be analyzed by sociologists (Marinache, 2015: 21). On the other hand, the first pieces of important sociological texts on sleep mostly emerged from the debates about the medicalization of sleep. Limitations of medical sciences and psychology to analyze sleep which is considered as a social act was always debated by sociologists. Furthermore, the medicalization of sleep and the discourse on healthy sleep were argued by some important texts in the context of discourse analysis to explore the aims and its collaboration with power networks. For the scope of the study, I would neither argue the theories on the relation between discourse and power nor that the studies are coherent or not with the theory they are supposed to base on. Yet, the discourse on healthy sleep and its critique are important points of this study.

Sleep is studied by some social scientists with its health consequences but surprisingly, sleep has remained largely under-researched in the context of work and leisure or socio-economic factors or cultural frameworks. It is generally assumed that “sleep is an activity that is largely unaffected by social context” (Chatzitheochari & Arber, 2009: 30-33). However, in addition to affecting by social context, sleep also affects the social context itself. As Williams said: “Sleep ... is no mere biological given, but a historically variable phenomenon; an important indicator or index ... of social order and social change” (Williams, 2005: 65). Therefore any social analysis of sleep which does not relate itself to capitalism, which is one of the most determinatives of social order and change, will fall short. On the other hand, any capitalism analysis who does not take the bodily rhythms into consideration will be deficient, as well.

1.3. Research Questions

I try to highlight some important the dynamics that affect sleep and affected by it through the recent transformations concerning the work in capitalism which the workers have to allocate a great deal of their time as well as some other social requirements and leisure activities. Sleep is a bodily act which is influenced by social context and this context can demand the workers to compress their sleep duration for the sake of work and leisure (Chatzitheochari & Arber, 2009: 45). However, some sociological studies handled the sleep problem only by focusing on the factors that cause a reduction in average sleep duration and overlook the conditions that sleep also influences the social context. This study also tries to analyze these factors but I do not only focus on its reduction but also its important position for the management of a better waking life. Sleep is a fundamental resource for generating physical and mental energy for human agency. The lack or reduction of sleep can cause the workers to be incapable of their best performance during their waking life (Williams, 2008: 3). Therefore, the problem of capitalism today is not only to reduce the duration of sleep but also take advantage of it since it raises the performance of the workers at work. When we add the leisure to the picture, the position of sleep becomes more complicated. It becomes more renounceable in

contemporary world but at the same time, it becomes more important, as well. I prefer to conceptualize this process as “ticklish position of sleep”. Yet, this study does not only try to comprehend the position of in sleep in contemporary social life but also this social ensemble itself by the help of sleep analysis.

Therefore, I come up the research questions of this study. In a logical order:

The Main Research Questions:

- 1- Do the workers feel excessively under time pressure? If they are, what are the main causes? Is time pressure related to the current changes in the rhythms of the capitalist working regime?
- 2- How the demands of work, work-related activities, social life and their desires to leisure activities affect the workers’ time-use? How they manage (or must manage) sleep and wakefulness in the contemporary social life?
- 3- What is the position of their sleep under the tension of time pressure and the next day’s requirements? How the workers approach it; is it something renounceable or that should be defended for health?

These questions can be generalized and used for different social groups to get some insights about the general structure of contemporary capitalism and the position of time-use and sleep in this structure. Besides, the possible differences and their causes can be analyzed as well. However, for the scope of this study, I did not choose different social groups and did not apply a comparative analysis. I

conducted the field research on the white-collar workers who are under 35 age, high-qualified, work in a regular job in private sector in İstanbul and not at top managerial positions. I explained the reason behind this choice very detailed in methodology chapter.

The respondents that participated in this field research selected randomly among the white-collar workers matching the criteria we mentioned in the previous paragraph. The data are drawn from 13 respondents with whom I conducted one-on-one, face-to-face, semi-structured, in-depth interviews between March and May 2017 in İstanbul. I also applied a basic time-use survey based on the durations of different activities about work, transportation, leisure, sleep, etc. simultaneously during the interviews. Even though this study mostly bases on qualitative data, by the help of a basic time-use survey, it also became possible to get quantitative data, even if it is limited. The details can be found in the methodology chapter.

1.4. Outline of Literature Review and the Main Arguments of the Study

The first chapter after introduction starts with the emphasis on the raising medicalization of sleep by the examples from Turkey and some other countries. The importance of sleep both for health and for its effects on waking life has mostly been noticed by the medical sciences, such as medicine, pharmacology, neurology. Likewise, psychiatry and psychology are also very much interested in sleep issues since it is thought that sleepiness or sleep-deprivation has several negative effects on mental health of the individual. Popular self-help literature and media, as well, dwells upon sleep increasingly, by also relating it time-use patterns and potential harms in economical and healthiness sense.

In this part, I argue, through the example Kroll-Smith & Gunter's (2005) study which is a critique of the health discourse, both the limitations and the fallacies of the health discourse itself and its critique. Kroll-Smith & Gunter argue that especially through decentralized micro networks such as media, health discourse on sleep is spreading and this construct a new "truth" on health. According to them, sleepiness is re-described as a "risk-prone state of consciousness" that affects both the individual and public health thereby the patterns of sleep is trying to be

regulated coherent with this discourse. However, I will claim that there is not only one discourse on healthy sleep and health is not the priority in most cases to arrange a sleep pattern. I will try to show that the raising discourses on healthy sleep do not emerge out of thin air and it is a cue to analyze the problematic position of sleep in contemporary society. Then, I will try to argue the relationship between medicalization and capitalism and try to show the intimacy between them but which can turn into a tension at the same time. I will claim that any medical discourse or its critique who do not take the historical conditions, as well as the contradictions and differentiations in society, into consideration will be failed to analyze or/and 'cure' the sleep-related problems. In this part, I both criticize the individual-based analyses and the ones that overlook the subjects by the example of healthy sleep and sleep-related drug use. Yet, the main aim of this part, as the others, is to show that the transformations in capitalism, the current working relations is the most important factor that conditions the sleep patterns, rather than health.

The second part of literature review is allocated to Lefebvre's rhythmanalytical project which is the basic theoretical framework of this study. Even though his analysis is not directly on sleep, it is about the body in capitalism. He offers to rescue the analysis of body from the dominance of physiology, medicine, and psychology. Yet, he does not cast them away totally. Just the opposite, he thinks that rhythmanalysis is an effort to bring very different types of scientific disciplines including physiology, medicine, and psychology but through the overarching perspective of sociology. In this part, on a theoretical level, I argue the key role of the body to comprehend not only the body in a social ensemble but also the social ensemble itself.

As Elias and Mauss' approaches, Lefebvre also emphasizes the social dimension of the body and bodily practices and consider the body as a point to analyze social relations. However, his framework is, in my opinion, more useful than the others since he does not confine himself with focusing on the different patterns of bodily practices between different societies, or with analyzing just the in-depth transformations of them. In addition to these important dimensions, Lefebvre's theoretical framework provides the tools to consider the different bodily patterns of

different social classes or groups in the same society and their material causes. Besides, he does not only focus on how the rhythms of the society and body overlap but also how they collide and sometimes contradict themselves. This part is the starting point which I will follow all along this study to analyze the relationship between the rhythms of body, capitalism and everyday life thereby the sleep patterns under the current conditions of capitalism since I think that this is the most valid conceptual framework to understand sleep patterns of contemporary society.

After this basic theoretical framework, I pass on to a modest analysis of a certain time dimension in contemporary capitalism in the third part of the literature review. It begins with a brief examination of fundamental concepts that are related to time dimension of current capitalism. It is a fact that there have been different functions and effects of capitalism on time experience in different historical periods and countries. For the scope of this study, I will not attempt to analyze these differences. I will only focus on the main tendencies in current capitalism and Turkey where capitalist economy prevails.

In the context of temporal dimension of current capitalism I think that “social acceleration” is a key concept for analyzing plenty of phenomena, working life and sleep included, in contemporary society. In the first sub-heading of the second part of literature review, I argue the different dimensions of social acceleration by the theoretical framework that is mostly prepared by Hartmut Rosa. These dimensions are “technological acceleration”, “capitalist acceleration” and “acceleration of the pace of life”. I try to handle them interconnected as Rosa offered. I also try to refer to some linking points of acceleration’s effects on working life. What is distinctive and impressive in Rosa’s theory is that he offers to analyze acceleration interrelated to deceleration and thereby he shows that acceleration is not absolute. It does not affect everybody and every phenomenon in the same way. He also gives some examples not only about the limits of acceleration but also about how acceleration itself sometimes causes deceleration. It is even sometimes needed deceleration for further acceleration. In the following chapters, these conceptual tools will be operationalized to analyze the sleep patterns of white-collar workers in contemporary society.

The next sub-heading after acceleration is about flexibilization. To be able to handle bodily rhythms of white-collar workers in the context of the rhythms of capitalism, it is indispensable to analyze the flexibilization of the working regime. As Rosa stressed, the speed of capitalism fluctuates in different time periods. This is one of the linking points to analyze flexibility in relation with the acceleration of contemporary capitalism. In this chapter, I will mostly focus on the effects of flexibilization on working conditions without losing sight of the temporal experience. The constant changes caused by acceleration transform the organizations and necessitates flexibility of workers especially in the sense of overtime. Temporal flexibilization of work blurs the boundaries between working time and leisure mostly for the sake of work and it expects the worker to be ever-available and adaptable to acceleration. Therefore, the rhythms of work spill over into the leisure. In this part, I also argue the position of qualifications and age regarding acceleration, in the competitive and flexible labor market. All of these will be handled as increasing colonization of leisure by work and flexibilization debate will be functional for analyzing the duration and timing of sleep that the workers practiced.

The first sub-heading of fourth part is about time pressure which is a disseminative feeling of the human subjects in the last decades. In this part, I will argue the different dimensions and causes of time pressure. It is argued by some scholars that time pressure is a myth while by some others, that it emerges because of the higher aspirations and leisure demands of people. In my opinion, even though the time pressure manifests itself especially in the desire to have more time for leisure, this does not mean that leisure is the sole source of time pressure by itself. Oppositely, the expansion of work into other fields of life causes the anxiety to accelerate leisure activities and necessities since only a little time have left after work. As the field research showed me at least for the white-collar worker respondents of this research, the basic source of time pressure is overwork which is not limited to certain working hours and the necessity to adapt different dimensions of social acceleration. In other words, the reason behind time pressure is the collaboration of acceleration and flexibilization. In the same vein, flexible scheduling and multi-tasking phenomena, 24/7 accessibility of worker, the contingency of labor

necessities etc. also causes coordination and timing problems for leisure activities, which is another aspect of time pressure. Workers employ several strategies to cope with time pressure and reduction of sleep duration is one of them.

Therefore, I arrive at the last part of the literature review which is directly about the main topic of this study, current patterns of sleep. In other words, in the flux of the study, I finish with sleep as I started with it. In this part, I firstly overview the argument which claims that capitalism today has to function in every little piece of time and it has turned into a 24/7 capitalism. It has aligned the culturally prescriptive different phases of time into the same level. For instance, it has level down the night and day, the weekend and weekdays, sleep time and waking time etc. for production and consumption. In these conditions, it is claimed that workers are forced to sleep less and less since human rest has become more expensive for companies. Proceeding without pause is principle because of the time pressure on the workers and the companies. I argue that sleep is under pressure in the sense of not only duration but also timing because of flexibilization. This study claims that the arguments of 24/7 points to a tendency of contemporary capitalism and that is why they are important and worth to argue seriously. However, this is not the actual reality, at least not yet. It is also true the time that workers spend for sleep is becoming more expensive for the competitive companies but on the other hand, their sleepiness can turn into a problem as well.

In this part, I will search for how sleep is practiced and comprehended under the time pressure of contemporary rhythms of capitalism. I claim that in current conditions of capitalism what really matters is time pressure. The changing patterns of sleep are the mediated effects of time pressure. To fulfill the demands of 24/7 capitalism when necessary, work can delay the workers' sleep or disrupt it under the conditions of the flexible working regime. However, when time left from work, it is advised to sleep healthy and sufficiently as much as possible. Because it is necessary to be physically and mentally active and fast for the new tasks of work after sleep, that is to say, sleep is a necessary deceleration for further acceleration. Reduction of sleep time is only one necessity among the universe of necessities of contemporary capitalism; on the individual level, it is only one strategy among

others for coping with time pressure despite the spreading health discourse on sleep. Still, it should be stated that it is a spreading strategy to sacrifice sleep in order to prioritize the demands of waking world. To conclude, considering all the points, rather than simply labeling this process as “the ends of sleep”, I preferred to conceptualize it as “the ticklish position of sleep” to be able to demonstrate both the vulnerability and persistence of sleep at the same time.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

In this chapter, I will selectively overview the limited social sciences literature about time and sleep. Since the main topic of this study is sleep, firstly, I will handle how sleep is mostly become a subject of scientific research. Health concept is at the center of this literature. Then, I will offer another route to analyze sleep as a social act in contemporary society. To be able to construct this route, I will overview literature about temporal experience in capitalism and its relationship with work and human body. I will argue the different theoretical positions that I follow or I oppose. In the end, I will put sleep problem into the context of time pressure that derive from temporal structures of contemporary capitalism.

2.1. Medicalization/Healthicization of Sleep and Beyond

Compare to the previous eras, sleep is becoming a more mentioned topic in everyday life. Every week it is possible to encounter with some news about sleep and almost every day, we witness or be a part of conversation on sleep. This tendency is similar in science work. For instance, if we take the Board of Higher Education in Turkey as the reference, after 2000, more than 600 theses were written on sleep. Before 2000, there only around 45 and still most of these are at the last period of the 1990s. They are mostly in the fields of physiology, neurology, biology, pharmacology, and psychiatry and mostly about sleep disorders, sleepiness, sleep deprivation, sleep quality, sleep health etc. None of them is in the field of social sciences, even though maybe some of them have some social

concerns. I did not investigate them detailed for the scope of the study. Yet, this overview can be seen as a sign of medicalization of sleep in Turkey in the last decades. Similarly, Williams claims that the tendency of the world is same. For instance, he shows that there is an enormous expansion of sleep disorder clinics in the U.S.A., membership of the American Academy of Sleep Medicine has been doubled (from 2,200 to 4,900) from 1993 to 2005 (Williams, 2005: 149). In the world-wide English literature, as well, even the social researches about sleep are mostly about health.

2.1.1. Medical Discourse on Sleep

Kroll-Smith & Gunter interprets this tendency as a new truth about sleepiness which is being constructed in the contemporary world. It is seen as a “risk-prone state of consciousness” requiring social and individual attention. Sleepiness has been re-described as a public health hazard. They add that, accordingly, it has become a public health problem and by the preventative approach of public health discourse, this personal issue has been made a public issue (Kroll-Smith & Gunter, 2005: 347). It is not clear in their study, how it is a public health issue and a personal moral issue at the same time. In my opinion, at least in Turkey, becoming a public health issue is not that valid whereas the personal burden and responsibility is the principal.

My study does not embrace their study but takes it as a take-off point to reach its own claim. But I agree that the health discourse tries to give the responsibility of undesired consequences of sleepiness to individual herself/himself. It is handled as a problem of self-government, as a problem of illegitimate time-use and accountability of the sleepy person for the potential harms of sleepiness (Kroll-Smith & Gunter, 2005: 348). It is possible to reach this solution not only through the medical texts but also through popular self-help literature. This literature, as well, increasingly deal with sleep in the context of time-use and health.

One problem about Kroll-Smith & Gunter’s study is that they implicitly allude that sleepiness become a problem in the last decades, at the period of late modernity.

However, time discipline was always an issue from the beginning of modernity and probably before, as E.P. Thompson's (1967) work showed. His study is about the beginning of industrial capitalism and the new time-discipline of that period but still mentions about the instrumentalization of sleep and sleepiness (Thompson, 1967: 88). The only difference that maybe it was not that medicalized and sleep was indirectly concern of time-discipline. Even toiletry times had become a subject of time-discipline in that period, which is another dimension of body under capitalism and modernity (Inglis & Holmes, 2000: 232).

Another key argument of Kroll-Smith & Gunter's study is that the discourse on sleepiness is not spread through only by public institutions and the gaze on this issue is gone beyond the web of institutions and different means of media has fundamental roles in the production of health discourse (Kroll-Smith & Gunter, 2005: 347-8). What they do is to analyze the discourse on sleep, even though they say that discourses are more de-centralized, they still have the tendency to totalize the discourses in the same pot. In my opinion, discourse analysis is an important method for social sciences, and in particular for analyzing sleep since it is a social act, as long as they protect the connection with the concrete. For instance, they mentioned about a consulting firm named 'Shift Work Systems'. In this firm's media accounts it is written that workers do not perform like machines 24 hours. Their productivity, alertness and mental performance rise and fall during the day and night. It is claimed that 'alert bodies' are more productive and less risky to make mistakes, while 'somnolent bodies' are the opposite (Kroll-Smith & Gunter, 2005: 361).

However, they consider these evaluations as an example of the newly constructed truth of health discourse. They are obviously part of a discourse but any kind of discourses do not emerge out of thin air. The main concern of the firm is probably about the financial cost of sleep deprivation, for instance, which has been 'estimated at \$41 billion' a year in lost productivity and health-care bills in the U.S.A. (Chatzitheochari & Arber, 2009: 33). The problem here is that the authors do not move from the concrete. They implicitly take the discourse as the determinant of all

kinds of sleep practices, in my opinion. If they do not, they are not successful to be able to show it.

In the same text, they talked about a non-profit organization called 'Parents against Tired Truckers' (PATT) which also emphasizes the negative effects of sleepiness. The authors take this organization as a carrier of the same discourse. Maybe both the company mentioned above and this non-profit organization deal with sleepiness. However, while the first one's aim is to increase productivity, the latter struggles against long working hours of drivers which cause health problems, injuries or traffic accidents (Kroll-Smith & Gunter, 2005: 362). For instance, "according to the UK's Driving and Vehicle Licensing Agency, 20 percent of motorway accidents are due to excessive sleepiness, and each year 300 people are killed because of falling asleep while driving" (Chatzitheochari & Arber, 2009: 33). Therefore, melting both of them in the same pot would be a big mistake and this problem probably emerges from that they overlook the material conditions of capitalism. Furthermore, they overlook the interaction between body and health discourse so that they fall into the trap that the discourse tends to determine every practice of sleep. However, any discourse on sleep that does not consider the human bodies own rhythms would not be any determinative effect. For instance, in given conditions of today, if it is claimed that one hour sleep is enough, it does not have any negative effect on health and this discourse is spread through any means of communication technologies or institutions will not be that successful.

Another emphasis of Kroll-Smith & Gunter's study is about the cooperation of newspapers, magazines, and the websites of consulting businesses and nonprofit organizations, companies, the military, and governments. They think that this collaboration transforms sleepiness to a clinical problem by emphasizing that it is a partial state of consciousness and its negative effects on health, human performance and its costs (Kroll-Smith & Gunter, 2005: 354, 360). Again the answer of the question "why" is absent here. However, Crary presents an answer to, in the "medicalization thesis" framework, this question whether it is totally true or not. According to him, pharmaceutical corporations, in an accelerated tempo, presents new or upgraded products about sleep through media by multiplying new

‘unhealthy’ physical or psychological states. The pharmaceutical industry, in partnership with the neurosciences, financializes and externalizes what used to be thought of as ‘inner life’. In the last decades, different emotional states predefined and pathologized to create new markets for the new supplies to the medical industry and then promoted as effective and obligatory treatments. States and NGOs have paved the way and media has undertaken the responsibility of promotion and distribution, according to him (Crary, 2015: 60-1).

Furthermore, the medical discourse on sleep is not only about health. It pays attention to health but its main aim is not always healthiness. It is a good example to be able to show the contradictory ensemble of discourses. For instance, Crary remarks that by the lead of advanced research division of the Pentagon, medical scientists are conducting experimental trials of sleeplessness techniques and the short-term goal is to provide a minimum of seven days without sleep to combatants without any psychic or cognitive deficits. In short, the scientific quest is to discover ways to reduce the body’s need for sleep without reducing its productivity and efficiency. As history has shown, war-related innovations generally expand into other social spheres and the targeted result is to have sleepless workers and customers. His prediction is that it will be achieved by the pharmaceutical companies, first will be presented as a ‘lifestyle option’, then for many people as a necessity (Crary, 2015: 13-15).

He asks these difficult questions: “Why should anyone object, they would counter, if new drugs could allow someone to work at their job 100 hours straight? Would not flexible and reduced sleep time allows more personal freedom, the ability to customize one’s life further in accordance with individual needs and desires? Would not less sleep allow more chance for ‘living life to the fullest’?” (Crary, 2015: 24). The licensed drugs in the USA such as Modafinil, Provigil, and cx717 have already generated a huge market and spread into other countries, Turkey included. The scope of this study is not the positive or negative effects of these drugs. I mentioned them for the sake of presentation the other spheres of medicalization and medical discourses and to be able to show its contradictory relations both in itself and with capitalism. Medicalization of sleep is not only about

forcing the people to sleep healthy but also can be reducing their sleep duration together with not causing unintended consequences.

2.1.2. Reflexivity on Medicalization

In my opinion, Kroll-Smith & Gunter's analysis is absent and this deficiency can cause to very different mistaken results. Crary's analysis is a more concrete one but it has also some deficiencies and we will mention some of them in the following chapters. Yet, it is time to state that they both emphasize only some parts of the picture, which is maybe inevitable, and the other problem in common is that they do not consider the subjects. They mostly portray the people as passive and they do not consider the critiques and resistances of people. Pharmaceutical technologies and pieces of advice, drugs included, and their use shaped not only by the medical condition being experienced but also by cultural context, social relations the identities and reflexivity of consumers. They should not be handled only by their technical meanings and medical functions. They are also strongly related to social context which offers how, when and in what conditions they can be or should be used. Therefore, even drug use is not a mere personal issue. The drugs are consumed within 'socio-technical networks'. People give different meanings to medical products or pieces of advice in the everyday life and these meanings are important not only to understand variations in how medicines are used but also to get some insights about the social context itself (Gabe et al., 2016: 628-9).

The participants of Gabe et al.'s research are mostly critical about using medical products even the ones that use or used them. In this sense, they express a high level of ambivalence, even they say that the medical products helped them to sleep better (Gabe et al., 2016: 635). In Coveney's own research as well, respondents from both groups do not seek medical advice for the problems that they encounter about sleep or negative effects of sleepiness. They consider medical advice as a last resort if the problems are not solved by themselves or the problems persist for a prolonged time. They attempt to manage or cure their sleep problems themselves by looking on the Internet, speaking to family members and friends or trying to change social and environmental factors etc. Most of them are opposed to taking sleeping pills in any

case. They also criticize medical professionals since they think that these professionals would only be able to offer drugs (Coveney, 2014: 131).

Medicalization of sleep is rising and, in our opinion, it is about the critical position of sleep in today's accelerated world. However, medicalization is not unidirectional, it is a complex process with many different opinions and relationships between medical and lay world (Williams, 2005: 156). Then, it is not surprising to say that medical discourse on health is not inclusive totally. There are many different suggestions for healthy sleep and very different patterns of reception which vary in different social groups.

I criticized the critique of medical discourse, over the example of Kroll-Smith & Gunter's study, but this should not be understood that I affirm the medical discourse itself. The main problem of medical sciences is that study on sleep or sleep-related issues take the individual as analysis unit. They do not pay regard to social conditions. Even when they accept the social conditions as the causes of sleep problems, they offer mostly offer solutions limitedly on the individuals' body. When they offer to the individuals some changes in their life they do not consider the necessities of social life.

Therefore, medical sciences inevitably consider the individuals' responsibility for solving the problems. One example is offering to keep a regular timing which is seen one of the most important behaviors for healthy sleep. Another suggestion is avoiding 'caffeinated drinks' (Dement & Vaughan, 2000: 15, van Tienoven et al., 2014: 244). However, keeping a regular schedule can only be possible, for instance, if the working hours do not expand into the normal sleeping hours or if the women do not have to do housework after working hours or if they do not have to drink coffee to aid their alertness for their mental work. Similarly, it can only be possible if the individuals do not have some aspirations to do in their limited leisure time. It can only be possible if every necessity or desire is planned according to the individuals' healthy sleep habit and as long as the individuals make health as their life's priority. But the reality is generally different. Medically accepted sleep problems sometimes even normalized in various ways by the lay people themselves to keep up their life as it is. Sleep deprivation or irregular timing of sleep does not

necessarily mean sleep pathology in a medical sense and can be understood as ‘normal’ in everyday life. For these reasons, as Williams said: “the medicalization/healthicization framework, whilst clearly important, fails to encapsulate a complete understanding of how [people] manage sleep disruption within the social context of their lives” (Williams, 2005: 145, 157).

2.1.3.Capitalism and Limitations of Medicalization Thesis

Even though Kroll-Smith & Gunter evaluate that lost productivity and job-related accidents are the most mentioned topics in the general discourse they abstain from relating sleep with working conditions (Kroll-Smith & Gunter, 2005: 361). Direct quotation would be better to see their approach:

... sleepiness ... could be explained in a number of ways: a 24/7 society that allows too little time for sleep, a culture that promotes anxiety issues that fragment sleep, or a society organized around achievement that encourages people to approach sleep as dispensable, and so on. But the etiology of sleepiness is not being sought in these more abstract, structural and cultural dynamics. The truth about sleepiness problem is a far more personal ... one (2005:363).

I claim just the opposite: The etiology of sleepiness should be searched in the structural and cultural dynamics. At least, any kind of analysis about sleep would be absent and probably failed without considering these dynamics. For sure, sleep is one of the most personal issues in social life but still, it is a social act. Besides, the personality of sleep is not only about the discourse but about the different concrete rhythms of different bodies.

My study has similar arguments with the research of Coveney (2014) who is one of the most important scholars that study especially on medicalization of sleep. She does not content himself with discourse analysis and also tries to conduct field studies. Her study I will handle is a comparative one between different groups in the U.K.: students and shift workers. I will try to go over her results since they are quite

similar to ours in the context of medicalization debates even though the group we interviewed is different.

Both students and shift workers in Coveney's study expressed that sleep is good for health and needed by body and brain to rest, relax, repair and rejuvenate. Commonly, eight hours sleep is thought as ideal for health but there are variances since sleep-need in the sense of duration was constructed as something individualized and vary person to person. For different reasons, it is told that the respondents usually sleep shorter than they should do (Coveney, 2014: 126). In other words, even though sleep is valued for health and proper functioning of brain and body, it is often 'cut back on' because of work and education demands or social activities they want to participate. It is reported that they implement various strategies, techniques, and products to overcome or delay sleepiness and become more alert at socially desirable or necessary times (Coveney, 2014: 123). Another result she shared is that it is difficult especially for rotating shift workers to get into a proper pattern of sleep. Their reported feelings about health are 'mental fuzziness', memory and concentration problems, troubles with complex decision-making, low mood, etc. In the same manner, sleepiness was thought to affect socialization and interpersonal relationships in a bad way. Despite all these expressions, the respondents mostly continue to their given patterns on sleep because of the necessities and aspirations of their life (Coveney, 2014: 127).

Therefore, it should be stated that medicalization is a multi-directional and multi-faceted process. Yet, it would be better to try a differentiation on the conceptual level. Conrad offers and Williams appropriates another concept, healthicization, which have some similarities but differences with medicalization at the same time. It would be better to use medicalization to refer to medical processes, its reception by people and the intermediary means such as media, journals, books etc. Medicalization is a socio-cultural process and it does not necessarily involve the medical profession or causes to an intentional expansion of medical profession, despite the fact that it is mostly the case. Medicalization of sleep is defining its 'problems' in medical terms, using medical language to understand and describe it, using medical intervention to 'treat' it (Conrad, 1992: 211, Williams, 2005: 144).

Healthicization, on the other hand, is the concept that can be applied “when studying the lifestyle causes and behavioral intervention” about sleep which is increasingly associated with issues of health and well-being (Williams, 2002, 195; Coveney et al., 2009: 487). They are obviously parallel processes but still, especially considering the resistance about medicalization, healthicization of sleep become more easily acceptable by people. Williams claims that there is an increasing trend towards healthicization of sleep and cultural sensitivity to sleep-related issues (Williams, 2005: 154, 165). This finding is also coherent with one hypothesis of this study. As long as people who confront problems about sleep timing and duration, try to compensate this lack by trying to increase their sleep quality. In this sense, sleep hygiene, conditions of the room they slept (air, light, heat etc.) and the materials for sleep (bed, pillow, quilt etc.) become more important.

In this sense, both medicalization and healthicization can partly be analyzed as commercialization of sleep as well. As Williams stated capitalism is a complex assemblage, which is deeply implicated in how people sleep and the problems they experience. While accidents, lost productivity and underperforming at work because of sleep problems may cause high costs for capitalism, sleep, on the other hand, is big business for capitalism (Williams & Wolf-Meyer, 2013: 12). The industry about sleep, by the contribution of state institutions and NGOs, gains a huge part in the market. Williams gives the example of the U.K. bed industry which offers a variety of different beds suitable for different bodies and different sleep problems. In London alone, it is estimated that around 321,000 beds are purchased in one year. The Sleep Council, a UK-based organization offers advice and information for the sleep market. The aim is to create a ‘better environment’ for bed selling, to increase consumers’ awareness for the need of bed changing and to emphasize that using a bed more than 10 year is unhealthy. Even, March was identified as ‘National Bed Month!’ (Williams, 2005: 162).

Then, it is obvious that capitalism is a contradictory system even within capital-owners. Consider the industry specialized on bed, bed dress, pillow, lighting systems, magazines, organizations, which specialized on sleep; they will for sure

promote ideal healthy sleep. On the other hand, some other industries would like to find 24/7 available workers, consuming at night. Even in the same industry, it can be contradictory. For instance, while the sleeping pill drug producers would gain money as long as they are able to make the people asleep, the drug producers that target at no sleep would get the benefit when they achieve not to make people asleep. The obvious thing is that the general industry that is intertwined with the issues of sleep would grow up as long as the critical position of sleep continues in capitalism. As Williams said: “Capitalism cashes in both ways as ‘disrupter’ and ‘guarantor’ of our sleep” (Williams, 2005: 165).

This does not mean cynically that capitalism wins in any case. Medicine and capitalism today are quite close to each other. However, the relationship between them is not easy to explore. Both medicine and capitalism are complex assemblages which include many different parts. Medical researches on sleep to varying degrees, implicitly or explicitly, can even be more or less critical of contemporary capitalism. Capitalism and medicine are ‘intimate fellows’ but their relationship is not always harmonious (Williams & Wolf-Meyer, 2013: 14). Medicalization thesis of sociology illuminates some important issues but at the same time it obscures or omits some other important ones. Despite its problematical position, its oppressive posture and its relations with the web of power and capitalism, some medical studies can be positive for more equalitarian and emancipatory social and bodily life (Williams & Wolf-Meyer, 2013: 12, 14).

Medicine and public health can even play a critical role against contemporary capitalism in various guises. Most of the medical solutions can only be achieved so much when the contemporary capitalist conditions are altered or abolished. (Williams & Wolf-Meyer, 2013: 14). Then, some medical discourses can even be turned out to a “labor rights discourse” by the subjects since some of them claim that regular-timing, 8 hours-monophasic-night sleep is healthy but the working regime does not allow it. Intentionally or unintentionally, this health claim is antagonistic to the working regime that people are subjected to. One of the key points here is the collaboration of critical medical and social sciences. Unless, this

collaboration achieved any research or socio-political agenda will be absent, as our study itself.

Yet, it will be helpful to add human body for analyze to fill this gap some degrees by some tools that critical sociology and economy provided. Then it is important to accept that the body also has its own rhythms which cannot be determined totally by external rhythms or discourses. Therefore, the ensemble of different parts of the social world which contains different, sometimes harmonious sometimes contradictory, rhythms is one of the key starting points for a concrete analysis. Lefebvrian framework is the starting point of this study to critically understand the body and sleep in capitalism.

2.2.Rhythmanalysis of Body and Capitalism

In this part, I will handle Lefebvre's book on rhythmanalysis which did not get the prevalence as much as his other books on space and the series of *Critique of Everyday Life*. Rhythmanalysis was Lefebvre's last book which he was studying on but could not complete. Yet, he published some articles about it before his death. Besides, some insights and indications can be found in his magnum opus *Critique of Everyday Life*. Rhythmanalysis was published by his friend and colleague René Lourau in 1992, one year later after Lefebvre's death (Elden, 2004: vii). It is also noted that Lefebvre considered his rhythmanalysis study to "be the de facto fourth volume of ... *Critique of Everyday Life*" (Elden, 2004: viii).

In my opinion, Lefebvre's rhythmanalysis is quite useful as a basic conceptual framework to analyze sleep since he also links the debate to the contradictions in a certain society. In other words, he does not just focus on the differences of bodily acts between different societies or he does not just handle the well-rounded transformations from one era to the other. He also tries to think about bodies belong to different social groups in a society. This framework tries to link the biological and the social by investigating the rhythms of our bodies and the rhythms of society which is inseparable from understandings of time.

Lefebvre criticizes the abandonment of analyzing body to the fields like physiology and medicine which restricts themselves by analyzing one side of the issue. Yet, he presents his rhythmanalytical project as a theoretical and methodological effort to bring together very diverse practices thereby very different types of knowledge, including medicine, physiology, climatology, history, psychology cosmology etc. Of course, as he said, sociology occupies the front line and supplies the essentials (Lefebvre, 2004: 16, 20). In his approach, the body is the focal point to comprehend the coexistence of social and biological rhythms. Even the basic biological rhythms are conditioned by the social environment and working life. We train ourselves and are 'trained to behave' in certain ways. His issue is not the anatomical or functional body. He does not offer to analyze body as an isolated subject but uses it as the starting point in the complex social relations (Elden, 2004: xii). By beginning with bodies, it becomes possible to reach the concrete which is "lived, tested, touched in the sensible and the corporeal" (Lefebvre, 2004: 45). Then, if rhythm reveals itself as a valid concept for thought and practice, it can only be possible by analyzing the concrete which body is part of (Lefebvre, 2004: 44).

Lefebvre's theory of rhythms is established on the experience and knowledge of the body. For rhythmanalysis, the body is the constant reference that should not be lost sight of at any moment (Lefebvre, 2004: 67). However, this does not mean that only the body has rhythms, it is also subjected to social rhythms. The surroundings of bodies, as well as the body itself, consist of a bundle of different rhythms. The rhythmized organization of life consists of natural and the acquired rhythms at the same time. All of them are in tune or in conflict and it is necessary to "listen to" them in order to grasp the natural or produced ensembles (Lefebvre, 2004: 20, 75). It is important to investigate the natural-biological and social timescales together to be able to understand both of them. The prerequisite for this kind of analysis is not jumping from the inside to the outside of bodies but trying to "listen to" them as a whole by integrating the "outside" with the "inside". Not only the overlappings but also the collisions of natural-biological and social, so the rhythms of bodies and society, provides some substantial insights into the question of everyday life (Elden, 2004: Viii; Lefebvre, 2004: 20).

2.2.1. Concepts of Rhythmanalysis

For Lefebvre, rhythm is a concept related to repetition. None of the rhythms is exempted from repetitions and returns in a movement. However, rhythms should not be attributed only a 'mechanical overtone'. Absolute and identical repetition is not universal, especially considering the organic aspects of rhythms. By this organic aspect, it can be possible to analyze not only the impersonal processes but also the relations with actors and ideas of them (Lefebvre, 2004: 6). The senses and mind of the persons tend to introduce a rhythm into every repetition, even into completely linear ones. While mechanical repetition operates by reproducing the preconditioned, rhythm preserves not only this preconditioned but also the re-commencement of this process with modifications. It does not repeat identically the same in the complex social and natural relations but can cause diversities, alterations. It is possible to track the "new and unforeseen that introduces itself into the repetitive". These characteristics can tell us something about the transformations of social life and its plurality (Lefebvre, 2004: 6, 78-79).

Rhythm implies the interaction between a place, a time and an expenditure of energy as well as repetition and interferences of linear and cyclical processes (Lefebvre, 2004: 15). Cyclical rhythms originate in nature days, nights, seasons etc. They last for a period and restart again. The linear also stops and continues but the difference is that it basically come from social practices and refers to the monotony of actions, in Lefebvre's framework. It is possible to separate cyclical and linear repetition analytically but in reality, they interact with each other constantly. Their relations constitute the rhythms. "Everything is cyclical repetitions through linear repetitions". However, this indissoluble unity is antagonistic as the other unities in social life. They permeate one another and sometimes give rise to compromise and sometimes to disruption. Even though the linear tends to predominate, the struggle between them is perpetual (Lefebvre, 2004: 8, 76).

A rhythm occurs only when "stops, silences, blanks, resumptions and intervals" appears in a movement with a certain degree of regularity, when they recur in a recognizable way and come out in accordance with a rule. Therefore, rhythms are

‘qualified durations’ and ‘differentiated times’ than the others. In this sense, clock-time or time of a metronome does not constitute a rhythm in itself. Only in a reciprocal action of internal measure and external measure, the external measure of clock-time can have a meaning. It can superimpose itself on the internal measure of, let’s say, the body so that it becomes a part of complex dialectical relations. Without this interaction, the external measure of a clock cannot per se constitute a qualified duration; it is just a homogenous parameter and does not have a meaning as long as it interacts with bodies in concrete activities of social life (Lefebvre, 2004: 78).

A rhythm can be handled only in relation with other rhythms, even though any of them has its specific speed, frequency and consistency. Even in this complex structure, rhythms have a very personal part since individuals have their personal preferences, references and anatomy (Lefebvre, 2004: 10). Rhythms unite and manifest quantitative and qualitative aspects of time. Rhythms are seen superficially as regulated time governed by rational and numerical laws of economy. This is one aspect and it superimposes itself on the natural rhythms of the body, such as respiration, heartbeat, hunger, thirst and sleep. Yet, this kind of quantitative and rational rhythms do not abolish the natural rhythms of body totally, they function in contact with the natural rhythms even if not only in harmony, maybe mostly in conflict with them. Lefebvre’s conclusion is that the natural and the rational can be just analytically separated because in reality they are “simultaneously natural and rational, and neither one nor the other” (Lefebvre, 2004: 8, 9).

Lefebvre offers to think about the notion of rhythm with some complementary considerations by the help of related notions: ‘polyrhythmia’, ‘eurhythmia’, ‘isorhythmia’ and ‘arrhythmia’. He again starts with the lived, which we can say the material or the body in our context. Polyhythmia refers to the existence of diverse rhythms in a body or social life. Rhythmanalysis can succeed to isolate a particular movement and its rhythm analytically but this operation simultaneously discovers the multiplicity of rhythms (Lefebvre, 2004: 16). Every living body and every gathering of bodies are polyrhythmic since each part, organ or function having its continuous interactions that constitute an ensemble. This set or ensemble does not

signify a 'closed totality'. Rather being always in a stable equilibrium, it is in a 'metastable' equilibrium. Polyrhythmic sets are compromised but tried to be recovered in the process and even this recovery can be impossible in cases of serious disruptions (Lefebvre, 2004: 80, 89).

Equilibrium of different rhythms is represented by eurhythmia concept in Lefebvre's framework. Eurhythmia is the association of different rhythms; it is the condition when rhythms unite with one another in the 'state of health', in normal conditions. However, one should not go astray by falling into the trap that the state of health and normalcy are stable and universal. They are the constructions of complex relations between the body, the natural and the social. The state of 'harmony' sometimes exists but it is not guaranteed and not fully pre-determined (Lefebvre, 2004: 20, 67).

The other concept isorhythmia points out to the rhythmic equalities or equivalences. One example of isorhythmia Lefebvre give is about music, especially symphonic one. When at least two temporalities coincide as it happens when a rhythm extends over all the performers under the direction of the conductor they become identical. As long as they sustain this state, there is isorhythmia. Isorhythmia and eurhythmia are mutually exclusive since one is about the identical while the latter is the ensemble of the differences. According to Lefebvre, there are only a few isorhythmias; they are the products of exceptional situations whereas eurhythmias abound. Every time there is an organization, organism and living bodies, all of them are ensembles of different, associated but non-identical rhythms (Lefebvre, 2004: 67-8).

What happens during the exception of disturbances, with his terms, is described with arrhythmia concept by Lefebvre. It has more or less opposite meaning of eurhythmia; it characterizes the "pathological" while eurhythmia refers to "normal" state. When the previously eurhythmic organization of the rhythms becomes discordant, when the rhythms do not constitute any kind of equilibrium or harmony, when there is a conflict between them, sooner or later a pathological state occurs. Rhythms break apart and bypass synchronization. Depending on the case of the

situation, interventions are made to be able to strengthen or re-establish eurhythmia through rhythms to the pathological (Lefebvre, 2004: 16, 20, 67-8).

Deregulation of rhythms produces antagonistic effects. In contradistinction to re-establishing eurhythmia, it can also expel the order of rhythms totally by passing through a crisis. It can generate a lacuna, an interval in time which can be filled in by a new arrangement, by an invention of creativity. These crises always have effects on re-establishment of different kinds of rhythms. This situation can be observed on the individual or social level and has effects on rhythms of institutions, work, population etc. (Lefebvre, 2004: 44).

2.2.2. Time and Body Discipline

As Lefebvre said, it is frequently emphasized that capitalism makes the rich and the poor, the propertied and the proletariat. According to him, this is not wrong but is not suffice for assessing the evil power of capitalism. Capital erects itself on contempt for life, the body and the time of living beings. The culture of capitalism constructs itself from such a disdain and it conceals itself beneath moral values. However, at the same time, it transformed itself in a subversive way in advancing into the exaltation of life (Lefebvre, 2004: 51-2). At different historical times and in specific spaces apology for the body, the negation of the body; the exaltation of pleasure, depreciation of frivolity etc. had been seen and experienced. Capitalism replaced these alternatives with the conflicting dualities of production and destruction. It did that by its expanding capacity and determining role in the whole world. For sure, it did not dissolve all the differences but produced them in a different way by its own logic or destroyed some of them through wars, progress, inventions or economic relations (Lefebvre, 2004: 55).

Time discipline is another important concept to understand the relations between body and capitalism. E.P. Thompson's article is one of the most noteworthy texts on the relation between capitalism and time experience. His analysis on the transition from peasant societies to industrial capitalism but it still gives some important insights even for contemporary capitalism. He shows how the time discipline of

workers is at the key point for any kind of mode of production and also argues the continuities and breaks between them (Thompson, 1967: 57, 61). It was largely argued how the transition from mostly agricultural economy to industrial capitalism. By industrialization, the chronological aspects of economic relations changed and 'traditional' tempos of agriculture faded into background. Newly emerged chains of production demanded synchronisation of labour by divisible and measurable clock-time. As a result, this new economic context tried to organize the rhythms of life and had great effects on the tempos of the human body (Inglis & Holmes, 2000: 228-9). For the scope of this study, I will not argue the differences between the previous eras and contemporary capitalism. I just use this literature for the continuities and similarities since the basic logic of capitalism goes on. Despite some transformations, time discipline did not disappeared.

Lefebvre claims that the military model has been imitated in the modern capitalist societies. The military model tries to extend its rhythm to all phases of temporality. Body discipline and the pressure of capitalist production's mechanical repetition over the biological rhythms have a key role here (Elden, 2004: xii; Lefebvre, 2004: 39). The capitalist system tries to guarantee the surplus value by sufficiently controlling the bodies of workers (Harvey, 1989: 122). If profit was to be extracted from the workers, it is a necessity to control the laboring bodies by subjecting them and their capacities to a time discipline. It is necessary not only for the pure act of production itself but also the time for the 'secondary' or 'extraneous' activities, as much as possible. At different periods or spaces of capitalism, different and/or more complex forms of ordering the movements of workers were developed (Inglis & Holmes, 2000: 229).

The worker's body is thus constrained in terms of what it may and may not do, and at what times (Inglis & Holmes, 2000: 230) not only in the workplace but also indirectly in their leisure time. The time experience of workers directly or indirectly is tried to be regulated according to the time of the companies. The companies own the workers' time to a great extent and they do not want the workers to waste the time. The main purpose is labor control for the sake of capital accumulation. The capital does not only establish the time discipline at work since the practices of

workers in leisure affects the performance of workers at work, as well (Thompson, 1967: 61; Harvey, 1989: 123). In some circumstances, the workers do not even have the “luxury” to sleep or to be ill. Overwork and flexibility is tried to be rationalized by the companies (Lee & Liebenau, 2002: 128). Demands for successful life accomplishments and self-fulfillment are partly about the interaction with one’s own body (Gerisch, 2009: 378). Therefore, body-discipline is quite important both for necessities and desires of the subjects. Every kind of body-discipline is related to time dimension. How people use their time and how they discipline their bodies or how their bodies are disciplined for this time-use is an important aspect of this study.

For the analysis of capitalism, the concept of dressage, with its military connotations, has a very substantial metaphorical role in Lefebvre’s book, as a step to analyze human body under capitalism. Dressage means “training of a horse to perform special, carefully controlled movements as directed by the rider, or the performance of these movements as a sport or in a competition” (Cambridge Dictionary, <http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/dressage>, accessed in May, 2017). Lefebvre starts with this emphasis to analyze dressage: “One does not break-in a horse like a dog, nor a carthorse like a racehorse, nor a guard dog like a hunting dog” (Lefebvre, 2004: 40). Therefore, any kind of body discipline must consider the capabilities and limitations of human body. In the context of this study, it is possible to say that the operation of capitalism is partly affected by bodily practices of human bodies, sleep included. Therefore, it become possible to argue sleep as a limitation to capitalism or/and as an instrument of it.

The second important emphasis is: “In the course of their being broken-in, animals work” (Lefebvre, 2004: 40). Despite the fact that they do not produce an object, they produce their bodies under the imperious direction of the trainer. They get involved in social or human practice by this production since their broken-in bodies have a value in human’s social life. The important thing is that their bodies modify themselves, they are altered by training (Lefebvre, 2004: 40). Similarly, bodies of workers not only produce commodity but also produce their bodies themselves

according to a certain time-discipline. The time of learning dressage incorporates the internal activity of control under direction, during practices, ‘complete repose’ such as sleep and diversions or rewards. However, it would be a mistake focusing only on instantaneous attitudes or the series of movements by losing the sight of the general process. “It is the training that counts: that imposes, that educates, that breaks-in” (Lefebvre, 2004: 41). Therefore, for this study, I did not only try to analyze sleep as a bodily practice in contemporary capitalism but also the structures behind it, in other words the “training”.

Thirdly, dressage uses an ‘automatism of repetitions’ but the circumstances are never absolutely the same or identical. Breeders try to secure the unity and success of training by combining the linear and the cyclical. The linear series of commands to the horse begins and ends by a signal. Besides, there are differences in conditions during the training or the competition such as the hour, the season, the ground, the climate or light etc. By alternating innovations and repetitions, dressage tries to fill in the place of the unforeseen, the initiative of living beings by its power to determine the majority of rhythms. It is pretty much the same for “breaking-in” humans. Military knowledge, working conditions, the rites of politeness functions as the components of dressage. However, a little room is laid out for human initiative and for liberty. Just a little room which is still more of an illusion since dressage does not disappear (Lefebvre, 2004: 39, 40).

Lefebvre’s framework offers to handle bodily rhythms, sleep included, within the context of rhythms of capitalism and everyday life. As it is stated, understanding the rhythms of body in a certain historical period is important to understand the structural rhythms of that period itself. Capitalism is a contradictory in itself but at the same time it tries to provide the harmony of different rhythms, eurhythmia, for its aims. It is obviously not isorhythmic and open to fall into arrhythmia especially with the bodily rhythms of workers. Therefore, a sleep pattern compatible with the rhythms of work, no matter how regular they are, is important for the workers not to fall into arrhythmia between these two obligatory rhythms. Keeping a certain degree of eurhythmia is the prerequisite for being in the labor market. What helps them to deal with time pressure for maintaining the eurhythmia of different rhythms of their

life is the time and body discipline, the “dressage”. Considering all these, in the next chapter, firstly we will analyze the current rhythms of capitalism, especially in the context of working regime. Then in the following ones, we will go through the time pressure that is caused by fast and flexible rhythms of work. Then I will analyze the rhythms of sleep under the current conditions of working regime.

2.3.Current Temporal Structure of Capitalism

The concept of time mostly echoes with economic terms, as something to use, spend or waste like a commodity. It is an apparent phenomenon from the beginning of capitalism which bases on assumed scarcity of time and tries to use it optimally for utility maximizing (Thompson, 1967: 95; Larsson &Sanne, 2005: 214). By accepting this basic presumption, instead of discussing the all different periods of capitalism, I will focus on the current conditions and tendencies of capitalism. Capitalism’s history has full of efforts to reduce turnover times by new organizational forms, technologies, lifestyles and thereby accelerate the movements of goods, capital, information, bodies etc., i.e. the economic life. It is an immanent feature of capitalist mode of production but in today's capitalism this characteristic becomes more apparent, more determinant. Therefore, acceleration has become more intense and has taken a more central place (Jessop, 2009: 142; Scheuerman, 1999: 1891-2).

Related with that, acceleration, firstly, refers to the intensification of events in a certain period of time. It is an immanent feature of capitalist mode of production but recent developments in information, communication and transportation technologies pave the way for a broad qualitative leap. Therefore, this feature in today's capitalism becomes more apparent, more determinant. Especially by the increasing globalization of capital covariation of actions, events and institutional orders occurs and changes more rapidly (Jessop, 2009: 136-7, Scheuerman, 1999: 1891-2). In this period, overcoming the obstacles upon the integration of the world market, capitalism's wheels accelerate. “The more integrated the world market, the greater the acceleration of this competition and its pressures on capital accumulation, with

the result that they become the decisive features of capital accumulation” (Jessop, 2009: 142). (Jessop, 2009: 142).

2.3.1.Social Acceleration

I use social acceleration concept to describe material processes rather than a sense of disorientation and pressure over human subjects produced by complex temporal changes within capitalism (Jessop, 2009: 137). I do not claim that one of them is more important than the other. On the contrary, this study assumes and tries to investigate the relationship between them by way of linking general macro processes about work and the interaction of sleep with these processes as a subjective side. I will prefer another concept, time pressure, to be able to analyze this side in the following chapters and try to link it with acceleration.

The problem I handle in this part is actually not the social acceleration in any kind but the dominant form of it in the contemporary capitalism. I do not attribute a characteristic that is essentially destructive for better social life so what I mean by acceleration is not any kind of acceleration but the common and to a large extent the determinant one in current capitalism.

2.3.1.1.Different Dimensions of Social Acceleration

Most easily observable and undeniable phenomenon about social acceleration can be called as technological acceleration which refers to the ‘profound changes’ in transportation and communication technologies (Rosa, 2009: 82; Rosa & Scheuerman, 2009: 9). These technologies are always emphasized with its power to remove the many obstacles that are encountered because of geographical distances so that they have changed our space and time perception, especially in the 21st century. On the other hand, this type is not the single source of the whole social acceleration. It is even argued that it is not a source but the result of it. In any case, it should be handled in interaction with other sources one of which is capitalism (Rosa & Scheuerman, 2009: 5).

As Rosa stated, the other obvious cause of acceleration is capitalism itself. Within this mode of production, labor time is one of the essential factors. Increasing productivity of the worker means increasing the output per unit time (Rosa, 2009: 89). In other words, minimizing the time to produce a commodity basically means maximizing the efficiency that is taken from labor power. Decreasing the turnover time means getting the profit more rapidly by providing to move and sell the commodity in the market faster. Another one, which is also related to pushing to reduce labor time and turnover time, is producing more goods in a shorter period of time and consuming them at a higher pace (Rosa & Scheuerman, 2009: 5, 21). Capitalists generically both tries to keep labor time below currently ‘socially necessary labor time’ and reduce the total time spent for production and circulation of their commodities below ‘socially necessary turnover time’. Simply because they can either goes up or goes down since there is no point of equilibrium. Standing still means falling behind (Rosa, 2009: 88; Jessop, 2009: 141-3).

Both of these turnover processes are related to technological innovation, as well. Generating or utilizing a new technology is a key element of competition since it can provide extra profits before the competitors attune to this technology or develop it. Then, the same mechanism repeats itself by new technologies. These characteristics are not the only but the basic causes of time compression and acceleration of capitalism and help to explain a large part of the sources of technological acceleration as a result of ceaseless competition for profit-maximization by accelerating the circle of production, distribution and consumption and capital (Rosa, 2009: 89).

According to Crary, acceleration is not a linear succession of innovations. It is not simply the substitution of a new item instead of the one which is out of date. Each replacement always multiplies the previous number of choices and options. It is a continuous process of expansions which occurs simultaneously on different levels. It also fastens the people to new tasks and demands. The logic of displacement or obsolescence of the old effectively links the individual to diversifying flows and it is also a qualitative adaptation and dependence of them to 24/7 routines (Crary, 2015: 50).

Acceleration is not just connected to the area of production or working life but permeates all areas of life. Rosa calls this process as the ‘acceleration of the pace of life’ (Rosa, 2009: 82). Capitalist acceleration is insufficient by itself to explain the whole range of acceleration phenomena and ‘cultural motor’, which is linked to dominant ideals of modernity, is also indispensable for explaining the success of capitalist acceleration (Rosa, 2009: 90).

The modern world always seems to offer many options to be experienced in a single lifetime and to taste life with all its full complexity become a central aspiration for modern people. The offers of the world are endless but individual life-span is not that long. Social acceleration, day by day, provides for us more and more variety of alternatives in any field. In this case living faster operates as a strategy to diminish the gap between ‘worldly options’ and time of an individual life-time; living fast is considered as living more meaningful since it allows performing more options and experiences. However, the options multiply faster than us and the realized options in proportion to the potentially realizable ones decrease (Rosa, 2009: 91-2; Rosa & Scheuerman, 2009: 9).

The acceleration of rhythms of life expresses the increase in the number and intensity of events and situations that take place in a unit of time (Zherebin et al., 2015: 197). By the acceleration of life, less and less time is obliged to allocate to a certain event, problem or situation. This requires much more effort for concentration. Besides more and more shifts of events and necessities occurs in a certain segment of time. Both creates and maintains the sense that everything is moving very quickly (Zherebin et al., 2015: 201).

In an acceleration society, individuals feel that they stand on a ‘slippery-slope’. They feel the pressure to keep up with the speed of change in order to avoid exclusions from social and economic fields which demand speed and flexibility. Missing the valuable options and connections in working life become more destructive and taking a break from keeping up, in this sense, means becoming old-fashioned and outdated. Furthermore, in such a world of unremitting change, it becomes more difficult to decide which options will turn out to be valuable for example in the working life (Rosa, 2009: 88, 98).

Technological acceleration is mostly labeled as the provider of allocating less time to a specific activity. It is used to describe the shortening of time needed for actions of production, reproduction, communication, transportation etc.; it is anticipated or presented that technological acceleration would pave the way for an increase in free time and hereby, in turn, it could slow down the time pressure of life in general. Even if, by technology, each activity can be done in a shorter period of time, technology which is supposed to provide a temporary relief tends to generate further changes and subsequent acceleration of daily life. Then, it turns into a vicious circle. And in such a world, Rosa offers to apply the term “acceleration society” to a society where technological acceleration and the growing scarcity of time occur simultaneously (Scheuerman, 2005: 450-1, 456; Larsson & Sanne, 2005: 214-5; Rosa, 2009: 85, 87). Modern life is perceived as ‘doing more’ and as long as the time devoted to the activities is not enough, this ‘doing more’ necessarily becomes ‘doing faster’ to be able to keep up with activities people had to or want to do (Rosa, 2009: 91; Southerton, 2003: 13).

If free time decreases in spite of the changes by technological acceleration, the possible explanation is that the share and structure of work itself have changed as well (Rosa, 2009: 87). The new technological developments emerged in the late twentieth century and the following years, have changed the working mechanisms and imposed new demands on the worker. By the changes on the nature of the work, the content of the work and effects on the human organism has altered. Computerization played an important role for this kind of change by its capabilities to enable the recording and processing data very fast. In the twenty-first century, a significant part of the people started to work in jobs required to assimilate and process information rapidly through more intense concentration rather than high body mobility based on muscle tension. It is claimed that the intensity of various ‘mental stimuli’ and the increased pace and rapid rhythms of life pushes limits of the human organism’s adaptive capabilities. Therefore, it is frequently argued that the present way of working life gives rise to some unhealthy consequences on people’s bodies. All in all, not only the nature of work changed but also its content and its effects on the human body (Zherebin et al., 2015: 197-9).

2.3.1.2.Different Dimensions of Deceleration

Rosa claims that some natural processes cannot be accelerated in principle, for example, the time that takes for most natural resources to reproduce. Beyond this, the physical and mental capabilities of human body such as speed of perception, processing in our brains and bodies cannot be accelerated (Rosa, 2009: 93). Maybe it is difficult to accelerate the potential of physical and mental capabilities of body. However, in my opinion, these capabilities, especially the mental ones, are pushed forward to be used at the extreme limits of its potential. As we stated above, acceleration is one of the key advantages in the competition of companies. Similarly, different actualized speed of mental capabilities is one of distinctive criteria in the competitive labor market. Physical and mental adaptability to demands of acceleration in work is important to be employed as well as to keep the job. For these reasons, sleepiness, as long as it causes deceleration of the capabilities, is not welcomed at work. Therefore, from the dimensions that is claimed as not to be accelerated, we reach to the decelerated phenomena of contemporary social life.

It must be said that many of the acceleration processes do not affect everybody in the world. Even though, in principle, they are accessible to and can be under pressure of acceleration, there are social and ‘territorial niches’ that have not been touched, totally or partially, by the dynamics of capitalism and modernization thus acceleration. Some traditional forms of production practice, some socially excluded groups, some religious sects can be given as examples. For a considerable part of the world population life goes pretty much the same as it was. Besides, when acceleration affects, it does not have to do it everywhere in the same way (Rosa, 2009: 94; Rosa & Scheuerman, 2009: 6).

One argument can be put forward is that acceleration and deceleration are in balance such that in the temporal patterns of society both types are found without a sustained dominance of one or the other. The second argument, I also agree with, is that there is no such a balance and even if there was in the previous decades, today it clearly shifts on behalf of acceleration; the forms of deceleration, in this sense, are

‘residuals’ or reactions to acceleration. Some forms of deceleration even enable conditions of ‘further acceleration’ (Rosa, 2009: 96-7). Rosa tries to explore different forms of deceleration which cut across the different spheres of social acceleration discussed above. I will not go around all of them but just mention the ones related to the context of this study.

One of them is the deceleration through the ‘structural exclusion of workers’ from the sphere of production. For the sake of companies’ profit or as a consequence of the transformations in the means of production, the workers are dismissed and especially long-term unemployment causes to an extreme deceleration in comparison with the others that they worked together before. The other deceleration type, in a more macro-economic framework, is economic recession. When these two types take into consideration together with capitalism’s ‘crisis-prone structures’, it is even argued that some people’s lives are increasingly decelerated as a consequence of capitalist acceleration e.g. the unemployed, the homeless, some refugees and many retirees. These categories are also related to the exclusion of workers who cannot keep up with the required speed of working life or told so (Rosa, 2009: 94; Harvey, 1989: 147-8). Besides, even though they fulfill the speed requirements who do not adapt to flexibility demands from working life can be subjected to deceleration by exclusion. I will try to argue limitedly the flexibility as a connected with but different concept than acceleration in the second sub-heading of this chapter.

Another form, the limited or temporary deceleration, is about trying to store the capacity to function and further accelerate within acceleratory systems. Rosa, on the individual level, gives the example of doing yoga as a promise, a rest from the fast pace for the purpose of a more active participation in accelerated social systems afterward. In a similar vein, for instance, self-help literature suggests a voluntary slowdown in work or pauses in order to increase energy and creativity (Rosa, 2009: 95). In the next chapters, we will offer to handle sleep with this specific relationship between acceleration and deceleration. The sleep of workers sometimes is disrupted by the demands of work in accelerated capitalism or it is sacrificed because of the

time pressure they experience. However, at the same time it is a necessary deceleration to adapt the acceleration of waking life.

When everything and everybody is tried to accelerate, some dysfunctional form can appear as it happens in the example of traffic jam (Rosa, 2009: 94). These can cause to accidents and financial damages. Therefore, it is always important to overcome eurhythmically these kind of coordination problems in social acceleration. We will handle flexibility, partly as a strategy in reply to these problems of capitalism, in the flexibilization part of this study. The coordination problems sometimes result in undesirable effects of deceleration, one of which can be loss of profit for companies. Besides, when every worker force themselves to accelerate more and more, inevitably some of them will be less accelerated relatively. In the competitive labor market, by the help of 'reserve army of labor', some of these relatively decelerated workers will be faced with the trouble of becoming unemployed. It is also argued that psychopathological depressions which are kind of deceleration, can be partly seen as an unintended consequence or reaction to excessive pressures of acceleration. The very economic problems and increasing unemployment cause even greater pressure to perform for the worker which are still employed and do not want to be dispossessed from their 'privileges' or means of support (Steger, 2006: 204).

It is not true to talk about a single universal pattern of acceleration that speeds up everything. Acceleration does not envelope the whole life and it is necessary to pay attention to the fields of social life that do not accelerate, resist to accelerate an even sometimes decelerate. Otherwise, our analysis will be one-sided and potentially misleading (Rosa & Scheuerman, 2009: 4-5; Rosa, 2009: 81). Still, none of the forms of deceleration are 'counter-powers' to acceleration and none of the resistances are successful as yet. Some of them are just limits, some of them are just effects and some of them are even providers of further acceleration. The deceleration phenomena do not necessarily undermine the claim that contemporary society is subject to social acceleration and the logic of social acceleration concept has a key aspect of sociological analysis since it can be properly applied to many

social phenomena in contemporary society (Rosa & Scheuerman, 2009: 6; Rosa, 2009: 81, 97, 108).

As I emphasized, social acceleration does not affect everybody in the same way. Besides, it is possible to distinguish the gainer and the loser of social acceleration in the contemporary capitalist society. In this sense, I will partly try to analyze this kind of social acceleration as an uneven process that reflects how power is subdivided, expressed and reproduced in a given society (Hsu, 2014: 225-6). Related with this, the unequal character of the distribution of time between the groups at the different positions of society or in other words the ones at different class or status positions should be taken into account. Their paths and resources of life and the unequal character of their inclusion or exclusion by social life can cause to very different results for progressing or regressing the individuals in this accelerated social world (Zherebin et al., 2015: 194).

In the next chapter, I will partly focus on the literature about the structure of work in the current conditions of capitalism mostly through the concept of flexibility. In my opinion, this concept which is related to different dimensions of social acceleration helps us to explain the time experience of white-collar workers.

2.3.2.Flexibilization

Flexibilization is mostly regarded as the principal of work organization but associatively the ‘capital, raw materials or part manufactured products’ are also organized according to the flexible financial and market situations. These situations have become more complex and multi-layered by globalization. The working dispositions, the more profitable moments can be any time. ‘Time is money’ but every timepiece is not same for profit. Even though short-term circulation is the principle, the rise in profit can change depending on the time. Depending on financial situations, production can be accelerated to be able to complete the product or service with the shortest time. On the other hand, it can also be left hanging for a while to reduce the costs or/and to increase the profit. There can be waiting periods for a company to optimize timing as much as possible. Online

systems are commonly used for planning optimization skillfully (Nowotny, 1994: 110-1). Therefore, acceleration of circulation is also affected by flexibility and thereby can be decelerated sometimes. The more it is time to accelerate the circulation, the more workers have to work long hours. When it is the time of deceleration, workers are conducted to different task to accelerate or just they are dismissed from employment, not to 'waste' money. The fluctuation of speed here depends on the profitability. Despite the other dimensions of flexibility, for the scope of our study, I will concentrate on flexibility through working relations.

Acceleration and increasing tolerance for speed do not guarantee the harmony for the temporal requirements of profit or other spheres of social life. The significance of synchronization should be highlighted since it is also important to perform at the same pace of the requirements (Rosa & Scheuerman, 2009: 13). Acceleration society, psychologically and ethically, expects to adapt the rapid-fire pace to the constantly changing circumstances and high rates of contingency. It demands flexibility for the workers not to follow rigid pre-determined schedules. In other words, the accelerated capitalist economy does not demand only a flexible regime of accumulation but also flexible human bodies to work intensively in flexible working hours. This flexibility demands start from work and respectively affects the rhythms of leisure and sleep (Rosa & Scheuerman, 2009: 11; Fuchs, 2014: 110; Rojek, 2004: 56). In this sub-heading, I will only argue the flexibility of work but also emphasize some points about its effects on leisure. Yet, the effects of acceleration and flexibility on leisure and sleep will be handled mostly under the following sub-headings.

2.3.2.1.Temporal Flexibilization of Work

Despite the discourses on flexibility which approve this process as a benefit for increased autonomy, saving in cost and time, balancing work and life, this new regime causes to work intensification, over-work, colonization of leisure and employment insecurity (Tietze & Musson, 2002: 318). One component of flexible work is the reduction of labor protections. It is not only about making easier to fire workers by reducing the costs of dismissal but it is also about increasing other

forms flexibility in addition to work intensification and acceleration (Standing, 2011: 31,120). Current pressure towards more flexible time use and the constant quest for changing the organizational structure of companies are explained by the headiness of capital to get a faster turnover and acquisition. This situation reflects on workers assignment for different departments and tasks, thereby causes to non-well defined labor contracts. It also affects short-term employment patterns of workers, in addition to becoming more vulnerable to being sacked (Sennett, 2008: 21-2; Bell & Tuckman, 2002: 122). The companies that are organized according to flexibility principles rarely set easily accomplished tasks. Each department is forced to produce or accomplish tasks beyond its present capacities. The push that emerges from the top layers of the company imposes the lower level departments to perform more accelerated beyond the existing possibilities (Sennett, 2008:58).

To be able to understand flexible working regime, it is important to analyze the organization of time for work. Temporal flexibility is one of the most common organizational practices of companies in contemporary capitalism to pave the way for adaptability to acceleration and to be advantageous in competition (Tietze & Musson, 2002: 315). The companies do not strictly work in the reference to fixed 'time blocks' or stable working hours anymore (Sennett, 2008:59). In the earlier decades, production was mostly operated around blocks of time, around the separation of fixed workplace and its outside. For most of the workers, the hours that they will at work and therefore, that they will have for leisure was clear. If it was not, then it was probably exceptions (Standing, 2011: 116). It should be stated that I do not talk about a comparison which claims the workers were working less time than today. I am talking about a tendency that blurs working hours and leisure, which mostly means overwork after a certain 'end' the working hours. The duration of work is one of the obvious phenomena of flexibilization (Tietze & Musson, 2002: 325). Almost none of the workers complete the tasks in a certain end time of work even if an end time was specified in their contracts. Lengthening out the end time is flexibilized but the companies are not mostly flexible for the starting hour of work. The coercion of the labor contract shows up there.

The logic of overtime for work in the workplace when it is necessary has also acquired some different dimension. Before this flexible regime, the workers were informed beforehand, even if in the same day, to work overtime. This trend still exists but it also turned out into the accessibility at any time to be able to adapt to contingencies and unexpected need for acceleration. Therefore, the working time is becoming more unscheduled and after certain working hours, it was designed for 'call-out'. The workers are expected to be available by hanging on the telephone or the internet for duties after 'working hours', which does not always necessitate a kind of workplace. Anywhere, home included, can be turned into a place to fulfill the absent tasks or exigencies. The workers are not necessarily called out, even if they are not, they know the necessities of work. The time allocated for work frequently continues even into the night, after the certain working hours at the workplace or outside. Weekends also lost its 'demarcation function' for non-work (Tietze & Musson, 2002: 325). When the workers are asked for overtime, they do not have the right to refuse it. When the production demands are greatest they are even called to be back from statutory holidays or to complete the tasks there. In other words, the distinction not only between work and leisure after work but also between holiday, weekends and workdays are blurred (Bell & Tuckman, 2002: 117, 121).

Even though most of the workers do not consider, voluntarily or involuntarily, the weekends or holidays as a work-free period, these separations have not completely disappeared. 'They have become blurred at the boundaries' (Tietze & Musson, 2002: 325). The blurring of the distinctions between work and leisure is not the end of capitalist time regime that separates work and leisure. I do not mean this. Leisure is also necessary for capitalism depends on consuming what it is used. I mean the significant effort to minimize leisure for the capital's requirements by turning it into labor time while needed or into a time that is useful for work. For instance, enhancing qualifications or even sleep can be considered in this context (Fuchs, 2014: 112). I will argue this point later.

2.3.2.2. Technology and Flexibility

Fixed spaces for work is not an obligation anymore. A considerable part of work tasks can be fulfilled outside a certain workplace and thereby the control of labor power spills over to other areas of life (Standing, 2011: 117, 126). The accessibility of worker outside the workplace was limited in the previous decades. This was also related to the territorial distinction between workplace and home. Even though it was never absolute, in leisure time it was possible for workers to construct inaccessibility to/from work. In other words, the workers have a basic right to be inaccessible and to grow away from work. The more or less clear distinction between the time that is sold to the company for wage and the time the time that is to some extent under control of the worker himself/herself. However, the deregulation of labor market allowed for increased flexibility and almost 7/24 accessible worker. Information and communication technologies have a key role in this process. Ever-accessibility to work is associated with being more inaccessible for other spheres of social life or other persons such as friends and family members. In this way, flexible time patterns of the work regulate the social accessibility of the worker for various social roles, by making work as a priority even in leisure time (Bell & Tuckman, 2002: 119, 120).

Information and communication technologies are used in almost every stage of work by different workers of different occupations (Sennett, 2008:22). They did not only used simply. They also helped to enable new organizational forms and working patterns. Temporal flexibility has changed the time-segregated schedules and this has enabled the increased penetration of work accessibility by corroding the separation between work and leisure. It has been possible not only by flexible working arrangements but also by technologies that make workers more accessible 'beyond the physical boundaries of the workplace'. In this sense information and communication technologies helped to blur the distinction between work and leisure. The difficulty of controlling workers out of the workplace is tried to be overcome by these technologies, as well. Therefore, it can be even provided to decide when the task will be finished even in leisure time of the worker. The concept of flexibility can always be turned into rigidity at the expense of the worker. For instance, deadlines are mostly a constant, rigid presence in this working

regime. Some organizations reconsider the strict time-discipline while the others judge the workers on performance at the end of a deadlined-task, without watching out how many hours they worked (Bell & Tuckman, 2002: 116-7; Lee & Liebenau, 2002: 128-9, 135, 137).

The workers are expected to be ‘always on’ or at least ‘on standby’ by the flexible working regime, accessibility is one of the basic principles of this regime. For this reason, it is an obligation for the worker to use some information communication technologies and some virtual networks because it is assumed that work can be done in any temporal location by them. The new time-discipline includes this availability and internalizing to check the technological tools (telephones, e-mail, programs, social media accounts) even without an external alert. Whereas in the last decades the worker was under control of work only in the workplace and in working hours, today it is possible to control remote workers outside the workplace by measuring network connection time, by cameras, by telephones etc. Flexibility is not the comfort of the worker outside the workplace, rather a control by monitoring the productivity and location when it is felt as a necessary for the job (Standing, 2011: 129; Lee & Liebenau, 2002: 135-6). Therefore, in any case, the time of flexibility is the time of a new power regime of work. It causes irregularity but not getting rid of restrictions (Sennett, 2008:62).

2.3.2.3. Skills and Age in Accelerated Flexible Working Regime

The time dimension of acceleration affects the idea of qualification. The insecurity that symbolizes the insignificance of how qualified you were in the past. The new regime does not consider the ‘old’ qualifications to give a worker standing and rights in a material sense. Seniority rights are not that valid anymore. The new regime focuses on immediate capabilities. As long as the worker is sufficient for immediate capabilities, then maybe the potentialities that the workers can get benefit in the future (Sennett, 2008:101; Standing, 2011: 124).

The skills required for work is not limited to the education that is taken before work. In addition to training in the workplace, there is an increasing need in the

contemporary labor market to getting training outside the work to increase the qualifications to be able to proceed to be employable. One of the outcomes of the flexible and accelerated labor market is the uncertainty of average return to self-determined training. Some qualifications will not be yielded in the material sense and it is becoming more difficult to be sure beforehand which skill will serve for being employed or its continuity. Some of them will not even be useful at all or some of them will be for a very short period (Standing, 2011: 121-3).

The knowledge and skills they had before working or at the beginning of working, do not guarantee the working position or not being sacked since necessary working skills and knowledge change rapidly in the accelerated contemporary capitalism. Life-long learning for new qualifications is necessary for work and qualifications 'must be constantly updated'. Besides, periods of learning are trying to be shortened by technical instruments or organizational arrangements as well as by the time pressure on workers. The pressure to learn and adapt skills rapidly and often is a prerequisite for durable employment of workers (Colley et al., 2012: 387, 390). This is a result of capitalist and technological acceleration. For a considerable part of occupations, because of the acceleration of change, a qualification does not subsist for long years. In some circumstances, the qualifications which demanded even a couple of years, can become obsolescent or are necessitated upgrading in a short period because of the acceleration of changes (Standing, 2011: 123-4).

Qualifications do not progress linearly. Emergence and development of new fields are thought as a requirement for 'fresh approach' and 'fast-learners'. For this reason, the older workers become disadvantageous -or it is thought so- since it is considered that they fall behind the current developments in technology and organizational structures. The older workers that are used to apply a qualification for long years at work have difficulties to adapt a new one. Besides, they are thought as not enough flexible and not having enough energy to adapt the necessities of the new working regime. In plenty of sectors and occupations, it is seen as impossible to work after a certain age which is 40, since elderliness is considered as rigidity and slowness. Therefore, companies have the tendency to dismiss older workers during corporate reengineering and the working lifespan in

this kind of companies is being compressed to less than half biological lifespan. The youth is preferred since they are thought as more convenient to flexibility, over-work, risk-taking, and subordination. The companies prefer the youth also to be able to get rid of the seniority rights “burden”. They can hire a new worker which is a cheaper labor (Sennett, 2008:97-100).

2.4. The Ticklish Position of Sleep under Time Pressure

Since this study claims that sleep of workers should be analyzed in the context of capitalism rather than health, I will firstly handle the workers’ common temporal experiences which are caused by structures of contemporary capitalism that I mentioned above. For this reason, I will try to build up the theoretical approach for these experiences through the concept of time pressure. Then, I will argue how to handle the position of sleep in contemporary capitalism.

2.4.1. Time Pressure

Actually, acceleration of life in capitalist societies is not a totally new theme and dates back to the ‘advent of industrialization’ (Roxburgh, 2002: 121). However, the studies about acceleration and its effects on social life have become more spread especially after the 1980s, and I think this is not a coincidence or it is not an academic interest that occurred out of a thin air. Time poverty, time crunch, and time famine are some of the most-used concepts to describe the feelings of time shortage as the result of the immense acceleration of the rhythms of life (Chatzitheochari & Arber, 2009: 31). However, in this study, I would prefer the concept of time pressure since I think that it connotes the power dimension and the internal and external aspects of this situation. The external aspect is about social requirements, current conditions of capitalist working regime etc. and on the individual is basically trying to catch up the acceleration and worrying about time constantly.

2.4.1.1. The Sources of Time Pressure

After the 1970s but especially by 1990s, the lack of interest to time issues was overcome by some extensive studies involved in patterns of time-use. This is the result of that people in contemporary societies are becoming more hectic rather than the temporally relieved (Zuzanek, 2004: 124). Most of these studies, which were mostly conducted in Western capitalist countries, claimed that the people report the feeling of 'always rushed' or 'never had enough time' had become more often in the last years of their life. These findings, for sure, put forward this legitimate question: Is it a subjective perception or is it about the trends in the actual time use? The quest for the answer to this question especially focused the distribution of work and leisure time. Some claimed that time pressure is because of work while the others defended that the source of time pressure is about the changing patterns of leisure (Zuzanek, 2004: 126). Szollos narrates different tendencies to analyze the causes of time pressure. I'll not go into details but mention some of them as a way to construct one of our main arguments. Some scholars consider it as a self-deceptive and illusory phenomenon. An increased number of choices and increased free time leads to time shortage feeling, paradoxically. According to the followers of this tendency, time shortage is a myth in contemporary society which creates too many hedonistic options and automatically there is not enough time left to pursue all of them. It is also argued that some people purposively undertakes so many responsibilities and consider it as a positive status symbol. Some claims that the myth of time pressure creates the time pressure. Some claims that it is only limited a very small group in society, for instance, middle-class families with children, single parents or dual-career professional couples (Szollos, 2009: 333-4).

Some most-cited academic studies based on far-reaching time-use surveys of different periods, for instance by comparing 1960s and 1990s, end up with contradictory results about the distribution of working time and leisure. For instance, Juliet Schor (1992) argues that Americans are working longer hours and have fewer hours to spend in leisure activities. Conversely, Robinson and Godbey (1997), present that Americans are working fewer hours and have more hours of

time to spend in leisure activities (Roxburgh, 2002: 122). Yet, the claimers of the both opposite views agree that one of the contemporary society's dominant characteristics is time shortage and respondents mentioned in these studies reveal that they feel more hurried and there is not enough time for the practices they must, should or want to do (Southerton, 2003: 9; Roxburgh, 2002: 122). In both case, in my opinion, the answer is directly about the changing patterns of capitalism, together with the unchanging logic of it.

Robinson and Godbey say that the sense of time pressure is not necessarily grounded in an actual reduction in leisure time but it is a psychological response to the general acceleration of life. Therefore, their claim is that time pressure occurs because of people's higher expectations and aspirations, not because of an actual expansion of work. Time pressure, according to them, is more a perceptual problem (Robinson & Godbey, 1997: 25). It is even argued by some sociologists that perceptions of time pressure are linked to a person's approach to time, 'time styles'. While the ones with inefficient mental actions and planning feel, the ones who are good time-planners and efficient about their time-use do not feel under time pressure (Kaufman-Scarborough & Lindquist, 2003: 352, 366). One of the problems here is that they consider time pressure specific to leisure activities and they overlook the time pressure at work. However, as Zuzanek said, time pressure feeling roots primarily in working time (Zuzanek, 2004: 128).

Another problem about these kinds of studies is that they assume the individual as free to decide how to allocate time for specific activities in a day, the work itself included (Antonopoulos & Memiş, 2010: 4). However, flexibilization of work in contemporary capitalism, as I argued above, mostly does not mean the possibility to decide the working hours and duration. Besides, even if it was possible to choose them, as long as the salary in exchange for the working time is low, workers would have to work more as much as possible to earn a living. Therefore, in the conditions of high rates of unemployment, competitive labor market and low-wages, it is not appropriate to propose the workers to reduce the working hours for relieving time-pressure in leisure (Antonopoulos & Memiş, 2010: 8).

Thirdly, they overlook the connection of expectations and aspirations with work regime. For instance, if the worker wants to learn a foreign language in leisure time, it is not simply her/his desire about learning but also about the competitive conditions and necessities of the working regime. They allocate time to learn a language or they feel pressure not being able to allocate because upgrading the qualifications is one of the key points for 'surviving' in this regime. Besides, some households are also defined by work place rhythms since they are getting part of daily home life more and more (Kaufman-Scarborough & Lindquist, 2003:351).

Even though time shortage is a subjective judgment of what is fast or what is slow, what is too much or what is too little, it symbolizes the lack of control of individuals (Larsson & Sanne, 2005: 217). And this lack of control is not an individual phenomena but lies at the core of the contemporary capitalist working regime. The contingency of work and of leisure interrelatedly causes to lack of control within social networks to some degrees (Southerton, 2003: 9).

The desire of individuals to have more time manifests itself overwhelmingly at everyday life (Nowotny, 1994:103). But, this does not mean directly that time pressure emerges from leisure. Working time and leisure time are closely linked to each other via the labor market and social policy (lack of it can be a policy as well). There is an increasing need for the time for production but it is also needed to consume what is produced in order to make room for new products and services. Therefore, consumption time also has to be shaped and rationalized more efficiently otherwise the reproduction of continued production and consumption will be interrupted (Nowotny, 1994:118, 126).

Therefore, any analysis of the relations or conflicts between working time and leisure time will fall short as long as they are handled sharply divided, as fixed working hours have long since become abnormal. The work extends itself into leisure and leisure also maybe more limitedly tries to extend itself to working hours. Technological devices are at the foremost position to blur these boundaries

(Nowotny, 1994: 125-6). At this point, it should be said that extension of leisure to working time is more difficult because of performance criteria, surveillance techniques such as cameras, programs that control the websites in the office etc. On the other hand, mobile phones, tracking systems, computer programs are mostly used more efficiently for controlling if the duties are done out of the office.

Since the consumption processes base on the availability of commodity or services at any time, the logic of 'temporal availability' of most of the workers does not limit workers with certain working hours, it spills over into other sections of the day and even into off-days (Nowotny, 1994: 111-2). The growing effects of short-term profit diminish or degrade the conditions of natural reproduction. Besides, they create a tension between the abstract time of capitalism and the varied temporalities of human existence such as sentient, self-reflexive, socio-cultural and biological. This is reflected in the stresses of everyday life and in the growing feeling of time pressure (Jessop, 2009: 147). In these conditions, desire for more free time should be understood as a reaction to extension of work rather than simply multiplication of 'hedonistic options'. It should be also said that time pressure is not only about the necessities and desired actions, but also having too little time for recovery and close relations. Recovery includes sleep, relaxation and maybe exercise in order to stay healthy (Larsson & Sanne, 2005: 217).

The working-time is becoming fragmented, discontinuous and shows large variations between different occupations, companies or cities. All preferences for time use are related to certain phases of life and conditions, such as age, gender, family, income, and class. The preferences, thereby the strategies, about time-use in the conditions of increasing time pressure, are also exposed to fluctuations and changes (Nowotny, 1994: 116, 125). The time spent for paid work is distributed unequally in society, thereby, the leisure time as well. Furthermore, the money to be got from paid work is also an important prerequisite for the activities of leisure time. What is more overlooked is that the way that leisure spent or the activities that are done are in that times are mostly indispensable prerequisites for work itself as

well, such as the ambition to be updated for new developments and to be more qualified (Nowotny, 1994:104).

2.4.1.2. Time Pressure in Everyday Life

As it is stated, time pressure is also associated with increasing ‘fragmentation’ of time, i.e. shifting from one activity to another (Zuzanek, 2004: 126). The contemporary conditions of life are related to an increase in the fragmentation of time. Besides, it causes shorter durations for certain activities both at work and leisure. The number of activities engaged in simultaneously produces a feeling of time pressure. Leisure has become fragmented because of the flexibility but at the same time, it has become more intensive. Even if the amount of leisure time has remained the same or even increased, because of the intensity, it becomes more accelerated and more time pressured (Sullivan, 2008: 9). In other words, the amount of general free time is not the only important for the temporal experience of leisure but also the timing of activities and the duration they allocate for a certain activity in the total amount of free time (Larsson & Sanne, 2005: 216). For this reason, time pressure is not only about acceleration but also about flexibility. Actually they are quite related with each other but still, flexibility is a concept to consider that acceleration is a fluctuating process rather than a linear one. This presumption leads us to the other dimension of time pressure: Coordination problems which cause or/and caused by flexibility.

Timing is when to do things due to other people schedules and institutional conditions. This experience is the result of having too much to do (at work, in private life or both) in combination with the fact that many activities need to be coordinated with other people or institutional conditions (Larsson & Sanne, 2005: 217). Some research found that even regular contact with close friends or family members is a matter of time management because of the pressure they felt. Meetings are mostly arranged at the weekends because of the long working hours, tiredness or possibly ‘unexpected situations’ of work. Still, as long as it requires

long journeys, it is considered as the 'loss of the weekend'. To achieve this when they long for these meetings, they become more accelerated to be able to finish the necessities both for work and home to get everything done by Friday (Southerton, 2003: 14).

The lack of fixed time blocks of work makes network coordination problematic both for work and leisure. It is required to confer with the others constantly for the temporal (thereby also spatial) coordination. This coordination is considered as an 'achievement' often times since the people do not follow or comply with same temporal patterns. It requires conscious and constant scheduling of a whole variety of collective practices. In other words, this 'achievement' depends on their conditions and capabilities to schedule their practices in line with the others. Even if they achieve this, one telephone call or an e-mail can possibly alter the previously arranged events. This is another proof that the time pressure, the reflection of acceleration and flexibility to everyday life, is not only subjective experiences (Southerton, 2003: 15-6).

In various texts, academic or popular, the cause of the time pressure is handled as the individuals' failures. Even when this is not the case, the burden of struggling with time pressure is seen as something that the individual should take upon herself/himself. I do not claim that time pressure has not any individual aspect. However, it mostly emerges from structural conditions. Still, it would be to go over some individual-based advice to get some insights about the structure, as well. Workers employ 'different strategies' to 'avert time pressure' and use different means to be able to cope with temporal overload (Southerton, 2003: 14, 17). One of them is 'multi-tasking', or the term 'polychronicity' is preferred by some scholars, both for work and leisure. It is basically the ability to carry out more than one activity in the same time period and it is not an easy-going process. Depends on the load, it causes distractions, focusing problems as well as scheduling and remembering problems (Kaufman-Scarborough & Lindquist, 2003: 353; Standing, 2011: 126-7). It is not only about acceleration but also about flexibility as long as 'particular tasks tend to fall together all at once' (Southerton, 2003: 13).

Expectations of the work and the others as well as the desires of the individual are seldom fully met or even when they are met, it is not an end that blocks the new ones (Larsson & Sanne, 2005: 219). One example is that if a worker can find a technique for herself/himself to finish the duties in a shorter period, this will not probably mean that the working hours will be reduced for him/her. Secondly, to-do lists, diaries, technological means, convenience devices, and services are used for coordination and time allocation of different practices to manage different demands of work and other spheres of social life. These represent the utilitarian perceptions of time and presume the capability of the individual to control the flow of it. In other words, these are individual responses to a collective problem (Southerton, 2003: 18, 22). I do not underestimate these strategies, it is necessary to be able to conduct a life and some of them should be even praised. My emphasis is that they are just in the frame of the given conditions of capitalism.

Larsson & Sanne give another example of the same situation for home necessities and claim that some studies on the effects of ‘timesaving household-equipments’ evaluate that the ‘saved’ time tends to vanish because of the higher expectations, e.g. for cleanliness. They also remark that buying the services or products which have a potential of relieving time pressure, can require more work, maybe longer working days, thereby more time pressure, for compensate the money spent for them. According to them, this strategy like streamlining has the risk that the ‘saved’ time is filled with new necessities and expectations (Larsson & Sanne, 2005: 220).

Although speeding up the pace of life sometimes seems as a voluntary response of individuals for the sake of good and meaningful life, even a shallow look at how they explain or justify their use of time can express how they are affected by the dominant ideology of individual freedom. What they want to do can stem from the complex relations of social and economic pressures as well as from ‘cultural ideals of modernity’. The wishes, for instance, to learn a second language, to keep up with changes in computer technology or fashion, to have a broad social milieu, to

improve themselves in a certain area mesh with the rhetoric of obligations (Rosa, 2009: 98).

To conclude, it is important to conceptualize time pressure according to substantial changes in the working regime without breaking the connections of it with leisure. There are different levels to analyze it and even the most personal practices are related both to the structural changes and continuities in capitalism and modernity. I offer to associate the rhythms of body, work and leisure with its own obligations and desires. Therefore, analyzing the position of sleep in the general framework of time-use patterns which are under time pressure is a step from the depths of everyday life to the ultimate level of accelerated-flexibilized capitalism.

2.4.2.Problem of Sleep in Contemporary Capitalism

At the beginning of this part, I will go over the impressive text of Crary, titled as “The Ends of Sleep”. This text is also important since it is probably the first translation about sleep to Turkish social sciences literature. Firstly, I will briefly move with his claims about the acceleration of capitalism and its effects on sleep. Then, I will criticize his text from some different aspects and try to offer a more complex approach by the help of the theory that I handled above.

2.4.2.1.Ends of Sleep under 24/7 Capitalism?

It is always and still argued that it is more profitable if workers were allowed to some amounts of rest. Therefore, it is thought that they will be more sustainable and productive in the long run. However, Crary in his provocative text claims that, within the globalist neoliberal paradigm of the last decades, by the collapse of controlled capitalism, any necessity for having rest as a component for profitability has removed. Capitalism today has to function 24/7 and time for human rest and regeneration is too expensive for companies in the competition (Crary, 2015: 24).

Similarly, Standing claims that global economy is 24/7 machine that never sleeps and when it is necessary, it has no respect for cultural tradition that offers people to sleep at night. These traditions are considered as a rigidity and barrier to competitiveness and flexibility. If a worker does not adapt to 24/7, there will be some sanctions. “It is no longer a case of ‘the early bird catches the worm’; it is the sleepless bird that does so” (Standing, 2011: 115-6). No time-piece of the day is different from the other, production and consumption should proceed 24/7. The reflection of it is the pressure against the necessity of sleep, since proceeding without pause, absolute availability of the worker at any time are the principles (Crary, 2015: 20). For sure, there are differentiated temporalities and they are not simply homogenous but the depth of distinctions between them diminishes in the sense of commodification. Some older time-units persist but they are overlaid by the time management of 24/7 networks and markets. 24/7 capitalism “undermines the distinctions between day and night, between light and dark, and between action and repose” (Crary, 2015: 27, 62).

For Crary, the homogenizing force of capitalism aligns every differentiation between timepieces on the same level, on the level of the market. Comprehension of sleep as a ‘natural’ act is not acceptable any longer. Therefore, the proportion of people who wake up, intentionally or obtrusively, once or more to check the messages or to do some work in the midst of their sleep is increasing. People maybe still sleep as the result of their nature and even in mega-cities there are ‘nocturnal intervals of relative quiescence’. However, sleep is more likely to be conceptualized as a managed function that can only be defined instrumentally. For these reasons, Crary points out the similarity between this pattern and the notion of “sleep mode” that is used for technological devices to symbolize the state of ‘low-power readiness’ for performing any time that is needed. It is different than off/on mode and he thinks that sleep is not any more “off mode” which means actual and total sleep of rest (Crary, 2015: 23).

According to Crary, in the last decades, human subject has increasingly been integrated with the ‘constant continuity’ of 24/7 capitalism. Communication and information technologies helped to penetrate every space and timepiece. The

individual has become who is constantly engaged, interacting, processing, working, consuming at the Networks. Technological devices and software provide the ubiquity of the users at the Networks. This leads users to endeavor for increasing fluency and compatibility. On the other hand, this process put them in a harmony with the fundamental functional requirements for reducing the amount of time for any exchange or operation, continually. Therefore, Crary claims that despite the sense of ingenuity individuals felt about being on the winning side of the system, all users become the interchangeable objects of the same mass dispossession of time and praxis. Under these conditions, the distinctions between work and leisure, public and private, everyday life and organized institutions, production and consumption were blurred. All the autonomous spheres of social activity are commodified and financialized. According to him, sleep is the major remaining obstacle that capitalism cannot eliminate for the full realization of 24/7 capitalism. But it has already under pressure of being wrecked (Crary, 2015: 25, 27, 78).

Crary says that most of basic human needs such as hunger, thirst, sexual desire are colonized and commodified during this process. However, despite the unceasing effort of scientific research in this field, sleep resists and confounds to exploitation or re-shaping. The inconceivable nature of sleep blocks any exchange-value that is wanted to be extracted from it. This activity that we spent the huge proportion of our days is freed from commodified needs. It is one of the few areas that show possible limits of the compatibility of human bodies to the forces of contemporary capitalism and it is a big affront to voraciousness of it (Crary, 2015: 21, 23). Therefore Crary says: “[Because of] the losses it causes in production time, circulation, and consumption, sleep will always collide with the demands of a 24/7 universe” (Crary, 2015: 21).

In my view, Crary points out to a general tendency but it is still an over-generalization. Acceleration of capitalism does not affect everybody and their sleep patterns in the same way. As I stated before, the degree of time pressure depends on the social group that an individual belongs to and some tools should be used to investigate the differences that depend on class, age, gender, occupational position etc. and even country, as well. Besides, time pressure does not have to directly

reflect on sleep duration, despite the fact that it does so mostly. Sleep is not the only field that can be sacrificed for temporal relief or to catch up acceleration. Maybe it is the most difficult thing to sacrifice the requirements of work because of the salary to earn a living. However, other social requirements can also be sacrificed if the individuals insist on their sleep. In brief, sleep duration is affected by the acceleration of capitalism, for sure but mediate.

Despite the blurriness of the different spheres, Crary offers to analyze sleep in relation to the distinctions between private and public, individual and collective, by considering their permeability as well. Sleep, as the most private and vulnerable state, can only be sustained by society. According to Crary, despite the fact that sleep is one of the most solitary and private activities in social life is one of the few remaining experiences leave ourselves to the care of others since mutual support, trust and security are needed for a 'smooth sleep'. The sleeper, experience and share a world in common with others by moving herself/himself away from the waste of 7/24 life. Sleep, in this sense, stand for the social and can serve as a model for other fields that society could protect itself, as the 'wrecking of sleep' cannot be thought separated from dismantling of the other social protections (Crary, 2015: 27, 34, 122).

His argument about the social aspect of sleep is right but his emphasis on the resistant power of sleep is an exaggeration, in my opinion. Besides, despite offering the permeability of activities beforehand, his argument reproduces the sharp distinction between sleep and waking world. This is a kind of romantic view that base on goodness and evilness. In some parts of his text, sleep is presented as a hero against 24/7 capitalism. Furthermore, he says that sleep is "a periodic release from individuation - a nightly unraveling of the loosely woven tangle of the shallow subjectivities one inhabits and manages by day" (Crary, 2015: 122). He puts the numerous different subjectivities of daily into the same pot and labels them as 'shallow'. He, thereby, overlooks the subjectivities that are struggling publicly against capitalism and reduces the struggle into an indirect field, into sleep.

"How much speed can and should we achieve? How much can we tolerate?" (Rosa & Scheuerman, 2009: 12). If we think of these questions and if consider the 'we' as

the human body, it becomes possible to handle sleep as a ‘natural barrier’ as Crary did. However, he himself argues the technological and medical breakthroughs to corrode this barrier. The capabilities of a human body can be a barrier for further acceleration but human biology, and/or sleep, cannot be an opposing force by itself to capitalism. For instance, providing 8 hours sleep to each individual is not automatically opposing to this system. It can be a resistance for relative deceleration and to its expansion to commodify every timepiece. This is still precious but sleep cannot provide a sufficient resistance by itself. In a different context, Rosa & Scheuerman propound this very well:

These examples remind us of the dangers of underestimating individual and collective resources for temporal adaptation. The same holds true for so-called natural speed barriers of all kinds. Modern science has found ways to speed up many processes formerly thought to be fundamentally unchangeable (for example, cures for diseases previously thought incurable). Instead, we should conceive of limits to speed as primarily cultural and political: even though the precise nature of these limits calls for more thorough investigation, beyond a certain tempo of transformation, cultural reproduction might inevitably become strained and perhaps even impossible (2009: 12).

Crary affirms sleep since he also considers it as a release from ‘constant continuity’ of 24/7 capitalism, as an ‘unexploitable and unassimilable’ practice. However, later on, he also accepts that “sleep has always been porous, suffused with the flows of waking activity, though today it is more unshielded than ever from assaults that corrode and diminish it” (Crary, 2015: 122-3). It is true but he still considers one side of the coin and he does not pay attention to the growing discourse on healthy sleep, which is trying to ‘cure’ this corrosion and diminishment.

Another issue, his thesis that claims contemporary capitalism processes 24/7 points out to a tendency and it is quite important to argue this phenomenon. However, this is not the case, at least not yet. Besides, 24/7 capitalism does not automatically cause to loss of sleep. It is logically possible to provide a system processing 7/24 by a tripartite shift-work system, 8 hours work for each worker. This is not the subject here but it is obvious that capitalism today does not perform with same speed and

density at each piece of 24 hours. Since my study aims at exploring the current effects of capitalism on sleep through a field study that based on a specific social group, its main concern is not mostly about future probabilities.

I am not sure if sleep is the major remaining obstacle but I totally agree with him on the subject that sleep is under pressure because of the current conditions of capitalism and that it is related with other coercions. Crary adds that the similar process was applied to other basic need of the human body. For instance, accessibility to clean drinking water programmatically ‘devastated by pollution’ and ‘privatization for monetization’ of bottled water. It is possible to construct a similar ‘scarcity’ in relation to sleep (Crary, 2015: 27). Despite this emphasis, he overlooks the contradictions and different interests in capitalism. As he himself said a scarcity in relation to sleep is trying to be constructed to commodify sleep. In other words, the profit of numerous companies depends on the economic sector that is constructed around sleep and sleep-related activities. For these reasons, reduction of sleep duration or ‘getting rid of sleep’ completely is not automatically good for capitalism, it is better for some sectors, even if the proportion of them is bigger. In the current concrete conditions of capitalism, sleep is not only tried to be annihilated. At the same time, healthy sleep is advised. The problems encountered because of insufficient sleep, as well, causes to social exclusion or to be dismissed from work. In other words, Crary’s work is an impressive one but one-sided. One reason is that he focuses only on the tendency to reduce sleep duration. Another one, he does not discriminately analyze the contradictory interest in capitalism. In addition, it is legitimate to criticize that his arguments based on an abstract concept of society, as long as he does not consider the different classes, layers, and groups in society.

In current conditions of capitalism what really matters is time pressure. The changing patterns of sleep are the mediated effects of time pressure. Time pressure is the concern of more people in these conditions. Reduction of sleep is only one necessity among the universe of necessities of contemporary capitalism; on the individual level, it is only one strategy among others for coping with time pressure. Still, it should be stated that it is a spreading strategy. To conclude, considering all

the points, rather than simply labeling this process as “the ends of sleep”, we preferred to conceptualize it as “the ticklish position of sleep” to be able to demonstrate both the vulnerability and persistence of sleep at the same time. In the conditions of time pressure both because of work and in leisure, sleep becomes increasingly critical. I prefer to entitle the current tendency that most people internalized on sleep as “a necessary waste for the following gains” or as “deceleration for further acceleration”.

2.4.2.2.Sleep in the Interaction of Acceleration and Deceleration

Sleep loss and thereby especially mental fatigue become a common problem in the modern workforce, by the long work hours and flexibility. By the effects of working patterns on sleep quantity and quality, sleep is becoming conspicuous as capitalism operates towards 24/7 (Coveney, 2013: 124). According to a disseminating idea, people in general sleep less and less in contemporary world than the previous eras. As Rosa says, there are some sleep studies claimed that the average sleeping time has decreased by two hours since the nineteenth century and by thirty minutes since the 1970s (Rosa, 2009: 81). According to some other studies, as Hsu quoted, people in average spend 1.5 hours less than the ones that lived a hundred years ago. There is still a noticeable trend and effort to shorten the average of time devoted to sleep (Hsu, 2014: 218). Similarly, Crary claims that the average North American adults sleep 1.5 hours less than the ones a generation ago (Crary, 2015: 21). Oppositely, van Tienoven et al.’s research, based on the comparison of 1966 and 1999 time-use surveys in Belgium, claims that sleep duration has not declined as much as it is exaggerated. On the contrary, they think that an increase in full-time paid work increases the percentage of routine sleep and they offer to take a regular timing of sleep as healthy sleep habits. In addition to full-time paid work, they also say that domestic work and family responsibilities have a positive impact on sleep routine (van Tienoven et al., 2014: 235, 252, 254).

Our study neither claims that workers in Turkey devote less time for sleep compares to previous decades nor the opposite. This kind of a claim should necessitate historical comparisons of large-scale data. But still it is possible to estimate that as

van Tienoven et al. confessed, the total amount of time for sleep has declined even if it is not “as much as it is exaggerated”. They also claim that full-time paid work increases the percentage of routine sleep. This is also probably true maybe not that much for sleeping hours but for waking hours. Still, a kind of routine does not relieve the time pressure on sleep automatically. Therefore, I should confess that I am prone to approve the thesis of reduction in sleeping hours and I approve the possibility of this trend because of acceleration processes I mentioned above but with some cautions that I will go over below.

According to Lefebvre, every human body has biological rhythms such as hunger, thirst, sleep, excretion. Yet, they are performed in a social context as well as they are altered by rhythms of social life. These biological rhythms are continuously reproduced but since the social life is not stable, they are sometimes metamorphosed (Lefebvre, 2004: 43-4). As Lefebvre stated, most of the time we do not discern the rhythms directly or we do not continue our life by always thinking about them. Therefore, an analysis is necessary to be able to comprehend and compare them. Besides, we sometimes are only conscious of the rhythms when we begin to suffer from irregularities or when they are at the period of metamorphosing (Lefebvre, 2004: 77), in other words, when the ensemble of eurhythmia does not go like clockwork or falls into arrhythmia. In my opinion, sleep is becoming more important since it stands at this kind of social moment. Sleep in a sense is reproduce itself but in a metamorphosed way. Therefore, the transformations of this bodily practice can be a reference and can be a starting point for analysis of social acceleration which is also a concept refers to a transformation.

Social acceleration has a bodily dimension since it affects how the body is organized and how some bodily states and regimes shaped. It proceeds through the body. On the other hand, bodily capabilities and limitations affect social acceleration. In this sense, sleep is a good example of this Janus-faced quality of social acceleration. Acceleration affects how people sleep while the speed a society can reach is partly related to the people’s capacity to sleep in specific ways. Therefore it can serve as one of the indicators for analyzing social acceleration (Hsu, 2014: 214, Williams, 2014: 312).

Sleep might be a key indicator of social acceleration and it can be helpful to handle it concretely by investigating the bodily rhythms under the pressure or compatible with social acceleration. On the other hand, social acceleration is a complex, discontinuous and non-linear process. It should be avoided to offer short-cut results and blanket claims or over-generalizations which simply means social acceleration causes sleep deprived society. Variations of sleep over different time periods and different patterns even in a certain society should lead us to a more complex analysis and for seeing the different dimensions of social life (Williams, 2014: 310-11).

As it is stated, acceleration does not simply and linearly mean reduction in total amount of sleep time. It is quite related to it but a more balanced approach is needed. Besides, the different patterns in a society base on class, gender, age, ethnicity etc. should not be overlooked. The body issue that I will investigate through sleep is not the body in general but a specific body under a certain period of capitalism, not the body of the whole members of a certain society but a certain group differentiated from other groups in a certain society. Short sleep duration is not only about long working hours but also about occupational classes. For instance, an important study based on a large-scale time-use survey in U.K. claims that self-employed men have more control over their sleep duration and timing compared with other contracted categories. According to their findings, the workers at intermediate positions 'present the highest risk for short sleep' (Chatzitheochari & Arber, 2009: 40, 44). Age is also a signification factor in the function. Gender as well is another important variable. For instance, women are likely to have shorter sleep duration than men working same long hours. Furthermore, cultural motives of different strata are also effective both on working hours and sleep duration. It is claimed that especially the ones at the managerial positions work overtime as a result of the norms of the working environment. In some circumstances, busyness is even considered as 'a badge of honor' and sleep as a lack of moral superiority for work-ethic and modern identity (Gershuny, 2005; Chatzitheochari & Arber, 2009: 44).

I stated before, that acceleration is also about more shifts of events and necessities that occur in a certain segment of time. Hsu says that the average amount of time for the transition from a working activity (or an activity related to work) to sleep is decreasing. This is related with the transitory dimension of acceleration and flexibility of work and the blurred boundaries between work and home. The place of work is no longer strongly fixed to one particular locality of workplace or office and nor the working time bounded to a certain period so that the division between work and home is no longer well defined and separated (Hsu, 2014: 222). Workers are expected to be more available and instant during each moment of the day to stay in contact for work, thereby to work longer hours or/and faster. In other words, as work spreads to other fields than clear-cut working hours or workplace, the proximity between work and sleep get closer (Hsu, 2014: 215, 221-3).

Sleep timing and duration are negotiated to fit around the demands of work time so that sleep patterns often fall apart from normative ideals of society or health discourse. Besides they face with difficulties to perform their bodies proper with social requirements and their desires so that it is possible to conclude that they have very little control over their use of time and sleep patterns which can be described as a 'limited bodily agency' (Coveney, 2013: 129).

In this restricted framework, sleep and wakefulness become a kind of self-management problem for workers. Even though workers use personalized strategies and differentiated patterns for their sleep, this does not mean that they have the freedom to them. For instance, the negotiation capacity of the worker is very limited if not impossible with the company he/she worked for. Getting to sleep late, staying awake at night or for a large time period can be a necessity, depends on the degree of flexibility, for a considerable part of the workers. In addition to work, the other necessities of social life such as 'household chores', commuting to or from work, emotional intimacies and necessities should be taken into account as the factors at the expense of sleep (Coveney, 2013: 135).

It should be stated again that management, negotiation, planning if possible, effort etc. are not only about staying awake or reducing sleep quantity but also about getting enough sleep to be able to function well enough the next day. Here again,

sleep is not for the sake of itself, it is about the demands, requirements, and desires of the waking lives. Sleep is obviously relegated and flexibilized to fit the social acceleration in spite of the warnings of health discourse. The ones who cannot achieve to manage their sleep, staying awake, waking up and maintain alertness at socially necessary or desirable times that the work or social schedules dictate against their biology will be excluded from work or some other parts of social life (Coveney, 2013: 135). Therefore, the workers try to apply different strategies for aid. They “rely on various techniques and technologies to facilitate the transition to their desired state at the desired time”, such as drinking caffeinated products, getting fresh air, having a shower, keeping brain busy, smoking cigarette, taking sleeping pills and many others depend on the situation (Coveney, 2013: 131-2, 135).

Those who cannot maintain a time-discipline, coherent with acceleration and flexibility, will fall into arrhythmia. The ones who cannot put up and learn how to live with time pressure and who cannot manage their sleep and those who still look for clearly-fixed time blocks will probably fail. These are what the current conditions of capitalism offer to workers. Therefore, as Williams asserted, medicine connected with capitalism, problematize and pathologize ‘the forms of sleep that fall outside its normative models of sleep and productivity’ (Williams, 2014: 313). This does not mean that it only offers a regular pattern, concerning duration and timing, but it offers to adapt to the flexible and accelerated needs of work for productivity. The normative one today, is constructing a flexible sleep pattern by not losing sight of negative effects of insufficient sleep on productivity. This is, in some aspects, different than the arguments, as Crary’s, which thought that achievement in capitalism is indexed on reducing sleep quantity. It is a more complex time-management process which considers ‘quality’ as well rather than only quantity. Crary talks about the efforts, especially medical ones, on reducing sleep quantity without any negative effect on quality, but this is not yet the case.

Fluctuating working hours and consequently sleep deprivation in addition to the impacts to perform at work properly and fast, it also makes difficult to adapt back to other daily rhythms outside work and allocate time to their relationships with others

(Coveney, 2013: 133). Therefore, “sleep, it seems, is something that is being cut back on, sacrificed or dismissed in different sections of society in order to prioritize the demands of the waking world” (Coveney, 2013: 124).

These demands mostly come from work itself. Related to the deregulation of the labor market, work intensification, competition, acceleration, and flexibility, especially in the sense of expansion of working hours, affect the time that individuals spend for sleep (Chatzitheochari & Arber, 2009: 44). For instance, Chatzitheochari & Arber’s study in U.K. found out that men “working more than 10 hours per day present higher risks of obtaining under 6.5 hours of sleep than men working up to eight hours”. This situation is worse for women workers (Chatzitheochari & Arber, 2009: 37). This finding shows how working time compress leisure and how the compression of leisure reflects on sleep duration. Even though the both groups (working more than 10 hours and working less than 8) have the opportunity to sleep, for example 8 hours, this is not the case. The necessities of (especially when we consider the gender dimension) and the aspirations for leisure activities cause to a reduction in sleep duration. Again, this finding includes an important argument that work is an important determinant on sleep duration even if at first glance the leisure is seen as more effective.

Considering the scope and focus group of this study, my main argument is constructed on certain working regime thereby the workers of it. Flexibility is one of the key concepts here and Williams’ framework is helpful for exploring other dimensions that affect sleep patterns. Williams accepts that sleep is both affected by and affecting social acceleration but he offers, incisively, to handle sleep also through the concepts such as ‘social arrhythmia’, ‘social jet lag’, ‘bio-deregulation’. All of these concepts points to clash, ‘de-synchronisation’, ‘misalignment’ between biological and social clocks which sleep performs as a constraint, refusal or even resistance. Shift work is the most obvious and maybe the most extreme case but in contemporary society there is a tendency, to varying degrees, to become ‘shift workers’ because of the flexible working regime. It has become more difficult to set a regular pattern of sleep and wakefulness. The collective stable rhythms of life are increasingly colonized at the invisible costs for workers. Difficulties of waking up

and forcing the body to sleep show the mismatch or clash between biological and social rhythms of life and for sleep. Despite the fact that the body feels sleepy at work, the workers to be alert to fulfill the duties or force their bodies to sleep awhile before work to be able to perform well (Coveney, 2013: 133; Williams, 2014: 312-3).

The last paragraph leads us to mention that reduction of sleep time is mostly handled as an enabler of social acceleration but in some circumstances, it can act as a limit to it, as well. Sleep-deprivation is seen as a necessity to increase production and consumption for capitalism while it is also considered as a growing problem in contemporary society just as for production and consumption. In other words, it is not always more efficient for capitalism to prevent sleep since it can cause to a dangerous situation, an accident at production (Hsu, 2014: 214-15). Besides, if the reduction of sleep is colonized by working time, it can be claimed that it will cause a reduction in consumption. These processes can even contribute to deceleration rather than the acceleration of capitalism. Likewise, as I mentioned before, deceleration to some extent can be helpful for further acceleration. All of these contradictory situations and approaches to sleep are related to the contradictions in capitalism itself. If it is not tried hard to find out these contradictions, any analysis of sleep will have the risk of accepting short-cut results as facts and will sever the connections with the concrete.

The reduction of sleep time can also be affected by other causes than acceleration. For instance, different than Crary, Williams offers to stress that it is also important to consider the evidence of the variety of historically given sleep cultures, despite the demands of 24/7 capitalism (Williams, 2014: 312). Additionally, Williams warns us about a different situation. ‘Social acceleration may engender its own anxieties’ which in turn may negatively affect sleep quantity and quality. The decline in these may be partly because of the growing public anxiety and campaigning around sleep that is amplified through the media and popular culture in the so-called 24/7 society. This has the potential to increase the sleep problems in a ‘self-defeating’ way because of the anxiety not to be able to sleep enough and well (Williams, 2014: 311). However, time pressure and the anxiety it created

cannot be the cause of time pressure itself. It presupposes the given time pressure already. In other words, there is a material base of these psychological situations. They can only have a role as multiplier effects. In this case, it cannot be possible to claim that the cause of this anxiety is the individual or social psychology itself.

Despite the romantic view of Crary that considers sleep as the last barrier against contemporary capitalism, most of the people do not approach sleep as an opposition tool automatically. Even the losers of 24/7 capitalism are the volunteers for its existence as it is or some even volunteer for its extinction. People do value sleep for their general well-being but at the same time, it is not the priority of their lives. Instead, it is seen as a 'disposable resource' or 'expendable luxury' (Coveney, 2013: 123).

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

As it is stated in the literature review chapter, Hartmut Rosa analytically divides acceleration phenomena into three different groups as technological acceleration, capitalist acceleration and acceleration of the pace of life. He offers to “measure” the acceleration of the pace of life subjectively and objectively. The subjective side is basically about the effects of acceleration on individuals’ experience of time whether it causes people to feel hurried, under time pressure or they consider time as scarce (Rosa, 2009: 86; Hsu, 2014: 216). People complain that time passes by faster and a lot of things are too fast to catch up. Although this complaint is not specific to our century and can be traced back to the beginning of modernity and maybe before, it is claimed that the feelings of the people in most of the Western countries about heavy time pressure and scarcity of time have increased over recent decades by neo-liberal policies, globalization and “digital revolution” (Rosa, 2009: 86). Similarly, the presumption of this study is that these feelings increased in Turkey especially in the 2000s and it is tried to be tested and, if there is, concretized.

3.1. Background of Methodology

Acceleration and time pressure researches or temporal analyses of work and sleep mostly have been investigated thoroughly large-scale time-use surveys by sociologists. These surveys basically try to measure the amount of time people

spend in different daily activities. Time-use surveys provide quantitative data to study the impact of work, other responsibilities, leisure and sleep time (Chatzitheochari & Arber, 33; van Tienoven et al., 2014: 238).

These surveys have not mostly been conducted by the sociologists themselves. One reason is that it is difficult to have the resources for conducting large-scale surveys. Therefore, it is often conducted by government agencies, statistics institutions, NGOs or research companies that have broad financial resources (Szollos, 2009: 339). For instance, 'Eurostat' which is an organization tied to the 'European Commission' conducts time-use surveys in different nations of Europe and regularly make comparative analyses with the data they get. Similarly, in the United States of America, every year 'Department of Labor Statistics' conducts a telephone interview which tries to find out the amount of time people spend on various activities (Szollos, 2009: 340). In Turkey, Turkish Statistical Institute also conducted time-use surveys in 2006 and 2014-2015.

Time-use surveys can be categorized basically in two ways. The one that is conducted by face-to-face surveys while the other base on time-use diaries which is filled in by the respondent during the 24 hours of the day when nobody from the research project is around. This second type is assumed to give the best representation of the temporal formation of activities since the respondents continuously report their actions on the diaries moment by moment. These diaries are not always limited to the questions about time-use, they can also include socio-demographic characteristics, household composition and in more extensive ones, it can be even possible to get an insight into norms, values and attitudes towards different time-use activities (van Tienoven et al., 2014: 239).

It is argued that time-diary data have more advantages than other survey data because time-diaries are supposed to be recorded on the moment that each activity has started and finished by the respondent herself/himself so that they are less vulnerable to over-estimations and under-estimations. Besides, these diaries not only provide information about the duration of the activities but also on the timing of them (van Tienoven et al., 2014: 238).

These sources can provide insight into the social determinants of sleep duration since it can be possible to see time used for other spheres of life. However, the data about sleep is especially absent in these kinds of surveys since very few studies give a place to sleep duration even though sleep is one of the lengthiest activity among daily activities and human life in general. Even when sleep is included, it should not be overlooked that these surveys are not designed to study specifically sleep (Chatzitheochari & Arber, 2009: 33). In time-use surveys, while the other spheres of life are investigated more detailed with the different components of these spheres, sleep takes part limitedly. This is parallel with the exclusion of sleep from different spheres of social sciences

Psychology literature is more deeply interested in sleep and time pressure issues than sociology. It is used a lot of different methods to assess time pressure and sleep. Another method that is conducted in a limited sample by an individual or a group of researchers in time pressure and sleep literature is called as 'Experience Sampling Method' (Csikszentmihalyi & Larson, 1987). In addition to getting standard time-diary data, the individuals are 'alerted by electronic devices' randomly several times during the day to describe their mental state and feelings so that it is aimed to provide data based on a 'real-time', immediate self-report of experience and to examine the connections between the activity the individuals' do and their subjective interpretations at that time (Szollos, 2009: 343-4).

Another method that is used both by time pressure and sleep literature is 'Day Reconstruction Method' (Kahneman et al., 2004) which is chosen because of the expense, time spent and demands on participants that Experience Sampling Method caused. The aim of this method is again to combine a time-use study with a technique for recovering affective experiences. It handles how people spend their time and what their experiences are in various activities which are systematically recreation of the previous day's activities. Firstly, respondents construct a diary including the sequence of episodes by reviving the memories of the previous day. Then, the feelings experienced in that episodes are tried to be explored. Therefore, it is claimed to find out the link between the activities and the 'affective-cognitive experiences' associated with those activities (Szollos, 2009: 334, 344)

3.2.Methodology of the Study

The data time-diaries provided are assumed to be the most objective and accurate among the others, especially than the qualitative ones. However, Chatzitheochari and Arber warn us about a limitation of the time-use surveys which include sleep. They say these surveys or diaries are tended to overestimate the duration of respondents' actual sleep since "the transitional states" such as "lying in bed but unable to sleep", "waiting for sleep to come" are coded as sleep (Chatzitheochari& Arber, 2009: 35). In this study, I did not the respondents "when do you go to bed" but I asked, "when do you sleep". Besides, I tried to clear these states deeply with further questions such as "when do you fall into sleep after you go to bed?", "do you think that you switch from unsound sleep to deep sleep easily?", "does your sleep interrupt during night and why?", "Can you fall into sleep easily again if your sleep is interrupted?", "Do you get out of bed just after you wake up?" etc. These questions are asked not only to calculate the 'actual sleep' but also to learn about the reasons behind.

Acceleration indicates that more things are done in less time and to be able to see and analyze these time-use studies are quite important. By the help of time-use surveys' comparative analysis, it can be possible to get the knowledge of the time allocated for some certain activities such as working, sleeping, traveling, communication with family members, eating etc. Therefore, on the objective side of measurement, the first way is to measure the definable episodes of these actions. However, Rosa is also skeptical about the results that time-use studies provide not only because the limited information they present but also because they can cause to misinterpretations as long as the historical conditions are not taken into consideration or the analysis is not determined by clear concepts, theoretical framework and methodology (Rosa, 2009: 86). Furthermore, it should be stated that people tend to answer the time-use survey questions how much time they spend time for an activity frequently. However, frequency does not mean always. This is especially obvious about sleep timing and duration. For instance, if the question is "when do you sleep and wake up?" or "how long do you sleep?", the answer will be

probably like this: “I sleep at 1 and wake up at 8 a.m.” or “I sleep 7 hours per day”. On the other hand, probably there are a lot of days that they do not sleep or wake at that time. For this reason, it is also necessary to learn the frequency, causes, effects, meanings and conditions that they cannot or do not follow this routine. The questions of this study for in-depth interview are prepared by taking this situation into consideration.

Time-use surveys are mostly arranged according to 24 hours of a day. For some of these surveys, they are applied to the same persons more than one day to check the validity and to calculate the average. However, for the workers who work in a flexible working regime, the application of time-use surveys is difficult and can cause to contradictory results. Because of the flexibilization, how many hours a worker will be in the workplace or how many tasks will a worker accomplish at home cannot be predicted beforehand. Each day can show very different results for time-use depend on the day the survey applied. Besides, unless the time-use survey is not very sophisticated, they cannot get the data about overlapping activities and about the blurring of distinctions between work and leisure.

Therefore, it is necessary to go further than the limitations of time-use studies. The second way of the objective side is to explore the social tendency to “compress” actions and experiences. Compression, in this context, implies reducing the pauses and intervals to do and experience more within a certain time period, in other words reducing the transition time from one action to another, or raising the number of things that are done and experienced simultaneously, i.e. cooking, watching TV and making a phone call at the same time (Rosa, 2009: 87; Hsu, 2014: 216). In the question-set of this study, there were questions which can be seen as a part of a time-use survey but there were also the ones that try to avoid falling into the limitation of time-use studies. Besides, these studies can show only quantifiable data. Even though this data is very useful for any kind of analysis, they do not say much about the historical conditions, the structures of society, meanings, values, feelings, desires and so forth.

Williams, as a sociologist who devoted himself to the sociological analysis of sleep, complains that despite the fact that a sociological interest in sleep emerged over the

last decades, sociological analysis of sleep is ironically all about the things surrounding sleep rather than sleep itself. Therefore, he claims, it is reaffirmed the predominant waking concerns of sociology rather than problematizing it (Williams, 2014: 310). However, this complaint should not be misunderstood. In my opinion, he talks about a difficult but a necessary task, as Lefebvre stated, to perceive distinct rhythms distinctly but simultaneously perceive it within the whole (Lefebvre, 2004: 19, 22). In this study, I attempted to distinguish and combine not only different rhythms of respondents in different spheres of life such as work, sleep and leisure but also tried to associate them with general mechanisms of capitalism especially through the working regime in current capitalism thereby tried to understand and explain the particular within the whole.

Lefebvre says: “Need and desire, sleep and wake, work and repose are rhythms in interaction. This view of temporality defines neither the ones nor the others; it enters into the definitions: into the analysis” (Lefebvre, 2004: 26). Isolation of any of them from the others will cause to mis- or deficient comprehension of it. In the context of this study, sleep is tried to be handled by a comprehensive view of sociology discipline. The increasing attempts to solve the problems of sleep by psychiatry, neurology, physiology, biology or similar disciplines will be limited and would not have gained the success they aimed since they tend to consider the problems on the individual level in the sense of cause and effects.

Desire is a critical concept that is mostly overlooked by time-use studies. According to Lefebvre, desire also has its rhythm and between need and desire, there is a difference but there is no ‘discontinuity’ (Lefebvre, 2004: 26). Furthermore, desires can turn into needs and have same effects with needs. To concretize, firstly, it is possible to say that most of the workers have time for their basic needs. If they achieve to find a job and earn money, they have time for work, eat, more or less sleep etc. However, they are not beings that restrict themselves with basic needs and this is not a thing that should be damned, maybe it should be promoted even. Still, this does not mean that they feel time pressure because of their desires, in a general sense, it is capitalism and the social relations it generates and reproduces.

One of the research questions of this study is whether the white-collar workers try to increase the quality of their sleep if the quantity of sleep duration is under pressure. ‘The quality of sleep’ is a very subjective and controversial concept since it is difficult to measure (van Tienoven et al., 2014: 244). This concept is quite similar to “healthy sleep” concept. The questions I asked at the medicalization part of the question-set and the answers I get point out the components of quality of sleep. The “ideal” quantity of sleep is also partly socially constructed. Although it has a biological and psychological aspect, the duration of “enough” is sleep is influenced by social life. One of the components of quality of sleep is, for sure, duration but if it is not possible to reach the “ideal” duration, the other components become more important such as hygiene, air, light, non-interruption, bed quality, pillow, nutrition. The quality of sleep is tried to be measured by medical sciences and psychology. They probably present several components and important variables about it. However, this study, as a sociological one, offers to look at how “quality of sleep” and its components are socially constructed, as well.

Lefebvre emphasizes that rhythmanalysis does render neither the analyst nor the analyzed passive. One output of this understanding is that the analyst should first listen to her/his body and learn rhythm from it thereby it can be possible to evaluate external rhythms (Lefebvre, 2004: 19). This study was already inspired by the experiences I lived and emotions I felt about time pressure and sleep. Firstly, I tried to listen to my own rhythms, after that, I tried to think about the causes and effects of them. Self-observation and self-reflection were useful for the development of study thereby it become possible to evaluate external rhythms of the others.

As Lefebvre offered, a certain exteriority is necessary for the functioning of analytic intellect. ‘To be able to grasp’ a rhythm, it is helpful ‘to be grasped by’ it. However, it is necessary to get outside the rhythms, maybe not completely, by a ‘technique’ (Lefebvre, 2004: 27). At this step, everyday conversations with my flat-mate who is a white-collar worker helped me a lot to provide a certain exteriority and analyze the rhythms that I do not experience directly. It was also helpful to observe his actions, practices, time-use patterns, working conditions, leisure activities, sleeping

patterns and so on for the preparation of question-set and think about research questions, main arguments; that is to say, the tools of analysis.

Some observations before or during the interviews also give some insights about working regime, time pressure and sleep. For instance, one of the respondents came to the interview one and half hour late because of an everlasting seminar about her work. Then, she would go home which would take two hours. It was late; the questions were asked and answered very quickly. One interview was paused five times in an only one hour because of telephone calls from work despite the fact that he was out of working hours. One interview was delayed seven times since the respondent had to go for unexpected duties at the time we would meet. With one respondent, we left the interview unfinished since he had to go for a meeting unexpectedly and we had to complete it in another day. One of the respondents, after the interview, turned on his lap-top at eleven p.m. to get the job done before the deadline. One interview was scheduled to a place where one respondent would have a meeting and the beginning of the meeting was our deadline. Another one came to the interview after taking a nap in the evening since she could not sleep in the previous night.

Even though observations were useful for the preparation of this study, it does not, as most of the other studies about time-use and sleep, base on direct observation. This kind of observation is especially difficult for sleep practices. For this reason, this study uses self-explanations of the respondents by interviews. Then, it should be acknowledged that self-explanations of time-use and sleep tell us a mixed output of “actual” timings and durations as well as expectations and cultural attitudes of different social groups about time and sleep (Williams, 2014: 310). However, this does not mean that the actual is necessarily distorted. Expectations and cultural attitudes are real and can be included in the ensemble of social facts. This study’s claim is that the historical social facts conditions time-use and sleep patterns. Therefore, these observable patterns, as well as the reflections on them, of the interviewer and the interviewees had some similarities since the historical era and space is same. However, there were also differences which can be seen as an

example of manifestation the differentiation in the society and that the social facts do not have same effects on everybody in the same society.

This study does not claim superficially that sleep duration of workers is decreased in the last decades. A linear reduction in the average amount of time that workers spend for sleep, in contemporary era compared to earlier time periods, is wide-spread in the world-wide sleep literature while there are also some studies claim the contrary. This kind of claim must be based on longer-term and large-scale historical data. Therefore, a premise about increase or decline in people's sleep duration would be an oversimplification without this data (Hsu, 2014: 220). Measuring the sleep quantity accurately was not an important issue in social science literature of Turkey and it is not possible to find reliable and long-term, large-scale data about this. This is another reason why qualitative research methodology is preferred rather than a quantitative one despite the fact that the quantitative data was obtained from the interviews was useful for the main arguments of this study.

3.3.The Rationale of Choosing the Social Group

Gershuny claims that time pressure arguments spread quickly and creates a discourse. He has a doubt about the actuality of time pressure and thinks that this discourse is actually the thing that causes time pressure on individuals (Gershuny, 2000: 74). Discourses surely have effects on individuals but time pressure is not only about individuals' feelings, it is also about anonymous processes that the structure of capitalism imposes today. Discourses do not emerge out of thin air and every discourse has relations with material conditions. As I claimed similarly for the health discourse, propagation of a discourse can point to a historical transformation. One of the points that have changed, but by protecting the core of capitalist logic, is working regime and this study, in addition to other factors, basically goes through the relationship between working conditions and perceived the experience of time pressure (Zuzanek, 2004: 127). For this reason, to be able to grasp the current and probably the prospective time experience, the working regime, which is emerged or become wide-spread in the last decades, is chosen: flexible working. Correspondingly, white-collar private sector worker type, which is

spreading as well, is selected rather than the others because it is thought that the conditions, values, contract forms etc. of this type is spreading to other working spheres, as well.

The workers who are under 35 ages were selected to participate in the field study as interviewees for different reasons. One reason is to limit the sample with the ones who started to work after 2000. The years of the 21st century in Turkey is the period that acceleration and flexibilization as the high-tech information and communication technologies (internet, computer, smart phones etc.) not started to emerge but become more apparent and wide-spread. By no means, the year of 2000 is a sharp turning point or as the beginning of flexible working regime and acceleration. As I emphasized several times, this is not a comparative study so that we did not take different age groups for comparison in the frame of time-use. Besides, we did not take the workers in an age group which have worked both before and after 2000. It would be helpful for giving insights into the differences between these years but it would force us to analyze explicitly the years before 2000. For the scope of the study, we did not choose this kind of analysis.

Another assumption that drives us to choose the workers under 35 is that younger people have more variation than the older people in their timing of sleep. In some researches, it is claimed that age is one of the most effective variables for timing and duration of sleep, then, growing older is correlated with a more regular sleep pattern (van Tienoven et al., 2014: 247). This assumption would oblige us to argue that the results we got from the field are because of capitalism and working regime or because of age. However, the field solved this problem automatically. We asked the question that “what is the average of age in the company you work for?” and all of the respondents replied it as around 30 or under 35. In all of these companies there are only a few workers above 35 and they were mostly at top-positions. In our opinion, it is quite related with the working regime in these kinds of companies and also with sleep patterns. The reasons and effects will be argued in the analysis chapter but limitedly since this is not a study that focuses on generation gap or age differences.

The sample cannot be considered representative of all white-collar workers. White-collar is a blanket concept which embodies very different occupations working conditions, values etc. Yet, to be able to overcome this problem, the workers who have different occupations are chosen as interviewees. The occupational roles of the respondents vary but they work in a similar working regime which performs through acceleration even though the form or degree of flexibilization also vary between the respondents. On the other hand, the results of this study, in my opinion, are not limited to white-collars only. Some similar practices and perception patterns can be found such as among blue-collars, students, housewives, some forms of public personnel, as well. Even though, quantitatively a considerable part of the population in Turkey does not follow these patterns, in my opinion, these patterns are spreading and become more determinant day by day.

As it is argued in the literature review, the basic logic of capitalism is to accelerate for the sake of profit and being successful in the competition and to have a worker do more work in a certain period of time as much as possible so that the companies get rid of the burden of wages by not hiring new ones

I chose only the white-collar workers who work for a certain private company on a contract; freelance workers did not incorporate in. These groups have similar qualifications and actually the ones who leave the job or dismissed, do some freelance work before the next job in a company. There are workers who prefer freelance job rather than the other, as well. However, freelance workers are less in number compare to a contracted regular job. I, therefore, chose the regular employees for better representation since these more in number. Another reason is the data that is obtained from this kind of workers are more suitable to generalize to or compare with most of the other workers since I think that the dominant working pattern in the sense of time frame is to flexibilize working hours especially towards longer hours and off days by not totally abolish it. This pattern is not only for white-collars, it is even at issue for civil servants.

Qualifications are told as advantages for a better, more comfortable and luxurious life. The respondents of this study were selected purposively from some of the universities which are described as best in Turkey, such as Galatasaray, Ankara,

İstanbul, Boğaziçi, İstanbul Technical, Yıldız Technical, Uludağ, Dokuz Eylül. Approximately half of them, have or about to have a master degree. One respondent got his bachelor and master degree from a university in Australia. Furthermore, most of them had participated different education programs, certificate programs. They know how to use a lot of computer programs, some are an expert on them. All of them can speak at least one foreign language and so forth. But the result is different from the first sentence of this paragraph. Some studies even claim that the ones feel more time pressure are also mostly the higher educated. It is asserted that this is valid especially among women (Roxburgh, 2002: 132). I argued the probable causes of time pressure on women, in the previous paragraphs. However, it would be superficial and mistaken if education itself is seen as the cause of time pressure. It will be argued if the education itself or the competition mechanisms of the capitalist labor market and the working regime, in the analysis chapter.

There could be different patterns among the people who work at different layers of the companies in the sense of the causes and effects of time use and time pressure. I chose the respondents from the ones who are not at top-managerial positions and this preference was also suitable with our age preference since we presumed that the worker under 35 are mostly not at top-managerial positions. I presumed that top-managers have the opportunity to relieve time pressure that they felt personally by serving out his/her duties to the subordinates. However, in the time-pressure literature, some studies claim that supervisors feel greater time pressure than subordinates. It is even argued that busyness symbolizes a cultural ideal of economic and social success (Gershuny, 2005; Roxburgh, 2002). Another reason for this difference could be that the supervision and control must be continued by the top-managers for the operation of work in general. Besides, it can even be argued that the competition for the top-positions is harsher which pushes the managers, who do not want to lose the position, to work more. On the other hand, it is also possible to speculate that the top-managers encounter with time pressure mostly because of their aspirations rather than their struggle to earn a living. For instance, while some respondents emphasized that their managers work more than them, some of them said the opposite. To conclude, there are some different patterns between subordinates and top managers and even for displaying the

similarities, different question-sets should be applied. In this study, one set is asked to all of the respondents since they work more or less at similar layers of their work.

In the literature of time experience, it is a debated issue to point out which social group is the most under time pressure. Gender is an important concept here. It is argued that women who are married and have a baby, full-time employed in a high demand-low control job is the group that reports higher time pressure. Many tasks and responsibilities that cannot be postponed both for paid work and domestic work (cleaning, cooking, washing, caring the baby etc.) produce a time shortage and these women have to renounce from their sleep or what they want to do (Robinson and Godbey, 1997; Larsson & Sanne, 2005: 215-6; van Tienoven et al., 2014: 252). It is also argued that marriage is related to less time pressure for men compared to the non-married (Roxburgh, 2002: 138). This can be also explained by gender perspective. Men, especially who live apart from the family they were born in, have to do some domestic work. After marriage, the patriarchal rules can provide them to get back some of the temporal relief they lost before. Mehmet is the only exception among the respondents but they are newly-wed couple and do not have baby. Most probably, having a baby would cause more time pressure on the white-collar workers especially for women but also for men.

Half of the respondents are women and the others are men. I did not focus on the differences in work, leisure and sleep patterns between different gender roles and did not use a feminist methodology or did not ask in-depth questions which dig for the inequalities between different gender roles. This is an important limitation of our study. On the surface, they seem quite similar in the context of work, leisure, sleep patterns and reflections on them since they are subjected to the same work regime and this is coherent with our hypothesis that work is the most determinant factor of time pressure.

Table 1. The Profile of Respondents

Respondents	Age	Gender	Education (Bachelor)	Education (Master)	Occupation
Semiha	33	Woman	Boğaziçi University	Galatasaray University	Reporter of board of directors
Mehmet	30	Man	Yıldız Technical University	-	Internal auditor
Leyla	32	Woman	Boğaziçi University	-	Export specialist
Ali	28	Man	Ankara University	Galatasaray University	Media editor
Ece	26	Woman	Yıldız Technical University	Yıldız Technical University	Purchase specialist
Cumhur	25	Man	Ankara University	-	Software developer
Toprak	28	Man	A university in Australia	A university in Australia	Software engineer
Bora	29	Man	Dokuz Eylül University	Dokuz Eylül University	Audio engineer
Simge	30	Woman	Yıldız Technical University	-	Field Engineer
Hülya	27	Woman	İstanbul University	-	Social media specialist
Büşra	26	Woman	Uludağ University	-	Tax consultant
Dilara	26	Woman	Middle East Technical University	Middle East Technical University	Recruitment specialist
Dursun	28	Man	Boğaziçi University	-	Civil Engineer

3.4.Collection of Data

The persons that were asked for an interview were just informed that it was about sleep. None of the persons that I asked for an interview about sleep, rejected to participate; it was just difficult to arrange with some of them. I think that the sleep topic itself make it easier to find respondents since all of them give expressions such as “I would not spend that much time if the topic was different”, “This is exactly my topic!”, “It is the thing that I love most”, “I accepted the interview for the possibility to get some insight and advice about sleep from you” and so forth. This situation probably is a result of that sleep has become more critical for time experience currently.

Before the interviews, the respondents was not informed about the conceptual framework, main argument, theoretical background, research questions etc. of the study not to canalize them to a certain frame beforehand. The purpose here was to be more objective and the respondents were invited to the interviews by saying them that the study is about a sociological analysis of time-use and especially sleep. For the same aim, the questions were started firstly with questions about sleep, then about the medicalization of sleep. The questions of acceleration and time pressure followed these parts. One of the hypotheses of this study is that work is one of the basic determinants of workers’ time-use and sleep patterns. However, the questions about work were integrated later on. If the questions about work had been asked before, the answers about time-use and sleep could be determined by the interviewer’s main argument but it is kept away from this option. Later on, the question-set about the relationship between work and sleep helped to test the answers given in the first part. Therefore, it became also possible to test the hypothesis of the study itself.

The interviews were conducted face-to-face but one was, exceptionally, completed on a video-conference program via Internet since the respondent was not in Istanbul at that period. I tried to conduct the interviews in an informal and conversational way for the purpose that the interviewees feel relaxed to express their experiences and opinions frankly. In the Lefebvrian sense, the interviewer offered the respondents to listen to their rhythms by the questions and then tried to hear them.

Each interview was recorded and transcribed with the consent of the respondents. The transcribed data were reviewed, the emerging themes were named accordingly with the conceptual framework and the question-set (Coveney, 2014: 125-6). I did not only mention the common points of the respondents but also the differences, even possibly the ones contradicting the main arguments. Internal contradiction, as well as the internal cohesion, was important and individual differences are emphasized since it is thought that the social facts do not determine everything in life.

I did not prefer to make the interviews at their workplace. In any case, it was difficult to make it during the working hours. I also did not want to make them waste time during their lunch time. However, one respondent insistently offered that time and we did it while she was eating. The end of the break was not so far and it made us be accelerated. Yet, spending one and a half hour in a plaza made me available to make some observations, especially about surveillance and time-discipline.

Interviews were lasted one and a half hour in average. While some were about 40 minutes, there were even ones which lasted more than 3 hours. This difference showed up for very different reasons. For instance, one short, in the sense of duration, but accelerated interview was skipped less important questions I tried to accelerate the interview because of the time pressure that is felt at that moment!

In the question-set there were questions about duration and timing to find out the routines, which can be seen similar to time-use surveys. In addition to this, I tried to explore the conditions that cause to break in these routines or even that make impossible to construct any kind of routine. Besides, by the help of open-ended questions, qualitative data were collected to explore the meanings workers attach to their experiences sleep and wakefulness activities (Coveney, 2014: 125). The question-set was prepared very detailed but in this part, I will only mention the most fundamental ones. The questions were gathered under different sub-headings and in the analysis chapter the answers were analyzed to a large extent according to these themes.

The first sub-heading after general questions about demography, as I said above, was started by general questions about sleep without any mention about work or the main arguments of the study. The first question was “Can you tell your sleep pattern?” When necessary I continued with some sub-questions such as “How often do you fit in this pattern?” Then, “How do you choose when to sleep and wake up?” was asked. These questions were asked to reveal the rhythms of the body. However, the answers to all these questions were mostly about work and this situation was argued above by emphasizing the interaction between different rhythms. Therefore, I continued with this question reversely to get some insights about this interaction and about further topics I will mention below: “If you did not have any obligation at work, home or about family etc., how your sleep pattern would be? How would be the timing and duration of your sleep?” to get some ideas about both the dominance of work over sleep patterns and the position of sleep in social acceleration. After that, I pose some questions to dig into the details of sleep duration and quality. For instance, “Do you sleep immediately after you go to bed?” “Does your sleep interrupted until you totally wake up, why?” “How do you wake up? How do you feel when you wake up? What do you do in these first moments of waking up?” To investigate the ticklish position of sleep I asked these two questions which refer to different aspects about sleep: “Do you sometimes think that you overslept? Why and how often? How do you feel when you overslept?” “Do you try to be awake even if you feel sleepy? How often and why? How do you achieve this?” At last, I asked this outwardly easy question which was also a linking point to the next sub-heading: “Why do you sleep?”

The second sub-heading of question set was about medicalization/healthicization of sleep. I did not take the relationship between health and sleep as given thereby I firstly asked: “Do you think that there is a relationship between health and sleep?” I followed by “Do you think that you have a health problem about sleep?” Then, to test the respondents’ answer in itself I asked these ones: “Do you have any problem such as biological, psychological or etc. when you did not sleep enough?” and “How often you feel sleepiness? Do you think that you have sleep deprivation? How often and why do not you sleep enough?” After these ones, to be able to see in some aspects if they support or resist to medicalization despite their answers, I

asked this: “Have you ever used sleeping pills or some medical products to delay sleep or reduce sleep duration? How often and why? If you never use them, do you use when you feel a necessity? Why?” In the end of this sub-heading, I asked these basic questions to get some insights about health discourse, how it is spread and the position of respondents related to the discourse: “How can healthy sleep be? Can you tell us the components of healthy sleep?” and “What do you know about healthy sleep? What kind of suggestions have you heard or read about healthy sleep? Where did you learn them?”

Another sub-heading was allocated to the questions to be able to estimate the future of sleep patterns as well as the existing approach and further to it by these questions: “How many hours would you sleep if the lack of it does not cause any negative effect physically and mentally?” “Do you think that one day, a technology or a drug can be developed so that humans will never feel a need to sleep at all?” “What sort of the things come to your mind when you think of the world where no one sleeps?”

For the analysis of time pressure and some strategies to cope with it in the everyday life of contemporary society, several questions were posed such as: “Can you tell your nutrition pattern briefly? When and how often you eat, how do you use your food? How often you eat outside or place an order to home?” “How often you meet or talk with your friends, family or the people you want to see? Do you think that you allocate enough time to them, why?” “Do you think that you sometimes waste your time? How do you feel because of that?” “Do you think that you do not have ‘enough time’? How this feeling affects your life? Do you do anything to get rid of this feeling or this situation?” “Do you think that you can use your time well? What can be done to use your time better? Do you think that there are some ways to create more time for yourself?”

The next sub-heading was about the qualifications. Firstly I asked the respondents to tell me their qualifications about their current job, the certificates they have, the occupational courses they attended, the internships they did and the foreign languages they speak. Then similarly I asked: “What did make available to get the job you have currently?” I continued with the questions about the attitudes of

companies to advance the workers' qualifications by the questions such as: "Have you ever attended a course or training program after you are hired? Did the company send you or did you attend by yourself?" or "Can the company allow you to attend a training, master program or etc. directly about your job? Do they provide financial support or do they make it convenient to attend them in the working hours?" Later on, I asked some questions to explore the position of qualifications in acceleration society such as: "Do you think that you have to update or advance your qualifications to keep your job? If you do not do you think that you will be dismissed?" and "Has it ever happened that a qualification you get in long period has become unnecessary?" After qualifications, I asked these questions about age dimension under the conditions of acceleration and flexibilization of work: "What is your expectation from the company in the future? Do you think that you will work in this company for long years?" "What is the approximate average age of the employee in your department and the company in general? Is there any difference between old and young workers in the sense of work?"

One of the most basic sub-headings of question-set was about work. Firstly, I asked "How long have you been worked for this company, is it your first job?" to get some idea about job-circulation in contemporary society and flexible working regime indirectly. Then, I posed several questions to explore directly different dimensions of flexibility such as: "Can you tell your labor contract and working conditions? Is it clearly defined what you do for work?" "How many hours do you work? When do you arrive at the workplace and when do you leave? How many days you work?" "Do you go somewhere else than the workplace? Do you do anything about the job at home?" After that, I asked questions about the surveillance techniques to maintain time-discipline and to increase time pressure for work such as: "Does the company use any technique to get to be aware of when you arrive at work or when you have a break? Can they control the websites you used? Is there any camera in the office?" Right after, I posed the questions about deadlines to learn how acceleration, flexibilization and time pressure process together by such questions: "How the duration that you should complete a task is determined and who determines? Do you think that these durations are reasonable?" "Have you ever exceeded the deadline, what happened then?" "Have you ever demanded to prolong

the deadline, is it accepted?” “Is any task is given when you are already working on another? How do you manage to work on different tasks in the same time period?” These questions were also proposed to learn about the accessibility of worker out of office and how the rhythms of work spill over into leisure. “Do you make contact with your clients, colleagues, managers or boss on the phone or via internet? How often and why?” “How can they supervise you to learn at which stage of task you are at and if you work or not?”

By the questions of the next sub-heading, I aimed at to go over sleep patterns and comprehensions again but this round by direct questions to explore the relationship between work and sleep: “When you come to work sleepiness, is it noticed by the others? How they react to this?” “Are there any differences between the days you work after you slept and well you did not sleep well enough? In what ways these differences affect your working life?” “Have you ever caused an accident or made a mistake about your work because of sleep deprivation?” “How is the attitude of the company to the workers who arrive late? Is there any sanction about it? Why the workers arrive late generally?” “Has your sleep ever interrupted because of work? Who can interrupt your sleep and how they achieve this? Can they call you about work anytime? Is there any limit about this?”

At the end, I proposed some questions about leisure briefly to get some insights not only about the time pressure in leisure but also to explore the acceleration and flexibilization of work indirectly through leisure activities. These were the basic questions of this sub-heading: “How much time do you have except work? What are the other obligations you do at this time? How much you allocate for these necessities?” “What do you do in your leisure time?” “What kind of hobbies do you have and how much time you can spare for them?” “Do you have the right to annual leave and how many days?”

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

This chapter is allocated to the analysis of the respondents' replies to the questions I briefly mentioned in methodology chapter, through the theoretical standpoint I tried to construct by the help of the studies in sociology literature. This chapter has three main parts (work, leisure and sleep) which are the basic components of workers' time-use. I posed the questions in the interviews basically in a different order; I firstly I asked questions about sleep and then about work. However, for the analysis, I will go reversely and analyze work in the beginning. Then sleep, at last. Leisure would be between them. Each sub-heading was divided into different themes which are occurred by the questions and the respondents' answers.

4.1.Work

Under this sub-heading, I will analyze different dimensions of work and the temporal experiences of workers through the narration of respondents. The basic problematic of this part is the time pressure that is caused by flexible working regime and competitive labor market. I will try to argue these by the replies to questions about the labor contracts, reflections of social acceleration to work, blurring of distinctions between work and leisure, surveillance techniques for work, multi-tasking, etc.

4.1.1.Flexibilization of Work

Workers are not only expected to perform accelerated but also to adapt to constant changes. Regulations and formal procedures are not that strict anymore to adhere to. This is related to not having clearly defined work tasks for specific departments or workers. No one has a fixed role based on a contract in the companies they worked for (Sennett, 2008:9, 18). Almost none of the workers I interviewed are working based on a contract in which they are informed about the details of the work. That is to say, it is impossible to derive from the contract what we are entitled to do or not to do. Even if it is, the company do not adopt in the way it is written. Although, about half of the respondents have already changed their departments in the work due to several reasons, there has been no change in the written contracts. It has been also observed that there is a permanent mobilization between departments. For example, Cumhur says: “The job definition is not clear, I am responsible from Android but sometimes look after other things. I also assist the works of other teams”.

Bora's situation is an extreme one. He answers the question of “What is your job in the company?” He says:

Mainly sound engineering but I also do several things as project manager, project coordinator, salesman, acoustic engineering, pro audio specialist and sometimes even chiefdom in the constructions. They cannot define my job; actually, they do not define on purpose.

From the interview, it is understood that it is a general situation in his company: “Accounting manager sometimes becomes an administrative manager. The word of the boss is: ‘Everybody will do every job’”.

“The firm I work is a global company that is why what I will do is clear,” says Dursun who is working at the technical office. But even he says in a part of the interview: “We are a small team. So I do many things out of my responsibilities, like translation, helping to imports, giving educational seminars to sub firms or going to construction areas”. Of course, these things prolong the working hours. For example, he states: “Because of the difficulty of technical translation which takes so

much time, the time remains insufficient for other works”. About the construction area which he goes one or two times a week. He says: “Of course the work never stops in the construction area; if your duty there requires overwork you overwork”. In addition to extra working time at the construction place or the office, he says that he sometimes works at home by writing reports making technical drawings if they are urgent and writing application methodologies. Semiha also says that she does many things unrelated to her job and that is very normal among white collar workers.

Working hours are generally indicated in the contracts. If it is not, then it is explained in the other written procedures on work. It is usually 9 to 6, for some companies 8 to 5 and for some others 7.30 to 16.30. One hour in them is the lunch break. However, the typical outcome of job insecurity and flexibility is overwork which is a material relief for companies since it allows hiring fewer workers than needed. Büşra smiles ironically and says: “Working hours is supposed to be 9 to 6 but that's not true”. Ali: “Working hours per week was written on my contract but I work much longer”. Similarly Toprak says: “There is not a concept as that the work is over. That is why my mind is always at work”. Only Leyla and Hülya said they do not do overtime work. Leyla says that the company she works is usually following the written work procedures but she rarely has to work at home. Hülya says that she does not accept overtime work consciously and by that she takes the risk to be dismissed. Except them, all the respondents work for extra hours, at least one day a week. In fact, some of them say that it is an exception for them if they do not do extra work. According to her contract, Ece is supposed to quit work at 6 but she says that she can leave at 9 o'clock, four times in a week. The rhythms of work extend and impose themselves as much as possible to beyond the certain working hours. Contracts do not usually help the workers to limit this extension. Büşra tells us about overtime work:

Every year they make us sign about working for extra times. I graduated from labor economics. I know the industrial law. You make the worker sign the overtime work by giving payments but it is a right for him/her to accept or refuse that. But I work overtime, I am forced to sign, and I am not paid for this additional works.

While the contracts are flexible for the benefit of employer, they may be very strict for the employees in different ways. For example, Büşra states: “I think I began working in a very good company but I should not have accepted the contract they offered immediately”. It is a strict contract. If she quits working in this company then she cannot work at the rival companies or at the companies which are customers of them as well. “Most of the big companies have customer relationships with them. So it is very hard to find a good job if I quit this one. That makes me depressed” she says. This situation makes her obey accelerated and flexible working conditions and increasing the time pressure.

4.1.2.Acceleration of Work and Multi-Tasking

On the side of the worker, flexibilization means ‘devoting more time’ to work than certain working hours. Despite devoting more time in the sense of working hours and the fragmentation of the work time in leisure, the work is becoming more intense which points out to ‘more work being done in less time’ (Tietze & Musson, 2002: 326). In regular working hours, there is generally intensive work and this is not unexpected. Most possible work by the least people is the basic logic of capitalism. Bora is pointing that by saying: “There are a lot of things to do but few workers”. Most of the respondents do not remember they had spare time during work, if so very rarely. Büşra says: “It is a luxury to have a rest or even have a break because we are always in a hurry to finish the duties. I cannot even look at the news”. Semiha: “There is always a mass of accumulated work. We do not have the chance to finish them in the working hours and have a relief. I think that they give us works much more than we can handle”. Cumhur says: “I do my job fast not for taking a rest but for beginning the next one sooner”. And Dursun says: "There is always work. You may postpone them if you do not want to do. But then the works pile up and you die in the next day”.

One of the most visible phenomena about acceleration and work intensification is multi-tasking. As Büşra says “There are a lot of duties you have to deal with. You learn the job in a little time but the hard thing is to handle many things in the same time period”. Bora refers to the concept directly:

The multi-tasking issue is not something like the human resources department claims. When sometimes working in the office there may be three different screens behind you and different things with them have to be done. At the same time, you may have to tell one thing to a customer and figure other things in your mind about the field.

Ali's work is similar:

At the same moment many sports matches finish and the important ones are needed to be taken to the news. Let us say seven matches have finished in the same time and you may be the only person in the office at the moment. Before they get off the agenda, it is expected from us to enter the news of all, beginning with the most attractive ones. Besides until we enter them, other matches have begun. You watch two of the important matches live, and follow the rest from the score sites by writing the important moments of them too. And they also finish soon and you live the same process with them, too. There is both tension and stress of urgency. I am a human. I do not have 28 fingers to write.

Multi-tasking causes distractions, focusing and scheduling problems because of the necessity of acceleration and overwork (Standing, 2011: 126-7). In order to handle multi-tasking, they use many methods because it is not possible to keep in mind that many tasks (Southerton, 2003: 17). In addition to old methods like using calendars, notebooks and agendas, making a to-do list on the computer and adding the new works on it, checking the ones finished. Some use the program named "Wunderlist" as a reminder. However, these strategies do not help the workers to get rid of time pressure at work since the time left or the time decelerated is filled up by the new tasks proposed by the company (Larsson & Sanne, 2005: 219). For example, Bora develops several program techniques, Excel schedules to do his works faster. Although it is not expected from him, a lot of works could be finished earlier by these methods. However, the company did not decrease his workload. Because whenever he is seen free, they give him other works. This situation proves that does technological acceleration does not result in temporal relief, directly. The tendency of the capitalist working regime is to employ a fewer worker and make them work in the leisure time with the technological acceleration.

All of the people interviewed expressed that they have to work fast so working fast is not a choice but a necessity. Of course, the speed would change from one person to another person. And that may cause as Bora says: “Wage increase differs between the fast working employees and slow working ones. Or sometimes, rumors are heard about an employee who works slowly”. Some interviewees point it may cause dismissal. That shows us there is some kind of control. For instance, Dursun says: “There is ‘key performance index’ in our company. We work success-oriented. After our reports, our own manager gives that to you. That index accumulates and it impacts on our wage increase and promotions”. Some of the interviewees are paid by bonuses according to the work they complete. The general trend is close to what Simge states:

I did not work with a company that would pay more according to my performance. This is my 5th company and I never come across with a company paying more for more extra performance. This is the reason I change jobs. In wage increase periods I cannot have the increase I expect.

Acceleration does not guarantee synchronization and harmony. On the contrary, in a lot of cases it obstructs (Rosa & Scheuerman, 2009:13). Most of the interviewees think that office conditions make them lose time because none of them has their own room. They all work in a crowded open - office at their desks. They say that there is always something distracting. Noise and crowd are the factors but the more important distracting factor is to be asked about work by other staff continuously. Most of the tasks cannot be done by only one worker. They should be finished by the coordination of different departments and their workers. However, at this point, characteristics of “arrhythmia” can emerge. As Lefebvre’s meaning of “arrhythmia”, when different departments and their workers do not work in harmonious way, stress and passing the deadline can cause a great damage. This situation basically results from the overwork. Due to multi-tasking these workers have to go through many works in the same time. Bora says: “At a moment of figuring something or imagining something, someone may ruin all your concentration by asking for something or you can lose a lot of time by searching the document you are asked”. As Dilara states: “Just as the moment you start a work,

someone comes and asks for something and so you just close the pages you opened and look for that and after when you turn back to your work you forget where you were”. There are lots of shifts among different tasks and this results in time lost. The experience of Büşra is another example of interruption of work by someone else: “In the daytime, I spend lots of my time by writing emails to the customers. I am interrupted by the emails and phone calls coming from them. For this reason, I can do my main work after 6 pm. in the evening”. As a result, when everybody tries to accelerate and finish their duties in a shorter period of time can cause involuntary deceleration (Rosa, 2009: 94). Thereby, as the duties have to be finished, the workers are expected to work overtime in the office or at home.

4.1.3. Deadlines

The word “flexibility” is often used for “relaxation” in daily use. However, the relaxation meaning of flexibility does not fit in working life. For instance, “deadline” which is heard by white-collar workers mostly, implies very strong meanings for them. Deadline is defined as “times or days by which something must be done”. The enhanced powers of acceleration and flexibility cause stronger pressure on labor control (Harvey, 1989: 147) and deadlines are one of the most important indicators of this. “There is always a great amount of pressure on our shoulders for making this done by a short time. This is a very common problem for us” Dursun responded. “They give us ten different jobs and set the deadline for five days. Each of these jobs may take at least five days but they want you to make them all in five days” Bora added. Toprak explained the situation and the reason of the situation:

They say that these jobs will be finished until that day. You say it is impossible. They did not understand and ask ‘How is it impossible?’. You reply ‘If you hire at least six or seven software developer in this workplace, then it will be done’. After that, they give up. However, because of the time-money equation, all of the employers always want you to finish your jobs in a shorter time invariably. If you miss the deadline, the argument will occur again and again.

Workers can face mobbing when they say their seniors that the deadline will never be enough. To be rebuked, to be threatened to be fired and to be fired when jobs will not finish until the deadline occurs in many ways. “When we say that this deadline is not a realistic target to finish the job, they reply ‘then, increase the working time and make a new schedule’” Simge added. Nevertheless, there are some supervisors and managers that can be negotiated about deadlines. In this matter, companies and managers vary from time to time but the general tendency is as Büşra’s situation: “We request to postpone the deadline. They sometimes realize the ‘impossibility’ but the deadlines are not changed except the most exceptional circumstances”.

The group this study analyzes is limited to the workers who are not in top management positions. Because of the content of this study, the similarities and differences between different layers of company hierarchy are not investigated. However, acceleration of capitalism forces executive managers to follow some performance criteria and to bind them in some deadlines, as well. Indeed, some of the participants said that their managers work harder and longer than them. Thereby, the forcing reason of why workers must work faster and longer is not the personal characteristics of managers and employers. It is basically structural conditions of capitalism that forces to reduce turnover times for the success in market competition (Jessop, 2009: 141-3). As a matter of fact, even employers of companies are under the pressure of the accelerated wheels of capitalism. The controlling company and sub-contracted company have also some discrepancies. Simge responded on this subject:

For example, in this period of employment, the assignment we are on had already television commercials. We saw these and shocked. Commercials have indicated this motto: ‘This project will be finished in this summer!’. There was no way to finish it until this summer, we know that. The controlling company we cooperated was an unstable one. Construction has begun but the employer of the controlling company said ‘Finish it until this summer’. How can it be done? Of course, we will not be able to finish the job by then. Controlling company tried to implement some punitive sanctions on us. Some of these conflicts end up in court.

Only a few of the participants said that they determine some of the deadlines but these also can be done by under certain conditions. For instance, “Because of the company policy, you have to follow the schedule. I set my deadline and the team’s deadlines but this should be matched with other deadlines set by the directors”, Semiha who works as a reporter of the board of management responded. “We set our deadlines sometimes but we report them. We are responsible for these reports to our managers”, Dursun who is a construction manager added. “Employer does not know how long the jobs are going to take. For this reason, I negotiate with them and well, it seems I set the deadlines” Cumhur responded.

All of the participants do their jobs in order to finish them before a deadline. One of the reasons of this is an easy supervision. Supervising the jobs done under the circumstances of deadlines is much easier than controlling a worker on how much he/she works in eight work hours in a day. Thus, deadlines are more useful to create a time discipline over workers. All of the participants agreed that if deadlines do not exist, they will not work harder than they do now. Furthermore, deadlines are functional methods to make them work faster. Büşra added her opinions about the acceleration of work and time discipline: “They set a deadline which is all clear from the date to the minute. They say ‘If you work overtime, it is your problem. Maybe your overtime results from having too many breaks or working too slow for this job’”. Bora indicated the same point: “You have too many works to be done. If you work slowly, they are accumulated and deadlines are getting close”.

One factor of setting deadlines while the job is in progress is the concept known as “costumer-oriented system” which shows not only the acceleration of supply but also the acceleration of demand and consumption (Rosa & Scheuerman, 2009: 5). “While a project is running, the deadline is set. Costumers’ requests become clearer at that moment. Sometimes we have to work harder and finish the job to get paid” Bora responded. “In our job, deadlines are not one-sided. We work as costumer-oriented. For that reason, when we have a lot of projects to make, we work harder” Dursun added. The costumer-oriented system makes directors assign more than one worker in one job when the deadline approaches. “Generally, we do what the customer wants. The managers can assign someone to work with me to finish the

job because the costumer mostly does not want to postpone the deadline” Büşra responded. “If the job base on a tender, I talk to the director when it seems not to be finished until the deadline. He assigns someone to work with me on this job” Bora added. Ali who is a sports editor explained how costumer-oriented system works in his job:

If you write a preview about sports organizations, you have to finish it before the organization has started. Only in this way of work, your work can be meaningful. Or, for example, a football game has finished. If you write an article about it after eight hours ago, this will be meaningless. Its agenda was passed away. The reader will not wait for you.

Deadlines are usually predetermined. However, these general deadlines have sub-deadlines which should be detailed. For instance, Mehmet says: “We arrange a one-year plan at the beginning of the year which includes supervisions, when works should be done out of the city, the places to accommodate, etc. These are planned in detail but some specific details cannot be arranged before”. Apart from this, some deadlines occur at the very time. Dilara began to speak in this regard: “When an extra operational job occurs and the director wants me to make it finish in this day, this job suddenly become a one-day deadline task of its own”. Deadline sometimes progresses even at the most micro level. Mehmet’s thoughts about his supervision job also point out to the coordination problems that cause deceleration. He said:

In the supervising period, the criteria that will be supervised have roughly deadlines. For examples, x minutes for cleaning, y minutes for checking something... These are calculated and eight-hour task in total occur. This system works if only there is not any problem. Meanwhile, costumer comes, something happens, worker serves costumer, etc. Time passes and this supervision takes twelve or fifteen hours which is the time between opening and closing of the store.

Every one of workers has other jobs to be done with different strict deadlines. Bora said: “Everyone wants to finish off their own jobs. For this reason, working with other departments is hard” and he added: “We do not miss the deadline if we do not wait for other’s job to finish”. Dilara also criticizes the feeling of deadline pressure:

“If the deadline of the job was near and I wait for someone when I do my best to finish the job, it makes me nervous and angry”.

Most of the participants said that they do not have difficulty in responsibilities given by managers. This indicates that they accommodate themselves to time discipline, acceleration and flexibility, willingly or forcefully. Indeed, that is the reason for working at same workplace for a long time. In this situation, some prices must be paid but we will discuss that later on. Nonetheless, some of the participants admit that they passed deadlines a couple of times in their working lives but they also stated that deadlines passed were emanated from unexpected situations. In addition to this, there can be differences between the responsibilities in terms of importance. Semiha said: “There can be possible to postpone deadlines and to work freely in some works.” More important jobs are required to be done on time because if something is going wrong about them, they can have serious consequences to bear, being fired included. These consequences are mostly about losing of company profit and prestige. Besides, as Bora said “Passing the deadline will show a bad image in the long term. It is written on worker’s blacklist to check in the wage hike periods”.

Another reason for preference of deadlines by the companies is about its psychological effects on the worker. When a deadline is set, workers are not motivated to work that project and feel free to work at lower performances but when a deadline is near, they work harder under stress. In fact, after the question of “When deadline is near, do you work harder than you did at the time that deadline is set?” most of the participants responded that they did that very often when they were students. However, they stated that it is quite impossible to do that in business life because they have a lot of works of different deadlines. For instance, Dilara said: “When I was a student, I studied harder when exam weeks are close. But in business life, it does not happen in the same way. We work on different things at the same time here. This situation shows that if you finished one of the tasks you have, you are good to go on another one”. Thereby, when a deadline is set, the workers do not work loose but when the deadline is near, they work harder. Sometimes they do not sleep or work overtime to finish the job.

Workers sleep patterns can also be sacrificed because of the following reasons: Stress and pressure at work, obligation to continue to work regularly, career, the code of “not getting into trouble at work”. Deadlines are basically one of the practices of capitalist work regime which are the fundamentals of time pressure. Büşra said that she had never passed any deadlines and added: “I managed somehow but my sleepless nights were endless”. For instance, Toprak shared an example of his life on this matter: “When I was working on a project, the deadline was too near. There were times that I did not sleep for three or four days. I worked instead of sleeping. I just napped one or two hour tops”. An effort to not to exceed the deadline is stressful but sometimes the pressure after being passed it can be a bigger problem. Toprak continues to share:

In one of my previous jobs, I passed the deadline extremely because of my family issues. The company I worked for badly affected in terms of profit. After I solved my issues and began to work in enormous speed, I worked one and a half month very hard. In the meantime, I did not meet any of my friends and slept very little.

4.1.4.Surveillance over Time in Workplace

As I emphasized in literature review, technology, in principle, can ensure to complete the duties of job in a shorter period of time and thereby can provide more leisure time for workers. However, as long as the logic of capitalism continues technology is used just for the opposite. Surveillance by technology in a workplace is one of the ways to excess time pressure on workers. It begins on the way to work. Most of the companies use “swipe card system” to control entry and exit time of their workers. By means of this system, the managers or the employer know which day and what time the workers arrive to work by the system logs thereby they can cut from the salaries due to being late for work. “Sign system” is also used where swipe card system is not carried out. If the flexibility level of the end of working hours is lower, being late to work becomes more intolerable. As in company that Leyla works for, some companies determine the allowable time of being late as “a couple of minutes”.

In companies that have very flexible working hours, being late to work is a little bit more allowable. However, the allowable time for being late to work cannot be exceeded by one hour in any case when the time of leaving the job can be even at 01:00 am. Thereby, companies can tolerate the little working time that they paid to workers for to compensate later or to that had already been compensated. Ece said: “Sometimes I was at work until midnight. They cannot criticize me when I am late for work the next day. If I did not work harder, it would be a great problem to me being late at work”. Bora added: “My lunch break lasts one hour but I finish my lunch in twenty minutes. Thanks to this, when I am late for about half an hour in the morning, they do not say a word to me”.

Being late for work in the morning is not always a big problem for companies. It varies from company to company, employer to employer and even department to department. Most of the participants admit that their employers or managers do not criticize them for being late at work if being late time does not exceed half an hour; in some cases one hour. However, all of the participants added some statements similar to this: “They know how I work harder anyway”. For instance, Simge indicates hard work: “They talked behind me in the office since I sometimes am late. But they cannot tell directly at me because of my hard work. If I did not work hard, they could probably tell me this: ‘You should organize your sleep hours better’”. In our study, there are twelve different companies, the participants work for, in which only two of them have not “sign system” or “swipe card system”. These ones have fewer workers and more informal control methods. In these two companies, relationships between worker and managers, being in their good books are more important than being late for work issues. These necessities require being hardworking and working overtime when needed.

“Swipe card system” can be applied in break times when the work is sometimes on the outside of the company. The methods of controlling the break times in company have some major differences in one company to another. Semiha said: “It is technically possible to work in cafes all day if your job is suitable for that”. However, Hülya had some troubles about this: “I used to work full-time on Saturdays. The company made it half but at the same time, the lunch time also is

decreased from one hour to half an hour. Tea breaks were also decreased from fifteen minutes to ten minutes. I have recently got trouble because my break time was fifteen minutes.”

Surveillance on computers also becomes more important because jobs in and out of the office are carrying out via computers. All of the participants said that they use programs and websites in the company when they work and these programs and websites can be seen by their managers or IT department of the company. None of them said that they got into trouble because of programs and websites they used. However they all hesitate that someday their managers come to them with the printout of programs and websites they use when the works do not finish. There are also cameras monitoring workers in almost all of the companies. These are the systems that are used for blocking the spill-over of leisure into working time. This is another point to state that the permeable borders between work and leisure are mostly for the sake work. In Lefebvre’s terms, these surveillance techniques can be called a part of dressage. It does not disappear and just a little room for human initiative left. By using the technology dressage tries to block the unforeseen (Lefebvre, 2004: 39-40). It determines the majority of rhythms for the sake of work and by preventing the spill-over of leisure into working hours, it secures the existing eurhythmia for maximum profit of company.

4.1.5. Working out of Office

Most of the interviewees work out of the office too. Dilara, even if she does not work in the field that much, she may have to go to other plazas to meet the need of different work teams in different plazas. Besides, she says: “There were days we travel different cities for the career days company organizes”. Most of the interviewees have trips to different cities and abroad. Mehmet's work is already based on this. He goes for supervision to 66 shopping malls in 45 different cities. For instance, Büşra goes to the customers’ offices to supervise them twice a week. She says:

When I go for supervision, I cannot do any other thing so works of these days accumulate. After coming from supervision, I have to turn on my

computer at home. In the first years, after leaving the customers, I used to turn back to the office and work until morning. Recently, I come home and organize the work from home. Firstly, I reply the e-mails from the customers and then I try to organize the works of the next day.

That is to say, working at home after the regular working hours in the office or in the field, is a quite common phenomenon. Even Cumhuriyet who had said “They do not ask much for working at home” before, in another part of the interview, he says: “Sometimes there are urgent works that I have to complete at home and sometimes they call me on Sundays for work”. For instance, Dilara says: “In some necessary situations I stay at work, I remember once I worked until 11.30 pm. However, I prefer to complete the tasks at home instead of staying at the office”. It is very rare that she does not work at home after working hours. Other respondents also refer to do things at home such as reporting, project writing, entering data into the computer, contacting to customers, writing emails.

As the work is not limited to a specific workplace, the dressage, as well, is not limited to a certain space. For the works out of the office, Semiha says:

When you are not in the office they control you by some computer programs. A notification goes them when the computer is turned on. There is a chatting program we call Communicator. It is always checked and is expected to be always open. Besides, the manager may call on the phone.

Dilara, who says she has the right to work mobile once a week, states: “In the duration of my work out of office, I have to use VPN so they can check my work by my duration of connection via VPN”. The companies of most of the respondents use such programs. If not, they try to control the employee by sending emails or calling. Mehmet says: “I am not controlled by my manager. This is due to the trust we have developed but if he wants to, he can follow me by the cameras that are online minute by minute all day in all our stores”. The difficulty to control the movements of working bodies out of workplace is tried to be overcome by these technologies (Lee & Liebenau, 2002: 128).

Cumhur mentioned about a program, not used in his company but he knows it is used in some companies. This program shows how sophisticated is the controlling the works out of the office:

'Time Doctor: Smart Employee Time Tracking Software with Screenshots' is the name of the program. When you work out of office, you open that program and it counts the hours and calculates how much time you spent for the work. Besides it often takes screenshots randomly and control the websites you connected. It even shows the rate of keyboard and mouse use.

The dressage tries to control the movements of bodies to secure the eurhythmia and success of work. The technological means of dressage get involved in any kind of human practices and modify the workers' practices under the imperious direction of a specific time discipline (Lefebvre, 2004: 39-40).

Apart from the works taken to the home, there may be new unexpected works after going home. This situation shows the 'attempt to desegregate work from non-work' and 'more open-ended definition of work time' not only at the workplace. The workers must be ever-accessible (Bell & Tuckman, 2002: 116, 119). Semiha says:

In companies like us it is necessary to check your phone. I may be called at 10 pm or 7 am including the weekends. If I do not reply it would be a problem. We also have to check the emails every time. Using smartphones is an obligation in the company. We keep our computers with us even on weekends.

These information and communication technologies helped to blur the distinction between work and leisure and make the workers vulnerable to the expansion of rhythms of work. The new time-discipline includes the internalization to check the phones and internet accounts (Standing, 2011: 129).

4.1.6. Qualifications

As job insecurity is a dominant feature of contemporary capitalism, qualifications are getting more important to survive in the competitive and flexible labor market (Bell & Tuckman, 2002: 123). When companies want to hire workers, they look for

people who are qualified, experienced and presentable because they do not want to waste their time and money for raising them from scratch because of acceleration and profit issues. After companies hire workers, they have an ambivalent manner about them who are keen on improving skills. Companies want their workers to make them improve their working skills in the long term. Nevertheless, they cannot stand to wait for them while they are on training for improving their working skills. For instance, Hülya said: “In my previous workplaces, I requested a training to improve myself on my job but they did not accept it. They want you to know that training but they do not want to pay for it.”

The workers who improve their skills before taking the job, who graduated from prestigious university departments and have certificates about the job, have an advantage over others. Speaking foreign languages is a very efficient way to be employed. All of the respondents of our study told that they speak English well. Five of participants speak second foreign language. Three of these five participants also speak a third one. All of the participants have studied in the best universities based on their university entrance exam scores in Turkey. All of them had a great university education and professional experience, spoke at least one foreign language, had the ability to use computer programs and had certificates about the jobs they are working now. These qualifications were required for our study and reasons for it have explained in methodology chapter.

Some of the participants said that their professional CVs (Curriculum Vitae) are very instrumental in hiring while some thought the opposite way. For instance, Bora said: “CVs cannot be enough. They ask you which work-pieces you can do. If you can do some of the works they asked, they hire you. If you cannot, they fire you in two months”. There are also different opinions about the certificates. Prestigious university departments workers graduated from are also efficient to be employed but Toprak and Cuneyt said: “In our companies, jobs have good salaries are taken by people that have not graduated from computer engineering departments of universities”. Some of the participants also have jobs that are not related to their graduated university departments. These workers said that they improved their

working skills before they got hired. Besides these, professional experience they had had an intense effect on hiring the job.

The rhythms of technological change accelerate and the workers are expected to adapt themselves to be able to protect eurhythmia between work and body. If not, they can be dismissed or the company can fall behind in the competition. It is not easy to keep their job for people who cannot adapt acceleration and flexibility. First months are called “testing period”. People who cannot keep up in this period easily get fired. Some of the participants said that they have worked overtime to learn the job well in this “testing periods”. Therefore, qualification cannot help workers to keep their jobs even though they helped them to get hired. It is not possible to go ahead through the course of working life without renovating and advancing the existing working-skills (Sennett, 2008:21). Except for flexibility and adaptation of acceleration, other important factors are to improve working skills and to add new ones on them. In this matter, companies have an ambivalent manner. They prefer to hire a worker who has better and updated qualification and fire the worker who needs to improve their qualifications, instead of training him/her. Toprak said:

Companies do not risk on something that may lead to a long-term outcome. Even corporate companies do like that. However, when they are hiring, they choose skillful ones to get hired. They do not train their workers. If they find someone has better working skills, they do not hesitate to fire the untrained worker.

Most of the participants said “No” when this question was asked: “Does your company allow you when you want to do a master degree about your job?” Participants said “Yes” to this question also added: “If it is about my job and if I compensate my working hours later”. For instance, Simge said: “If it is about my job, they allow me half-day in a week. I do not think they will allow me more because I supervise eighty-ninety people in a day. They cannot afford that”. For this reason, participants did their master degrees before they got hired. Some of them have left this education undone. Dilara said that she could not be employed if her master degree classes were not finished. Even if doing a master on industrial psychology was one of the most important factors for her employment. She added:

“In my work team, one of my friends continues her master degree education. According to the contract, the work finishes at 4:30 pm and her classes begin at 6:00- 6:30 pm. I know that she misses a lot of classes because of overwork”. Mehmet summarized this ambivalent manner of companies: “Company does not allow you to do your master degree. They seem to want you to have certificates, do vocational training and educational stuff but they also do not want these things to occur since it can cause pauses for your work duties”. For instance, Dursun said: “Before I got hired to this job, they promised us to provide some domestic and even abroad training but none of them took place”. Many companies provide training to their workers if it is an obligation. Bora told that he has attended two trainings of the company:

One of them was about new sound techniques. It was an obligation to have someone to practice them. Another one was one of the obligations of a tender contract. Two personnel who trained and had certificates were required. They sent me these two pieces of training compulsorily.

Workers are expected to be informed about new technologies because of the technological acceleration and ever-growing technological industries. Now, most of the jobs are required a computer and cell phone programs and internet. Toprak and Cuneýt work in computer software department. Cuneýt said:

Technology is always growing and changing. You have to be up-to-date. This is what I keep on working on this job. You cannot do a task one time and leave it. You have to upgrade the program you develop and adapt the updates in it. When a software developer cannot follow the changes in the field, there is no point to continue this job.

He works for a company that sells products on the internet. He claimed that if he does not follow the developments about cyber-security, vulnerabilities of it and how protection mechanism should work, he easily can ruin his job. For that reason, after working hours, he follows articles, magazines and internet blogs about software world every day. He added: “These are my favorite things. I do because I love it”. On the contrary, this is an obligation. Many free time activities are not that ‘free’ but ‘required’ in a broad sense for social status and for employability (Larsson &

Sanne, 2005: 216). As he said, he should do these things every day after work to keep his job. Besides, it is an obvious example that working hours expand over off-times indirectly. For instance Toprak said:

Everything changes so fast in companies that generate cell phone applications. Operating systems of cell phones also change so fast because of cell phone market all around the world. You should learn every change. Some of them are too easy to understand. If you are a knowledge-based worker, it can be easier for you but in any case, you have to make an effort to it. You should follow some websites and magazines constantly. It is good for me to learn new stuff about my job. However, it does not affect my salary. If I do not follow new developments, it causes me to get fired.

Companies do not provide these kinds of pieces of training on their own and also do not send their workers to pieces of training within the working hours. They expect workers to learn the information on their own and if it does not happen, they prefer to hire someone who has already learned them from the competitive labor market.

It is also necessary for other occupations as well to follow the recent developments. The media industry is one of the biggest industries to work in. For instance, Ali said that he should stay up to date in his sports knowledge and should always follow new developments and added:

My current knowledge will never be enough. You have to follow the actuality. You have to be informed about the things that even if you do not make them the news. Because these things can and will be required for some other news. I follow these things during my off-time.

The qualifications at the beginning of the workers' career do not guarantee the working position that they hold. With the increased and constant changes, it is more crucial to be successful in working life to allocate time for adaptation to new necessities of work. Some qualifications do not answer the purpose after a certain point and they should be replaced by the new ones. Harvey called it de-qualification and re-qualification process (Harvey, 1989). Some knowledge that took so much time to learn may sometimes go for nothing, especially in the technology-based jobs. For instance, Bora said:

I studied and learned a lot about some trademarks. If the company I worked for loses his distributor rights of this brand, the things I learned will make no sense, of course. If we have an agreement with another brand on distributor rights, I have to learn all over again.

Toprak added: “The pioneer or the groundbreaking things of an era might be forgotten a few years later. Flash system is like that. Even university departments for flash were established but the students studied in these departments were wasted”. Technological and capitalist acceleration can dry knowledge that takes years to be learned. They can make it worthless in an instant.

Companies of a conglomeration send their workers to trainings more often. Some of the participants said that these educational educations are done perfunctorily to show corporate cultures. Even though it is not all true, they are not what workers requested and obligatory to them. For instance, Semiha said: “Company sent me to many trainings before. I had difficulties to attend them”. Dilara also explained that these trainings affect on performance scores of workers. “You have to attend them”, she added. Dilara who works in human resources department attends the leadership training full-time on Saturday. She has to attend a training about her job in her off-day. Although trainings are often performed in workdays and working hours, workers sometimes have to attend them after working hours. This method is applied in some companies because other jobs cannot wait for the workers.

4.1.7.Age

I have already indicated the ages of the interviewees on a table above and I also have briefly discussed why we conducted this study with the workers under the age of 35 in the methodology chapter. The question is “In your opinion, what is the average age at the company you are working for? What is your opinion when you think both your department and the whole company in general?” The answers to this question and the reasons behind became unexpectedly an important factor for fundamental assumptions of our study.

All of our interviewees told that the average age of the white collar workers at the company they are working for is low. None has said the average is above 35. At certain companies, this average is even as low as the middle 20s. Semiha works for a company with thousands of workers which is a part of a large conglomerate. She tells the following when she considers both her department and the company's average age: "Young people are the majority. It seems there is no one above a certain age. The age average is 30 – 35 at most. Seniors are 30-35 years old. There are a few managers around 45 who work at the top positions". Like Semiha, all the interviewees definitely used the phrase "too young" in their answers. According to Büşra "Even the managers are 40 years old at most". Ece also describes a similar situation "The average age is young, around 25. My manager is 35 and the top executives are younger than him". Cumhuriyet's company also is not any different: "My bosses are born in 1990. The oldest worker at the company is 32 whereas the majority is 25".

If the fact that all the white collar workers working at these companies hold a university degree is taken into consideration, it is not likely that workers under 23 work at such companies. Hence, it cannot be a coincidence that almost all the white collar workers fall within the 23-35 age range. What Dilara (who works in the human resources department, the fundamental department in recruitment) tells shows that this low age average is a deliberate choice:

The average age is around 28 in our department and this is even a bit high. The policy adopted by the company is to create a dynamic worker profile, hence keep the age average low. They are not content with average age's being above 30. Therefore, they choose to fire those who are above a certain age. They try to reduce the age average by recruiting people who are just graduated from a university.

This tendency can be explained as the requirement for 'fresh approach' and the 'no long term' motto which makes it difficult to be employable in these kinds of companies for the older workers. Thereby, the companies elude from increasing the wages and giving extra rights because of seniority (Sennett, 2008: 97-99). I have not asked a question regarding the underlying reasons behind this policy.

Nevertheless, certain things they mentioned within the flow of the interview give an opinion regarding the reasons. For example, Toprak:

You are always supposed to produce a more optimized, more efficient version of the product. A new software is needed to be constantly monitored. It needs to be adapted immediately. After a certain age, people tend not to follow the current developments so developing software does not work well with old people.

Cumhur, who works in the same sector, agrees with Toprak: “If I were a boss, I would not recruit anyone older than 35. After a certain age, it is started to be afraid of novelty”. I may become a manager after 35; however, it does not seem possible that I will be able to be knowledgeable about the technical aspect of the work, how things are done”. Keeping up with the technological acceleration can be associated with age. It is also assumed that young people can achieve a certain mental speed faster. It is consider that the older workers are not enough flexible for both applying a new qualification and working long hours. Elderliness is seen as rigidity and slowness (Sennett, 2008: 99-100).

Another assumption is that young people are regarded as physically more enduring hence they are thought to adapt themselves to flexible and long working hours easier. The statement which frequently appears in job advertisements “those who can adapt to flexible working hours” indicates this situation. After a certain age, employers do not trust people in adapting themselves to flexibility and acceleration. The statement “dynamic” which interviewees frequently mention is associated with “younghness”, also, evokes the concept of “acceleration”. In parallel with the durability assumption, they are thought to be more likely to sacrifice their sleep. Again, although it was not present in the question-set, we observed that some interviewees emphasize getting older in the sleep-related parts, even though they are at their late 20s or early 30s. Bora (28 years old), for example, says that “Sleeping less did not have an impact upon my body this much when I was young. Now, I experience difficulty in waking up when I go to bed late”. Bora also puts emphasis on another aspect:

I would not recruit people above a certain age if I were a boss. They will receive 10% wage increase each year. It makes more sense to start with someone young. Experience, actually, is not that important thing. If experience is needed, you can buy consultation service.

Thereby, the companies elude from increasing the wages and giving extra rights because of seniority (Sennett, 2008: 99). As for Leyla, who is 32 years old, states “I am the oldest in my department. Probably, the age average is 27”. Mehmet is hopeless if he cannot be a manager and says “It is not possible that I can continue my current job for long years. If the work and travel tempo will continue like this, it will be very difficult to do this job”.

People above 35 can continue to work at the company if they are promoted to higher positions, but as all workers cannot be promoted it seems that after a certain age, workers either quit their job or are fired. Bora shares a similar observation: “Old workers quit their job as they cannot make it work, they cannot handle the tempo”. Another reason why workers below 35 ages are preferred is that they are assumed to be less likely to have children when compared to older age groups. Leyla’s statement “My job is not compatible with settled life” can be generalized to most of the interviewees. People who have less family and child responsibility, who can allocate more time to work and can adapt themselves to the flexibility of the job are preferred. Bora’s statement “It is harder to call a married person into work in the middle of night” is parallel to this situation.

When all these findings are taken into consideration, young people who are thought to be able to keep up with technological acceleration as well as to possess a higher ability to adapt to capitalist acceleration, both physically and mentally, are preferred. Moreover, they are expected to possess high qualifications and stand out in the competitive labor market. Therefore, these qualifications are needed to be acquired either in a short period before being recruited or during the university education. All of these indicate the acceleration of the pace of life which demands more data, input, and event within a certain time period. As the ability to remain sleepless and the ability not to be mentally affected by the sleeplessness are associated with youngness, it may be the case that people above a certain age are

not preferred to be recruited. Nevertheless, it is better to approach these findings with caution as the focus of the study is not this age issue. It may be a research topic for further research.

4.2. Leisure

I examined how the duties of work do not finish in certain working hours in “work” part. However, the analysis is not limited to investigating only the activities of a single working day. I also tried to analyze from a broader perspective the working year. When considered from this point of view, it is quite legitimate to say that participants have a little proportion for leisure in their life.

4.2.1. “Off-Days”

The workload of one day does not decrease even if their working days increased. I examined this decrease in overwork, flexibility and deadline chapters. Most of the participants work six days in a week. In some companies, the sixth day can be half-time work. The off-day is Sunday for most of the participants. Only Ali works Saturday and Sunday and he is off in one of the weekdays. However, it is not true to say that they do not work in these off-days. They have to work quite often. There are only three respondents who work only five days, Mehmet, Leyla, and Büşra. However, as Büşra pointed:

I said to you that I do not work at weekends but I meant I do not go to the office. In Sundays, I have always some duties to finish. I put up my computer and work even if I am with my friends at a cafe. Some necessities may occur at weekends, such as calling costumers. In weekdays some works exceed the routine working hours. It happens in weekends likewise.

Mehmet who works five days in a week said: “Sometimes I overwork in weekends. Besides, if I go out of the city because of my work, I come back to my home on Saturday night or Sunday morning”. Leyla also said: “I work in exports department. For example, during my officially permitted holiday, I was always on the phone

because when I was on holiday, the companies abroad were not and orders could not wait.”

This shows the regression of the labor rights, related to the acceleration, flexibilization and the main dynamic of the capitalist working regime. Unavailability of the worker can create a decrease in expected profit for companies. Therefore, they can request overwork in off-days. Some workers work from home in these days, some as Bora goes to the office or field: “Sometimes they call me at Sundays and I go to the construction site. When I am on holiday, there can be sound issues in shopping malls and I also go there. One time, they even called me back from another city that I was in during holiday”. These situations happen not only in off-days but also in public holidays. Workers who do not work in public holidays consider themselves as lucky because this is an exceptional situation for the considerable part of white-collar workers. For instance, Mehmet said: “I do not work on public holidays but my wife works”. Cuneyt added: “Public holidays are my off-days but there are also things to do in these days”. Companies do not wait for the one who got the day off to come back to work and also does not hire some worker to cover for him/her. Ali indicated that: “The wheel stops when someone takes annual leave. You cannot leave. You practically cannot get a proper annual leave even if it is your legal right.”

Ece, Dilara, and Hülya who work less than a year in their current company do not have the right to take annual leave. All of the participants have become angry when this matter was talking. Their voices were also changing. Ece put an end to this and said: “Let’s move on to something else than work issues. Today is Saturday and my off-day. I do not want to talk about these”. I guess I made her upset when I reminded her job in her off-day. Workers who work for at least a year have the right to fourteen day’s leave. The days of annual leave do not increase because changing jobs or dismissions are quite often among white-collar workers. For instance, Hülya said: “I have never worked as long as I have the right to leave”. Semiha is an exception among the others. She has worked for seven years for her current company has the right to twenty four day’s leave. It increases from fourteen days to twenty four days due to the time they work in the same company. However, as

Semiha said, employers never allow them to use those rights all at once. Bora added: “My longest vacation has lasted four days two years ago. They did not let me use all of my leave rights”. Simge said: “In the eyes of law, they must allow you to use your right at least seven days once but they do not”. Ali made the point:

You suffer a lot to use your right, man. This is your legal right! Seven day is the half of legal right. You want to use these seven days of your fourteen days right at once. I said ‘At least give me five days’ but no. Even if I succeed to take annual leave for a couple of days, I have to take my laptop to the hotel and must say to my friends ‘Sorry but I have to work a little’. This is a scandal!

A worker subjected to flexible working regime does not have the personal control over the time that he/she uses for work. They are mostly cannot control their time in leisure, as well because of expansion of work into leisure. Doing a certain leisure activity in a pre-fixed and certain time period is becoming more difficult. Personal anxieties about time is an inseparable part of contemporary capitalism (Sennett, 2008: 61, 101; Standing, 2011: 119, 127) since they are ‘in a permanent spin, forced to juggle demands on limited time’ (Standing, 2011: 119). The flexible scheduling and multiplicity of duties both for work and leisure described as struggling and juggling. Accessibility to the demands of work and leisure any time results in disintegration of social contacts and making them more infrequent and superficial. In other words, the flexible workers frequently cannot prioritize their leisure-schedules over work schedules even after “contracted” working hours (Tietze & Musson, 2002: 326, 328).

4.2.2. Leisure under Time Pressure

This study, basically, analyzes the effects of time pressure on the workers through the inspection of the two most time-consuming activities of the worker’s life: work and sleep. However, an analysis limited to these two aspects would be insufficient. Therefore, this study includes questions, even if limited, regarding leisure time since it also is subjected to acceleration, flexibilization and time pressure, connected to work and sleep. As mentioned about sleep, acceleration, flexibilization and time pressure are not solely specific to working life. Thus, because their tasks tend to be

spread out on the day during their work days and because of the limited amount of off-days and because they are made to work their tasks for most of their resting time, employees tend to be exposed to time pressure which forces them to live in a faster pace than usual. For example, Bora says:

Not even three times worth of a lifespan is enough to do the things I want to do and I am not even including just hanging out with friends in this. Every moment that I am not doing what I desire to do, I am made to do other things and this causes me to feel anxious. That is why I keep trying to do things faster or produce things that would help me do things faster.

Bora's situation is an important example for acceleration of the pace of life. The modern world offers too many options, too many desires to run after in a single lifetime. Having a meaningful life is indispensable without trying to experience most of these options (Rosa, 2009: 90-2).

Many interviewees of this study are unable to make time for doing their desired activities and comply with even earning less money in exchange for more leisure time. It is one indicator of that their time pressure does not stem from basically to earn more money. Yet, the willingness to have more time has a limit due to not being in a wealthy enough in the economic sense. For instance, Büşra says: "When I didn't have money, having spare time didn't really matter however even though I have money at the moment I don't have the time to do what I desire to do". Simgе says:

If now I was told that I wouldn't have to work on Saturdays in exchange for being paid 500 liras less, I would immediately agree to it. I don't even care. I am down for 500 liras less. But I wouldn't agree to 800 liras less for example. I wouldn't be able to support myself if that was the case.

Büşra attaches a lot of importance to socializing and she feels under pressure when she is not able to socialize. She rarely leaves work without staying for overtime. She says: "Sometimes I make plans for after work on the weekdays. I often must rush my tasks to be able to leave workplace on time on these days. For example, I try to reply to the e-mails faster and so forth". Namely, in order to make more time for

leisure she starts to work more rapidly but she still sometimes fails to finish her tasks on time. She also says: “There are often plays at about 8 o’clock at the theater on weekdays for which I buy tickets. However, I often miss the plays because I am unable to get out of work on time due to the excessive amount of tasks on my table”. The flexible working regime causes to work after certain working hours and the work extend itself quite often but unpredictably to leisure (Tietze & Musson, 2002: 326).

The easiest and the most common way adopted by most employees to avoid time pressure due to time shortage is to refrain from former leisure activities. Bora says, “I have even reduced my showering frequency just to be able to save time” and Dilara says:

Before I got a job, while I was still doing my master’s, I was attending violin classes. In the least, I was following the theater programs and chasing opportunities for art activities. Ever since I got my job, these things have become luxuries for me. There are other things that I must do to support myself now. Therefore, I have abandoned these kinds of leisure time activities. I rarely even go to the cinema now.

Similarly Semiha says:

Before I started working, reading was one my major leisure time activities. It upsets me that I cannot read anymore as much as I used to due to time shortage and mental exhaustion caused by work. Now, even when I have spare time, I feel like reading is an exhausting activity. I tend to concern myself with lighter activities that help me relax more easily.

Most of the interviewees have pointed out that they do not tend to prefer leisure time activities outside their homes after the working hours on the weekdays. Interviewees believe that having a regularly-scheduled leisure activity is difficult as they often stay for overtime after working hours and the hour of the end of the shift varies from day to day. Whether they will be in a different city for work that day is improbable for some of the interviewees. As a result, it is difficult to commit to hobbies, courses, and classes that require programming ahead of time. For instance, Ali says that he is unable to attend certain courses because of his improbable work schedule. Other than overtime in weekdays and exhaustion there are often shifts on

the regular hours of working time as well. The end of the shift varies from week to week and sometimes from day to day, he says. This improbability of work schedule makes it impossible to follow a regularly scheduled leisure time activity.

The respondents are mostly able to arrange meetings with their friends only on the last minute or they often cancel their arranged plans with their friends because of the uncertainty of their work schedule. Certainly, the exhaustion caused by work, the housework and errands to be done and the necessary amount of sleep needed for optimal productivity at work the next day should be added to the reasons of the inability of the interviewees to socialize outside of their home. For instance, Mehmet says: “I don’t think that I can operate my spare time effectively because I get mentally and physically exhausted of work. All I want to do when I get home from work is eating, relaxing and watching TV series all the while”. For most of the rest of the interviewees also, the most preferred activity for relaxation at home on the weekdays is watching TV series. TV series are more commonly preferred compared to movies as movies consume more time than a single episode of a TV series. Furthermore, even the selection of the movie to be watched creates time pressure. Thus, interviewees prefer to watch episodes of the TV shows they follow. Hence, the interviewees mostly prefer foreign TV series. One reason is that the Turkish series tend to last longer. In addition, the interviewees tend to watch TV series online rather on TV as commercials are seen as a tremendous waste of time.

The components of temporal overload cause to the necessity of acceleration to be able to catch up everything. On the other hand, it is also felt some decelerated time such as sleep, ‘potter time’, ‘chill time’ is needed as well. However, the length of these decelerated block of times which are released from necessary tasks are getting shorter and to be able to achieve them, further acceleration is needed in other parts of the day. Therefore, the feeling of time pressure is generated partly in order to create and coordinate the decelerated times. These accelerated and decelerated times are not only about individuals preferences but also about the cultural motives that represent ‘the notions of normalcy, respectability, and social standards’. In other words, it is not a free option to follow the most efficient and rational way to use time but it depends on expectations in some aspects (Southerton, 2003: 19-21).

Mehmet says, “I prefer to stay home on the weekends. I feel harried in most of my spare time. This causes me to feel like I am wasting my life away. Resting for the next day ahead alone feels like a waste of time to me. It is a bitter situation.” Mehmet’s statements reflect the inertia experienced after the acceleration of the working life. The acceleration of the working life can cause the natural rhythm of the human body to demand deceleration and the workers are made to cope with the time pressure that this deceleration caused not to what they want to. Likewise, Büşra states that she is unable to operate her time effectively and points out to a similar situation:

There are many things I want to do, many classes I want to take and many places I want to see. If I could operate my leisure time healthily, I could be able to do these things however there is always this inertia that holds me back. Work harms my psychological well-being.

The interviewees who feel distressed because of their inability to perform leisure activities also report feeling regretful when they allow time for their leisure activities. Bora says: “I have completely given up on socializing outside of the home. It would be beneficial if I could socialize more, however, I feel deeply regretful when I allow time for this luxury. Therefore, I do not long for it anymore”. For instance, Cumhur says that even when he is interested in a piece of writing he relinquishes reading it if it is too long. He also says that he avoids watching movies that are too long at once. He says that he prefers to divide the movie into shorter episodes to watch them over the course of a few days. Similarly, Leyla tells:

I rarely go to the cinema with friends. When I get out of the cinema after the movie to look at the hour I instantly feel demoralized because of the time I have lost watching the movie. There isn’t really anything to feel demoralized about but I feel so nonetheless. When I go out to hang out with friends I automatically say ‘I will have one beer utmost’ which can be interpreted as an expression of an involuntary mental time discipline. Obviously, this does not mean that I want to drink only a single beer while I am there but I would have to go to work the next day. Work is what determines the amount of time I spend out with my friends. I would be much happier if I sat with my friends longer but I have to go home to prepare for work the next day. I know that I will have trouble with concentrating at work the next day if I

stay out for too long thus, I avoid prolonging. Besides, this state of mind captures me so much that I involuntarily start to look at my watch after my second beer with friends. It is awful.

The time pressure created by the rhythms of the working life causes regret for the interviewees after social gatherings, along with the obstacles it brings about in the way of socializing outside of home life. So much so that some of the interviewees who live with their families at home consider even the daily conversations with family members as a waste of time. Furthermore, even if the gatherings with friends enable enjoyment for the interviewee, socializing with friends causes the interviewees to feel regretful even after the get-together is over if it takes too long. It quite often considered as waste of time (Southerton, 2003: 14).

All of the interviewees state that the rhythm of the working life affects their social relations in a negative way. The increase of the time allowed for work makes it more difficult to spare time for beloved ones. As a result, it is more difficult to pursue social relations and the lack of spare time limits the opportunities for meeting new people. For instance, Büşra says: “I am able to spend very little time with my friends and my boyfriend. It is not possible to form new friendships either. It is even more difficult to preserve my current friendships because getting around in İstanbul is quite difficult”. In addition to the blurring of the distinction between work and leisure, the acceleration and restriction of leisure make coordination with others more difficult (Lee & Liebenau, 2002: 128; Southerton, 2003: 15). For instance, Dursun emphasizes: “Ever since I start to work, the number of friends I have has been progressively dropping. I am simply unable to make time to meet. It is harder to preserve relationships when you are unable to see your friends”. Toprak says, “I do not even get to see my housemate often enough despite living in the same house as we both work excessively”. Leyla tells:

My sense of time is deformed through this extreme tempo. For instance, I sometimes think that I should see my friend, for instance, Ozan, but then I abandon this idea thinking that I have recently seen him. When in fact the last time I saw him was a month ago. Ozan is someone I would like to see every day if possible. However, as meeting up with friends requires sacrifice from many other things, I am made to decrease the frequency of our meet-ups.

Bora explains “I have trouble communicating with people who form long sentences and talk slowly. It feels like a waste of time” and further adds in another part of the interview:

There is not a single point where the working life tempo effects human relations positively. This tempo decreases not only the frequency of the meetings but also their quality because work occupies your mind and you are already tired during meetings. As the work tire your mind throughout the day, even conversations with friends become exhausting. I do not think any of the conversations I have with my friends after work are any good for them, however, I do not feel the power necessary to fight this within me.

The common idea among all respondents is that they “wish the days were longer”. However, this implicitly means that they “wish the working hours were shorter” even if it is difficult to achieve this due to personal obligations. As a result, the workers constantly ponder over time management issues. For instance, Ece says:

Especially after I got a job, time management has been one of the issues that I have contemplated for the most. I make an effort to have time for reading, learning and socializing. This tires me even more but if I endeavor to manage my time I might be able to fulfill them all.

One of the strategies that emerge to cope with temporal overload is the effort to overlap the activities, which can be called as multi-tasking (Southerton, 2003: 9; Kaufman-Scarborough & Lindquist 1999: 289). In the time that is left outside of work, employees try to overlap work responsibilities and personal obligations with their personal fancies. Thus, multitasking should not be considered only through the responsibilities of the working life. To illustrate, Dilara says:

I quite frequently bring work to my home and I often do more than one task at once. When I get home, I must cook or wash the dishes or do the laundry. I remember calling candidates on the phone for work while mixing the soup at home. I interviewed the candidates with a pot in one hand and the phone in the other.

Working on the computer during meetings, replying to emails or working through phone calls are few of the examples of this issue among the interviewees. These strategies base on the assumption that activities can be completed in manageable bits and can allow workers to achieve their desired goals further (Kaufman-Scarborough & Lindquist 1999: 289). Hülya says also, “I make my phone calls specifically while I am walking home so that I have time to do something else when I get home”.

All interviewees think they have very limited leisure time and for some interviewees, time management and the obligation of making plans beforehand become an obligation for the leisure activities as well. Streamlining or strict organization of the activities is one of the strategies proposed for relieving time pressure. It is claimed that by this strategy, people can do more things so that it can be possible to get rid of the pressure (Larsson & Sanne, 2005: 219). For instance, Cumhur makes a to-read list through a program for his leisure activities and he reads the books on the list on his free time. Toprak says, “I try to do my own time-engineering to be able to not to say ‘I don’t have enough time’”. Simge says:

I am the type of person that calculates even the shortest minutes. For example, I set a meeting with friends between 6.30 and 7.30 then I set a meeting between 7.30 and 10.30. Then, I go somewhere else after 10.30. I also got tickets for 12 o’clock: I will depart at 12 and stay over there for the night I think. Yes, this is my life, I calculate minutes.

Similarly Hülya states that she needs to be programmed after work or that she would not be able to do most of the things she wants to do by saying:

If I’m going home after work, I try to quickly arrive home and complete my preparations for the next day at work so that I can leave some spare time for myself. If I am going out I am always very quick and in a hurry. For instance, I came in a rush from Bakırköy for this interview so that I can stay for longer. I live my life in a rush because of work.

Toprak, Hülya, and Simge say that they attend collective symposiums and that they participate in political activities and reading groups. They also said that sometimes they are made to quit these groups because they are unable to fulfill the responsibilities because of work. Toprak has taken on the blogging and website

responsibilities of one of the groups he attends to, however, he says, “When these responsibilities are not parceled out and shared, they create additional time pressure on me.” They are mostly unable to complete the readings on time but they are very enthusiastic to continue the group nonetheless. They have stated that they are able to continue participating in these groups through limiting the rest of their social activities. For instance, Hülya says:

My entire week is always full on the calendar. There are usually reading sessions or tasks to do before publishing. I rarely have a day to see my friends in the week. That is why I have completely abandoned romantic relationships. Most of my friends bring their boyfriends to the reading sessions by force just so they can see each other.

4.2.3. Leisure and Obligation

Leisure time is not only a time period where people are free to do only their desired activities, it also includes many necessities. Even if some of the “leisure” activities are not related to work, a considerable part of them are inevitable obligations such as cleaning, preparing food, maintaining the household. It can also be claimed that most of these activities must be conceptualized as “unpaid work activities” (Antonopoulos & Memiş, 2010: 4-5). They can be as coercive as paid-work thereby they should not be overlooked in any analysis of time pressure or of suggestion for relieving time pressure. The extension of the working time forces the workers not only to abandon some of their desires but also some necessities or it makes it more difficult to fulfill these necessities. Eating, as one of the necessities of human life, is one of the activities which are completed under pressure for many.

Most of the interviewees say that they either eat quickly before leaving home for work in the morning or they prefer to eat something quick and easy on their way to work. Lunch is the most regularly eaten meal among the workers because the break is given by the work-place. Dinners, on the other hand, are a strain on most interviewees. Mehmet says that his wife cooks excessively on the weekends so that she can save time from cooking in the weekdays. He also says that he does not have breakfast on the working days and that he only drinks coffee and smokes until lunch on these days. Ece says: “I love to cook but the last time I cooked was before I got

this job”. The interviewees who stay for long overtime sessions prefer to order take-out meals. Even Leyla who does not stay for overtime to have more free time says: “I never cook at home. It has been years since I cooked even pasta” and Büşra says: “I usually have maximum 3 or 4 hours to myself apart from sleep and work on the weekdays. And most of this time I do the housework and I rarely cook.”

In other words, most of the interviewees do not satisfy their nutritional needs to save time and they feel as if they relinquish other activities if they cook for themselves. For instance, Bora says that he cooks mostly after work at home with his housemates but that it takes at least an hour together with the housework left to do after the meal. “I would prefer to order a take-out meal and save time but I usually do not do that because of financial reasons” he says. Some of the interviewees who live with their families state that they feel lucky about the meals and the housework at home. For instance, Semiha says: “Because I live with my parents I do not have to worry about food or house works. This is a great luxury”. To the question “Are there any products you think that saves your time?” Dilara gives this answer: “Any specific product does not come to my mind but I wish I could live with my mother again”. Thus, all patterns regarding the meal and eating issues are reflections of time-pressure on daily life. All these necessities presumably created time-pressure in other times of the history as well however the acceleration of time in our day increases this pressure more and it extends to all areas of life.

Most of the time that seems to belong to leisure is, actually, the time necessary for work. I discussed the most important and the most time-consuming part of this in the sub-heading of qualifications. In addition to that for instance, dressing codes are present in most workplaces. It is expected to be clean, ironed and formal clothes and Dilara draws attention to this:

For instance, if work was not so time-consuming, if I could leave when my shift is over or if I did not have to tidy up the house when I get home or did not have housework, I could both go to the cinema and the theatre but one way or another my mind is always occupied by one of these duties. I either have to complete something about work or I have to go home and iron clothes. Ironing takes too much time for example. As a result, I have to save time by cutting down on my leisure time.

It is an obligation for most of the workers to be elegant, clean or to be shaved daily for men. Even if it is not an obligation in some companies, it is necessary to be respected within the company. Although some interviewees reflect that clothing and physical maintenance is not necessary, most of the interviewees state that there is a dress code in their working place and that it is not welcomed to come to work with the same clothes regularly. Clothing and self-maintenance take a portion of the leisure time as well. If there was not a dress code or a self-maintenance requirement at work, these activities would presumably take less time for the employees.

4.3.Sleep

Table 2. The Answers about Sleep Durations for Different Conditions

Respondents	1. Sleep duration per day	2. Sleep (ideal for health)	3. Sleep (without any obligation)	4. Sleep (if lack of it does not cause any negative effect)
Semiha	5	7	7	0
Mehmet	6	7	8:30	3
Leyla	6	8	7	0
Ali	5:30+1:30	8	8+1:30	0
Ece	6	8	8	0
Cumhur	6	6	6	0
Toprak	5	7+1	6	0
Bora	5	8	6	0
Simge	6	7+1	7+1	indecisive
Hülya	7	8	8+1	Generally 0
Büşra	6	7	8	Generally 0
Dilara	7	7:30+1	7:30+2	indecisive
Dursun	7	8	9	4

•The numbers symbolize the total amount of hours

The first column next to the names of the respondents contains information they provided about their sleep duration per day, which could be thought as a simple time-use survey. The following column shows the amount of sleep duration regarded by the respondents to be ideal for health. The third column has information based on the answers given to the question “How many hours they will sleep if they are not obliged to do anything for school, work or home etc.?” Finally, the last column represents the respondents’ answers to this question: “How many hours would you like to sleep if there were a kind of technological device eliminating all physical, mental, or psychological problems that might come out due to lack of sleep?” One thing that must be stressed about the table above is the use of plus sign (+). If there is a plus sign (+) after a number, it shows that sleep duration is divided into two where the longer sleep duration is followed by a shorter one with an interruption. In other words, the number after (+) can be interpreted as napping.

Although data analysis conducted on sleep was not based upon duration, it comprised a significant part of this study. Therefore, this table was prepared to give an overall picture of the participants’ sleep durations. However, qualitative data was intended to be collected as it is not possible to disregard the fact that the quantitative data presented in the table is simplistic and narrow in nature.

One misconception regarding the first column with the sleep duration per day would be thinking that they get the same amount of sleep every day. For example, one of the respondents named Semiha said “My sleeping routine changes depending on stress, workload, or my mood. Although the average sleep is 5 hours a day, sometimes I sleep 2 hours. At the weekends I sleep 10 hours to keep the average amount of five hours per day”. Accordingly, when looking at the table above, it is important to be aware that the numbers are representing participants’ average amounts of sleep durations. In addition, social causes of sleep disorders would be dealt in detail later.

Looking at the sleep duration per day column, it is easily seen that there is a plus sign only in Ali’s line because napping times which are irregular or short and

tenuous are not included in the data. It is difficult to distinguish napping and short sleep. It should be stated that what Ali does is not napping but short sleep inferred from the fact that he doesn't wake up by himself. He said: "If people around me let me, I could sleep till morning but my grandmother does not." Putting a plus sign only for Ali does not mean that others do not nap. They are not included in the data because they do not nap regularly. The only one who naps or takes short sleeps regularly is Ali while the others occasionally nap usually when they are out or on the road. For the scope of this study, I did not investigate napping.

If looked at the table, it seems as if there is not a significant difference between the days they have to go work and when they do not, in the sense of sleep duration. However, it should not be disregarded that there is a huge difference in timing. For instance, Leyla said she goes to bed at midnight and wakes up at 7 on weekdays while on the weekends she is awake until morning, sleeps in the morning, and wakes up at 2 pm. She added: "If I did not have a job, I would always sleep at 5 am and get out of the bed in the afternoon". This example shows that not only the duration but also the timing is important in sleep patterns. Therefore, the basic determinants of timing were also one of the research areas of this study.

Another point that needs to be clarified is related to this question: "When do you sleep?" Participants responded it as if they were asked the time when they went to bed, which created a problem in measuring the actual sleep time. Therefore, in order to get valid answers it was necessary to ask an additional question: "Do you sleep immediately when you go to bed?" It was found that there were differences in timing for sleep which varied depending on their work or daily life responsibilities or their will. Some of the respondents asserted that they cannot sleep no matter how much they try to go to bed at the same time each day. One of the reasons they mentioned for this was technology such as mobile phones and computers but this issue would be explained in detail later in the paragraph where I investigated the relationship between technology and sleep.

One of the reasons that keep people from falling asleep is thinking when their head is on the pillow. All respondents said they couldn't fall asleep immediately when they go to bed even if they try to detach themselves from everything around. For

example, Cumhur stated: “I cannot sleep when I go to bed. I sometimes turn in the bed for hours while thinking about the things I have done that day and fighting with inner conflicts”. In fact, most of the respondents share the same feelings with Cumhur and they do think about things which are mostly job-related such as things have happened at work that day or are likely to happen the following day. For example, Büşra expressed her feelings with these words:

After 16 hours of work there are only job-related thoughts or numbers in my mind when I go to bed. Or I find myself thinking about the things I will do at work next day. At those times I get angry with myself as I believe I should not be thinking of those things at that moment and only 5 hours is left before I go to work. Therefore, I push myself for sleep but unfortunately, I never fall asleep in peace without worrying about them.

In addition to failing to fall asleep, interruptions while sleeping is another issue that requires attention when analyzing sleep and time. For instance, Dursun said:

If I am too stressed about my private life, family, or work and there are some issues that need to be considered, my sleep is interrupted. I guess I am a kind of person that keeps being stressed even while sleeping. I cannot sleep in peace as my sleep is generally interrupted or I have strange dreams.

The table above shows not only concrete sleep durations but also ideal ones. In this way, it was possible to see sleep comprehensions of the respondents. In fact, all last three columns consist of data on how they perceive their sleep rather than the actual one and this provides us invaluable data on the actual one and factors affecting it. More details will be mentioned below. One of the other things that are clearly noticed in the table is none of the respondents can sleep as much as they consider ideal for health. This is mainly related to the things they have to do and partly related to their desires. This discussion again is dealt in detail later in the following sub-headings.

Cumhur is the only one who said the number of 6 hours for all categories. That is, he sleeps 6 hours which is also ideal for health and would be the same even if he doesn't need to work. He mentioned that he tried hard to decrease the number of sleep hours, but couldn't manage as he decided that 6 hours of sleep is ideal for

him. He stated: “If I did not have to force myself more mentally than physically, sleeping less than 6 hours might be enough. However, my current job requires me to have enough mental rest which is only possible after 6 hours of sleep”. He also added that sleeping more makes him feel like he is lazy or in a way spoiled; and that it is actually stealing from the time you should be living instead of sleeping. He said: “While I am sleeping, some people around the world are working and doing better than me. I feel as if they moved one step ahead of me each time I sleep and I was wasting my time with sleep”. It could also be inferred from his statement that in addition to some biological factors there might be some social factors affecting his opinions on the ideal number of sleep hours. This could also be true for other respondents and would be discussed next.

As it was mentioned above, there is not a great difference in the ideal numbers of sleeping hours for health respondents provided which could be resulting from two factors. One is social as health is something socially constructed and spread. It is also because the dominant conception for ideal sleep in society affects the respondents' answers. Secondly and maybe more importantly, it is because of the common ground of human biology. Besides, it should be accepted that the health discourse does not emerge out of thin air. However, this research concentrated on the first factor not on the second factor in depth because it has a social ground. Actually, this study did not claim a certain amount of hours which is ideal for sleep but is interested in the similarities and differences in sleeping hours that the respondents stated as ideal for health. One of the most important data for this study is the notable difference between the duration ideal for health and the other durations. The details will be discussed below.

Another point significant for this research is the difference between sleep duration per day and sleep without any obligation categories. It is easily noticed that most of the respondents will sleep more if they do not have anything else to do. This means they decrease the length of sleep hours considering the time needed for their jobs and it is connected to one of the hypotheses of this thesis which states sleeping patterns are determined by their jobs. In other words, as the source of time pressure, the obligations are precedence than the leisure activities.

Another point that requires attention about the data in the table is the difference between sleeping without any obligation and ideal sleep for health categories. While half of the respondents stated they would sleep more than the time they think ideal for health, only a quarter said they would sleep less. And the other quarter would sleep the same amount even if they do not have any obligation. This proves health is not always at the first place among the things they care about and disproves the hypothesis which states health is the most influential factor on sleep patterns. Another reason for saying more hours for the third category than the second one could also be related to job and the sleep deprivation they experience due to working hard or the desire to close this gap.

When it comes to the last column where participants answered the question “how many hours would you sleep if the lack of it does not cause any negative effect?” important inferences could be made by interpreting the data in itself and comparing it to the other columns. Looking at the interview transcriptions, it was understood that comparing the fourth column with the second is meaningless because the question in the fourth column assumes not sleeping would not cause any negative effect on the workers’ health. In fact, some of the interviewees did not believe such kind of technology which prevents all negative effects of not sleeping can be invented. However, if it were invented they would prefer not to sleep at all. None of the interviewees said they reach the sleep duration they want to and they do not need that kind of technology. This result shows that health is not for the sake of health itself but it is considered functional to supply the obligations and desires of the waking life.

It is important to note that the fourth question was asked by emphasizing the conditions under which not sleeping does not cause any physical, mental, or psychological problems. Still, the respondents said they would not sleep if they continued to have responsibilities because they think if they sleep less they will have more free time after work. Therefore, considering together with the data in the third column, it is possible to infer from the answers given to this fourth question is participating interviewees would not sleep if they do not have any responsibilities.

All in all, it can be seen that all these inferences above in this paragraph are in line with the hypothesis stating working conditions is the major cause of time pressure.

Time pressure has a great impact on workers and, therefore, puts sleeping in a critical place in their lives. That is why there are some conflicting opinions regarding sleep. For example, Ece said that I touched a sensitive point when I started to pose questions about sleep during the interview and continued:

I actually like sleeping but I also do not like it when I consider it as a waste of time and as an obstacle for a learning process. I get angry with myself when I have these internal conflicts. I need some advice to solve my sleep-related problems which explain the reason for accepting your interview request.

Interviewees regard sleep as something that could be sacrificed for other things they want to do or they have to do. Leyla is one of them who wake up one hour before her usual time to do sports. She said: "In these days, I wake up one hour earlier to do sports for a while. I know it is a big sacrifice but I feel really good after sports". On the other hand, there are limits of this sacrifice since sleepiness has some negative effects. For instance, Cumhur reported: "I wish one day were longer than 24 hours. Even if I do not feel sleepy I go to bed to sleep at 2 or 3 am because I do not want to have concentration problems at work".

Most of the respondents do not have a daily routine for sleep which means almost none of them go to bed or wake up at the same time every day even though it is considered as one of the most important components of healthy sleep. Although almost all of them wake up for work at the same hour on weekdays, their time to go to bed varies from one day to another even if they try to sleep at the same hour. This is mainly because they cannot live by the "biological clock" as there is an inconsistency between their body and work rhythms.

Companies also have an ambivalent attitude towards the sleep duration of their workers but their aim is to find the ideal for productivity and efficiency. On the one hand, they want to increase the working hours for higher productivity, which means in a way limiting sleeping hours of the employees. On the other hand, they do not

want to decrease the efficiency of the work done by the workers who might be tired or do make mistakes when they could not get enough sleep. When it comes to the attitude of the respondents of this study, it can be said that they desire to sleep more since it is limited by the increasing working hours. However, at the same time, they consider sleep as an obstacle for the other things they want to do because of the time pressure caused by overwork.

4.3.1. Medicalization of Sleep?

To the question whether there is a relationship between sleep and health, all of the interviewees gave the answer that sleep is definitely important for health. All interviewees consider sleep necessary for health. Even Bora who says that sleep is a waste of time and tries to reduce his sleeping hour states:

Resting the mind is necessary for not having a problem. The brain needs sleeping, sometimes shutting down and social isolation. Such a shutdown is similar to the closure of a cafe. Let the customers go and let us make a daily calculation, clean up the cafe etc. That is to say, even the cafe is closed some important functions are continuing to be performed. Sleep is an obligation especially for mental health.

All interviewees have an answer to the question how the healthy sleep is. Our aim in asking this question is not finding the ideal sleep for health. Such an aim could be the subject of other disciplines. The aims of this study in asking the question about healthy sleep are determining social aspects of opinions and discourses about healthy sleep; considering whether there is a difference between these discourses and assessments; examining whether the workers conform to a concept of healthy sleep which they accept and seeking the reasons underlying this unconformity.

Despite certain common points about healthy sleep could be found in assessments, there are some divergences especially about the sleeping period. Timing, monophasic-biphasic and polyphasic are stated about healthy sleep in the expressions of different interviewees. While some interviewees argue that napping

is healthy, the others disagree with this idea. This situation shows that sleep has always an individual dimension, peculiar to personal ideas or person's own body. In other words, the healthy sleep is determined not only by the same discourse or obligations but also by preferences. The reasons underlying these preferences are another matter of debate for sure.

Nevertheless, when the common points about healthy sleep are regarded, it is seen that all interviewees think that sleeping at night is healthier. Mostly, they say that sleep duration between 6-8 hours is ideal for health. For sure, there were interviewees who say 10 hours or 8 hours plus 1 hour at noon. Besides, most of them say that regular timing of sleep and waking up is healthier. However, interviewees think different about which timing is healthier. Less than half of the interviewees say that sleeping at noon during one or two hours is healthy. However, a majority of them say that it is unhealthy though some of them sometimes do it. The reason of sleeping at noon is that they are extremely tired because of work and think that brain functions at such times do not work well enough. In a sense, an activity which is found unhealthy becomes relatively healthy because of work.

I think that it is not a coincidence that respondents begin to answers with sleep duration and timing when talking about the components of healthy sleep. Most interviewees mentioned about duration and timing in their answers to the question how healthy sleep is. In other words, how many hours of sleep would be healthy was the primary problem in their mind. Other components related to healthy sleep mostly came after sleep duration. One of the reasons of this issue could be that sleep duration is the most important point of healthy sleep according to them. However, another reason may be the reaction to that they have not been able to accomplish necessary condition of sleep duration for many days. Interviewees are also trying to improve the quality of sleep because firstly they think that they already will not sleep until the hours that they find ideal for health; secondly, they do not want to give up their other leisure activities. For this reason, they prefer to improve the quality of sleep instead of increasing sleep duration. Thus they hope to compensate the negativities of reduced sleep duration with other ways. Büşra's statements also express this issue: "I go home by taxi when I get out of work at night 12. All my

joints cramped, I have a headache. Too much work negatively affects our health and psychology. The way to reduce these negatives is to have a quality sleep ".

Apart from duration, the most mentioned component of healthy sleep was the bed and the pillow. They stated that they prefer orthopedic products since bed and pillow have a significant effect on the quality of sleep. In addition, they say that they cannot have the sleep of a good quality if they do not have such products. Semiha's assessments ("sleeping in a hygienic room with no light which has clean air, and on a solid and orthopedic bed") referred to the ideal condition which all interviewees accept. Some of them think that they have already fulfilled these requirements, but the others think that they will sleep better if they can fulfill them. For instance, Cumhur says that he is not pleased with his bed and planning to buy an orthopedic bed. These are related to commercialization of sleep through healthicization which creates an expanding market of sleep-related products and services that offer a quality sleep (Williams & Wolf-Meyer, 2013: 12).

Some interviewees stated that the quality of sleep is reduced because of smoking and problems of breathing through the nose. Some of them use nose strip to reduce these problems. Some of them state that daily physical exercise enhances the health of sleep even though they cannot save much time for it. Since these are subjective conditions, they could be fulfilled by interviewees. On the other hand, there are some objective conditions which are not dependent to the subjects. For example, "silence" cannot be provided easily even though interviewees underlined the necessity of silence because it is not dependent on them. Some of the interviewees complain about the neighbor's noise. Most of them state that traffic noise and the noise in construction influence negatively their sleep. For example, Toprak changed the windows of his room because of the problem of noise. He says "I am living in a house at the heart of the traffic and noise. I changed the windows for preventing noise. Moving away from the noise of the city and isolation is important for healthy sleep". As seen, living in a metropolis like İstanbul prevents to fulfill this condition mentioned above.

Health includes both physical and psychological components in interviewees' expressions. However, almost all of the interviewees emphasized primarily mental

components rather than physical components. For instance, Cumhur says: “Insufficient sleep does not cause physical problems. The main problem is mental. I am unable to comprehend when I did not sleep well. Sometimes, I look at empty papers for one hour”. None of them begins their answers by emphasizing physical aspects. Even most of them mentioned nothing about physical components. This issue could be related to their quality of labor which depends on intellectual labor rather than physical labor. In parallel to this, Toprak says:

Sleep deprivation or excessive irregular sleep affects my brain and my brain’s work rhythm. I feel that the functionality of my brain is getting slower when I could not get enough sleep. I sleep because sleep is necessary not only for the body to rest but also, more importantly, for the brain to be able to actively work. I have to sleep since I invest in mental labor. If sleeplessness had only physical effects, I would not sleep as long as it is not necessary.

Interviewees talked about things like being angry, not enjoying what they do, difficulty in communicating. But they mostly emphasized the mental negativities that refer directly to work such as the problem of focus, distractibility in attention, delays in comprehension, not thinking properly etc. Therefore, sleeping well is actually necessary for the interviewee both to be healthy in general sense and to have success and competence in working life. For instance, Simge, like many interviewees, related mental negativities directly with work even though she has no idea about the subject of this study, in a sense, related to working life because of the reasons I have mentioned in methodology chapter:

Sometimes when I sleep less, I repeat what is said twice. Sometimes I do not understand. For example, my top executive comes and asks whether the work is fulfilled or not, sometimes I am just looking to him. I ask again. In such times, I have attention deficit.

All of the interviewees say that they hear too much on healthy and efficient sleep. Some of the interviewees say that they frequently encounter news and articles about this issue, especially in the social media, even though they do not make a specific research on the subject in media tools. In addition, the institutions invite people to

give seminars on sleep. For example, it is mentioned about a seminar on how to manage sleep as a part of time management, in an association where Ece is a member. In the same way, a psychologist came to give a seminar about healthy sleep in Büşra's workplace.

In their article, Kroll-Smith and Gunter say that it is not the medical gaze that is identifying and disciplining bodies, it is rather mass and social media. They influence thinking on and practices of sleep of the readers, viewers, listeners since they create a more compelling and vivid portrait than the expert knowledge on the issue (Kroll-Smith & Gunter, 2005: 350, 357-8). However, what I have found is that media is not that determinant on our respondents' apprehensions and practices about sleep. For instance, Bora and Toprak remember that they heard many suggestions about healthy sleep from the internet and the people around them, but they have not applied these suggestions. They do not find many of them reliable either. It is claimed that the emerging discourse is more segmented and less centralized but the efforts of different means and organizations are to take part in this new same truth about healthy sleep (Kroll-Smith & Gunter, 2005: 351). In the field, we have come across with some examples about the role of some organizations about time-use and sleep by the statements of the respondents. For instance, Dilara says: "Recently, I have attended to an education program of my company. A significant part of it was related to time management and sleep. They have invited a life coach, a very famous person, actually, who has written lots of books".

However, this education drifts apart from the common health discourse on sleep in Turkey. Even though it is mostly advised 7-8 hours for sleep in the health texts in Turkey. The life-coach Dilara mentioned offers that sleep over 4 hours could not be considered as sleep. Dilara narrates from him: "Sleep above 4 hours means a reset of sleep. If you do not wake up in the 4th hour, you need to sleep 4 hours more, so you are losing time". In other words, there are very different organizations and different views on healthy sleep in Turkey which makes it impossible to talk about new sole truth on healthy sleep. Besides, every discourse on sleep does not produce same effect on the respondents. They think on them reflexively. Dilara continues:

This information offered by the life-coach did not sound convincing to me. Anyway, this life coach advice stuff is not reliable to me at all. So I immediately ignore some recommended information about sleep by looking to the source of information. Information that I have learned in the lessons seems to me more reliable.

For the respondents, there is still a hierarchy between the sources of knowledge. For instance, Bora says that he had the idea on healthy sleep through his own experience as well as through his knowledge of biology, physics, etc. "I learned it by reading scientific things, following some scientific magazines. When I was reading some articles about the field of neurology and psychology, I encountered the issue of healthy sleep". Dilara, who graduated from Psychology Department, also says:

We had a course called Health Psychology in the University. Except that I learned there, I heard from the newspapers, from newspaper supplements at weekend from the columns of health. I was talking to people and stuff I heard. For example, I heard such things about healthy sleep from people but I did not apply it. Actually, I have practiced more scientific suggestions that I have read, and I have not practiced that I have heard from people.

It should be accepted that media does not produce the data about healthy sleep discourse by itself. It just spreads it. The source of the knowledge is still institutions and still mostly the medical institutions. The media operate at this interface between scientific knowledge of sleep and society even though, surely, they still play an important role to shape public perceptions about sleep (Coveney et al., 2009: 488).

Discussions about sleep have become more and more popular. However, health discourse is not the only discourse about sleep. Healthy sleep, in one important aspect, refers to a longer sleep duration than the duration that is experienced by the interviewees. On the other hand, there is a widespread discourse and popular self-help book literature which recommends that our interviewees sleep less than they sleep. The claim of this literature is that little sleep does not contradict health.

Some of our interviewees have tried to read and implement them. For example, Sime says:

I read a book called *Only Stupid People Sleep Eight Hour*. Unfortunately, I have read it. In that book, it is recommended to set the alarm at 7.45 on the first day, at 7.30 on the next day, reduce 15 minutes every day, then, find the body rhythm and sleep according to it. You can sleep less in the rest of your life from now on. I tried it for a while, but I did not achieve to do it. I do not have much problem if I sleep four hours on two days. But then when I do it on the third day, I'm off.

The success or reliability of this self-help book literature is not the issue of this study. But at least these books refer to a need and have a serious market share. This issue shows that use of time and, in relation to it, sleep have become more and more important today. Nevertheless, it is a reality that many interviewees have not taken these books seriously.

Williams et al.'s study which is on media discourses on healthy sleep claims that the news on this issue is not always 'serious'. They mostly focus on non-medical emphasis since they are possibly would be more attractive. It is not possible to talk about that the media strictly produces medicalized interpretations of sleep issues (Williams et al., 2008: 13). For instance, Hülya, who is a social media expert, says:

The news about sleep in the social media caught my attention such as 'a scientist who sleeps 1 hour a day'. I think how he could do it. Or, 'waking up at 5 in the morning makes you feel good'. I read these kinds of news by saying 'Come on...'. 'The people who sleep much are more intelligent'. I say, 'Yes it is me!' So, I follow this news to have fun.

In other words, although these kinds of news attract attention, they do not always make people do what they have read. Not only Hülya but other interviewees also say that they have been reading such news many times without getting serious. In addition to all these, it is necessary to say that sleep is also an important part of everyday conversations, especially in the workplace. For example, Leyla says:

Sleep is one of the most common everyday conversations in the workplace. It is talked as frequent as the weather condition. Every day, everyone talks about sleep when he/she comes to work. She/he tells how well or bad he slept, whether he went to bed early or not, whether he could sleep or not.

In other words, the interpersonal conversations about sleep are not in the form of giving advice and spreading a particular discourse, but rather, in the form of complaining and reproaching. Mehmet says this: "In everyday conversations, I often hear things like 'I did not sleep; I am very sleepless'. There are complaints about getting up early, especially in the workplace. Almost every day somebody talks about it ".

It is possible to say that a hierarchy continues in the means that feed the discourse of sleep, at least for the group of interviewees of this study. Therefore, not every discourse spreading from each channel creates the same effect and there is still the influence of medical sciences. Therefore, it is possible to say that the medical discourse based on medical researchs is influential on the people. I will explain below how and to what extent these are applied and whether there is resistance against the suggestions of medical sciences despite the respect shown in the discourse of interviewees.

As a result, discourses about the sleep are spreading due to time pressure and the difficulty in managing time and the fact that sleep becomes critical at this point. But according to the results of interviews, it is not possible to talk about a single and completely common discourse. Discussions are spreading from different channels, but there is not uniformity between them. There are discourses from different origins about sleep, which are very different from each other. As Ece puts it, "everyone has an individual optimum" or as Semiha says "healthy sleep is related to the specific tendencies of one's body". So there is not a single discourse about health which includes all people.

There are different health discourses about the duration, about whether sleep should be monophasic or polyphasic or about the requirements sleeping. As Toprak says, "there is information pollution on this issue. It is difficult to decide which is wrong, which is right". In fact, health discourses cannot be completely processed due to the pressure on the workers. Moreover, discourses are not always taken seriously. Another point that needs to be mentioned is that health is not regarded as the most important thing. Even if it is not a work obligation, they are prepared to sacrifice their healthy sleep patterns for other desires even though it is unhealthy. For

example, Leyla says that 7-8 hours of monophasic night sleep is very important for health, but she says she would not sleep until morning if there are no obligations caused by his work. She was doing this before she gets into this job and she is still doing this at Friday-Saturday nights. Bora who states that 6 or 8 hours of sleep is healthy says "to achieve this, I need to sleep at least at 12 at night, but if I do this, my life will be meaningless". In parallel to him, Ali says "I would like to waive my health in exchange for keeping the nights for me. I would sleep in the daytime. I really like to be awake at night". These statements show that health is not the most important thing for people in many occasions, therefore, it will not determine all sleep patterns anyway.

Another important point in medicalization discussions about the sleep is drugs. There was no interviewee who uses sleeping pills in the monthly period of the interviews. But our question was "have you ever used sleeping pills in your life?" Nevertheless, the rate of use, even once in their lives, is low. Only three of the interviewees have used sleeping pills in their lives. One of them is Toprak who is already diagnosed with insomnia, and another is Semiha who uses sleeping pills with a psychiatrist recommendation after a severe depression. The third one is Mehmet who was given sleeping pills so that he could sleep comfortably while lying in the hospital after the traffic accident.

According to Kroll-Smith & Gunter, the discourse on medicalization or healthicisation of sleep is tied to individual morality (Kroll-Smith & Gunter, 2005: 366). However, individual morality can process in the opposite way as well, especially if the issue is using medical products such as drugs. They express that they would not use them if they could find another solution or they were able to change their living conditions. This signifies the moral strength not to rely on artificial props as long as it does not become an inevitable necessity. It is even sometimes refused when the pills are prescribed by the medical professionals. At the point of 'inevitable necessity', the person treats herself/himself as 'deserving patient' which symbolizes the moral justification for their use. Until this point, using artificial products is seen as "taking the easy route" or being lazy. But the moral struggle does not end up here at the beginning. After the beginning of using

the drugs, the patients still continue to question medical expertise and advice. They feel that they can make the best choices for themselves, they have the best knowledge for their own interest and can decide the appropriate use of medication, when to quit it etc. They also actively watch out not to become or being represented as addicts (Gabe et al., 2016: 633-6, 638).

When our respondents answer the question of whether you have ever used sleeping pills, they all begin with the phrase "I used but". For example, Semiha feels a necessity to emphasize, "I used sleeping pills but which has no side effects or addictive effects". So even among the interviewees who use sleeping pills and accept that they work, there is a reaction to medical products. The users of these products only give consent to these products when they think that they are obliged to use them. They all say that they do not want to use it again. Apart from these three respondents, the general tendency is to make it easier to sleep with herbal products if there is a difficulty in sleeping or getting up vigorously in the morning. Some of them say that they can sleep without using anything.

The people are not passive consumers of medications. It is also related with that any medical authority is no longer unquestionably accepted but this does not mean automatically that they appropriate other researches or discourses more easily than the medical ones. They engage reflexively with different normative frameworks, they think on the different discourses, they search for different medical researches etc. They assess the safety, efficacy, side effects and they combine them with their ideas on their life conditions (Gabe et al., 2016: 641-2).

As stated, since generally they think that sleeping pills have side effects, they do not prefer to use sleeping pills. We should not think that these side effects are only health related side effects. Because there are interviewees who say sleeping pills slow down brain functions, make it difficult to wake up. This also suggests that they have not used sleeping pills because of the possibility of having trouble with their work. So using the sleeping pills is the last resort, in arrhythmia cases as mentioned by Lefebvre (2004). The expressions of Toprak explain this issue well:

Once I fainted because I did not sleep for days, because of insomnia. I used sleeping pills even though I know that there are chemicals inside and I do

not like them. I did not refuse when the doctor recommended sleeping pill. It is harmful to the stomach and indeed a chemical drug. Should I take a chemical thing to my body or prefer sleeplessness? Which one is healthier? I preferred sleep anyway. But it was something I used in a very heavy period. ... it affects the brain badly and it is very difficult to get up and wake up. You can sleep again for hours after you wake up. I was mentally fatigued and I could not do anything at work. For this reason, I left it.

The fact that interviewees do not use sleeping pills is already predictable because interviewees can sleep less than they want and they find healthy. Although all interviewees say that they sometimes have the problem of falling asleep and a delay in sleep, the main problem is not the difficulty of falling asleep. The main problem is that they cannot sleep enough or that they force themselves to stay awake. But they do not rely on medical products to stay awake neither. The answer to the question whether sleeping pills are used was mostly “no”. Only Mehmet used it with the recommendation of a friend who studies in the field of medicine in order to complete papers before deadline during the period of his graduate education. Some other interviewees say that they used some vitamins that help to keep fit, but then they remarked that such vitamins do not serve to sleep less. For this reason, they have left them since the vitamins just have the effect of placebo in their mind. Thus, they try to be awake by encouraging themselves and disciplining their bodies. An important part of the interviewees stated that they did not need anything more to sleep if they are stressed and busy due to work. Work intensity and stress provoke sleepiness and staying awake by themselves. Besides, they use coffee, cola, and energy drink when needed although they also say that such products are not very healthy. Again, we notice that health is not the main concern of them.

4.3.2. Work and Sleep

Work is the most determinant factor of the sleep patterns of the workers. It is revealed that none of the workers used to adopt the same sleep pattern in terms of neither duration nor timing before they had started to sleep. They also say that they would not adopt their current pattern if they did not have to work. The work

determines not only their sleep pattern on working days but reaches to the degree that, for certain interviewees, it affects their sleep pattern even during weekends. For instance, Dilara states that: “I am trying to sleep late and wake up late during weekends in order to maintain my pattern otherwise I would have more difficulties to wake up on the weekdays’ morning”. Ece adds “I like hanging out at the weekends but I try to go to bed around 1 am so that my sleep pattern will not be disturbed”. That is to say, the rhythms of work directly and indirectly condition the rhythms of sleep. The workers who do not afford to lose the existing eurhythmia between work and their sleep, pay attention to their sleep patterns. After all, it is possible to reach the same conclusion even from the first question of the question-set. The question was “Could you tell us about your sleep routine?” Even though that question does not mention anything regarding work, all interviewees definitely told something related to work while answering. For example, Mehmet starts his answer with “as our work routine is very flexible, it reflects on our sleep pattern”.

The flexibility in working life is generally in favor of the employer not of the worker. That is, this flexibility is of the kind which demands workers to be ready to work for almost 24 hours a day (Bell & Tuckman, 2002: 119). Most of the interviewees indicate that due to flexible, intense and long working hours they can find time for only sleeping on the weekday evenings. According to Büşra “the most popular issue regarding sleep at the office is that: ‘we went home and sleep, we did not have time for anything else’”.

As Büşra states “intense working prevents healthy sleep, too”. This issue indicates not providing enough duration and regular timing which is regarded as a component of the healthy sleep in addition to a physiological condition. Most of the interviewees think that the thoughts regarding work also has a negative impact to fall asleep instantly once they go to the bed. The rhythm of work perpetuates itself even if by its echoes and affects sleep practices of the workers. For instance, Büşra tells:

After a 16-hour work, my mind gets filled with constant humming, thoughts, and figures regarding the work or I am thinking what I will be doing the next day. Afterward, I get mad at myself that I should not be thinking these as

there are only 5 hours left. I force myself to sleep. I can never sleep comfortably without thinking anything.

Acceleration of rhythms of work implies the increase in the number and intensity of events, in addition to fast shifts in certain time period. The feeling of everything is moving very fast derive from the social acceleration (Zherebin et al., 2015: 197, 201). The workers even sometimes feel the necessity to catch some of them subsequently, when they put their head into the pillow. It can be also said that some psychological problems that emerge because of insufficient sleep, in some cases, is due to the time pressure at the office. Semiha refers to this issue:

I experienced serious sleep problem for approximately 7 months. Insomnia started due to the work then it devastated my whole psychology. I started to be angry, not to evaluate things properly, and to overvalue some unimportant things. When I saw the doctor, he said that these problems had originated from not sleeping properly.

Semiha's psychological problem is an example of deceleration which is an unintended consequence of acceleration and time pressure (Steger, 2006: 204). After she started to work, she lost the previous eurhythmia of her life and fell into arrhythmia which refers to the becoming discordant of eurhythmic organization of rhythms. The conflict between the rhythms of work and her sleep could not constitute a kind of harmony and a pathological state occurred. She overcame the arrhythmia by the intervention of psychologists and drugs to establish a new kind of eurhythmia again which is suitable with the rhythms of work. Her biological rhythms were metamorphosed and a new pattern emerged by the intervention of social context and social life (Lefebvre, 2004: 16, 43, 67).

The rhythms of sleep directly linked to the rhythms of work. Most of the interviewees tell that they cannot work effectively when they cannot sleep so they endeavor to go to work after sleeping for a while. For instance, Dilara tells "I could take such a risk when I was a student but in working life, I cannot". Some days, they fall asleep at a certain hour since they get quite tired due to work. Yet, going to work sleepless is quite common where the underlying reason is, on most of the

time, the work itself. Mehmet confirms this by stating “nobody can dare to say anything negative, if I go to the work sleepless, as I am not going to work in that condition out of pleasure but because of the work itself. I can only be appreciated for coming to work, not being late”. The priority is not to cause problems for the accelerated rhythms of work, the rest of the rhythms are arranged according to this priority.

They, in general, respond “no” to the question “have you ever faced any negative reaction from your boss towards you because of going to work sleepless?” Simge agrees “no one says anything as long as you do your job well” and Mehmet pinpoints the same fact “It does not become a problem as I am putting more effort than necessary. That I am not making a serious mistake should be related to this”.

Dursun’s response summarizes this situation and its reason well by stating:

They do not create any problem. If it becomes a habit, it constitutes a problem but for me, it happens rarely, it is not a big deal. It is alright if you fulfill your duty properly because I work a lot, excessively. I mean, nobody wants to break my heart for tiny things.

The conditions of the body are never absolutely same and identical in the working days. The duration and quality of sleep is an important factor for the conditions of body. However, the time discipline at work tries to secure the success of combining the rhythms of work and body. It prevents the unforeseen and the difference as in the dressage process Lefebvre mentions. The bodies are altered by the direction of work (Lefebvre, 2004: 39-41). The basic criterion for the companies is not experiencing any setback. As long as the work continues properly and the worker, who comes to work sleepless, fulfills his/her responsibility without making a mistake, the employers do not care much. At the same time, they do not want any slowdown and set-back due to sleeplessness. The ambivalent attitudes of the companies regarding sleep reveal itself when it comes to the workers coming to office sleepless. Bora says: “They can needle you if you come to the office sleepless but it does not matter as long as the work continues”. Yet, he admits there are exceptions: “Being sleepless may be a problem if you are attending an important

meeting”. Sometimes, they attribute this to the worker as not working fast enough. Büşra states that “It is not a rare occasion that I go to work late and it is noticed. Mostly, they think I am sleepless because I worked slowly and could not finish my task.”

Leyla follows the same line of thinking: “I have been sleepless at work much time. It does not constitute a problem as I am not committing any mistake regarding work. Yet, I perform poorer than normal.” Bora says: “I am prone to lose time because of focusing problem or fixing the errors I make when I go to work sleepless”. The companies want their workers to come to the office well-slept and properly rested as they know the importance of the sleep on effectiveness. Yet, on the other side, they demand their workers to work late and even not to sleep for certain nights.

For the respondents, the reason of arriving to the offices late, mostly, is not to be able to sleep enough not that they idle around after waking up or that they waste their time on something else. The companies do not create any problem as long as the work is driven properly but still, they may interfere with workers’ sleep when they come to the work late. Therefore, for example, when they are late, they hear some suggestions such as “it would be better if you arrange your sleeping time”. Semiha experiences a similar situation “the sleeplessness is not designed negatively as long as you work well but I take sometimes suggestions such as ‘you must compensate this the next day, rest well’.” It may be due to these reasons we mentioned in this chapter that certain companies route their workers to workshops on time management and sleep. The biggest ambition of the companies is to make their workers work as much longer and fast as they can do without any fault in addition to demanding them to be physically and mentally active. If they have free time left, implicitly or explicitly, the workers are demanded to improve themselves regarding their responsibilities.

Business trips also have an effect on the sleep to a great extent. Although its frequency varies, most of the interviewees state that they have to travel to either out

of the city or abroad. Mehmet is the one who travels most among the respondents. Mehmet, who is not at home two or three nights a week, tells:

When you go to travel, your sleep pattern necessarily changes. It depends on the arrival time of flight or checking in the hotel. If I cannot find evening-flights, I must take the plane at 5-6 am in the morning and in this case, I cannot sleep because going to the airport takes a very long time, as well. Sometimes, I must fly from one city that I did the supervision to another without sleeping to do the next task.

One of the most obvious conclusions of the interviews is that interviewees, mostly, cannot allocate enough time to sleep at proper hours due to their works. Therefore, most of the discourses on healthy sleep become impossible to put into practice. These discourses do not take the difficulties faced in the working life into account. Since the workers have to earn the money to sustain their lives and since they have to fulfill their responsibilities at the office to maintain their positions, no matter what the healthy sleep discourse means, the obligations of the work will be the top priority. None of the interviewees can reach their ideal sleeping pattern exactly or if they want to reach this, they have to renounce their private lives' responsibilities such as housework or their other leisure activities. This causes a tension for the workers but this does not arrive at the level of quitting their jobs or giving up some of their desires.

4.3.3.Waking Up

As we can indirectly take from the answers of the question like "How would your sleeping pattern have been if you did not have any obligations?", most of the respondents said that under the non-obligatory circumstances they would not wake up at the time you do in working days. Some respondents who stated that they do not like sleeping and will not sleep if possible responded the same. They also want to spend their time in bed in longer hours and wake up late. Some respondents who think their sleeping hours is long enough expressed their dissatisfaction of their timing to wake up. For instance, "If I sleep two hours late and also wake up two

hours late, I would feel happier. This pattern makes me much more energetic when I wake up”, Dilara said. Similarly, Simge said:

I used to wake up at 08:00 am for my previous job. I wake up at 06:00 am for my currently 1-year-old job. In this one year, I have felt getting older and depressed. I generally feel suicidal because of my 06:00 am waking up-timeline. I am full of hate about why I changed my previous job to have this one since I used to wake up 08:00 am. I say to myself ‘God damn you!’ most of the time.

They noted that their wake up timeline badly affects their physiological and psychological conditions. They have great difficulty in waking up under the dark sky in winter. Thus, as we can say, people wake up what time they wake up in the morning due to the obligations of their current jobs. So, their ‘biological clocks’ do not match with working life requirements. It is not possible to say that their ‘biological clocks’ and general waking up times constructs “isorhythmia”.

Considering the sleeping part of time discipline, waking up someone is harder than forcing them not to sleep. Additional instruments are required to build up “eurhythmia” between the working time and waking up. In this regard, cell phone alarms that wake them up become more important. Among workers we interviewed, there is no one waking up without alarms because of the fact that no one does not want to take the risk of not waking up. Just a few participants said that they wake up a couple of minutes earlier than the cell phone's alarm rings. However, these few people also do not sleep without setting a morning wake-up alarm. Generally, they do not wake up as soon as the alarm rings. Postponing the alarm for a few times and setting more than one alarm is also common practices. For example, Cuneyt wakes up with the help of seven or eight different alarms and uses an alarm application that makes him solve puzzles to convince the application not to continue to ring. However, these are not always enough to wake them up. “Changing the sound of the alarm may help. People get used to sounds and when you recognize it, you do not want to wake up.”, another participant Toprak responded. Another participant Bora sets a great number of alarms in two different cell phones. In addition to these, he uses an alarm clock. He said that he sometimes does not even hear alarms to

postpone them. Sometimes he wakes up when he hears the horn of one of his friend's car who takes him to work. Sometimes his housemates hear his alarms and make him wake. "My alarms set one and a half hour early than the time I wake up and I have minimum two alarms with two different sounds. I set them ten-minutely and I am paying attention not to overlap them. I am not an engineer but I figure it out" another participant Hülya responded.

None of the participants get their jobs recently. They work their jobs which they get up same hours in years. Thereby, it is expected that they are accustomed to waking up in the morning at a specific time. However, the acceleration badly affects their optimum rest rate. Another assumption of that can be creating an unconscious reaction of strong passion about something that they renounce to postpone a little to step in accelerated universe of work. Most of the participants postpone their alarms a couple of times and prefer to get out of bed sometime later than the alarm time. "I get used to getting up 07:00 am after one-year try. I mostly wake up without alarm even if I always set it" Mehmet said and added: "I do not get out of my bed, postpone the alarm a couple of times and enjoy the last minutes of my sleep". Hülya who is another respondent postpones alarms many times tells:

If 08:20 am is the last call for me to get out of my bed to go to work after preparation in 5 minutes, I get up 08:20 am. I quickly dress up and go out. I did not have the chance of looking at the sun, making breakfast and opening the window and breathe. I do not think it will.

Even if the alarms make them wake up and keep them from getting late, none of the participants are grateful, they hate alarms. For instance, responds to the question "How do you wake up in mornings?" are mostly similar with Ece's: "God damn alarms, of course! I yell 'Is it ringing again?' and curse" or Hülya's: "With curses. It is a miracle to me that I do not break down that phone when alarm ring".

Bora, Semiha, and Simge said that although they get up at the time they will not be late to work, they sometimes are willing to pay a taxi fare to sleep more. Semiha said that she prefers to take a taxi to sleep more instead of going on foot to work

which is 20 minutes far by walking. “I set the alarm 06:02 am instead of 06:00 am. It is a 2 minutes precious gain for sleeping more” responded Simge and added: “I calculate the time-gap that I spend to go to work between by public transportation and by taxi. I prefer to take a taxi because I sleep more when I pay one Turkish Lira per minute.” Bora, as well, takes a taxi to be able to sleep a little more because he cannot sleep in public transportation. Although he goes out of the house at the time that he will not get late for work even if he uses public transportation, he does this sometimes. He tells his work address to the taxi driver and sleeps. Taxi drivers wake him up when they arrive. These workers are not rich. Their salary graphs were demonstrated. Thus, they sometimes take a taxi to sleep even though taxi fares are expensive for them.

It is important to understand that these kinds of circumstances are not the results of their laziness. On the contrary, these are the compensations of the thing they sacrificed for work. There is no indication about their laziness. If there had been any indications and if they could not have been accelerated enough and if they had not been overcome the overwork, they would already have been dismissed from the work. A reason for this kind of attitude of searching for sleeping a couple of minutes more can be a psychological reaction against insufficient sleep time and/or some pressure. Therefore, waking up phase can be seen as a semi-conscious phase. If they were conscious, maybe they will tend to get out of bed due to the time pressure. Respond of Toprak is important at this point: “There are very important things to do. If I get out of bed late, it will cause to start to do these things late so they will not be finished today and I will do them tomorrow again starting from where I left”.

People that will not get into trouble when they are late for work in mornings prefer to sleep more instead of anything. They renounce some other things to sleep more. Breakfast is at the top of their list. Most of them quickly get out of the house to go to work when they get up and dress. Breakfast means to them as snacks on the road or at the working office.

There are just four participants who wake up about an hour before they get out the house: Dursun, Dilara, Ece and Leyla. Only these four people have breakfast at their houses even if their breakfasts are fast ones. The remaining time is allocated to ironing, showering, shaving and personal care. These activities are necessary to work because they emerge from the appearance obligations of the workplace. These activities are made at nights by others too. Thus, some of the workers sleep later or wake up earlier also because of these obligations, as well.

All of the participants said that they feel bad when they wake up. None of them opens his/her eyes and get out of bed vigorously. Most of them still feel sleepy when they get out of the house. In addition to feeling exhausted, not sobering up and being dull, for instance, Bora says: “I do not remember waking up and saying ‘what a wonderful morning’ to myself in a long time”. “I have been working for seven years and I do not remember any single day that I woke up happy” says Semiha. Accordingly, all of the participants miss their student lives in terms of sleep time even though these times had massively irregular and thereby unhealthy. This is another example of that health is not the priority for the respondents’ sleep patterns.

4.3.4. Leisure and Sleep

As I mentioned before, most of the interviewees work 6 days a week and there is a specific hour they have to wake up. For interviewees who work for 5 days, this is valid for only 5 days. However, when do they wake up in their off-days? I have said that Leyla prefers to stay up late on Friday and Saturday nights and that she wakes up on the afternoon on the following day but still not exceeding 8 hours of sleep in total. There are some others who experience a similar sleeping schedule. The opposite example of this schedule is experienced by, for instance, Dilara. She stated that she absolutely sleeps before 2 am to preserve her sleeping schedule on the weekends as well. However, all of the interviewees without exception sleep and wake up later in the week-days.

According to the inference drawn by the interviews, all of the interviewees are careful to not pass their time “idly”. They feel uncomfortable when they pass their time “idly”. We’ve established that interviewees tend to keep their sleeping duration shorter due to time pressure. However, they also try to compensate for the sleep deprivation they experience during the weekdays in their leisure time. Hülya says: “If I have not got anything planned for early in the day, I can sleep until 12 in the afternoon on Sundays” and Ali for instance, says:

On my off day, if do not have anything planned for the day, I can sleep apathetically. I usually have had went to bed too late the day before. Sometimes I sleep up to 12 or even 14 hours. When I wake up it is usually already evening. So my off day is almost over when I wake up. This situation upsets me but I think that I need those long hours of sleep to keep up during the rest of the week.

One of the questions I asked regarding their sleeping patterns was, “Do you think that you sleep more than you need on certain days?” It is needed to say that the “more than you need” in this question indeed changes depending on the individual. However, most of the interviewees answered this question saying that it does happen very rarely. They also added that when they sleep excessively they are exposed to severe headaches and inability to revive as physical outcomes. Yet, the true problem causes by excessive sleeping is the feeling of regret. The interviewees feel unhappy and regretful when they sleep more than they need. The essential reason of this is that they think they have wasted time, so it is not a physical repercussion.

Not only sleeping excessively but also waking up late on the off days can cause regret. Toprak who generally sleeps unsound says: “When I go to bed at 5 or 6, wanting to wake up at 9 am being unable to do so, when I wake up at 12, I feel regret thinking that I missed the day”. Sleeping early causes regret because of the same reasons. For instance, Ece says: “I have not experienced over-sleeping since I started working. Solely, I go to bed early when I am depressed and I sleep excessively. Only this causes me to feel regret since I had lost time”.Büşra also says:

I already have very limited time left to myself. I do not want to waste that time sleeping, on the other hand, I want to rest and be able to sleep. But if I sleep too much or if I wake up late I get upset and feel regret thinking that I missed the day. That is why I try not to wake up later than noon, no matter what hour I went to sleep.

Similarly, Bora says: “When there are things like work and sleep which steal %70 of my day, every second left to me is very precious. Sleep and work prevent me from fulfilling my desires. The only condition of having a life outside of work is sleeping less”. All considered, it should be stated that it is a deception to say that the workers’ desires are the basic cause of time pressure. It is also wrong to say in the frame where obligations caused by work occupy most of daily life, that the white-collars are captives of time pressure caused by patterns of consumption.

Although most of the time workers seem as though they are left sleep deprived because of the activities they desire to do, it would be more accurate to say that the only reason they cannot fulfill their desires without relinquishing sleep is their work conditions. Like all other interviewees Büşra thinks: “Work is an obligation in life. If I could leave work early I could do many things I desire to do in my life”. Under the impression that work is an obligation, the only thing to sacrifice to do desired activities is inevitably sleeping.

4.3.5.Non-Sleeping World

Respondents, as well as the companies’ attitude towards workers’ sleep, adopt an ambivalent attitude towards sleep. Although the question-set does not include a question such as “Do you like sleeping?”, all the interviewees expressed an opinion regarding whether they like sleeping or not when they were answering other questions. These opinions are at the extremes, either excessive love or/and hate. For example, while Cumhur explains his position regarding sleep as “I do not like sleeping, I oppose it”, Büşra says “sleep is one of my favorite things in life”. Yet, at the following parts of the interview, Büşra answers the question “Would you prefer not to sleep at all, if there was a technology or a drug that removed the negative effects which you experienced when you were sleepless?” by stating that “I would

like not to sleep if I am going through a period in which I do not want to waste time with sleep, but I would not want sleep to be completely gone out of my life.”

Almost all the interviewees favored the statement “If it was possible to experience no problems, I would like not to sleep at all.” Cumhur, for example, told the following “I saw 75 years old man in the news. He is reported not to sleep at all because of an illness, yet he continues his normal life. He reads lots of books. I envy him, I consider as he had lived for 150 years.” Ali, another interviewee who like sleeping a lot says: “In that case, I would not sleep. Why would I? It is one-third of our lives. A lot can be done in that time”. A few other interviewees who do not say “I would not want not to sleep at all” gave the following answers: “I would not exclude it completely but reduce it duration”, “though rarely, I would prefer to sleep certain days”, “I would use such a technology, if I could give it up when I missed sleeping”. Thus, according to these answers, it is not the sleep itself they adore. Or, it can be said that even though they like sleeping, they like having their own free time more.

Most of the interviewees told that they would not sleep at all if it was possible but they had a hard time answering the question “What sort of the things come to your mind when you think of the world where no one sleeps?” They tried to capture several images and interestingly enough those images were negative and dystopian. For example, Hülya “The greatest factor in my love for the night is loneliness and silence. If no one sleeps, it would get harder to be alone so I do not want a non-sleeping world”. Leyla portrays a darker world:

When I think of the world where no one sleeps, chaotic images come to my mind. It reminds negative things. Of course, people would start to have time for the things they wanted to do and that could be good but it is as if people, mostly, would attack some places with greed.

Semiha’s answer was the mildest: “In the world where no one sleeps there would not be any silence and that would be bad. The nightlife could evolve into something different. I cannot think of very positive things but I cannot say it would definitely

be negative”. Cumhur, as a person who hates sleeping and expressed that he would never sleep at all if he could, tells that:

I am fighting with myself under the disguise of self-improvement. In a world where no one sleeps, people like me would go mad. The boss whose income depends on time would go mad. We would be more competitive. There would not be any obstacle. When you sleep, you become human.

Bora, also, says that technology in one day can enable that humans will not sleep or sleep very short and he, himself, will want to use that product but he successfully highlights the contradictory aspects of the situation: “It would be great if technology would perform in 5 minutes what my brain does in 7 hours. Yet, by means of splitting the atoms, while it is possible to prevent the meteoroids which are about to hit the world, they prefer to make a bomb to drop on humans”. However he states the following elsewhere:

They could think to have us worked more in a non-sleeping world. It is possible. Companies can distribute such drug for free and say that ‘You will have 7 extra hours but we claim the half.’ However, if the working periods would be same, the mental emancipation of the people could be achieved. In that case, artistic production and political awareness could be increased. Science could progress. Probably, humans would be more creative. Free time is something very favorable.

Half of the interviewees responded positively to the question “Do you think that one day, a technology or a drug can be developed so that humans will never feel a need to sleep at all?” whereas the remaining half thinks it is not possible. None of the groups think that such situation could be a healthy one. For example, Ece said: “It can be possible as Artificial intelligence, robot soldier, sending to shuttles to space is possible”. Dilara shares Ece’s ideas: “What we call sleep is actually brain waves’ being on a certain frequency and that can be achieved through other means. I think that it can definitely be done”. Hülya said: “maybe it is hard to get rid of sleep completely but it can and will be minimized for sure”. On the other hand, Cumhur has his reservations: “Sleep, actually, is essential for the brain. You can achieve physical recovery by lying down. It is hard not to sleep at all without being affected negatively as we have limited knowledge about the brain”. Mehmet, as well, states

that “It is not possible to believe that such a technology will be unhealthy”. Toprak is also cautious about such technology:

I would prefer not to sleep at all or sleep very rarely if it would not damage my mind. However, if someone told me that ‘there is such a drug and it enables that’, I would never dare. I do not sympathize with such an endeavor. I don’t think that it can be a scientific reality. It won’t be possible as long as we are biologically evolved in that way.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

This study dealt with the time dimension of some parts of social life in contemporary society. For sure, time is a broad concept but I partly tried to operationalize and concretize it through a basic question: “How people use their time and why they do it so?” This is not one of the research questions of this study but still, it was the question that constitutes the background. I did not overlook the natural, biological and psychological aspects of time experience. Yet, I highlighted the social and implicitly political aspects of time-use since I thought that temporal norms, rhythms of social life are the components of power.

After a long exclusion from the research field of social sciences, in the last decades, this was started to overcome by little but important steps. The reason is, in my view, not an academic curiosity that emerges out of thin air; it is about the new norms, molds, and experiences that affect social life. Yet, the conceptual frameworks and tools of this field are subject to some weakness still. There is a quest in this way and since it has already been late, it is a requirement. This study bears the trace of this weakness but it tries to contribute to this quest.

Temporal structures represent one of the central dimensions of power. These structures condition the priorities of what to do in a certain segment of time, its beginning and end, and its speed (Nowotny, 1994: 105). In contemporary society, the new temporal structures and norms produce different time experiences. In this study, we tried to operationalize the concepts of acceleration, flexibilization and

time pressure to be able to handle these temporal experiences. To be able to analyze and concretize the temporal experiences of white-collar workers, I considered functional to handle work and sleep together since they are the fields that involve most of the life-time of most of the people. Work was always an important subject of social sciences but sleep, similar with time, was excluded mostly from social sciences literature especially in Turkey.

Work, obviously, is always an indicator of social order and change but can sleep have the same function? The answer I proposed was positive. Sleep is a natural activity that continues from the beginning of human life. It was always considered as one of the most personal activities in human life, with most of its aspects it can only be experienced by the sleeping person himself/herself. Similar to time experience, sleep is a topic that is analyzed very rare by social sciences. I mentioned the reasons above. By this study, I made an effort to add or secure their positions of time and sleep in social sciences literature of Turkey because sleep is a social activity as much as it has biological roots. I chose this topic not only to analyze the position of sleep in contemporary society but also to get some insights about the structures of the contemporary society itself and the time experience they produce. The practice of sleep is historically variable and for this reason, it is also operational to comprehend the historical changes and social order.

However, the analysis of sleep was handled mostly by medical sciences. Even some of the social science researches investigated sleep only through its health consequences in contemporary society or through the health discourse. In this study, I conducted the research basically in the context of temporal structures and the dominant working regime of contemporary society since I noticed that they are more determinant on sleep patterns and comprehensions, at least for the group of workers I interviewed.

On the other hand, in Turkey, there is an increasing amount of studies, news and everyday conversations which are mostly about health. Some of them are just complaints about sleeping less or about that sleep takes too much time and there is not left much time for other things. In my opinion, these are referring to a social phenomenon which people think over it more and more. These problems and

contemplations about sleep create a growing sector around sleep. From different aspects, a lot of news emerge, clinics that are specialized only on sleep emerge, different NGOs about sleep are organized, sleep equipments are raising their share in the market. Different drugs both for healthy sleep, making people not to fall asleep, or make them sleep; different medical suggestions are produced etc.

Most of the evaluations about sleep are around health issues but I think this does not show that people care their healthy sleep more than before and does not mean that people are sleeping according to the health suggestions or discourses. In my opinion, the spreading evaluations, news, thesis etc. point to a spreading problem. The problem has different aspects and the transformations in capitalism together with capitalism's ongoing fundamentals have a key role to understand the position of sleep for workers in contemporary society. Therefore, rather than focusing on health, I tried to apply another theoretical framework proposed by Lefebvre (2004).

Lefebvre focuses on body interrelated with different spheres of social life. Body in this framework is an important point to analyze social relations. Besides, this framework is also suitable for finding out the differences and inequalities in a certain society. In the context of our study, it is useful since it helps us to show how the bodily rhythms and the rhythms of work and leisure, overlaps, collide or sometimes contradict themselves. By time discipline over bodies, the bodily rhythms, sleep included, are adapted to the rhythms of work.

Since I offered to handle sleep in the context of temporal structures and norms of contemporary society, I tried to conduct a theoretical discussion on them. I used the "social acceleration" concept which is advanced by Hartmut Rosa. This concept emphasizes different dimensions about the temporal experiences of contemporary society such as capitalist acceleration, technological acceleration, and acceleration of the pace of life or we can call it as "acceleration of everyday life". Another important point in Rosa's theory is that he handles acceleration by interaction with deceleration concept because the speed of capitalism, of technology or of everyday life does not increase or maintain linearly. The speed of them fluctuates depending on many reasons. Yet, the relation between acceleration and deceleration is not an equal relation. Acceleration is dominant over deceleration. He argues the limits, the

arrhythmic consequences that cause deceleration. Deceleration is a partly unintended consequence of acceleration, which we can call arrhythmia. Or partly as a limit to acceleration or partly necessary deceleration for further acceleration. In the context of work and leisure, I tried to argue how social acceleration causes time pressure on workers. In the context of sleep, I tried to argue sleep, depending on the situations, as a limit to acceleration or as a necessary deceleration of body for further acceleration.

Social acceleration concept was insightful in various aspects but it was not sufficient to handle the position of sleep for workers. An analysis of working regime was inevitable and for the contemporary conditions of it, flexibilization concept had a key role to understand the time pressure on workers and their sleep patterns. This concept was obviously related to acceleration concept and its interaction with deceleration. I come through the solution that the collaboration of acceleration and flexibilization, to a great extent, are the producers of time pressure.

The temporal experiences of contemporary society are mostly analyzed through time-use surveys. I argued the strengths and limitations of time-use surveys. I preferred in-depth interviews to be able to grasp better the transitions and overlapping of activities which are quite important in socially accelerated groups. Furthermore, quantitative analysis was more useful for the research problematique of this study since it is more appropriate to get some insights about historical conditions, social structures, meanings, and values. It was also more applicable to the theory this study based on since it does not consider the analyst and the analyzed passive. A certain exteriority as well as to be grasped by the social rhythms that the respondents are subjected to was essential. Besides, I preferred in-depth interviews to explore not only how they use their time but also how they cannot use it. In other words, it is also important to consider what they cannot do even if they want to do because of time pressure. Because time pressure is not only about how fast the people complete the activities or how many activities they do in a certain period but also what they sacrifice to be able to catch up other things or to have some temporal relief.

As I emphasized in previous chapters, I randomly chose the respondents according to the criteria I clarified in methodology chapter. These were under 35 age high-qualified workers who work in a regular job in private sector in İstanbul but not at top managerial positions. Among these randomly selected workers, we explored that the degree of flexibilization is high. They do not work based on clearly-defined contracts, despite their high-qualifications they do not have a stable job security. None of the respondents work until a fixed end of working hours despite the beginning hour is fixed. Besides, they can unexpectedly be called to the workplace or they have to complete some tasks at home. They even do some work on official holidays and their off-days. The extension of work out of fixed working hours is not the result of that the workers perform slowly or that they waste time at work. These are already restrained by the surveillance techniques. Even the duties that they fulfill out of office are under control by the means of some technological tools. In other words, the reasons for the extension of the working hours are the ceaseless pressure to work more accelerated and overwork. Besides, the profitable moments for companies vary and in some periods the workers expected to work fast and more. Furthermore, by globalization and technological acceleration, capitalism tends more to process 24/7. As the basic logic of capitalism for competition, the companies pursue to get more profit by reducing the turnover times. For these reasons, workers are pressured to conduct different tasks with maximum speed and efficiency. In contemporary Turkey, the deregulated competitive labor market and regression of labor rights enable the companies to apply more time pressure on workers.

Because of the basic logic to get maximum yield in a certain period of time from the worker, they are pushed to work more accelerated and productive in the working hours. In the workplace, they are subjected to different surveillance methods with the help of technological devices and do not have that much time to feel relax. There is always a pile of works when a worker does not have any tasks to do at that time. The worker is conducted to do another department's duties. They have to deal with a lot of tasks in the same period, what is called multi-tasking. At work, the workers are almost every day in a hurry to finish the duties.

Working fast is not a choice but a necessity to continue to being employed. The companies do not want to pay y unit wage for two workers who complete x unit in one day respectively, they obviously would prefer one worker who completes $2x$ job in one day. Therefore they would get rid of paying $2y$ wage. For the fast worker who do $2x$ job, the company will pay for at most $1,5y$ wage. In the competitive labor market, working accelerated becomes more important to be employed. When they cannot keep up with the acceleration and overwork, they have to complete the duties after working hours. The strict deadlines oblige the workers to work more accelerated, to work overtime or to work at home, sometimes even without sleep.

Most of the tasks about work are organized around deadlines. Deadlines are functional for measuring and assessing the workers' performance as well as constructing and controlling the time discipline of workers. The companies mostly arrange compressed durations for the deadlines, the targets are not easily achievable. For the companies, it is necessary to be accelerated for the competition in the market. Producing goods or services and selling them in the market faster, continuous innovation for technology and organizational structures are necessities of companies in contemporary capitalism. These reflect on the working conditions of workers.

Furthermore, the workers do not have only one deadlined task, they have to organize different tasks sometimes at different places. Some of them are very different in the sense of content. Most of them are the tasks that require the collaboration of different workers who have very different tasks at that time. They may have another task to complete earlier than the collaborated task and the other worker had to wait for him/her. These coordination problems that cause from acceleration and overwork extend the time pressure at work.

Another result of this study is that the white-collar workers in İstanbul not only work long hours in their working days, they also work with minimum rights for off-days. One indicator is that most of them work 6 days per week, some 5 and a half. The ones who work 5 days at most are proportionally low. Besides, all these workers also quite often deal with some tasks in their off-days, sometimes at home or field, via internet or telephone. If it is necessary they even go to workplace or

field as well as they go on business trips to other cities or abroad. If the deadlines come close the off-days do not show any differences than the usual working days. Almost none of them get extra payment both for off-days and overtime. Furthermore, they can even sometimes have to work in the national holidays or even their off-days that are officially permitted by the company itself. They are not even able to complete their legal right to annual leave. The work spreads itself into any time-piece possible when needed.

Because of the extension of work, very limited leisure time left for the workers. The leisure time itself also is filled up with a certain amount of necessities both for work and for other spheres of social life. Leisure necessities are mostly household activities and the indirect necessities for work such as getting new qualifications or updating them. In addition to them, they have various desires they want to satisfy and social relations with family, friends, etc. The time pressure obliges them to renounce most of their desires or reduce their frequency. The workers apply different strategies to be able to cope with the pressure both about work and leisure such as multi-tasking, overlapping the activities, renouncing some less necessary activities, buying or designing technologies to save some time. Yet, they do not relieve it totally by individual strategies. In any case, they have to be accelerated in the leisure time, as well. If they do not catch up what they want to do in these limited time periods, they have to abandon them. Besides, because of mental and physical tiredness, as well as the unexpected work tasks after working hours, do not allow them to allocate time for some activities rather than having a rest. Therefore, they have to squeeze everything they want to do in their single off-days and have to do them accelerated

The workers who are ready for even paying money to sleep a couple of minutes in the working days feel regret when they sleep a bit more in their off-days. All of the activities they want to do or they have to complete for some requirements squeezed in these days since they do not have much time after work in working days. Therefore, if they sleep more, they have to be more accelerated to catch up everything or they have to renounce some of them. They even force themselves to sleep less as much as possible. In other words, they spend most of their times for

work and the rest of time in a day they had to choose either sleeping or leisure activities. They have to renounce or reduce the quantity of one of them.

In the off-days, some of the respondents try to compensate the lack of sleep they experienced during work days but they do not get rid of the feeling of regret. This is one indicator of the difficulty to deal with acceleration. Time pressure was indispensable for them even if they apply multiple strategies to avert time pressure. Sleep is considered as an obstacle to do follow their aspirations while it was also felt as a necessity to have a rest and perform better for the waking life.

Another point that we explored from the field is the position of qualifications. As we said before, the respondents of our study are high-qualified workers. But this provides them neither job security, nor high salaries, nor temporal relief. The qualifications are effective to be hired for a job but they do not guarantee the further. As long as the worker does not adapt to acceleration and flexibilization, it does not matter how qualified he/she is.

The competitive labor market forces the workers and the potential workers to become more qualified both to be recruited and for promotion. However, after the employment, they are mostly not allowed to get new qualifications or upgrade and update the existing ones during the working hours or days. Therefore, the workers have to do them in the leisure time even if they are the necessities of work. Getting new qualifications and/or upgrading them are not exceptional periods of the workers' life. Because of the social acceleration, most of the qualifications that the workers spent a lot of time to learn do not serve at all after a while. The organizational structures, the legislations, the products etc. but especially the technology changes constantly and to keep up with them is a requirement for white-collar workers. These constant changes require new qualifications or at least updating the existing ones.

Keeping up with the constant changes are associated with being dynamic and flexible. Then, these characteristics are identified with being young since it is thought that the older workers do not adapt to acceleration and flexibilization of work. Because of these reasons, the respondents of our study stated that the average

age of the companies is very low. This is also related to the bodily availability of the young workers for accelerated and flexibilized work. They are also considered as more adaptable to long working hours, to business trips, to sacrifice their sleep and to be mentally less affected in a negative way because of sleep deprivation.

One of the basic results of this study is that sleep is becoming more important for white-collar workers. However, this importance does not simply manifest itself about realizing the significance of sleep for health or about allocating more time to sleep. Rather, it is becoming more a subject of time-management and temporal strategies that the white-collar workers think over.

Work is the determinant factor over the rhythms of sleep but at the same time, work can do that by considering the distinctive characters of sleep. Capitalist working regime tries to functionalize sleep for the sake of itself but at the same time sleep can function as a limit or as a factor for loss of profit both by its actuality and its lack. Firstly, work can extend itself to their usual sleeping hours. Work can totally avert sleep when the deadlines are important and close. These are direct effects of work over sleep. In addition to them, there are indirect effects. Work sometimes disrupts to construct a regular sleep pattern, thereby it can prevent the workers to sleep easily when they go to bed. Besides, we mentioned about the qualifications above, the competitive labor market and job insecurities can force the workers to sacrifice a part of their sleep for qualifications. The overwork, stress, competition fills up the mind and when they get alone to sleep in the bed, their mind continues to deal with the struggles and problems that they encountered at work or the next day's plans and stress delay to fall asleep.

Even the respondents who work for more than a couple of years could not easily wake up in the morning. This partly shows that they could not fix a regular sleep pattern. Still, they construct a time-discipline to force themselves to wake up at a certain hour and they also try to go to sleep, if possible, at a certain time to be suitable during the next day for the necessities of overwork. The difficulty to wake up in the morning and the complex strategies they apply to become awake at a certain hour may be one of the indicators that they cannot sleep enough. Even a couple of minutes to be able to sleep more seem to them very precious, they are

even ready to pay money for it. They already sacrificed the breakfast and they already move accelerated on the way from home to work to be able to sleep a couple of minutes more.

The companies and the managers of workers do not care how long and well the workers sleep as long as the workers perform accelerated. They do not generally react to the workers' sleepiness negatively. One reason is that it is quite common. In one sense, the companies trivialize sleep since they want the workers to sacrifice from sleep when needed. However, if the workers have some problems about dealing with the overwork and its speed, or if they come to work late because of not being able to wake up after a short sleep, or if they want to go home because of sleepiness while the work is piled up. They offer the workers to sleep well and long enough that is to say they emphasize the significance of sleep. In other words, they both trivialize sleep and emphasize the importance of it which shows their ambivalent attitude towards sleep. Work is intrinsically the priority for companies, which attitude would be emphasized depends on the conditions of work itself.

In these conditions, the priority of workers cannot be to fulfill the requirements of healthy sleep. Therefore, the material conditions of workers are more determinant on sleep patterns rather than health discourse. Yet, they pay attention to sleep healthy since quantity and quality of sleep affect the workers' capacities both for work and leisure activities. Because of the time pressure and the necessities of work and other social fields, they cannot sleep sufficiently for their healthy sleep concept. Since healthy sleep affect their waking lives and it is difficult to compensate the enough duration for healthy sleep, they head for the other components of healthy sleep rather than duration (quality rather than quantity). In a sense, their sleep are accelerated as well, since they aim at maximum efficiency in a shorter time period. Health discourse on sleep especially performs on the workers' sleep patterns by this dimension rather than duration. The discourse is received by some aspects which touch on the workers' material conditions. This obviously does not mean that the discourse determines the patterns, it is just operationalized for their material life. The workers are not passive carriers of discourses they select them, think on them reflexively. They query any suggestion that the medical authorities proposed;

they assess the effects, efficiency, and suitability with their life-conditions (Gabe et al., 2016: 641). Besides, there is not only one discourse and the respondents do not pay attention to most of them.

Another finding of our study is that the respondents are mostly resistant to the medicalization of sleep. They do not consult with a medical specialist for their sleep problems as long as the problems do not make their daily life unmanageable. They avoid from medical drugs to cure their sleep problems or to reduce the negative effects of sleepiness. They do not trust them since they consider that they have not that healthy as they supposed to be and they create side-effects. Therefore, they assess the medical suggestions by their own researches and their own reasoning. Firstly, they try to solve the problems by themselves and sometimes they ignore the problems since they think that the solutions would need radical changes that are not possible under the current conditions of their life such as work. The respondents of this study evaluated that they encounter with a lot of problems because of sleep deprivation and irregular sleep patterns. They make an extra effort not to face with these problems at work while they sacrifice from other spheres of their social life.

In the last instance, the sleep itself is not a desire for the white-collar workers. All of the respondents of our study want to get rid of it or reduce its duration, even the ones who mention that they love it because of time pressure caused by acceleration and flexibilization. Sleep is considered as a waste of time or as an obstacle since it does not allow any activities rather than itself. Besides they consider it as necessary for health and for good mental health for the next day's activities. They desire it but for the sake of waking life activities; to have a rest, to be mentally refreshed to be able to perform both at work and in leisure activities. That is to say, some deceleration such as sleep is necessary for further acceleration. Because of the requirements both for work and leisure, as the desires of workers attached to them, sleep is becoming more vulnerable to time pressure. On the other hand, sleep deprivation and unhealthy sleep are considered as an obstacle for performing better in the waking life. Between the tensions of these two poles, sleep is increasingly becoming an issue of time management and a matter of time-use strategy. Since the rhythms of work and everyday life are accelerated and flexibilized, the workers

under time pressure incline to reduce sleep duration but to get maximum efficiency from it.

5.1.Limitations of the Study and Possible Routes for Further Researches

Time and social aspects of sleep are the issues mostly abandoned by social sciences for the reasons that are mentioned in the introduction part of this study. This study is one of the rare studies both about time and sleep in social sciences literature in Turkey. It can also be read as an invitation for further studies. This strength, in the sense of contribution to social science literature in Turkey, turns into a limitation at the same time because there were not enough studies to follow or take as an example, especially in Turkey, except the ones in the economics literature. Time is one of the most difficult concepts to define and it has many different aspects. Theoretical concepts and methodology does not well-established yet and is open to being advanced by social scientists together with the collaboration of philosophy field.

Semi-structured in-depth interviews were preferred to get the data from the field. In methodology chapter, I emphasized some of the strengths and limitations of time-use surveys which are the most preferred method about researches on time. I criticized this method from different aspects. However, it should be stated that time-use surveys are not only one kind. I over-generalized them and this can cause to misunderstandings. There are very sophisticated time-use surveys that can be very functional for the data about the rhythms of life. Yet, in Turkey, this method was not developed and applied properly. The lack of data prevents some studies especially on the historical comparisons of time-use. This method is open and necessary to be advanced.

Another limitation of this study is that I did not compare different social groups but try to make an analysis through a specific kind of workers for the reasons I mentioned in methodology chapter. For the scope of this study, I did not incorporate the different groups of workers into the analysis. The comparison of time-use patterns, the degree of time pressure, sleep practices between different groups of

workers can lead the researchers to get some important insights about the differentiations and contradictions in contemporary society. The employers and top-managers also could be under time pressure and this can be explained again by a similar theoretical framework (acceleration and flexibilization). However, the motives behind and the benefit they get from this system is different than the ordinary white-collar workers. I claimed that the basic determinant of time pressure is work itself for the workers. On the other hand, even the non-workers, even the ones who are enough wealthy to live long years without any occupation can feel under time-pressure. A research on these groups can pave the way for some important discussions about the different dynamics of time pressure. Acceleration of capitalism is not only about the acceleration of work but also about production, consumption and finance. Yet, I had to handle only work from the perspective of workers because of the scope this study. Even though I argued and presented the data about leisure, it was not enough since I focused on work more than leisure which is also because of the social group I analyzed. For further researches, it can be important to analyze acceleration and time pressure through some social groups by going over consumption, cultural capital and labor for leisure concepts.

A part of acceleration concept always indicates “relativity” in the time frame. I do not mean relativity between subjects but “relativity” in different time periods. In other words, acceleration is always a comparison between different time periods which can be the ones in a single day or the comparison between different historical eras, in the sense of density and speed of actions and experiences. For instance, in one sense, work can be analyzed acceleration compare to sleep and rest time; global capitalism can be analyzed as acceleration compare to the stone-age. In this study, a part of the acceleration concept contains a historical connotation since it focuses on the “current” capitalism in Turkey so it is implicitly a historical comparison between the current and previous eras. One possible route could be analyzing the different working regimes in these eras but for the scope of the study, it does not have the opportunity to show this comparison concretely. Besides, the outcomes of acceleration and flexibilization can be different in different countries. They do not have to create time pressure everywhere to the same degree. I carry out a study only on Turkey. The findings of the study can be about the position of Turkey in the

global capitalist economy. In further studies, a comparative analysis can be applied to grasp the differences and their reasons.

This study is conducted in İstanbul and living in İstanbul obviously affects time-use, time pressure and thereby sleeping patterns. İstanbul's spatial formation, its population, its role in capital accumulation, its role in globalization, its history about migration etc. are important factors in the sense of differentiation of time experience both in itself and from the other cities in Turkey. It both increases the time pressure and maybe relieves it for some social groups, concurrently. It is even argued that over-crowdedness of urban housing partly explains the sleep disruptions thereby the decrease of time devoted to sleep in metropolitan cities (Hsu, 2014: 220). In İstanbul different dimensions of acceleration (technological acceleration, capitalist acceleration, acceleration of the pace of life) steps further than the other cities in Turkey. Therefore, it can be claimed that the extent of time pressure is higher than the other cities. Yet, we claim that time pressure is not limited to İstanbul, the results we got from this field study to some extent, can be generalized for the white-collar workers in other metropolitan cities of Turkey. It is a pioneer and it can be an example for the future of other cities if the acceleration of capitalism continues like this. Besides, it is not possible that the acceleration in İstanbul would not affect other cities since the economic connections because of the ties in the capitalist market. Furthermore, almost a quarter of the population in Turkey lives in İstanbul. In any case, this study offers to handle space and time interacted in the further large-scale studies.

Another limitation is that this study did not focus on gender differences. The main argument was not about gender differentiation and the data I got from the interviews did not show much differences base on gender, in the sense of time-use. One reason might be that feminist methodology was not used and the question-set was not prepared accordingly. Another reason may be that the women I interviewed were not married and did not have babies. Actually, I did it purposively not to exceed the framework of this study. However, it is very important to go over this kind of studies from a gender perspective, as well, in the further studies.

I traced the health discourse and medicalization of sleep through what the respondents tell me. However, it can also be possible to integrate some examples about news on Turkish mass and social media, drugs used in Turkey, advertisements, the share of sleep products in economy, the articles and dissertations about sleep in medical sciences field, the declarations and legislations of public institutions, NGOs about sleep and their publications into the analysis. These can be useful especially to argue the health discourse on sleep and its reasons. However, for the scope of the study, I focused on other issues and it is still open to research the health discourse through the sources I mentioned above.

Napping is another important practice related to sleep. I actually searched the literature on napping and ask the respondents about different dimensions of it. It is connected with sleep cultures (monophasic, biphasic, polyphasic); it is actualized in various spaces such as at work, public transportation and home. There are various and partly contradictory debates and suggestions about it in health discourse. It is also used as a part of a time-use strategy and of performing better afterward since it is considered as physically and mentally refreshing. It has quite common characteristics with sleep as well as differences. In the end, I decided to omit the parts about napping in this study not to exceed the scope of it. It is still an open field to be researched by social sciences.

In this study, I focused on how acceleration and flexibilization affect white-collar workers' life in a negative way. This does not mean that the workers' life was brilliant in previous eras. For the scope of the study, I did not analyze whether acceleration and flexibilization had some favorable contributions to their life. Besides, resistance to time pressure was not an issue I deeply investigated in this study. Yet, I got some insights from the respondents even though I did not use them and left this field for further researches. It can also be interesting to handle sleep as a tactic in everyday life and argue how sleep is functionalized for resistance or how it blocks resistance. Furthermore, it can also be possible to argue sleep as a topic of the struggle for rights through the overview of public policies, legislative regulations, court decisions etc. in the further studies.

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APPENDICES

A: TURKISH SUMMARY / TRKE ZET

Trkiye’de de sosyoloji alanında zaman ile ilgili yapılmıř alıřmalara rastlamak zordur. Sosyal bilimler alanına yakın sayılabilecek ve karřılıklı etkileřim iinde olduėu felsefenin merak konusu olan zaman zerine yazılmıř tez ve makaleler bulunsa da, sosyoloji zaman tartıřmalarına uzak kalmıřtır. Bunun en nemli sebeplerinden biri zamanın “soyut” bir kavram olduėunun dřnlmesidir. Halbuki “soyut” olan birok mesele aynı zamanda sosyaldır de ve byle olan birok konu řimdiye kadar sosyoloji tarafından ele alınmıřtır.

Bir diėer sebep zamanın toplumsal yařamdan yani kltrden ayrı ve doėaya ait olan bir olgu olduėunun dřnlmesidir. “Soyutluk” tartıřmasının tam aksine bu anlayıř, zamanın fizik ve mekanik gibi “somutluk”la kendini zdeřleřtiren alanların inceleme nesnesi olduėunu savunmuřtur. Doėaya ait olan ve insandan nce olan, insandan sonra da olacak olan yani toplumsal yařamın etkileyemediėi bir olgu olarak kurgulandıėı iin sosyolojiyle bir ilgisi kurulmamıřtır. Tam aksini savunan bir bařka grř de zamanın “isel bir fenomen” olduėu konusunda ısrar ederek, insanın psiřik yapısına iliřkin olduėunu dřnerek meseleyi psikoloji ve ona benzer alanlara bırakma eėilimindedir. Hatta zamanı dinsel ve tanrısal olanla zdeřleřtiren, dinselliėi de sosyallikten kopardıėı iin zamanı teoloji alanına hapseden bařka grřlerden de sz edilebilir.

Zamanı sosyolojinin konusu olmaktan dıřlayan tm bu yaklařımların ortak zelliėi ise bilimsel disiplinler konusunda katı tutumlara sahip olmaları ve bunları birbirlerinden yalıtma abalarıdır. Fakat sosyal olan dar alanlarla sınırlı olmadıėı iin sosyolojinin de byle disiplinlerin katı kaplarından tařma eėilimi vardır.

Sosyoloji yalnızca, insanların bir toplum içinde yaşamalarından kaynaklanan ilişki ve eylemlerle ilgilenmez. İnsan aynı zamanda doğanın bir parçası olduğu için ve doğayla kurduğu ilişkiyi bir ölçüde toplum dolayısıyla gerçekleştirdiği için, sosyoloji aynı zamanda insanların doğayla kurdukları ilişkileri de inceler. Bunun yanı sıra insanların kendi “doğal” aktiviteleri de içlerinde barındırdıkları toplumsal zorlamalar, normlar, teşvikler, önkabuller, arzular, detaylar vs. sebebiyle sosyolojinin konusu olabilir. Zaten zaman deneyimi üzerine çalışmalara yönelik son dönemde bir ilgi belirmeye başlamıştır. Bu da boşluktan doğan bir akademik meraktan değil, çağdaş dünyanın yeni zamansal kalıplar ve deneyimler oluşturmaları ile bunların sosyal yaşamı ve hatta siyasal sistemleri etkilemesi sebebiyledir. Yine de bu alanın kavramsal çerçevesi ve araçlarına dair bir zayıflık ve sistematiklikten yoksunluktan söz edilebilir. Bu çalışma da bu eksikliklerin izini taşısa da bu önemli arayışa da katkı sunmayı hedeflemiştir.

Bu tezin en genel düzeydeki çabalarından biri, tam da, sosyolojiden yukarıda saydığım sebeplerden dolayı yalıtılan zaman konusuyla insanın “doğal aktivitesi” kabul edilerek yine sosyoloji tarafından göz ardı edilen bir bedensel aktivite olarak uyku fenomeninin sosyolojinin de konusu olması gerektiğini gösterebilmektir. Ancak daha önemli çaba, insanların yaşam süresinin aşağı yukarı üçte birini kapsayan uyku gibi bir aktivite üzerinden giderek günümüz kapitalizminde zaman deneyimi ve bunun yapısal kökenlerini gösterebilmektir. Uykuyu yalnızca uykunun günümüz toplumundaki konumunu inceleyebilmek için değil aynı zamanda günümüz toplumunun temel yapılarını ve bunların ürettiği zaman deneyiminin kendisini de inceleyebilmek için bir araç olarak kullanılabilir. Çünkü uyku pratikleri tarihsel olarak farklılık gösteriyor ve bu yüzden de tarihsel dönüşümleri ve sosyal düzeni anlayabilmek için işlevsel olacaktır.

Tüm bunlara rağmen, uyku çoğunlukla tıp, biyoloji, eczacılık, psikoloji, nöroloji gibi bilimsel disiplinlerce ele alınmıştır. Uykuyu inceleyen sosyal bilimlerin çalışmalarının önemli bir kısmı da bu meseleyi günümüz toplumunda uyku problemlerinin sağlıkla ilişkisi üzerinden tartışmıştır. Ancak bu çalışmanın örtük iddialarından biri, uykuyla ilgili sağlık problemlerinin çözümünün analiz birimi olarak bireyi alan tıbbi çabalarla çözülemeyeceğidir. Tarihsel koşulları, sosyal

zorunlulukları, çalışma rejimini, toplum içindeki farklılaşma ve çelişkileri göz önünde bulundurmayan çabaların başarısı kısıtlı olacaktır. Bu yüzden de sosyolojinin katkısı sorunun temellerini görebilmeye katkı sağlayacaktır çünkü uyku yalnızca biyolojik ve bireyin bedeninin eğilimleriyle sınırlı bir pratik değildir.

Uyku konusu Türkiye’de ve dünyada kişisel gelişim literatüründe ve medyada giderek artan oranda kendine yer bulmaktadır. Daha iyi bir uykunun nasıl sağlanacağı, sağlıklı uykunun bileşenleri ve zaman kullanımı içinde uykunun gerekliliği ve etkileri konusundaki araştırmalar ve haberler daha sık göze çarpmaktadır. Kroll-Smith & Gunter (2005) gibi bazı sosyal bilimciler, bu artışı söylem analizi çerçevesinde alıp, uykuya dair sağlık üzerinden bir söylem inşa edilip bunun etrafında insanların uyku pratiklerinin biçimlendirilmeye çalışıldığını savunmuşlardır. Uykusuzluğun hem bireysel sağlık hem halk sağlığı hem de ekonomi için bir risk oluşturduğu vurgulanarak inşa edilen söylemin, birçok makro ve mikro kanaldan yayılarak uykuyla ilgili yeni bir “hakikat” inşa edildiği ve bu hakikat etrafında kişilerin uyku pratiklerinin belirlendiğini ifade etmişlerdir. Fakat neden bu sağlık söyleminin inşa edilmeye çalışıldığının cevabı onların çalışmasında eksiktir.

Uyku üzerine tek bir söylemden söz etmek mümkün değildir. Birbiriyle çelişen farklı sağlık söylemleri farklı kişilerce benimsenebilmektedir. Ayrıca hangi sağlık söylemi benimsenirse benimsensin, bu söylemlerden hiçbirinin uyku pratiklerinin temel belirleyicisi olmadığını görmüş olduk. Sağlık söyleminin yaygınlaşmasının, kendi içinde, iktidarın yayılması ve bireylerin iktidar aygıtına mahkum edilmesi gibi tek yönlü bir şekilde incelenemeyeceğini düşünüyorum. Tıbbileştirme ile kapitalizm arasında her ne kadar çok yakın bir ilişki olsa da bu ilişkinin her zaman uyumlu olmadığını, birbirleriyle çelişen yön ve tavsiyeleri olabileceğini söylemek gerekir. Ayrıca, sağlık söylemindeki yaygınlaşmanın gerçekten de uyku alanındaki bazı dönüşüm ve sorunları işaret edebileceği, bu çalışmanın hareket noktalarından biridir. Uyku üzerine söylemlerdeki artışın bir tesadüf olmadığını ve bu artışın ekonomi ve sosyal yaşamın zamansal normları ve yapılarında belli değişikliklere işaret ettiğini düşünüyorum. Bu çalışmada da bu meselenin esas olarak günümüz

toplumunun zamansal yapıları ve çalışma rejimin baskın özellikleri bağlamında bir inceleme yürüttüm. Çünkü bunların günümüz toplumunda çalışanların uyku pratikleri üzerinde daha etkili olduğunu gördüm. Söylemler artsa da söylemden öte maddi pratiklerin uyku örüntüleri üzerinde daha etkili olduğu ve benimsenen sağlık söylemleriyle çelişen örüntülere yol açtığı sonucunu çıkardım.

Tüm bu sebeplerden ötürü uykunun sosyal yönünü Elias, Mauss gibi klasik sosyologların çalışmalarını da kullanarak vurguladıktan sonra günümüzde işçilerin uyku pratiklerini inceleyebilmek için Lefebvre (2004)'nin "Ritimanaliz"de kullandığı incelikli kavramsal çerçeve bu çalışmanın temel kuramsal dayanaklarından biri olmuştur. Lefebvre'nin diğer eserleri kadar yankı uyandırmayan bu çalışma, doğrudan uyku üzerine olmasa da 'beden'i analizin temeline yerleştirir. Bahsedilen beden de herhangi bir beden değil, kapitalizm koşullarındaki bedendir. Beden analizini fizyoloji, tıp ve psikoloji gibi alanların egemenliğinden kurtarmaya çalışır. Fakat bu alanları tamamen dışlamak yerine, ritimanalizde bu disiplinleri de içeren geniş bir perspektif sunmaya çalışır. Bu geniş perspektifi sağlayan temel disiplin de sosyolojidir. Bedeni yalnızca sosyal bütünlüğün içindeki bedeni anlayabilmek için değil sosyal bütünlüğün kendisini anlayabilmek için de temel bir analiz birimi olarak ele alır. Bedeni de sosyallikten yalıtarak değil, tam da sosyallik içinde ele alarak inceler. Bahsedilen sosyallik de çelişkisiz, pürüzsüz bir bütünlük değildir. Bedenin-doğanın-kapitalizmin-gündelik yaşamın ritimlerinin nasıl birbiriyle etkileşim ve zaman zaman çelişki halinde olduğunu tartışabilmek için Lefebvre'nin yürüttüğü soyut tartışma, günümüz kapitalizmiyle uyku arasındaki ilişki üzerine düşünmek için önemli bir ilham kaynağı olmuştur.

Bu teorik altyapıdan hareketle beden ritimleri kapitalizmin ritimleriyle ilişkili bir şekilde ele alınmaya çalışılmıştır. Kapitalizmin farklı dönemlerde farklı işleyişleri ve farklı etkileri olduğunu kabul etmekle birlikte, bu farkları incelemek bu çalışmanın kapsamını fazlasıyla aşacağından yalnızca günümüz kapitalizminde ve kapitalist ekonominin hakim olduğu Türkiye'de görülen temel eğilimlere değinilmiştir. Bu amaçla kullandığım temel kavram Hartmut Rosa (2009) tarafından geliştirilmiş "sosyal hızlanma" kavramıdır. Kavramın "teknolojik hızlanma",

“kapitalist hızlanma” ve “yaşamın hızlanması” olmak üzere üç temel boyutu vardır. Rosa’nın da önerdiği gibi, bu çalışmada üçü birbiriyle ilişkili olarak ele alınmıştır. Sonrasında sosyal hızlanmanın çalışma yaşamı üzerindeki etkileri de tartışılmıştır. Rosa’nın teorisinde ayırt edici ve etkileyici olan hususlardan biri de hızlanma kavramının yavaşlama kavramı ile karşılıklı etkileşimi içerisinde ele alınması gerektiğidir. Yaşamın hiçbir alanındaki hızlanma mutlak değildir; her sosyal olguyu ve her sosyal grubu aynı şekilde etkilemez. Hızlanmanın da limitleri vardır, hatta hızlanmanın kendisi bile bazen yavaşlamalara sebep olabilir. Diğer yandan, bazen daha fazla hızlanabilmek için belli ölçülerde yavaşlamalar gerekir. Bu hızlanma yavaşlama diyalektiği, çalışmamızda –başka birçok katkısıyla birlikte- uykunun günümüzdeki konumunu anlamak için operasyonelleştirilmiştir. Temel kavramlar setinde bir diğeri de “zaman baskısı”dır ve bu kavram daha çok sosyal hızlanmanın farklı kaynaklarından etkilenen bedenin zaman deneyimiyle ilişkisini ortaya koyabilmek ve sonraki aşamada kapitalizmle uyku arasındaki gerilimi ifade edebilmek için kullanılmıştır.

Hızlanma-yavaşlama diyalektiği, bu çalışmanın kapsamı açısından, neo-liberal çalışma rejiminin bir diğer ögesi olan esnekleşmeyle birlikte ele alınmaya da uygun bir teorik araçtır. Günümüzde beyaz-yakalı çalışanların bedensel ritimlerini kapitalizmin ritimleri bağlamında ele alabilmek için çalışma rejiminin esnekleşmesini analiz etmek kaçınılmazdır. Rosa (2009)’nın belirttiği gibi, kapitalizmin hızı farklı zaman birimlerinde dalgalanmaktadır. Günümüz kapitalizminin hızlanmasını esneklikle ilişkili olarak inceleyebilmek için bağlantı noktalarından biri budur. Bu çalışmada, esnekleşmenin çalışma koşulları üzerindeki etkisi, zaman deneyimi boyutu üzerinden incelenmiştir. Sosyal hızlanmanın farklı boyutları sebebiyle hem şirketlerin organizasyonel yapısında dönüşümler olmakta hem de çalışanların daha esnek yapılara uyum sağlaması beklenmektedir. İşin zamansal esnekliği iş zamanı ve boş zaman arasındaki ayrımları bulanıklaştırmakta ve bu bulanıklıkta iş zamanı kendisini mesai saatleri dışına yaymaya meyletmektedir. Çalışanlardan günün neredeyse her anı iş için ulaşılabilir olmaları ve hızlanmaya uyum sağlamaları beklenmektedir. Böylece de işin ritimleri yaşamın diğer alanlarının ritimlerini kaplamaya yönelerek boş zamanı kolonize etmekte ve diğer alanlarda da zaman baskısı ve hızlanma gereksinimi yaratmaktadır. Bu durum

alıřanların hem uyku sresine hem de uyuma ve uyanma zamanlamalarına dođrudan etki etmektedir.

alıřmanın kapsamı geređi dar bir grupla grřmeler gerekleřtirilmiřtir. Bu grup İstanbul’da, zel sektrde bir řirkete bađlı olarak alıřan, 35 yař altı, yksek vasıflı, beyaz yakalı iřilerdir. Daraltma iřlemi iin belli kriterler belirlenmiřtir ve bu kriterlerin seimi bazı temel varsayımlara dayandırılmıřtır. İstanbul rneđi, hem Trkiye’nin nfus ve ekonomi aısından en nemli kenti olmasındır. Beyaz yakalı zel sektr alıřanları da oran olarak bu řehirde daha fazladır. İstanbul kapitalist rejim analizi iin de nemli bir kenttir. Ekonomideki nclđ, burada yerleřen rntlerin diđer kentlere yayılması aısından nemlidir. Bu yzden İstanbul’da yapılan bir analiz gelecekte en azından Trkiye’deki diđer byk kentlerdeki zaman deneyimi analizi iin de bir ereve sunacaktır. Bu alıřmada, zaman deneyimi arařtırmalarında yaygın olarak kullanılan yntem olan zaman-kullanımı anketleri tercih edilmemiřtir. Birok aıdan avantajlı olan bu yntem alıřmamız aısından bazı ynleri de glgede bırakacađından derinlemesine mlakat yntemi tercih edilmiřtir.

alıřmanın temel sonularından en basiti uykunun gnmzde alıřanlar iin giderek daha nemli hale gelmesidir. Ancak bu nem temel olarak uykunun sađlık iin neminin fark edilmesi ya da uykuya daha ok zaman ayrılması zerinden kendini gstermekte; uyku giderek daha fazla zaman ynetimi ve zaman kullanımı stratejileri bađlamında ele alınıp zerine daha fazla kafa yorulması anlamında nem kazanmaktadır. Neden byle olduđunun altında yatan sebeplere baktıđımızda da sosyal hızlanmanın farklı boyutlarını ve emek rejimindeki esnekleřmeyi temel sebepler olarak gryorum; bu ikisinin iřbirliđi giderek daha ok zaman baskısı retiyor.

alıřmamıza katılan grřmecilerin neredeyse hi biri sabit mesai saatlerine gre alıřmıyorlar. İře giriř saatleri sabit olsa da ıkıř saatleri belirsiz. Ya iř yerinde ya sahada mesaiye kalıyorlar ya da evlerinde iř yapmak zorunda kalıyorlar. Beyaz yakalı alıřanlar iin iř yalnızca iř yerinde yapılan bir řey deđil. İř yerinden ayrıldıktan sonra da iřle ilgili birok řey yapmaları gerekiyor. alıřtıkları

şirketlerde akıllı telefonları, mailleri sürekli kullanmak bir zorunluluktur. İşyerinden ayrıldıktan sonra da işle ilgili aranabiliyorlar ve evde bazı işleri yapmaları beklenebiliyor. Hatta resmi izin günlerinde, resmi tatillerde, hafta sonlarında bile çalışabiliyorlar. Tatil günlerinde de çoğunun bilgisayarları yanlarında oluyor veya telefon üzerinden belli görevleri halletmeleri gerekebiliyor. Ofiste olmadıkları zamanlarda da çalışıp çalışmadıklarını çeşitli teknolojik sistemlerle denetleniyor. Görüşmecilerin çoğu mesaiye kalmadığı günlerin istisna olduğunu söylüyor ve neredeyse hiçbiri mesaiye kaldığı için ekstra ücret alamıyorlar. Yani mesaiye kalmak fazladan bir gelir sağlamadığı gibi, itiraz edilmesi de mümkün olmayan bir durum. Günümüzde Türkiye'de hem deregüle edilmiş ve esnekleştirilmiş çalışma rejimi hem gerileyen işçi hakları ve rekabetçi emek piyasası sayesinde bunu sağlamak daha kolay hale gelmiştir.

Bu sonuçlar çalışanların haklarında bir gerilemeye işaret ediyor. Bunun sebebi de hızlanma ve kapitalist çalışma rejiminin temel mantığı. Şirketler için işlerin beklemesi beklenen karda bir azalma yaratıyor ve rekabette geri düşürüyor. Günümüzde bir birim zamanın kar ve zarar açısından etkisi muazzam olabilmektedir ve bu birim zamanın çok önceden kestirilmesi pek mümkün değildir. Bu yüzden de hafta sonu tatillerinde bile iş yapılmasını talep edebiliyorlar. Şirketler bir çalışanın izinden dönmesini bekleyemiyor ve birileri izin deyken onun yerine bakabilmesi için fazladan çalışan istihdam etmeye de yanaşmıyor. Bu yüzden birçok çalışan, yasal hakları olan yıllık izinlerini bile kullanamıyorlar.

İşin sabit mesai saatlerinin dışına sarkması da işçilerin işlerini yavaş yapmasından ya da işte boşa vakit harcamalarından kaynaklanmıyor, zaten bunu engellemeye yönelik birçok gözetim yöntemi şirket ofislerinde ya da şantiyelerinde geçerli. Hatta iş yerleri dışında iş seyahatleri ya da evden çalışmalarda bile çalışanların denetlenmesi için birçok yöntem kullanılıyor. Dolayısıyla mesainin yayılmasının sebebi sürekli daha hızlı ve daha çok çalışma yönünde limitlerinin zorlanması. Ayrıca karlı anların değişkenlik göstermesi ve bu dönemlerde daha hızlı çalışma gerekliliği. Bunun yanında da küreselleşme ve teknolojik dönüşümlerle birlikte kapitalizmin 7/24 işleme yönündeki eğilimi. Şirketler az elemanla çok işi hızlı bir şekilde yaparak daha çok kar etmek peşindeler, kapitalizmin genel mantığı gereği.

Çalışanlar da bu yüzden maksimum hız ve verime zorlanıyorlar. Çok sayıda işi aynı anda yürütmeleri gerekiyor. Hızlı ve efficient çalışmaları bekleniyor. Ama hızlı çalışanların da boş vakitleri kalmıyor çünkü artan zamanlarında yeni işler veriliyor. İşçiler istihdam edilebilir kalabilmek için giderek hızlanıyorlar, hızlanamadıkları noktada mesai saatleri dışında bunu tamamlamak zorunda kalıyorlar, bunu da yapamadıklarında işten çıkarılıyorlar. Hızlı çalışmak bir tercih değil, belli performans kriterlerini yerine getirmeleri işe devam edebilmelerinin zorunlu koşuludur.

Hızlanma ve iş yoğunlaşmasıyla ilgili en görünür olduğu fenomenlerden biri de çok yaygın bir uygulama olan “çoklu görev” (multi-tasking). Beyaz-yakalı çalışanların aynı anda birçok işi yürütmesi gerekiyor. Çalışanların neredeyse hiçbiri ayrıntılı olarak neler yapacağını belirten bir sözleşmeye göre çalışmıyor. Yani hangi işleri yapıp hangilerini yapmayacağını sözleşmeden çıkarabilmek mümkün değil. Mümkün olsa bile buna uyulmuyor. Şirketteki farklı birimlerin işlerini de yapıyorlar. Bir işi bitirip rahat etme lüksleri pek olmuyor. Sürekli ‘hiçbir şey yetişmiyor’ psikolojisiyle çalışıyorlar. Normal mesai saatleri içinde de ofiste yoğun bir çalışma var ve bu yoğunluğu istisnai yoğunluklar olarak düşünmemek gerekir. Çalışanlara birim zamanda yapılabileceğinden çok daha fazla iş yüklenip bitirmeleri bekleniyor; bu yüzden de işi mesai saatlerinde tamamlamak mümkün olmuyor. Dolayısıyla deadline’ların ilk günleri mesai saatlerinde daha az çalışmaya değil ama deadline’ların son günleri mesai saatlerinin dışında da, hatta bazen gece hiç uyumadan, çalışmaya sebep olabiliyor. Az sayıda kişiye mümkün olduğunca çok iş yaptırıp daha çok kar etmek kapitalizmin temel mantığı.

Esnekleşme kelimesi gündelik kullanımda bir tür rahatlama anlamını da işaret ediyor olabilir fakat iş yaşamında esnekliğin rahatlama boyutunun çok sınırlı olduğu açık. Örneğin, beyaz yakalı çalışanların belki de en çok duyduğu sözcüklerden biri olan “son tarih”ler (deadline) genelde fazlaca katı. Bir işin bitirilmesi gereken son an olarak tanımlanabilecek deadline, çalışmamızdaki çoğu katılımcının fikrine göre, haddinden kısa tutuluyor. Bunun sebeplerinden biri denetiminin daha kolay olması ve işçiler üzerinde bir zaman disiplini oluşturmak açısından işlevsel olmasıdır.

Bu çalışma temel olarak iş ve uyku, yani çalışanların en çok vakit ayırdıkları iki alan, üzerinden zaman baskısı analizi yapmaktadır fakat yalnızca bu ikisiyle sınırlı kalan bir analiz eksik olacaktır. Bu yüzden bu çalışmada, sınırlı olsa da, “boş zaman” ile ilgili tartışma ve analizlere de yer verilmiştir. Çünkü “boş zaman” da uyku ve çalışma ile bağlantılı olarak hızlanma, esnekleşme ve zaman baskısının olduğu bir alandır. Dolayısıyla insanlar hem işleri gün içinde çok geniş bir süreye yayıldığı için hem de boş günleri az olduğu için hem de o boş günlerde iş yapmak zorunda kaldıkları için boş günlerinde de zaman baskısı ile karşılaşp hızlanmak zorunda kalabiliyorlar. Bu isteklerini yapamadıklarında da rahatsızlık hissediyorlar. Bu yüzden de sürekli bir şeyleri daha hızlı yapmaya, daha hızlı yapmalarını sağlayacak yöntemler üretmeye ya da çeşitli ürünler kullanmaya yöneliyorlar.

İşe girdikten sonra artan zaman baskısı karşısında en kolay ve yaygın yöntem daha önceden yapılan birçok boş zaman aktivitesinden yeterli zaman olmadığı için vazgeçmek. Görüşmecilerin hepsi işe girmeden önce yaptıkları birçok “boş zaman” aktivitesinden istemeyerek vazgeçtiklerini belirttiler. İşe girdikten sonra zaman kısıtlılığından dolayı bunları yapmak artık lüks olarak görünüyor. Ama yine de bu isteklere yer açamıyor olmak çalışanlarda hissedilen zaman baskısının bir başka yönüdür. Düzenli ve ev dışında takip edebilecekleri bir hobi sahibi olmanın zor olduğunu düşünüyorlar çünkü işten hem geç çıkıyorlar hem de ne zaman çıkacakları belli olmuyor. Birçoğu için o gün şehir dışında olup olmayacakları da belirsiz. Yani önceden programlanabilecek kurslara, hobilere katılmak zor. Görüşmecilerin hepsi iş temposunun sosyal ilişkilerini çok olumsuz etkilediğini söylüyor. İşe ayrılan zamanın artması, sevilen insanlara vakit ayırmayı zorlaştırıyor. Bu yüzden de ilişkileri sürdürmeyi zorlaştırıyor ve zaman kıtlığı yeni insanlarla karşılaşma olanaklarını daraltıyor. Görüşmeciler, arkadaşlarıyla da çoğunlukla son anlarda görüşme ayarlayabiliyorlar ya da ayarladıkları görüşmeleri iptal edebiliyorlar çünkü belirsizlik var. Tabii bunlara işten dolayı oluşan yorgunluğu, evde yapılması gerekenleri ve ertesi gün iyi çalışabilmek için gerekli olan yeterli uyku saatini de eklemek gerekiyor.

Zaman baskısının esas sebebinin çalışanların arzuları ve tüketim kalıplarımış gibi görülmesinin yanılsama olduğunu söylemek gerekir. İşten kaynaklı zorunluluklar

alanı yaşam zamanının büyük kısmını kapsadığı için görüşmecilerin hepsinin ortak fikri şu: “Keşke günler daha uzun olsa”. Bu aslında üstü kapalı olarak “keşke çalışma zamanı daha kısa olsa” anlamına geliyor. Ancak emek piyasasının zorunluluklarından ötürü bunu yapmak zor olduğu için hepsi zaman-yönetimi meselesine daha çok kafa yormaya başlıyorlar. Ortaya çıkan en yaygın stratejiler hızlanma, aktiviteleri çakıştırma, çoklu-görev ve bazı alanlardan feragat. Boş zaman aktiviteleri yapamadığı için sıkıntı hisseden görüşmeciler aynı zamanda bu aktivitelere vakit ayırınca da pişmanlık hissedebiliyorlar. Uzun süren aktivitelere vakit ayırıp sıkıntı yaşamaktansa kısa süren, mental yoğunlaşma gerektirmeyen aktivitelere yöneliyorlar. Öte yandan iş dışı zaman, aslında insanların yalnızca isteklerini yapabileceği bir zaman değil, aynı zamanda birçok zorunluluğu da içeriyor. İş zamanının yayılması, çalışanları yalnızca isteklerinden değil, bazı zorunluluklarından da feragat ettiriyor ya da onları yerine getirmelerini zorlaştırıyor.

Bu yüzden günümüzde beyaz-yakalı çalışanların uyku pratiklerini ve kavrayışlarını anlayabilmek için zaman baskısına bakmak kaçınılmazdır. Uykunun günümüzde kendinden daha çok söz ettirmesinin ardında da temel olarak bu vardır. Uykunun ritimleri kendiliğinden oluşmaz, sosyallik içinde bu bedensel ritimlerin bir anlamı vardır ve bu ritimler yaşamın başka ritimleri üzerinde etkili olduğu gibi bu ritimlerden de etkilenmektedir. Beyaz yakalı çalışanlar için uyku ritimlerinin belirlenmesinde en temel belirleyen iş ve işle ilgili diğer ritimlerdir. Kapitalist çalışma rejimi uykuyu iş adına işlevselleştirmeye çalışırken aynı zamanda da uykuyu işleyişinin önünde bir engel ve kar kaybı nedenlerinden biri olarak görmektedir. İlk olarak, kapitalizmin 7/24 işleme eğilimi ve esnekleşme arttıkça iş çalışanların uykularını ertelemesini veya uyku esnasında bölmesini talep edebilmektedir. Son tarihlere doğru işlerin yetişmesi riske girdikçe uyku tamamen engellenebilmekte ya da süresinin azaltılması talep edilebilmektedir. Ayrıca esnek çalışma rejimi düzenli bir uyku örüntüsü oluşturmayı da engellediği için çalışanların uyumak istediğinde uyuyamamalarına da dolaylı olarak sebep olabilmektedir. Bunlara ek olarak, fazla çalışma, iş stresi, rekabetin yarattığı problemler, güvencesizlik, mental ve fiziksel yorgunluk, ertesi günün planlaması vs. gibi sebepler de çalışanların uykularını olumsuz etkilemektedir. Hızlanma ve rekabetçi

emek piyasası da işle ilgili vasıfları sürekli artırma gereksinimi doğurmakta, bu da mesai saatleri içerisinde yapılamadığı için uyku süresinden feragati gerektirebilmektedir.

Uyuma saatlerinde bir düzensizlik olsa da uyanma saatleri, görüşme yaptığımız işçiler için işe yetişme zorunluluğundan ötürü sabittir. Buna rağmen uyanmak hepsi için bir dış uyarıcı olmadan mümkün olmamakta, alarm gibi dış uyarıcılara rağmen uyanabilmek ciddi bir zorluk olarak hayatlarında bulunmaktadır. Birkaç dakika bile olsa daha fazla uyuyabilmek hepsinin arzuladığı ve bunun için sabahları birçok başka şeyden feragat etmeleri gerekmektedir. Uykuyu sevdiklerinden değil, yeterince uyuyamadıklarını düşünerek sabahları kendileriyle ciddi bir mücadeleye girişmektedirler. Diğer yandan da, geceleri belli bir saatte uykuları olmasa bile, ertesi günkü hızlı iş temposuna ayak uydurabilmek için, kendilerini uyumaya zorlamakta ve bunun için birçok strateji geliştirmektedirler.

Çalışanlar işin hızlı, yoğun ve esnek ritimleriyle başa çıkabildiği ölçüde şirketler işçilerin ne kadar uyuduklarıyla ilgilenmemekte ve zaten uykuyu iş için feragat edilebilir bir pratik olarak görmektedirler. Yani uykuyu bir yönüyle değersizleştirmektedirler. Öte yandan, işçiler işe geç kaldıklarında, uykusuzluk sebebiyle yoğun ve hızlı bir şekilde işleri tamamlayamadıklarında çalışanlara iyi ve yeterli süre uyumalarını tavsiye edebilmektedirler. İş odak noktada tutarak uykuya karşı ikircikli bir tutum göstermekte ve hangisini vurgulayacakları duruma göre değişmektedir. İşte fiziksel ve mental olarak hızlı ve aktif olabilmek için sağlıklı uyumak tavsiye edilmekte, bu da Rosa (2009)'nın “daha sonraki hızlanma için yavaşlama” kavramına karşılık gelmektedir. Bu yavaşlamayı –yani sağlıklı uykuyu- sağlayabilmek de aslında işçiler için boş zaman zorunlulukları ve isteklerinden feragat etmek anlamına gelmektedir.

Çalışma günlerinin sabahlarında birkaç dakika daha fazla uyuyabilmek için para ödemeye bile hazır olan çalışanlar, çalışmadıkları günlerde biraz fazla uyuduklarında bile pişmanlık hissedebiliyorlar. Tüm boş zaman zorunlulukları ve istekleri işin yaşamlarının büyük bir bölümünü kapsamamasından ötürü kısa sürelerle sıkışmak zorunda kalmıştır. Yaşamın hızlı akışını yakalayabilmek için zaten hızlandıkları bir dünyada fazla uyumak isteklerden ve sosyal yaşamın

gerekliliklerinden feragat anlamına gelmektedir. Bu yüzden de fazla uyumak yapmak istedikleri birçok şeye engel olacağından, boş günlerinde de kendilerini mümkün olduğunca az uyumaya zorlamaktadırlar. Uyku, yaşam süresinin önemli bir bölümünü kapsamaya devam ettiği için arzular önünde bir engel olarak görünmektedir. Uyanık oldukları zamanlarda zaman baskısıyla mücadele edebilmek için birçok strateji uygulasalar da yine de birçok şeye yetişememekte ve uykudan feragat etmek mecburen önlerinde yeni bir strateji olarak belirmektedir. Öte yandan da yeterince uyumak hem iş hem de boş zaman aktivitelerinde daha iyi performans göstermek için gerekli görülmektedir. Çalışanlar, birçok zaman yapmak istedikleri şeylerden dolayı uykusuz kalıyormuş gibi görünseler de, bunları uyku zamanından feragat etmeden yapamamalarının temel sebebi çalışma koşullarıdır demek daha doğru olacaktır. İş bir zorunluluk olduğu ve esnek çalışma rejimine tabi olan beyaz-yakalıların yaşamlarını daha çok kaplama eğiliminde olduğu ölçüde de yapılmak istenen şeylere zaman ayırmak için feragat edilebilir alan olarak geriye uyku kalmaktadır.

Böyle hızlı bir dünyada uykudan feragat etmek yaygın bir strateji haline gelmekte ve bu da yaşamın diğer taleplerini yerine getirmek için yapılmaktadır ama bir yandan da iyi uyuyabilmenin kendisi de bir zaman yönetimi ve verimlilik stratejisi haline gelmektedir. Tüm bu sebeplerden ötürü bu süreci basitçe günümüzde “uykuların sonu” olarak kavramsallaştırmak yerine “uykunun hassas pozisyonu” olarak kavramak hem uykunun daha savunmasız hale gelmesi hem de eşzamanlı olarak daha çok önem verilmesini birlikte görebilmek için daha doğru olacaktır. Bu koşullar altında da sağlıklı uykunun gerekliliklerini yerine getirmek de çalışanların birincil önceliği değildir. Yine de, çalışanlar sağlıklı uyumaya önem vermektedirler çünkü ertesi günkü fiziksel ve mental kapasiteler için uyku gerekli görülmektedir. Süre yönünden ciddi bir baskı altında oldukları için de, çalışanlar sağlıklı uykunun süre gerekliliğini sağlamaya çalışmaktan çok diğer gerekliliklerini sağlamaya, süreyi değil kaliteyi artırmaya yönelmektedirler. Bir anlamda, uykuları da, az zamanda maksimum verimlilik hedeflendiği için, hızlandırılmıştır. Bu yüzden de sağlık için sağlık değil, zaman baskısı yaşanan dünyada ayakta kalabilmek için sağlık anlayışı geçerlidir. Burada da temel belirleyen sağlık söyleminin kendisi değil, maddi yaşam koşullarıdır; sağlık söylemi bu koşullarla daha iyi mücadele

edebilmek ve arzulara yer açabilmek için çalışanlar tarafından işlevselleştirilmektedir. Dolayısıyla, beyaz yakalı çalışanların sağlık söyleminin pasif taşıyıcıları değil, farklı söylemler üzerine refleksif olarak düşünen ve söylemleri kendi yaşam koşullarıyla birlikte ele alan özneler oldukları söylenebilir.

Bu çalışma özetle, uyku pratiklerini de kapitalist çalışma rejimi bağlamında bedenın konumu üzerinden inceleyerek günümüz kapitalizmindeki çalışanların zaman deneyimine dair fikir yürütmüştür. Lefebvre'nin kurduđu kavramsal çerçeveyi somutlaştırmaya çalışarak bedenın, çalışma yaşamının ve gündelik yaşamın ritimlerinin birbirleriyle nasıl uyuştuđunu ve çatıştığını göstermeye çalışmıştır. Bu noktada çalışmanın ritimlerinin diğerkleri üzerinde nasıl daha baskın olduđunu ve kendi ritimlerini uyku ve boş zaman üzerine nasıl yaydığını ve bunları nasıl etkilediğini göstermiş; temeldeki yapısal etkenlerin de sosyal hızlanmanın iş yaşamına etkileri ve esnek çalışma rejimi olduđunu ortaya koymaya çalışmıştır. Beyaz-yakalı çalışanlarla yapılan görüşmelerle, hem işte hem de “boş zaman”da ritimlerin hızlanmasının ve esnekleşmesinin çalışanlar üzerinde giderek daha fazla zaman baskısı ürettiğini; bu zaman baskısıyla başa çıkabilmek için de uykunun daha feragat edilebilir bir pratik haline geldiđi sonucuna ulaşılmıştır. Uykuyu çok sevdiğini söyleyen çalışanlar bile çağdaş toplumda yaşadıkları zaman baskısından dolayı uykuyu zaman kaybı ve arzuları önünde engel olarak kodlamaktadırlar. Bir yandan da uykunun günümüzdeki sosyal hızlanmanın ritimlerine uyum sağlayabilmek için daha önemli bir pratik haline geldiđi fark edilmiştir. Uyku giderek az zamanda maksimum verim elde etme stratejilerine konu olmaktadır, yani uykunun da sosyal hızlanmadan etkilendiğini ve belli yönlerden onu etkilediđi görülmüştür. Zaman deneyimi teması üzerinden uyku pratikleri analiz edilerek hem çağdaş toplumda uykunun konumuna hem de çağdaş toplumda zaman deneyimine ve bunun ardındaki koşullara dair nitel yöntemle elde edilen veriler üzerinden tartışma yürütülmüştür.

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