

TASTING THE MUSEUM:
HOW THE CULTURAL PRACTICES OF EATING OUT AND VIEWING ART
CONVERGE IN ISTANBUL'S MUSEUM RESTAURANTS

By

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Abstract

TASTING THE MUSEUM: HOW THE CULTURAL PRACTICES OF EATING OUT AND VIEWING ART CONVERGE IN ISTANBUL'S MUSEUM RESTAURANTS

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Keywords: consumption, museum, restaurant, urban transformation, embodiment.

Today's museums, with few exceptions, include cafés and restaurants, which, together with additional ancillary spaces such as design shops, film and performance venues comprise the museum experience. Istanbul's private art museums are closely following this seemingly normative trend. In doing so they attempt to meet their mission statements' claims of social inclusion and audience development.

This thesis investigates and problematizes the convergence of two cultural practices that meet in the museum restaurant, namely eating out and viewing art, their conceptual similarities and intersections and their convergence in the museum restaurants of Istanbul's private art museums.

A discussion of heterogeneous concepts of consumption, which traces the tensions between group norms and individual agency, of the emergence and incorporation of consumption practices of subcultures provides the basis for an in-depth investigation of eating out and viewing art.

But the symbolic economy, the main actors of which are institutions backed by private capital and entrepreneurs in the cultural field, significantly and irreversibly alters the urban fabric. At the same time, processes of urban transformation often remain unquestioned and are presented and celebrated by their beneficiaries, by politicians, media or the complicit art world as *the* means of resolving a multiplicity of problems of a metropolis such as Istanbul.

Istanbul's art museums and their restaurants appeal primarily to those who already have the "right" disposition to appreciate and confidently navigate the intricacies of the culinary and the artistic field. The translation of the private tastes of museum patrons and restaurant owners into specific culinary, curatorial, architectural and atmospheric elements often results in rituals, experiences and spaces, which, while seemingly being available to everybody, construct symbolic and material boundaries for those without said necessary dispositions.

Özet

MÜZENİN TADI:

DIŞARDA YEMEK YEME KÜLTÜRÜ VE SANATI YERİNDE GÖRMEK
İSTANBUL'UN MÜZE RESTORANLARINDA NASIL BİRLEŞİYOR

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Anahtar kelimeler: tüketim, müze, restoran, kentsel dönüşüm, şekillenme.

Günümüz müzeleri birkaç istisna dışında tasarım mağazaları, film ve performans mekânları gibi ilave tesislerin müze deneyimini oluşturduğu kafe ve restoranları içerisinde bulundurmaktadır. İstanbul'un özel sanat müzeleri bu görünüşte örnek oluşturan eğilimi yakından takip etmektedirler. Bu şekilde görev tanımının iddiası olan sosyal içerme ve izleyici kitlesi geliştirmeyi yerine getirmeye çalışmaktadırlar.

Bu tez dışarda yemek olarak adlandırılan müze restoran ve sanat izlemeyi, kavramsal benzerliklerini ve İstanbul'un özel sanat müzelerindeki müze restoranlarındaki birleşmelerini buluşturan iki kültür uygulamasının çakışmasını incelemekte ve sorunsallaştırmaktadır.

Alt kültürlerin tüketim uygulamalarının ortaya çıkması ve kaynaşmasının grup standartları ile bireysel faaliyet arasındaki gerilimleri takip eden tüketimin heterojen kavramları tartışması dışarda yemek yeme ve sanat görmede derinlemesine araştırma temelleri sağlamaktadır.

Ancak sembolik ekonomi, kültür alanındaki özel sermaye ve girişimcilerin desteklediği kurumlar olan ana aktörler önemli ve geri döndürülemez bir biçimde kent dokusunu değiştirmektedir. Aynı zamanda, kentsel dönüşüm süreçleri sıklıkla sorgusuz sualsiz kalır ve imtiyaz sahipleri tarafından, politikacılar, medya veya İstanbul gibi bir metropolün sorunlarının çeşitliliğini çözme aracı olarak iştirak eden sanat dünyası tarafından sunulmakta ve göklere çıkarılmaktadır.

İstanbul'un sanat müzeleri öncelikle takdir etme "hakkına" zaten sahip olan ve mutfak ve sanatsal alanının incelikleri arasında güvenle gezenlere hitap etmektedir. Müze patronları ve restoran sahiplerinin özel zevklerinin belirli mutfak, vasilik, mimari ve atmosferik unsurlara çevrilmesi sıklıkla herkese açık görünürken gerekli donanımına sahip olmayanlar için sembolik ve somut sınırlar inşa eden adetler, deneyimler ve alanlarla sonuçlanır.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Research background

“There is a lot more to food than eating and cooking. Behind every dish lies a world, a culture, a history. Dishes have social meanings, they have emotional and symbolic significance. Food is about power. It is an expression of identity and ideology. It touches on issues of class, gender, race and ethnicity. It is a clue to history. It has a language.” (Food writer Claudia Roden in the foreword to ‘A Taste of Thyme. Culinary Cultures of the Middle East’. Zubaida, 2006: p. vii)

The enormous variety of social meanings, which can be attributed to food practices, has led to an immense increase in texts about the subject: from earlier anthropological and post-colonial accounts (Margaret Mead, Claude Levi-Strauss, Sidney Mintz), over sociological research (e.g. by Pierre Bourdieu) to contemporary writings in the field of cultural studies and adjacent disciplines (political economy; ethnography; studies of gender, nationalism, history or health etc.), thus addressing all or more of the dimensions depicted by Claudia Roden.

Similarly, the body of research about the institution of the museum is extensive. Starting with the cultural-historical, philosophical foundations, via artistic and curatorial practices, to aspects of design, architecture and urban planning, the abundance and diversity of the available literature might help to clarify, why the time is not yet up for the museum and its discursive system which had been increasingly problematized by, for example, post-colonial and feminist critics. On the contrary, the prevalent and continuous growth in museum construction, the impressive visitor-statistics of blockbuster exhibitions and the must-see profile of some museums do suggest that the museum has not (yet) lost its ascribed authoritative power as it was prognosed by the post-modern turn. (Grimp: 1997, p. 283)

Despite this enormous interest in both fields and its practices and the establishment of food and museum studies, I was surprised to learn that nothing much has been written on the wide-spread, if rather recent trend of museum-restaurants, although both institutions – individually and in combination - have become such an

omnipresent and taken-for-granted feature of the urban landscape. While starting to engage with the subject, I began to realize that there is so much more to read, question and think about, and that the research-subject corresponds well with my personal and academic background and interests. Furthermore, Istanbul and the prominence, the city and its people attribute to food and eating out, on the one hand, and its claim as well as its international reputation as a cultural hot-spot, on the other, offer an almost ideal setting and fruitful field for the questions I intend to ask.

Finally, the recent announcement of Turkey's Ministry of Culture and Tourism to heavily invest into the expansion of commercial and culinary establishments in conjunction with state-owned museums across the country makes me assume that the trend of opening museum-restaurants will gain additional momentum and its normative aspect (regarding what museums should look like, need to contain and offer) will further increase in strength.

Research questions

“A grand museum is like food for the soul.” (website of the Royal Museum of Fine Arts, Belgium)

The few available, mainly journalistic, accounts dealing with restaurants in museums or adjacent to them focus on gastronomic offers on the museum-premises as a means of audience development (i.e. attracting new visitor groups or fostering loyalty among the existing audience), as a source of revenue-creation for the museum, as an opportunity to strengthen the institution's brand and reputation and with the rather vague notion of enhancing the museum experience.

In my own research project I intend to look beyond these obvious, but still questionable benefits and to investigate how the culinary and the artistic fields, and thus two prominent social practices playing out in these fields, namely eating out and exhibiting/viewing art, interact, reinforce and interfere with each other. My inquiry will center around the following questions:

What do these two practices of cultural consumption have in common that their convergence in museum-restaurants develop such a normative character and obvious or imagined drawing power?

What does this trend mean for the future of museums and restaurants, what are the viewing art and eating out experiences constituted of and how are these constructed?

Who really benefits from this collaboration: the audience, the museum or somebody else altogether (museum patrons, artists, the tourism industry, real estate owners and developers, ...)?

Who is the audience, who actually visits these places and why? Who is excluded from these seemingly public spaces and who has to bear the negative consequences of this development?

I will base my analysis on heterogeneous concepts of social distinction and cultural consumption and an in-depth look into the (growing) discourses and literature on food practices and the art world. A recurring theme will be the tension and boundaries between private and public spaces and between seemingly individual and popular tastes, which I will try to narrate and problematize throughout the work. In order to do so, I will correlate Istanbul's case with wider international trends. The conceptual discussion will be complemented by different modes of fieldwork and my analysis thereof (see below). I thus intend to arrive at a critical investigation of the convergence of these practices, in what seemingly has become a universal (if rather recent) trend, and of its normative character in the international as well as Istanbul's museum-landscape, which will shed light on a set of aspects for further research (beyond the mere notion of audience development) of the museum-gastronomy partnership, such as the consumers' experience, underlying relations of cultural consumption and production as well as economic and spatial arrangements.

Chapter Overview

After a brief discussion of methodological considerations in Chapter 2 (including a short presentation of the field and its sites, a reflection on the modalities of my fieldwork), my conceptual discussion (Chapter 3) will start from, what I take as an overarching category for the course of my analysis, the field of consumption, in which I will try to summarize and discuss heterogeneous, theoretical accounts of consumption. My point of departure will be an attempt to touch upon and highlight key concepts in Pierre Bourdieu's work (fields, habitus, lifestyles and taste, different types of capital), which I consider relevant for the further investigation of the two practices of cultural production and consumption and their eventual convergence in the phenomenon of museum-restaurants.

A discussion of alternative concepts of consumption (niche-consumption practices and subcultures, post-modern consumption concepts, material culture) should provide further insight into the tension between social restraints and individual freedom in the sphere of consumption, and if and how lifestyles and their respective consumption behaviors allow for identification and mediate notions of authenticity. A review of the almost simultaneous emergence of youth-subcultures (their styles and social meanings) and what Warren Belasco calls 'counter-cuisine' (the first health-food movement of the late 1960s and predecessor to the more recent slow-food-movement) vis-à-vis mainstream cultural consumption practices will help to illustrate these tensions. (Belasco, 2005: pp. 223-225) The chapter will be complemented by considering the commodification of cultural goods and concluded by a brief discussion of consumption practices in the urban everyday of contemporary Turkey. While I initially intended to include a discussion about a related field, namely food as a material and subject for the visual arts, I will limit my analysis of this alternative intersection to a brief look at artist-run cafés, which I take as a specific practice of consumption and production by a counter/sub-culture (in Chapter 7).

In the next chapter (Chapter 4) I will examine how culture and the arts, and related consumption practices feature in the urban landscape and how these practices of cultural production and consumption contribute to (and often are complicit with) transformations in the urban space and the negative consequences thereof. I will discuss

notions of symbolic economy, urban redevelopment and gentrification and will, again, conclude with a brief consideration of these concepts with regards to Istanbul's urban landscape.

My analysis (Chapter 5) of the practice of Eating Out will again take Bourdieu as a starting point, from where I will go on to discuss conceptions of taste, the civilized body and embodiment as well as pleasure. Further aspects will be the development of culinary fields (in general and in Turkey) and the role the restaurant plays in these.

I will open Chapter 6 with a brief (and highly selective) discussion of aesthetic concepts and how certain pleasures and uses are derived from arts and culture. This will be followed by more in-depth look at what people do in museums and what museums are doing to its visitors, by considering the modern conception of the museum (Bennett, 1995), notions of distinction (Bourdieu, 1984 [2010]), rituals and performance (Duncan, 1995). I will conclude the chapter with a discussion of the museum's role in contemporary discourses of leisure and pleasure.

The conceptual discussions of Chapters 3 to 6 will be complemented and illustrated by interviews, observations and visual materials from my fieldwork in order to highlight if, where and how my conceptual considerations link into the field.

Chapter 7 will feature those elements of my fieldwork, which, while I consider them relevant for the overall analysis, are not directly related to the earlier conceptual chapters.

By doing so I intend to offer answers to my initial research questions and discuss in how far the conceptual parallels and similarities are mirrored in the actual sites of museum restaurants, in the behavior, attitudes and opinions of museum and restaurant personnel as well as of the audience. All this should enable me to arrive at a conclusion and critical assessment of the trend of museum restaurants, its conceptual and practical rationales and implications, from which further research questions can be derived.

2. METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

In this chapter I will describe the field of my research and present the individual spaces and their characteristics such as name, history and ownership, location, exhibition focus and mission statements, ancillary spaces (cafés and restaurants as well as performance venues or cinemas, shops and special programs and events.) The focus is on Istanbul's art museums, which are predominantly privately owned and/or sponsored and have assumed an integral role in Istanbul's perception as a cultural capital. The past decades have seen private sector's major corporations and conglomerates assuming the 'executive' role of sponsors, patrons and even producers of Istanbul's cultural festivals and museums, while the state and the municipality often play the part of silent supporter, occasional facilitator and benefactor of such initiatives. (see also Soysal, 2010: p. 307)

My field is not only constituted by the spaces but also by the people who populate these sites and the people contributing to the artistic and culinary fields, who I describe together with an overview of the employed modes of fieldwork; I will conclude the chapter with a brief reflection on my own positionality in the research process.

Sites and spaces

While all museums included in my research exhibit modern and/or contemporary art and/or artifacts, either in their permanent collection or via temporary exhibitions, the range is nevertheless sufficiently broad. All except one offer their visitors at least one gastronomic venue, which is also open to non-visitors. They are geographically distributed all over Istanbul, although none of them is situated on the Asian side of the city; all of them were either founded during or originate from the 2000s.

The sites are presented in alphabetical order and the information is based on the publicly available materials of the museum and of the sponsoring organizations. This is complemented by the additional information gathered from the interviews I conducted

with the museum's management personnel. A more in-depth and further reaching analysis of the individual spaces will follow in Chapter 7.



Illustration I: Istanbul overview with museum locations. Map by Google Maps. 2011.

Istanbul Foundation for Arts and Culture (in the following: IKS^V)¹

The Foundation, established in 1973, is housed in a historical building in Beyoğlu's Şişhane. Previously known as Deniz Palas, the building was acquired as the venue for the 9th edition of the International Istanbul Biennial, entitled 'Istanbul' in 2005, of which IKS^V is the organizer, and its renovation and adaption for the foundation's use were completed in 2009. It was renamed after the foundation's founder, Nejat Eczacıbaşı, in 2011. "The Eczacıbaşı Group is a staunch supporter of the Istanbul International Festivals, both through its sponsorship of the IKS^V [...] and its direct patronage of selected festival. [...] Starting in 2006, Eczacıbaşı has become the leading sponsor of IKS^V. In its new role, Eczacıbaşı Holding contributes to the international Istanbul Film, Theater and Jazz Festivals as well as the Music Festival, enhancing its involvement in the foundation and broadening its communication with art lovers." (Eczacıbaşı Group Annual Report, 2009: p. 73)

While the building is not apparently a museum, it houses the 'Leyla Gencer House', the re-production of the opera singer's apartment in Milan, who - after the end of her active career – was the president's of IKS^V's board of trustees. Also numerous artworks by contemporary artists from Turkey are displayed, some of which are on shown in the publicly accessible areas of the building. From the very start of the renovation-project of Deniz Palas, it was meant to include a restaurant (X-restaurant) on the top floor of the building, a café and a shop (IKS^V Design Store) and of a performance venue (Salon) on the ground floor. Both, café and restaurant, are operated by the Borsa Group of restaurants. IKS^V also runs a membership program, Lale Kart, with various levels of required contributions and subsequent benefits.²

¹Istanbul Kültür ve Sanat Vakfı

² Interview with Deniz Ova; website IKS^V)

Istanbul Museum of Modern Art (in the following: Istanbul Modern)³

The Istanbul Museum of Modern Art was opened in 2004. It occupies a former cargo warehouse on the pier in Karaköy built in the 1950s, which was being converted into the current space starting in 2003.

“The Eczacıbaşı Group, founder of the museum, provided the initial investment and project management finance as well as the core collection of paintings.” The Istanbul Modern’s mission statement proclaims that, “The museum’s collections, exhibitions and educational programs aim to foster appreciation for and stimulate active engagement in the arts among visitors of all ages and from every segment of society.” (Eczacıbaşı Group Annual Report, 2009: p. 73)

Besides its permanent collection of modern Turkish art, which is being shown on the upper floor, the ground floor is reserved for temporary exhibitions of Turkish and international artists, mainly in the areas of design, architecture, photography and video as well as contemporary art. The building’s upper floor houses a shop, a recently expanded café-restaurant with a waterfront terrace operated, like the restaurant and café in IKSÜ, by the Borsa Group of restaurants, while the lower floor offers a cinema and a library. The museum space can be rented for special events, either for promotional or motivational events of companies or for private functions. Istanbul Modern also offers a multi-level membership program and education programs, whose main sponsor is Garanti Bank, which also supports individual exhibitions but recently opened its own art space, SALT. (website of Istanbul Modern; Garanti Bank Annual Report, 2010: p. 99)

Pera Museum⁴

The Pera Museum is situated in the Pera/Tebebaşı neighborhood of Beyoğlu, in the building of the former Bristol Hotel, dating back to the 1890s. The museum was opened to the public in 2003. The groundfloor of the building houses the Pera Café in

³ İstanbul Modern Sanat Müzesi

⁴ Pera Müzesi

the former lobby of the hotel and, right next to it, a museum shop, the Perakende Artshop. Both, the Pera Museum and the Istanbul Research Institute⁵, located in another building of the same era in Tebepaşı, were initiated and are being sponsored by the Suna and İnan Kırac Foundation. (Suna Kırac, formerly Suna Koç, is a member of the board of directors of the Koç Holding). Plans to extend the museum by adding new structures have come to a temporary halt due to building-permit problems.

The focus of the permanent exhibitions on the first two floors are historical and archeological artifacts (measures and weights, tiles and ceramics) and Orientalist paintings from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries in the ownership of the Suna and İnan Kırac Foundation. The last two floors are dedicated to regularly changing (sometimes block-buster) exhibitions, primarily of international modern artists. The café and the auditorium, which holds regular special-interest film-screenings, can also be rented for private purposes.

Pera Museum runs a ‘Friends of Pera’ membership program and various exhibition-related education programs for children and young adults. (website of Pera Museum; website of AKMED, the Suna-İnan Kırac Foundation)

Proje4L Elgiz Museum of Contemporary Art (in the following: Proje4L)⁶

Proje4L is a private collection museum, founded by the owners of Giz İnşaat, Sevda and Can Elgiz, whose collection forms the basis of the museum’s exhibits. Located in the business district of Maslak since 2001, the collection has been moved to its current location, a modern loft-like space, in 2009. While the previous site featured a café, the owners and the museum’s team are now considering to add a café to the current premises, also located in Maslak. The same building, although clearly separated from the museum, is home to a chef’s and culinary school and training facility, together with their recently opened restaurant.

⁵ İstanbul Araştırmaları Enstitüsü

⁶ Elgiz Çağdaş Sanat Müzesi

The exhibition focus is on contemporary and modern Turkish art in combination with the works of international artists. A separate project-room on the first floor of the space is reserved for frequently changing exhibitions of young Turkish artists curated by guest curators. The museum offers a conference space for seminars, with a primary focus on collecting practices. Proje4L's founding director was Vasif Kortun, who also (co)-directed Istanbul's third and ninth biennials, and is currently research and program director of SALT.

Sakıp Sabancı Museum (in the following SSM)⁷

The building in Emirgan, a neighborhood on the Bosphorus, was constructed in 1927 and is in the ownership of the Sabancı-family since 1950. Serving originally as a private home of the family, it was transferred to the Sabancı University in the late 1990s and transformed into a museum by 2002. The mansion was complemented by extensions in the early 2000s, both structures combined now house the permanent collections, i.e. calligraphy, archeological artifacts as well as furniture and decorative arts, and temporary exhibitons, ranging from historical artifacts to modern and contemporary art. Set in a park, the museum now also features conference facilities (the Seed), while one part of the mansion's extensions houses the museum restaurant, Müzedeçanga (sister restaurant of Changa in the Taksim area of Istanbul) and a now defunct café. Furthermore, the museum offers a gift-shop, educational programs, concerts and a membership program with various categories of donations and benefits. (SSM website; Sabancı Holding Annual Report, 2009: pp. 58-60)

SALT

SALT, supported and sponsored by Garantı Bank, is combining the bank's previously separate cultural initiatives of Platform Garantı, the Ottoman Bank museum and Garantı Gallery under one organizational structure. It opened its first premises, SALT Beyoğlu, a newly renovated building originally constructed between 1850 and

⁷ Sabancı Üniversitesi Sakıp Sabancı Museum

1860 and known as Siniosoglou Apartments on Isitklal Caddesi, in April 2011. Its second location on Karaköy's Bankalar Caddesi, in a building which previously housed the Ottoman Bank, is due to open in September 2011. „Istanbul will be presented with a new epicenter of culture and the arts [...] when the historical buildings in Galata and Beyoğlu reopen their doors upon completion of the renovation that will vest them in a contemporary setting.“ (Garantı Bank Annual Report, 2010: p. 99)

The SALT Beyoğlu building is entered through its 'Forum' on the ground floor which also features a walk-in-cinema. SALT café, operated by well-known chef Murat Bozok of Istanbul's Mimorett restaurant in Taksim, and the Robinson Crusoe 389 bookstore are located on the first floor. The upper floors are dedicated to temporary exhibitions of contemporary artists, while the top floor houses offices and a roof-top garden, conceptualized and installed by artist-architect Fritz Haeg. The edible-planting project is meant to serve educational programs in the future.

SALT's second space, SALT Galata, situated in a massive structure designed and built in the 1890s, is currently undergoing renovation. It will include the following elements: Research and archive facilities, an auditorium, the Ottoman Bank museum, workshops, exhibition spaces, a shop and a café-restaurant, to be operated by the Istanbul Doors group of restaurants. (SALT website)

santralIstanbul (in the following Santral)

Located in Eyüp at the end of the Golden Horn, Santral is part of a campus, which combines facilities of the private Bilgi University with the structures of the museum. The main building is the former Silahtarağa powerplant, now the Museum of Energy, and its new extension, home of the Main Gallery featuring temporary exhibitions of modern and contemporary art, design, architecture and urban planning as well as the annual students' exhibition of Bilgi University. Santral defines itself as a center for education, culture and the arts. The powerplant was the first urban-scale powerplant of the Ottoman Empire and the main electricity provider of Istanbul between 1914 and 1952. It finally ended operation in 1983, and reopened as Santral in 2007. The transformation of the site was sponsored by Santral's main financial supporters, the Doğus Group (one of the main shareholders of Garantı Bank) and the Ciner Group.

Separate buildings, which used to be ancillary spaces of the powerplant and thus feature the same industrial architecture, now house two café-restaurants, Tamirane and Ottosantral, which also serve as venues for music performances, and since December 2010, a performance space for the Krek theater group. Santraldükkan is the museum's shop at the very entrance to the museum; a variety of educational programs are offered through santralatölye. (website of santral)

People, interlocutors and modes of fieldwork

During my fieldwork I was able to interview museum and restaurant personnel, museum and restaurant visitors as well as food writers and researchers. Most of the above mentioned sites and their personnel were willing to participate, only Istanbul Modern and the Borsa Group of restaurants either refused participation or provided no feedback at all of my multiple inquiries.

The interviewees with the museum and restaurant personnel included museum officials, mainly managers who are involved in the marketing and/or public relations of the respective museums, but also some individuals who work on the artistic-curatorial elements; restaurant managers and kitchen supervisors, who are responsible for the daily operations (staff management, pricing, menu design,...) of the museum; a restaurant owner with overall responsibility for finance, human resources, design aspects, commercial relations with the museum,...). While they commented on aspects of the restaurant, its audience composition, the collaboration with the museum, they also provided insight into current restaurant trends and the hospitality business in general. The discussions were conducted as qualitative semi-structured interviews and followed my question-catalogue as much as being adjusted to the interviewee's explications and interpretations.

Interviews with museum and restaurant visitors were primarily conducted during a weekend of fieldwork at Santral, which was agreed and pre-arranged with the museum. They included local visitors and international tourists. While the international tourists normally took in the whole museum experience (museum visit, restaurant visit, browsing and purchases at the shop), local visitors were mainly return visitors, who came for a restaurant visit, but had been to the museum during earlier visits and thus

were able to comment on both. Interviews followed a similar loose structure, based on my question-catalogue, but were significantly shorter.

Food writers and researchers were invited to comment on the museum-restaurant trend vis-à-vis the wider culinary field in Istanbul and Turkey and about their own visiting behavior.

These interviews were complemented by participant observation done during numerous visits to all sites (museums and restaurants/cafés) in the field throughout the research period from January to May 2011. Most of the sites were at least visited once on weekdays as well as on weekends.

While I did not have the possibility to eat a full lunch or dinner at each of the restaurants, an analysis of the menus (composition, prices, seasonality,...) is included in Chapter 7. The visual analysis mainly focuses on aspects of design and spatial arrangements of the museums and the restaurants as such, while it also takes into account their shared spaces. In Chapter 7 I will also pay attention to entrance arrangement and security provisions of the sites. Wherever possible I have included visual materials in order to highlight or underline aspects of vision, space and design.

Research ethics and positionality

As a frequent restaurant-goer (nowadays less than in earlier years), passionate hobby-cook and curious about almost everything related to food, cooking, eating and drinking and as an avid museum visitor, I am obviously not un-biased towards my research topic.

Knowing people working in the hospitality industry and having tried out a huge variety of places to eat in many different locations, I have a lot of respect and admiration for professionals working in this field. At the same time, I am deeply suspicious of what some food-writers call ‘gastro-voyeurism’ or ‘food-porn’, which describes the recent trend of inflationary cooking shows on TV or the abundance (and redundancy) of cookbooks by, for example, non-professional B- and C-list celebrities. While in the best case scenario this rising interest in all-things food-related can lead to

more people eating well and healthy and to a growing concern about food-production conditions and quality, I am in general less optimistic.

As for the art world, my attitude is equally ambiguous: whereas the growth in global museum visitor numbers and the initiative and investment of public and private sectors in the museum-landscape, other art-spaces and the cultural sector in general seem overall to be a positive development, the opportunity to gain more insight into the processes and politics of this very scene and personal acquaintances with actual and wannabe players in the art world make me simultaneously feel attracted, amused and appalled. Its often intransparent processes, networks and alliances make the art world a field, which, I believe, deserves further attention and investigation.

3. CONCEPTUAL FOUNDATIONS

Theoretical accounts of cultural consumption

Before addressing the particularities of culinary and artistic practices in and of museums, I will start from what I take as an overarching category for the course of my analysis, the field of consumption, and try to summarize and discuss heterogeneous, theoretical accounts of consumption. My point of departure will be an attempt to touch upon and highlight key aspects of Pierre Bourdieu's work, which I consider relevant for the further investigation of the very practices of cultural consumption.

Pierre Bourdieu and Social Practice

For Bourdieu, social practices, i.e. individuals' and groups' patterned practices of everyday life in social space, are a function of habitus (I), different forms of capital (II) and their combinations and conversions, and the field(s) (III). Social practices can neither be understood as simply the aggregate of individual behavior and individual (subjective) decision-making nor are they purely determined by supra-individual structures or (objective) systems. (Bourdieu: 1984, pp. 169-170; Jenkins: 2002, pp. 66-69).

(I) Bourdieu's notion of Habitus tries to connect these two extremes, by linking the classifiable practices, which agents produce, and the classificatory judgments and perceptions they make of other agents' practices and of their own.

“The habitus is both the generative principle of objectively classifiable judgments and the system of classification of these practices [...] the capacity to produce classifiable practices and works, and the capacity to differentiate and appreciate these practices and products [...]” (Bourdieu, 1984 [2010]: p. 170)

As the formation and acquisition of one's habitus are naturalized and internalized, it is perceived as normalized and so are the basic transposable dispositions it regulates (it can be applied to unknown and unanticipated situations, for example). Nevertheless, so Bourdieu argues, it can be found in all properties (paintings, clothes, the built environment, etc.) with which groups and individuals surround themselves and

manifests itself in all the practices they produce (sports, entertainment, etc.). Taste, it follows, is then the capacity to appropriate a given of classified and classifying objects or practices and the generative formula of life-style. (Bourdieu, 1984 [2010]: p. 173)

“Like every sort of taste, it unites and separates. Being the product of the conditionings associated with a particular class of conditions of existence, it unites all those who are product of similar conditions but only by distinguishing them from all others. And it distinguishes in an essential way, since taste is the basis of all that one has – people and things – and of all that one is for others, whereby one classifies oneself and is classified by others. Tastes, i.e. manifested preferences are the practical affirmation of an inevitable difference. Taste feels itself to be natural, being a habitus.“ (Bourdieu, 1984 [2010]: p. 192)

From Bourdieu’s perspective, culinary tastes are just as much a part of culture as are artistic tastes and he tries to bring those together in his understanding of habitus: those who have particular kinds of taste for art will have similar kinds of taste not just for food but for all kinds of cultural or symbolic goods or practices. Habitus then, consists of a set of unifying principles underlying such tastes, which derive from the position a particular group occupies in social space. While the habitus of the working class is governed by a ‘culture of necessity’, the petit bourgeoisie tries to distance itself from it by a ‘culture of good will’ but is never really able to achieve the being at-ease and effortlessness of the upper classes. (Bennett, 2010: p. xix-xxi)

(II) The second key concept, which informs and shapes social practices, is the individuals’ and groups’ control over and possession of different configurations of various types of capital. Capital can exist in the form of material or financial properties as Economic Capital, that is, in objectified form, or in an embodied state as Cultural Capital. (Bourdieu introduced the concept of cultural capital to explain differences in cultural practices and educational performance.) Cultural goods, such as encounters in museums or concert halls, works of art or philosophical arguments, etc., differ from material goods in a sense that one can consume them in a socially accepted manner, at least, only by apprehending their meaning; they can be appropriated only by those who already possess the necessary schemes of appreciation. The concept of cultural capital thus denotes the ensemble of cultivated dispositions that form such schemes of appreciation and understanding. Other types of capital are social capital, referring to the access to and the size of networks one can participate in, and symbolic capital, which

comes in the form of legitimate demands on the services of others and is specific to a certain field.

Different types of capital are mutually but not automatically convertible: parents might invest their economic capital into the education of their children, through which they acquire cultural capital in objectified form (for example, as certificates from prestigious schools), which, in turn, can be transformed to a certain extent into embodied cultural capital. Alternatively, affluence in terms of economic capital might provide for access and legitimacy, through, for example, patronage in the artworld. (Brubaker: 1985, pp. 756-757)

(III) The third major influence, which frames social practices, is Bourdieu's notion of field, which can be broadly described as a social space or arena, within which struggles over specific resources and over access to them take place. Fields are named and defined by what is at stake in these struggles: cultural goods such as life-styles, economic goods like property or employment, or social class and intellectual distinction. Specificity and concreteness, necessity and relevance of different fields thus depend on the fields' defining contents. A field can be understood as a structured system of social positions, which are occupied by either individuals, groups or institutions, and of the forces which exist between these positions and which, in turn, give the field its internal structure and hierarchy. Thus the positions which individuals, groups or institutions occupy are never fixed or absolute, but always relative to those of other participants in the field. While Bourdieu attributes an almost autonomous existence to a field, he also concedes that the 'field of power' (which can probably be understood as the field of politics) has a central role, as it dominates society and fabricates power relations which structure most other fields. Despite the fields' quasi-autonomy, they share commonalities in a sense that they are constituted of dominant and dominated, modes of reproduction or mechanisms of exclusion and inclusion. These resemblances can be explained by the translation of practices and habitus from one field to another (as an individual can participate and act in various fields), and as a consequence of the power of dominant fields, particularly the 'field of power' itself. (Jenkins: 2002, pp. 84-86; Bennett, 2010: p. xix)

Classical (i.e. earlier, pre-Bourdieu) sociological accounts considered consumption as a function of production and consumption patterns dependent on class position. They isolate distinctive classes with particular properties or occupational bases, behaving or expressing themselves in particular ways through their consumption practices. Hierarchical inequalities, derived from a collective role in production, are reinforced in consumption and create a social identity for a producer group. (Warde: 1997, p. 8)

In one of those approaches written at the transition to the age of mass consumption, Thorstein Veblen portrays what he calls the 'leisure class' and their consumption behavior. He characterizes them through their attempt to create a distance between themselves and that world of practical necessity, which was the foundation of their fortune (as opposed to the aristocracy, which had accumulated its wealth not through merit but by inheritance alone). Veblen showed that their relative freedom from the obligation to work and their wealth were translated into highly exaggerated forms, which he termed conspicuous consumption and leisure. Similar to Bourdieu, in Veblen's view the area of refined taste is the key dimension, over which the leisure class exercised control and through which they attributed significance to ordinary goods. This was then enhanced through the process of emulation, by which lower classes tried to imitate the behavior and style of the leisure class, which, in turn, could extend its influence over the whole social hierarchy. (Miller, 1987: pp. 147-149)

Bourdieu's notion of culture is rather a sociology of cultural consumption and social re-production, of the uses to which culture is put and of the way in which cultural categories are defined and defended. Consumption behavior is thus, broadly perceived, a means through which classes can display and reproduce their cultural capital and their place in the hierarchical system of social distinction. (Jenkins: 2002, p. 130; Warde: 1997, p. 10)

Alternative concepts of consumption

But purely class-based accounts of consumption, and some regard Bourdieu's as such – especially by being strongly grounded in the analysis of the French society of the 1960-70s, have been increasingly criticized, for much contemporary social theory

emphasizes new social forces and a reorientation of personal motivations, which underpin modern, or post-modern, culture. To the extent that class cultures were once homogeneous, then the mechanisms of socialization were sufficient to explain consumption behavior, for which the social group determined norms of consumption and the individual learned appropriate tastes, and consumer behavior occurred within the parameters of such cultures. What may go unnoticed or does not receive sufficient attention by Bourdieu, is “the actual brilliance often displayed in the art of living in modern societies by people of all classes, and the use of ambiguities, inconsistencies, resistance, framing and such devices in individual and social strategies [...]” (Miller, 1987: p. 155; see also Warde: 1997, p. 8-10)

While a society, as described by Bourdieu, seems to offer only limited space for choice in the field of consumption, it is argued by some, that today the consumer makes real choices because no severe sanctions can be invoked to ensure a particular mode of conduct (as opposed to, for example, the workplace where choices and autonomy are limited by the threat of dismissal or disciplinary action). As people appear to be less restricted in the field of consumption than in any other field, consumption comes to be seen as a realm of freedom.

“Ever larger chunks of human conduct have been released from explicitly social (not to mention endorsed by an authority and backed by official sanctions) patterning, supervision and policing, relegating an ever larger set of previously socialized responsibilities back to the responsibility of individual men and women, in a deregulated and privatized setting which is focused on consumer concerns and pursuits, the responsibility for choices, the actions that follow the choices and the consequences of such actions rests fully on the shoulders of individual actors.” (Bauman: 2007, p. 89)

In (liquid or post)-modernity, according to Bauman and others, people are no longer positioned in society only according to their lineage or class, but they are required to construct their own selves and to invent and consciously create an individual identity – a process, in which consumption takes a central role. Some people do adopt consumption strategies that are primarily oriented towards a self-representation as distinctive individuals, but the individualized sense of consumers’ decision-making might be counter-acted by new ways of socially disciplining behaviors. (Warde: 1997, pp. 10-11)

The two positions – consumer choice as a realm of personal freedom through detachment from social collectivities, on the one hand, powerful group regulatory and normative constraints, on the other – are mediated by various trends and eventually new or renewed social forces: Firstly, individuals integrate themselves into society by their own efforts at self-construction, creating a self-identity, a process wherein consumption is of great importance, because appearance becomes the measure of a person's worth. Secondly, a process of informalization dissolves previously established rigid and conformist patterns of consumption and standards of consumer behavior become more relaxed and less binding, which may result in less-predictable behaviors. Thirdly, a counter-tendency of imagined communities, around common markers such as nation, ethnicity or regional and local identities, might invoke the nostalgic invention of traditions and a kind of social re-embedding. Finally, subcultures (smaller than classes, generations or churches) are highly conscious of style and self-representation and therefore might produce and follow strongly regulated patterns of appropriate (niche) consumption. (Warde: 1997, pp. 12-14)

Life-styles, identification and subcultures

“The subcultures are cultures of conspicuous consumption, even when certain types of consumption are conspicuously refused – and it is through the distinctive rituals of consumption, through style, that the subculture at once reveals its ‘secret’ identity and communicates its forbidden meaning. It is basically the way in which commodities are used in a subculture which mark the subculture off from more orthodox cultural formations.” (Hebdige, 1979 [2008]: pp. 102-103)

In the following I will briefly discuss two accounts of subcultures, namely Dirk Hebdige's work on youth cultures and their styles in the UK and Warren Belasco's analysis of the emergence of a counter-cuisine in the U.S.

Each subculture, according to Hebdige, moves through a cycle of resistance and a quick succession of its incorporation. Such cycles are situated within the larger cultural and commercial matrices. Subcultural deviance is simultaneously rendered ‘explicable’ and meaningless in the classrooms, courts and media, while at the same time the ‘secret’ objects of subcultural style are put on display in every high street shop and chain-store

boutique. “Stripped of its unwholesome connotations, the style becomes fit for public consumption.” (Hebdige, 1979 [2008]: p. 130)

Subcultures ‘breach expectancies’ by representing challenges to the prevalent symbolic order. Hebdige discusses if and how subcultures can be effectively incorporated into the dominant order and explicates it as follows: The emergence of a spectacular subculture is invariably accompanied by a wave of hysteria in the media. This hysteria is typically ambivalent: it fluctuates between dread and fascination, outrage and amusement. Style in particular provokes a double response: it is alternately celebrated, ridiculed and reviled. In most cases, it is the subculture’s stylistic innovations, which first attract the media’s attention and as the subculture begins to strike its own marketable pose, as its vocabulary (both visual and verbal) becomes more and more venacularized, so the referential context to which it can be most conveniently assigned is made increasingly apparent. The media thus not only records resistance, but rather situates it within the dominant framework of meanings. “It is through this continual process of recuperation that the fractured order is repaired and the subculture incorporated as a diverting spectacle within the dominant mythology from which it in part emanates.” (Hebdige, 1979 [2008]: pp. 92-94)

Hebdige offers two ways of describing this recuperation of subcultures into the mainstream, which frequently work together:

(I) The relationship between the spectacular subculture and the various industries, which service and exploit it, is notoriously ambiguous. After all, such a subculture is concerned, first and foremost, with consumption. It operates exclusively in the leisure sphere. It communicates through commodities, even if the meanings attached to those commodities are purposefully distorted or overthrown. It is therefore difficult to maintain any absolute distinction between commercial exploitation on the one hand, and creativity and originality on the other, even though these categories are emphatically opposed in the value systems of most subcultures. Indeed, the creation and diffusion of new styles is inextricably bound to the process of production, publicity and packaging, which must inevitably lead to the defusion of the subculture’s subversive powers. As each new subculture establishes new trends, generates new looks and sounds, they consequently feed back into the respective industries. As soon as the (original)

innovations, which signify ‘subculture’, are translated into commodities and made widely available, they become ‘frozen’. Once they are being removed from the private context by the individual entrepreneurs and big fashion interests, who produce them on a mass scale, they become codified, made comprehensible, rendered at once public property and profitable merchandise. Youth cultural styles may start out by issuing symbolic challenges, but they must, according to Hebdige, inevitably end by establishing new sets of conventions, by creating new commodities, new industries or rejuvenating old ones. (Hebdige, 1979 [2008]: pp. 94-96)

(II) The media often represents subcultures in ways that makes them appear both more and less exotic than they really are. The presentation of their otherness is twofold: by trivializing, naturalizing and domesticating them, their deviation from the mainstream is simply denied. Alternatively, the Other can be transformed into meaningless exotica. In this case, their difference is consigned to a place, which lies beyond analysis. In such an ideological way of recuperation, deviant behavior is re-labeled and re-defined by dominant groups, be it the police, the media or the legal system. (Hebdige, 1979 [2008]: pp. 96-97)

Warren Belasco describes a somewhat similar phenomenon of niche-production/consumption in his analysis of the counter-cuisine in the U.S. and Western Europe, which appeared in close temporal proximity to the phenomenon of working-class youth subcultures of the UK Hebdige analyses. As the counterculture turned to natural and organic foods in the late 1960s, it represented a serious and largely unprecedented attempt to reverse the direction of dietary modernization and thereby align personal consumption with perceived global needs. Its ‘digestible ideology’ of dietary radicalism was motivated less by concerns about personal vitality and longevity (as was the case in the earlier, traditional health food movement) but rather by radical politics and environmentalism. (Belasco, 2005: p. 217-219)

Belasco defines a cuisine as a set of socially situated food behaviors with the following components: a limited number of ‘edible’ foods (selectivity); a preference for particular ways of preparing food (technique); a distinctive set of flavors, textural and visual characteristics (aesthetics); a set of rules for consuming food (ritual); and an organized system of producing and distributing the food (infrastructure). Embedded in these components is a set of ideas, images, and values (ideology) that can be ‘read’ just

like any other cultural 'text'. The counter-cuisine's aesthetic principles of taste, texture and presentation were synthesized and adapted largely from ethnic styles, while its rituals of consumption tended to be informal and spontaneous. Furthermore, many participants in the counter-cuisine-movement were intensely interested in setting up an alternative infrastructure (organic farms, farmers' markets, cooperative stores, vegetarian restaurants etc.). The underlying ideology centered around consumerist themes, i.e. the avoidance of industrial, chemically manipulated foods, therapeutic themes with respect to pleasure and identity, particularly a favoring of craftsmanship, leisure and tradition, and an organic motif, which addressed issues of reconciliation of private consumption with environmental needs and the ecological connections between production and consumption. (Belasco, 2005: pp. 219-220)

The socio-political and economic context of the U.S. in the 1960 clearly influenced the rise of the counter-cuisine: a repositioning of the oppositional political left coupled with a rising dissatisfaction with the prevailing culinary paradigm. Modernist fantasies and the mass consumption need of a growing population were reflected in the extensive use of chemicals, labor-saving farm machinery, food-processing and mass-marketing. Concerns about the environmental impact of such modern, biochemical agriculture came not only from some marginal or radical groups of society, but the more affluent, urban, liberal segments of the general public became less receptive to dietary modernism and more aware of food's social and aesthetic dimensions. These were catered to by hip business people who combined their social and environmental consciousness with old-fashioned entrepreneurial spirit to establish organic farms, coops, farmers' markets, natural food supermarkets and the like. (Belasco, 2005: pp. 223-225)

But the hegemonic incorporation process soon came into play and much of the natural foods movement was safely contained by a food industry, which is now even more consolidated, chemically engineered and globalized than it was in the 1960s. The media also tried to ridicule the organic movement's preference for localized, small-scale production and distribution, which obviously stood in contrast to the multinational trajectory of the food industry. But food marketers also acknowledged that some of the hip criticism resonated with middle-class urban culture and corresponding market research also impressed food marketers. The fact that these nostalgic, health-conscious

consumers tended to come from the more affluent part of the population made it even more imperative that the food industry responded in some way. (Belasco, 2005: p. 227)

These two accounts of subcultures' and their niche-consumption practices may illustrate that

“Hegemony can only be maintained so long as the dominant classes succeed in framing all competing definitions within their range, so that subordinate groups are, if not controlled, then at least contained within an ideological space which does not seem at all ‘ideological’.” (Hebdige, 1979 [2008]: p. 16)

The challenge to hegemony then, which subcultures represent, is not issued directly by them. Rather it is expressed indirectly, in style and through the practice of consumption. The struggle between different discourses, different definitions and meanings within ideology is therefore always, at the same time, a struggle within signification: a struggle for possession of the sign, which extends to even the most mundane areas of everyday life. ‘Ordinary’ objects can be magically appropriated, ‘stolen’ by subordinate groups and made to carry ‘secret’ meanings: meanings which express, in code, a form of resistance to the order. The consumer can thus be perceived not only as a passive and easily manipulated creature, but as an active, critical and creative person; someone who adapted and molded material acquired through consumption and the media to his/her own ends by means of a diverse range of everyday, creative and symbolic practices. (Hebdige, 1979 [2008]: pp. 16-18; Campbell, 1995: p. 97)

Similarly, Colin Campbell suggests that the increasing use of a consumerist perspective foregrounds the extent to which individuals are being viewed as ‘consumers’ of products rather than simply as users or participants in cultural activities, or as the consumers of films, television programs etc. rather than simply as an ‘audience’. The change from passive user to consumer thus might open up possibilities of different interpretations. (Campbell, 1995: p. 99, Miller: 1987: p. 176)

But Campbell is also critical of the view that modern industrial societies have evolved in such a way that individuals are presented, effectively for the first time, with the possibility of choosing their identity by varying their pattern of consumption of all types of tangible, perishable and intangible goods. There may well be good reasons, he argues, for believing that it is unwise for sociologists to build theories of modern

consumer behavior exclusively around the concept of ‘lifestyle’, as lifestyle categories, too, are still commonly built around more structural discriminators. Furthermore, while taste might be subject to change, the values that people hold (and which also influence consumer behavior) do not change much throughout their lifetime. (Campbell, 1995: pp. 109-110)

There are yet further-reaching problems with the ‘lifestyle’ or ‘consumption as indicative of identity choice’ thesis: These theories assume that consumer goods carry complex messages and that the consumer and the observer share a common understanding of the ‘language’ in which they are conveyed. As a consequence, consumer actions are not viewed as real events involving the allocation or use of material resources so much as symbolic acts or signs - acts “which do not so much ‘do something’ as ‘say something’”. Sending a message to largely unknown and generally unspecified others merely by a process of displaying or using goods, and often without the assistance of specifically designated display situations, is a rather different matter. The fact that one individual may be able to perceive some ‘meaning’ in the consumption activities of another does not necessarily imply that other observers would discern similar ‘meanings’ in that activity, or that the meanings discerned correspond to those the consumer intended to convey through his/her conduct. (Campbell, 1995: pp. 110-113)

Material culture and commodification

Campbell continues to argue that the consumption-as-communication paradigm fails to acknowledge the necessary material basis of consumption, as it reduces consumption to merely a process of indication or signification, exclusively in an other-directed, social context. Modern consumption, he suggests, centers around the pursuit of pleasure, as this necessarily directs attention to the processes through which individuals perceive and interact with the world around them. By stressing the extent to which modern consumers are preoccupied with pursuing pleasure, it becomes possible to understand how the physical properties of goods might be implicated in the processes of

consumption, which involves the interaction with real objects and people. The essential activity of consumption thus is not the actual selection, purchase or use of products and services, but rather the imaginative pleasure-seeking to which the product image lends itself. (Campbell, 1995: pp. 114-115)

The importance of material objects and artifacts, or what Daniel Miller also calls ‘Stuff’, lies not so much in their appearance and physicality but, quite the opposite, in the fact that people are often not aware of them. Nevertheless, they determine their expectations in powerful ways, by setting the scene and ensuring appropriate behavior, without being able to challenge them. “They determine what takes place to the extent that we are unconscious of their capacity to do so.” (Miller, 2010: p. 50)

By creating certain domains of objects (cars, houses, films, ...) a contradictory process of self-alienation or objectification is being triggered, which enables human beings to enhance their capacity to grow themselves and, at the same time and through the very same process, opens up a possibility to oppress ourselves, if the thing we made then develops its own autonomous interests (for example, the car industry, pollution, traffic congestions; food industry, eating disorders, destruction of habitats), and thus dissolving the clear boundaries between persons and things. The quantitative increase in ‘stuff’, in commodities since the nineteenth century is thus neither good nor bad, but intrinsically contradictory, as one cannot have their benefits without entailing the risks that commodities will oppress the individual, or society in parts or as a whole. (Miller, 2010: pp. 59, 61-63)

If people are constructed by their material world, the negative aspects of objectification become more of a concern, as people are often not themselves the agents behind the material world through which they must live. When individuals grow up to become members of a given society, it happens through formal and informal education as well as by being embedded into the general habits and dispositions of that society, through the interaction with the order that is already prefigured in the objects they find around them. (Miller, 2010: p. 84, 135)

In certain circumstances segments of the population are able to appropriate artifacts and commodities and utilize them in the creation of their own image. In other cases, people are forced to live in and through objects which are created through the images held of them by a different and dominant section of the population, although the

emergence of the object from the world of capitalist or state production does not make it necessarily a direct representation of the interests of capital or the state. Material forms and their consumption lend themselves to the workings of both ideological control and dissent. (Miller, 1987: pp. 175-177)

There appears to be a huge diversity of strategies of consumption, by subcultures, social networks based around shared interests etc., which can be used to overcome the alienating consequences of mass consumer culture. For the first half of the twentieth century, capitalist industries attempted to create larger, more homogeneous markets for its products, using advertising to diminish regional, ethnic and other divisions in the consumer sphere. But since the 1950s these industries had to respond to the emergence of a new social diversity and to adapt to, rather than be the cause of, current social trends. This plurality also suggests a growth in the use of time for activities, which are seen by the general population as self-productive (see also Belasco, above). In this sense, the traditional contradiction between production and consumption is being challenged. The development of positive consumption strategies is often accompanied by a worsening of conditions for a large, highly oppressed minority. “Consumption is by definition concerned with the utilization of resources; it is not an alternative ‘leisure’ arena which compensates for their absence.” (Miller, 1987: pp. 210-212)

“Any attempt to construct models based on a separation of a population from its material environment as thereby embodying some prior or more authentic body of pre-cultural ‘pure’ social relations is based on an illusion concerning the nature of society. Mass goods represent culture, [...] they are an integral part of that process of objectification by which we create ourselves as an industrial society; our identities, our social affiliations, our lived everyday practices. The authenticity of artifacts as culture derives [...] from their active participation in a process of social self-creation in which they are directly constitutive of our understanding of ourselves and others.” (Miller, 1987: p. 215)

On the one hand, material culture appears as a society made tangible through its material presence; on the other hand, ‘stuff’ has a remarkable capacity for fading from view, to become naturalized and taken for granted, because we constantly fail to notice what it does. “Things act much more commonly as analogous to the frames around paintings than as painting themselves. They guide us towards the appropriate way to behave and remain unchallenged, since we have no idea that we are being so directed.” (Miller, 2010: p. 155)

At this point it seems appropriate to briefly investigate the assumed difference between cultural artifacts and ‘ordinary’ commodities and how the process of commodification entails both, the risk of alienation and homogenization as well as spaces for resistance and for the preserving of authenticity and originality:

“There is a widespread belief that there is something so special about certain cultural products and events (be they in the arts, theatre, music, cinema, architecture or more broadly in localized ways of life, heritage, collective memories and affective communities) as to set them apart from ordinary commodities like shirts and shoes. While the boundary between the two sorts of commodities is highly porous (perhaps increasingly so) there are still grounds for maintaining an analytic separation. It may be, of course, that we distinguish cultural artifacts and events because we cannot bear to think of them as anything other than authentically different, existing on some higher plane of human creativity and meaning than that located in the factories of mass production and consumption. But even when we strip away all residues of wishful thinking (often backed by powerful ideologies) we are still left with something very special about those products designated as ‘cultural’. (Harvey, 2006: p. 1)

Although such cultural materials, tangible or intangible, may contain special qualities of uniqueness and particularity, no item can be so unique as to be entirely outside of the monetary calculus of the market, in terms of direct or indirect tradability. The more easily such items are turned into marketable commodities, the less unique and special they appear:

“If claims to uniqueness, authenticity, particularity and specialty underlie the ability to capture monopoly rent⁸, then on what better terrain is it possible to make such claims than in the field of historically constituted cultural artifacts and practices and special environmental characteristics (including, of course, the built, social and cultural environments)?” (Harvey, 2006: p. 9)

But the attractiveness of marks of authenticity and uniqueness creates an increased demand, which draws more and more homogenizing commodification in its wake and diminishes or even erases distinction.

Capital and market forces often produce widespread alienation and resentment among the cultural producers who experience the appropriation and exploitation of their

⁸ Monopoly rent refers to the profits derived from a temporary monopoly situation, in which one actor on a market can secure gains from a commodity through its temporarily unrivalled positions, qualities or offers.

creativity for the economic benefits of others, in much the same way that whole communities may resent having their cultures exploited through commodification. But, as David Harvey suggests, there is also space for resistance against the notion that creativity and originality are merely a means to “create a more fertile terrain from which monopoly rents can be extracted by those who have both the power and compulsive inclination to do so.” As monopoly rent is a contradictory form, the search for it leads global capital to value distinctive local initiatives. It also leads to the valuation of uniqueness, particularity and other dimensions of social life that are inconsistent with the homogeneity presupposed by commodity production. (Harvey, 2006: pp. 12-13)

How do concepts of consumption now map onto the urban landscape of contemporary Turkey? The following chapter will examine in how far and which aspects of the discussed concepts are relevant for Turkey’s urban landscapes and their diverse populations.

Consumption practices in the urban everyday of Turkey

The term lifestyle gained currency in Turkey after the 1980s and denotes the creation of different styles in various areas of life through consumption practices. Lifestyle came to represent a key factor in the self-identification of a newly emerging elite, which defined itself as ‘modern’, ‘Western’ and ‘global’. At the same time, it rendered those, which did or could not comply with these criteria, viewed through the prism of the particular dominant class and their tastes, as ‘backward’ and ‘rural’. Lifestyles had simultaneously become an indicator of real struggles (over participation, resources and access to those) and a representation and “manifestation of perpetually shifting and transitory styles of living.” (Ahıska, Yenal; 2006: p. 5)

In her study of a suburban middle-class community in Ankara⁹ Sencer Ayata examines how imagined differences between classes and cultures are established as

⁹ The study combines research and fieldwork conducted in 1993 and 1998 in one of the new suburban districts in Ankara.

social and spatial boundaries and how gendered consumption practices contribute to the fabrication of middle-class identity. (Ayata: 2002, pp. 25-26)

In spite of the rejection of traditional or Islamist discourses regarding gender inequality and of distinctions between the (male) public and the (female) domestic sphere, gender roles in Turkey's urban and suburban settings are far from symmetrical: home, as seen by men, is considered the women's sphere of action and influence, as they spend more time there and are thought to attribute greater emotional significance to it. They are seen as managers of the house, by being in charge of provisioning, decoration and the management of family appearance, which gives them authority over the expanding and diversifying family consumption. The income earned by the husband or husband and wife together is transformed into prestige by means of women's skills in home-making and in the display of household goods. (Ayata: 2002, pp. 33-34)

The increasing importance of consumer culture in Turkey, the ever-growing number of shopping-malls and their potential to loosen constraints on women in public spaces, and the increasing diversity of products, allowed women to become more active and visible in those typical consumer environments. Most of these giant shopping centers in Istanbul, for example, are located far from the city center and one has to travel to get there. In many ways, they are like picnic sites, which fill up with families on weekends, where one makes the 'pilgrimage to Commodity'. Women now started to spend more time on the consumption practices themselves, whereby consumption tends to involve not only the actual activity of shopping but also the conception of desire for certain objects. Such desires are nurtured by marketing strategies, which do not describe the true characteristics of products but create an image of it, by making a reality out of an appearance. As the enormous range of products on offer makes consumer choices more subtle and complex, they also increasingly become a matter of personal taste and aesthetic judgment and require connoisseurship of those goods and of the ways of putting them to proper use. This includes not only the judgments of the goods themselves and bringing them together in tasteful combinations, but also the capabilities to impose one's own standards and style on them and to judge others' choices and display of goods. These practices and habituses thus are turned into a public display of cultural capital. Or as Nurdan Gürbilek puts it,

“[...] the relationship between seer and seen had become one of spectatorship, and speech itself had become a shop window. [...] there emerged a society in which many things existed because they were shown and to the extent they were seen; they acquired value because they were displayed and to the extent they were viewed.”

Istanbul was thus transformed into a site of spectacle. (Gürbilek, 2011: p. 21-23, 28; Ayata: 2002, pp. 35-36)

Meltem Ahıska and Zafer Yenil propose that Istanbul's (and other Turkish cities') shopping malls have become a way of life and one of the most important indicator of a lifestyle modelled on the west. With their blending of retail outlets, movie multiplexes, restaurants, event programs, entertainment spaces and fitness and beauty salons they offer a space for the representation of lifestyle defined by consumerism. (Ahıska, Yenil; 2006: pp. 75-76)

As already laid out in my presentation of the field (Chapter 2), all of Istanbul's art museums offer some sort of additional services and ancillary spaces, which together comprise the museum experience. The book and gift-shop, the in-house cinema, the restaurant, concert and performance venues all aim to enhance the museum visit and to prolong the time visitors are occupied with taking in all the museum has to offer. Very often a large part of these additional offerings are aimed at children, from special tours to items in the gift shop, which suggest a clever mix of educational value and aesthetic quality. Harvey argues that the boundaries between cultural goods and 'ordinary' commodities become increasingly porous, but argues for, at least, the maintaining of an analytical separation. (Harvey, 2006: p. 1)

Talking about the museum experience SALT's Anlam Arslanoğlu stated the following: “I am a big fan of the museum experience. When I enter a cultural institution, I think, it [the bookstore, the café] adds a lot to what I get from the cultural institution.” Citing the vitra-museum in Weil am Rhein¹⁰, Germany, as one of her favorite examples, she said that “even though it is a commercial museum, it is very tasteful and very successful. You never feel like you are in IKEA.” (Interview with SALT's Ceylan Tokcan and Anlam Arslanoğlu)

¹⁰ The museum presents the design collection of the high-end furniture producer vitra. The museum is comprised of various pavilions, designed by star-architects such as Zaha Hadid, Frank Gehry and Tadao Ando.



Illustration 2: SALT Beyoglu's book shop and beneath the open kitchen and bar area of SALT Café (Foto by Michael Kubiena)

Still, one might question where the actual difference lies between a leisurely day of experiencing the museum (a stroll through the gallery, lunch, a visit to the gift-shop, eventually complemented by a film in the museum's cinema) and a day spent at IKEA or in a garden center, whose restaurants have become a culinary genre of their own (at least in the UK). (Naylor, 2011: p. 1)

Istanbul's shopping spaces (malls and certain neighborhoods) have not created a singular consumer profile, but rather adapt their offerings and image to accommodate respective cultural and socio-economic diversities. While a single shopping-center and its surrounding infrastructure may draw customers with similar profiles or are actually pushing people to sameness, the differences and imagined boundaries between those centers and urban areas have even become more pronounced. (Ahıska, Yenal; 2006: pp. 76, 81-82)

Ayata argues that shifts in consumption practices have a number of consequences for social class differentiation. Firstly, through their consumer choices and their exercise of refined taste women indicate and affirm the middle-class identity of the

family and secure differentiation from the classes below. Secondly, the suburban trend towards domesticity does not necessarily imply increased seclusion or marginalization of women, but allows for a rise in status and self-expression through consumption practices. Thirdly, the women's superior role over men in the hierarchy of taste, which gains currency in relation to the hierarchy of wealth, empowers women in both the family and the society. (Ayata: 2002, pp. 36-37)

In Gürbilek's use of the metaphor of Turkey's society's transformation into a shop window, she concludes that

“Shop windows always signal plentitude. But what makes this plentitude possible, what brings it into being [...] that is not shown in the shop window. Shop windows conceal from those who gaze into them the fact that the wares on display are products of labor.” (Gürbilek, 2011: pp. 32-33)

While shop windows in Turkey, she argues, have never been so rich, at the same time the buying power of the majority has never been so poor, but “those who suffer can themselves make a spectacle of their experience.”

Class-divisions, in general and in Turkey in particular it seems, have not disappeared or are necessarily less severe than a few decades ago. But while Bourdieu defined taste and consumption behavior by identifying unitary lifestyles grounded in competition between these social classes, now a number of questions arise around this proposition: Are tastes still shared by socio-demographically distinguishable groups and are patterns of consumption as coherent as he presumed? Do individuals exhibit behavior sufficiently coherent to permit the identification of style, when styles have become much more fluid? One may conclude from the above that the social practices in the field of consumption are not coherent enough to actually present a conceptual field, but the consequence does not need to be a completely pattern-less or arbitrary individualization, but rather a more intricate and more specialized formation of smaller groups with sometimes only temporary but not less close attachment to fragmented collectivities. While many maintain that there has been a significant or even radical transformation in the nature of consumption, there seems relatively little agreement neither on the direction of the changes nor on the most likely outcomes of this shift. (Warde: 1997, pp. 19-21)

“Once we ask which things matter to whom and why, we are immediately faced with an endless proliferation of criteria of mattering. One of the dimensions that acts as a common thread for the study of material cultures is the dimension of space. It links a concern with the most private domestic arena to the most public and global sphere.” (Miller, 1998: p. 15)

The next chapter will therefore explore the role of material objects, namely food and the arts, in the urban space and attempts to investigate why and in which way the practices around these things matter. The chapter will be concluded by a brief discussion of the development of and changes in Istanbul’s urban landscape.

4. CULTURAL PRODUCTION AND CONSUMPTION AND THE URBAN LANDSCAPE

“[...] The urban art museum or concert hall, the trendy art gallery and café, restaurants that fuse ethnic tradition into culinary logos – cultural activities are supposed to lift us out of the mire of our everyday lives and into the sacred spaces of ritualized pleasures.” (Zukin, 1995: p. 1)

Cities today are constructing ‘a place’ around cultural markets. Whether it is the monumental space of the performing arts complex, or the more modest space of an artists’ or a new media center, today’s cultural quarters resemble a regional industrial district that manufactures any kind of product. The cultural quarter specializes in cultural products rather than in ‘normal’ commodities, but just as in a manufacturing district, complementary networks create different parts of cultural products, from the ethnic districts to heritage landmarks, and from art museums to cafés and shops. The old, imagined city that radiated from a historic center has turned into a set of urban consumption spaces, in which cultural capital based on innovative art is economically and symbolically important. In addition, these consumption spaces in cultural zones attract consumers from outside. (Zukin, 2001: p. 264; Harvey, 2002: p. 1)

The struggle of the urban population is not only one for economic survival but also for the assertion of a high-profile individualism. “It is a paradox of the metropolis that its scale and heterogeneity can generate an experience both of unbearable invisibility and liberating anonymity.” (Blazwick, 2001: p. 11)

Throughout the second half of the twentieth century sites of industrial mass production have been gradually moved out of central urban areas and were replaced by financial and other services industries, while financial investment helped to transform urban centers into spaces of consumption. Some places within every nation have prospered at the expense of other areas in the same country. Economic growth and globalization have impacted cities, regions, nations and urban neighborhoods unevenly. In order to secure sufficient and sustained investment, the city needs to be marketed and ‘sold’. When selling the city the commodity being promoted is not just the city and the physical spaces of the city as such, but the city’s symbolic spaces as well. Selling and defining ‘place’ is a complex transaction, which requires the sale of what the city

means, how it feels, and what it looks like, regarding both, the tangible and the intangible attributes of particular urban spaces. These qualities must be identified and packaged, not just to potential investors and visitors, but also to local residents and communities of interest. Thus a range of regeneration strategies might be formulated, either for whole cities or for certain areas, neighborhoods and communities within a city, where leisure, enjoyment, spectacle and pleasure are produced, packaged, marketed and consumed. Urban populations are not only potential creators, but also an audience and consumers, with tastes, styles and sensibilities to stimulate and a consciousness to raise.” (Stevenson, 2003: pp. 96, 98-100; Blazwick, 2001: pp. 8-9)

Probably the most obvious field is contemporary tourism, where the power of collective symbolic capital, of special marks of distinction that are attached to some place, develop a significant drawing power upon the flows of capital and international tourists. The collective symbolic capital, which attaches to cultural capitals is of great importance and gives such places great economic advantages over regional cities. The problem then for these regional cities¹¹ is to raise their symbolic capital and to increase their marks of distinction so as to better ground their claims to the uniqueness that yields monopoly rent. (Harvey, 2002: p. 9)

By now restaurants are well linked to the arts and tourism, to the ‘quality of life’ a city offers and to a city’s image as a cultural capital. Innovative in cuisine, receptive to capital investment, restaurants, which offer the latest news in high-class dining and suggest an aura of sensual excitement, have become the public drawing rooms of the symbolic economy’s (see below) business and creative elites. (Zukin, 1995: p. 155)

“[...] What is going on in the restaurant industry is important as a cultural phenomenon. Restaurants have become incubators of innovation in urban culture. They feed the symbolic economy – socially, materially and spiritually. For cultural consumers, moreover, restaurants produce an increasingly global product tailored to local tastes.” (Zukin, 1995: p. 182)

To put this into a historical perspective, Blazwick argues, that from at least the mid nineteenth century, artists and intellectuals have demonstrated a conflicted

¹¹ Harvey takes Bilbao as his example, where Frank Gehry’s architecture of the Guggenheim had such kind of impact (the Bilbao Effect). In the meantime, because of the culinary attractions of the Basque country and its cities like Bilbao and San Sebastian, which in combination have the highest relative density of Michelin stars, some writers speak of another (second) Bilbao effect.

relationship to the institutional spaces of the city. Art academies or schools, galleries and museums have nurtured innovation, promoted diversity and generated artistic communities while, at the same time, have also suppressed all of the above. Institutional stagnation triggers creative dissent, which finds an outlet in the alternatives of studios, artist-run spaces and bars. “By the beginning of the twentieth century however, the private and privileged space of the salon had given way to the public and multicultural space of the café, as the real urban intermediate zone between private and public living.” (Blazwick, 2001: p. 11, see also Deutsche, Ryan; Zukin)

The symbolic economy

Culture is more and more becoming the business of cities, as the basis of their tourist attractions and their unique, competitive edge. The growth of cultural consumption (of art, food, fashion, music, ...) and the industries that cater to it fuel the city's symbolic economy, i.e. its visible ability to produce both symbols and space. The growing number of new public spaces owes their particular shape and form to the intertwining of cultural symbols and entrepreneurial capital. (Zukin, 1995: pp. 2-3)

According to Zukin, a city's symbolic economy unfolds in three dimensions: (I) Traditionally, the structure of a city depends on the combination of the economic factors of land, labor and capital. But it also reflects concepts of order and disorder, the symbolic languages of inclusion and exclusion and decision on what and who should be visible or not. Culture then becomes a powerful means of controlling cities. As a source of images and memories, it symbolizes ‘who belongs’ in specific places. (II) A second aspect of the symbolic economy is shaped through entrepreneurs, officials and investors and their ability to translate symbols of growth and prosperity into ‘real’ results, such as gains out of real estate and business development and newly created jobs (often at the expense of ‘old’, traditional types of jobs). (III) Related to this entrepreneurial activity is a third aspect of the symbolic economy, pursued by city advocates and business elites who, through a combination of philanthropy, civic pride and a desire to establish and imprint their identity as a patrician class, build (and/or sponsor) the art museums, parks and architectural complexes that represent a world-class city. This threefold symbolic

economy merges image and product, and lifts the scope and scale of selling images on a national and even global level. The symbolic economy has thereby reached a capacity and position, which enables it to speak for and represent the city. (Zukin, 1995: pp. 1, 7-8)

As presented in the opening chapter, all museums in my field were founded by private patrons and are being operated almost exclusively by drawing on private capital and sponsorship. The museum managers all underlined that they do not see their respective institutions in direct competition with one another, even though the broad definition of their target audiences together with rather inclusive, popular focus exhibition-programs would suggest that their actual audiences do overlap to a significant extent (see Chapter 7).

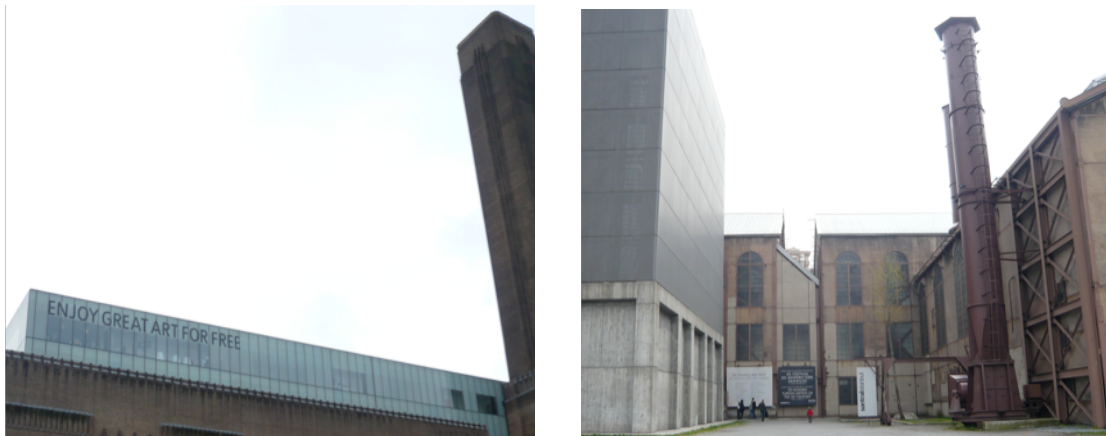
Restaurant managers and some visitors, who are, by their own definition, frequent museum-goers, have a different perception. First, they stated that the Istanbul public is only about to develop a habit of visiting art museums. Some of them even said, that “We, Turkish people, we do not go to art exhibitions.” While this, of course, is an overt generalization, the fact that all the museums only opened in the last decade also indicates that the local audiences still need to develop accordingly. Secondly, museums, regardless whether they are privately-run and sponsored or relying on public funding, are competing for those people, local or foreign tourists, who are already among the museum-going crowd. As large business corporations are backing Istanbul’s museums, one could expect that one of the objectives of these corporations is some kind of return on their investment, if not in monetary than in terms of PR and in the perception as a good corporate citizen by the public. While the museum audience might be potentially growing, (a growing middle class, increasing numbers of visiting tourists), the competition for the attention of these target groups is undeniable. In the words of Tarik Bayazit, owner and manager of Changa,

“...with all these popular exhibitions the museums are doing, they are killing each other, Picasso here, Botero there, Miró and whatever. They are trying to get as much public as possible into the museum. It is a cultural competition of some sort. That kind of thing is going on. [...] They are trying to lure people into the museum, who do not have the habit of going to the museum. For us in Turkey, museums are very historical institutions, like the Archeological Museum, that was the idea until not too long ago. But here, the museum is already slightly challenging and people are saying ‘I could have done that’ [...] People, the public, often don’t like this

challenge. Everybody wants to get what they want. It is the open-minded people you want to reach. And you want to have an economy based on these open-minded people.” (Interview with Tarik Bayazit)

This urban entrepreneurialism has become important, both nationally and internationally in recent decades. Contemporary urban governance mixes together state powers and a wide array of organizational forms in civil society and private interests to form coalitions, which cooperate to promote and manage urban/regional (re)-development. (Harvey, 2002: p. 8)

Through a range of reimagining strategies of the symbolic economy, which often involves considerable modifications of the built environment and the redevelopment of redundant sites, more and more cities are attempting to raise their profile in what has become a global competition of image, live-ability and culture.



Industrial heritage converted into art spaces, London and Istanbul.

Left: Tate Modern, Bankside powerplant extended by Herzog & DeMeuron, the glass extension with the signage „Enjoy great art for free“ houses the most exclusive of Tate Modern’s restaurants; right: Santral’s Main Gallery and Museum of Energy (Fotos by Michael Kubiena)

The Tate Modern in London, the former Bankside power-station refashioned by Swiss Architects Herzog and de Meuron, Vienna’s Museumsquarter, the former stables of the Austro-Hungarian Empire turned into a museum- and entertainment campus by Austrian architect Laurids Ortner, most recently, MAXXI in Rome, where Anglo-Iranian architect Zaha Hadid re-designed old army barracks into Rome’s first museum

of modern art, or CerModern in Ankara, in the disused train-wagon repair buildings of the Turkish State Railway – adapted by Turkish architect Semra Özcan Uygur, are just some of the most prominent examples in Europe of this trend. Often, the reason for this lies in the fact that empty space is not easily found in inner cities. While some of those sites integrate their architectural heritage visibly into their new usage concepts, others erase any traces of the past function of the building.

A former hotel, a cargo warehouse, a power-plant, two residential buildings from the nineteenth century, a historical bank building, a private mansion in a park, an industrial space converted into a loft: Istanbul’s art spaces and museums tend to follow this international trend of the past decades, which is to adapt existing, often defunct structures of the urban landscape and their original purposes to house (modern) art. (see also Keyder, 2010: p. 26)

But of course, there are enough purpose built museums, often designed by the same big-name architects, which contribute to the branding of a city (see also Chapter 6). In Istanbul, the most notable attempt at doing so is the plan of the Suna and İnan Kıraç Foundation to extend their Pera Museum into a cultural center in Tebepaşı.

Many of the dominant ideas about city form that are recognized globally and regarded as ideal or as symbols of urban supremacy have developed resonance not only through people’s actual experience of these places but also through the imagery encountered in marketing campaigns, film and other cultural texts. (Stevenson, 2003: p. 111-112)

An ever-increasing number of cities has entered the competition for tourist expenditure and financial investments, by manipulating the image of their city as a center of cultural innovation, including restaurants, festivals and architectural design. But at the same time this move often ignites severe struggles between the self-interest of real estate developers, politicians and expansion-minded cultural institutions against the needs, demands and pressures from local communities. (Zukin, 1995: p. 2)

Culture as a means of urban redevelopment and its role in gentrification

“The site [...] was in the red-light district, in Vivian Street – an area known more for the transvestites and hookers who worked it than for diners. [...] One memorable night the street was cordoned off when the glue-sniffing kids squatting next door set fire to our building. The television crews outside were regular customers, as were most of our diners, so it was no problem. The glue sniffers’ squat was eventually demolished and a garden center now stands in its place.”¹² (Gordon, 1997: p. 8)

In recent years, culture has also become a more explicit site of conflicts over social differences and urban fears, and a lot suggests that the incident described in the above quote could have happened in Istanbul as well (and most probably in any other major city worldwide). Cuts in public spending, immigration (in Europe and the U.S.) and persistent or even increasing material inequalities had several effects on cultural and traditional social institutions. While social classes and political parties have become less relevant mechanisms in expressing and representing identity, such high culture institutions as art museums have been forced to expand and diversify their offerings to appeal to broader public. Controlling the various cultures of cities, by creating images and spaces, which stamp a collective identity on a city, has become increasingly privatized. “If one way of dealing with the material inequalities of city life has been to aestheticize diversity, another way has been to aestheticize fear.” (Zukin, 1995: pp. 2-3)

Public spaces - through social interaction, through experiencing public life and sensing and representing identity of community - make up a constantly changing public culture. Who has the right to occupy public space is usually controlled by those with economic and political power and the means to shape and manipulate the city’s built environment. But the right to be in these spaces is also subject to constant negotiations

¹² In the above quote Peter Gordon, New Zealand-born chef and one of the creators and proponents of fusion cuisine, a highly-praised and frequently imitated culinary trend of the 1990s, recounts a story of his first restaurant, The Sugar Club, in Wellington. New Zealand.

He is currently the head-chef of 2 acclaimed restaurants in London and at the same time a culinary consultant of Istanbul’s Changa and Müzedechanga, the restaurant in SSM, in Istanbul.

over physical security, cultural identity and social and geographical community. (Zukin, 1995: pp. 11, 24)

Such cultural strategies of redevelopment mostly find support in areas that have been affected by economic decline or had become the target of active economic disinvestment. They rehabilitate traditional architecture and make it the base of guided tours, hotels and restaurants; they create selective landscapes of consumption. The limits for the strategies of redevelopment are set by economic return: Art museums, historic districts and ethnic heritage zones are favored only as long as the space they might occupy is not more valuable to investors for other purposes. (Zukin, 1995: pp. 80-81; Stevenson, 2003: p. 111-112) Thus, Zukin argues, cultural strategies of redevelopment are complicated representations of change and desire. Their common element is to create a 'cultural' space, which connects tourism, consumption and style of life. With an emphasis on preservation over destruction, cultural strategies are often made to appear as consensual and mutually beneficial strategies of change - regardless of how contested their sites were in the past or irrespectively of how strong the current social tensions around them currently are. (Zukin, 1995: p. 83)

The rise of the symbolic economy to become the economic base of many cities, their reorientation towards a symbiosis of business services, finance, media and art and the refashioning of city centers into leisure zones, have at least partly and initially been a story of unplanned and unexpected developments (while later on frequently becoming official policy). Planners of urban redevelopment realized that a significant number of upper-middle-class professionals favored the proximity of certain cultural amenities over the conformity of suburbia and were willing to accept the downsides of urban living, such as traffic problems or declining public services. Some of them actively welcomed and embraced the cultural diversity big cities offered, at least in the form of theaters, the variety of restaurants or musical performances. This allowed them to construct a distinct urban lifestyle. In order to cater to the needs of this segment of the urban population, what actually developed was an array of urban entertainment, from gourmet food shops and cafés to art galleries and clothing and furniture boutiques, what Zukin calls 'the critical infrastructure of gentrification'. Such strategies and urban redevelopment led to an 'artistic mode of production', which denotes a set of related economic and business practices: firstly, the reconfiguration and re-evaluation of the built environment around cultural consumption, secondly, the restructuring of the labor

force around the infrastructure of gentrification and finally, the nurturing of a sense of cultural meanings that value both urban space and labor for their aesthetic rather than their exclusively productive qualities. (Zukin, 2001: pp. 259-260)

At the same time, investment in art, for prestige or speculation-purposes and regardless of aesthetics, represented a collective means of social mobility. A belief in the growth of the symbolic economy of art represented belief in the growth of the city's economy overall. Visual representation became a means of simultaneously financially re-presenting the city. Creating place for art, or rather appropriating existing space and architecture for art, has frequently become official policy, which went along with establishing a marketable identity for the city as a whole. "No matter how restricted the definition of art that is implied, or how few artists are included, or how little the benefits extend to all social groups, the visibility and viability of a city's symbolic economy play an important role in the creation of place." (Zukin, 1995: p. 23)



From top left: Eyüp seen from Santral; weekend afternoon crowd at Eyüp Park; weekend afternoon crowd at Ottosantral; Sunday afternoon jazz session at Tamirane; (pictures by Michael Kubiena)

A project, for example, to build a major museum or to establish an international festival raises concrete issues about satisfying the cultural needs of local audiences, about establishing visual links to the rest of the city, and about understanding the implications of redeveloping an industrial town around a symbolic economy. The more such a museum (or festival) depends on government support, the greater is the possibility that the museum's mission will be transformed into an economic development strategy. Culture, in this case, is used mainly for its potential to create service-sector jobs, its effects on tourism and the hospitality industry, and its ability to attract a paying audience. (Zukin, 1995: p. 106)

As for Istanbul's art museums there seems to be quite a variety in visitor behavior depending on location of the museum, type and style of museum-restaurant, and to a certain extent in terms of age groups. But a lot suggests that the audience of both museums and adjacent restaurants are overall rather homogeneous and have a lot of common characteristics, which can best be described as a certain level of cultural capital, often combined with a good amount of economic capital. What furthermore confirms this assumption

is, that one clearly gets the impression, as I could observe during my fieldwork at Santral or when I recently attended an artist talk at SALT, that a lot of visitors do know each other. This homogeneity becomes even more visible when one contrasts it with who do not visit those sites:

On my most recent visit to Santral, I observed that

“especially, santral’s weekend crowd appears to be comprised mainly of young families and parents with small children, who appreciate the pleasant, spacious environment and use it for socializing and leisure purposes. I was left with the impression that, for many, this is the primary focus of their visits, which they repeat regularly. Neither accessibility nor the money spent during half a day at Santral seems to be a major concern, as most of them seem affluent enough, due to their professional backgrounds, to use private transport and to spend money on leisure and cultural activities.“ (transcribed notes from fieldwork)

While some of them commuted between the restaurants and the museum, their main occupation was to linger in and around the restaurants or half-listen to the jazz-quartet playing at Tamirane. From time to time one of the parents was looking after his/her and their friends’ children, which is easy enough, as the playgrounds and the lawn can be easily overlooked from the outdoor restaurant-tables. When I left Santral, I walked through Eyüp park, a mere 100 meters away from the Santral-campus, to the bus station in Eyüp, which according to my interview with Burak Gül is „not even a middle-class neighborhood.“

There I saw a somehow similar, but still rather different scene. Families eating and drinking, but not from a well-designed restaurant menu, but rather from their improvised barbeques and catered by street vendors. Parents and children were playing, but not on a neatly-kept playground like Santral’s, but around improvised volleyball-nets and in the caged-in basketball-court.

While there are security booths at both main entrances to the campus, one can enter the area without actually being checked or asked for identification. Still, there is an almost tangible boundary between the space of the museum and the university and its surrounding neighborhood of Eyüp. Although the museum undertakes notable efforts to interact with its neighborhood and its inhabitants (such as the organization of and catering to the annual reunion of the former workforce of the Silahtarağa powerplant), it is quite obvious that such visitors are rather alien and rare as compared to the

homogeneous, young upper/middle-class crowd of regular customers, as the restaurant managers of Ottosantral, Pelin Dumanlı, and Tamirane, Burak Gül, confirmed.

I would even suggest that most museums, despite their claims to social inclusion and public accessibility, rather represent a privatized space, cordoned-off from the public, popular urban sprawl by means of imaginary and physical boundaries, which lends itself especially to those, who have the right dispositions to fully appreciate the museums' offers of learning, contemplation and cultural entertainment. (see also Chapter 6 and 7).

An interesting, more optimistic but somehow self-ironic example came from SALT's Anlam Arslanoğlu: Talking about their security personnel at their newly opened premises on Istiklal Caddesi, she noted that only after a few weeks into their operations some of SALT's security staff, who never before had worked for (or set foot into a cultural institution) but rather at airports or shopping centers, started to ask her questions about the exhibitions and other art spaces worth seeing in Istanbul.

“And now they are talking about initiating an art project themselves ... it might be a joke, but even to joke about it ... is something.” (Interview with SALT's Ceylan Tokcan and Anlam Arslanoğlu)

In how far Istanbul Modern or Pera Museum can actually live up to their inclusive but at the same time rather vague goals regarding their target audiences, remains questionable. My observations there suggest that their audience, although comparatively large in quantitative terms, seems similarly homogeneous, a mix of international tourists, students and middle-class visitors who often come in couples or as a family. During my visits to Proje4L, I was mostly the only visitor present each time.

Furthermore, competition for public and financial support has pushed art museums to follow in the footsteps of for-profit culture industries. In order to support their expansion, museums develop profit-based activities that capitalize on their collections, such as the obligatory museum-shops or cafés. Institutionally, the promotion of contemporary artists has gone hand in hand with the expansion of both non-profit fine arts museums and for-profit cultural industries. (Zukin, 2001: pp. 263-264)

The alignment of artworld interests with those of the city government and the real-estate industry's developers and investors become explicit in a multi-stage process of gentrification (Deutsche and Gendel Ryan, 1984: pp. 93-96, 100-103; Zukin, 2001: p. 262):

Initially, the location of artists, who have moved to low-rent neighborhoods, becomes the place of gentrification. The propagated and officially circulated rationale is that without a thriving community of committed working artists and the manifold peripheral activities it generates, the city will lose a great deal – not only intellectually but economically as well as collectors and tourists go elsewhere to see, buy and be stimulated by up-and-coming art scenes. In its most severe cases, the immediate goal and consequence is the dislodging of a largely redundant working-class community by wresting control of neighborhood property and housing and turning it over to real-estate-developers. By creating neighborhoods and housing that only the white-collar labor force can afford, the cities are systematically destroying the material conditions for survival for a large number of people. Such processes take various forms, including abandoning buildings, harassing and evicting tenants and rapidly turning over neighborhood property in order to escalate real-estate value.

The second step is the full-scale development of appropriate conditions to house and entertain a professional middle class. This normally includes that cultural entrepreneurs (or other artists) open galleries, restaurants and bars that initially cater to the artists but in fact set up the critical infrastructure of cultural consumption that turns the wheel of gentrification. Artists' networks establish the desired proximity, their amenities of galleries and cafés are integrated into the cultural practices of the aspiring cultural consumers and the new residents and visitors.

In addition to the economic impact of artists and galleries, the art world functions ideologically to exploit the neighborhood for its bohemian or sensationalist connotations while obscuring the underlying social, economic and political processes. Consciously or unconsciously, the members of the art world approach the neighborhood with dominating and possessive attitudes that transform it into an imaginary site. Art journalists and the mass media enhance the value of the artists' district through creating the necessary buzz. Together with galleries, established alternative spaces and museums they manipulate and exploit the neighborhood, thereby serving the dominant ideology

that facilitates gentrification. Often the art world attempts to downplay and avoid the implications of their place in the neighborhood's recent history and to present themselves as potential victims of the gentrifying process and gentrification itself as inevitable and in some ways even desirable.

Asked about the interaction and impact of the presence of their museums in neighborhoods, which have been or are currently undergoing dramatic changes (for example, IKSŞ in Şiřhane, Santral in Eyüp or SALT Galata in Karaköy), the responses by my interviewees were as follows:

According to Deniz Ova, IKSŞ's move to Şiřhane (which was and still is to a certain extent considered as a dangerous, partly run-down area of Beyođlu) has an immediate impact on the accelerated changes of the neighborhood (real estate prices going up, opening of numerous up-scale restaurants and cafés, increased restoration activities), she considers them unavoidable and bound to happen sooner or later anyhow. While there had been critical voices, she sees the overall effect as positive (e.g. in terms of security) and not a real case of gentrification as most of the area is home to commercial enterprises. Furthermore, the area offers IKSŞ's (i.e. Salon's and X-restaurant's) visitors sufficient parking space while being central enough to enjoy other offerings in the area, a point that was emphasized repeatedly.

With regard to Santral's impact on the surrounding area of Eyüp Ms Ocak stated the following:

"As Eyüp is one Istanbul's more conservative districts, before the arrival of santral nobody (of the urban people) really thought about going there. This has changed significantly. Rental prices have increased, santral has created a number of service-sector jobs (security, cleaning, catering) and various small-scale businesses have opened up in the vicinity of the premises (bakal, esnaf,...). The local population welcomes the development, also because the opening of Santral meant the revival of a local landmark, i.e. the Silahtarađa power plant, which local people have fond memories of. While an increasing number of local people come and see the exhibitions and the energy museum, the number could be much higher."

The cited increase in rents in their immediate surroundings might be a positive development, but only for those, who are already endowed with a certain amount of economic capital to participate in the real estate market.

SALT is significantly more self-aware about its future presence in Karaköy (where SALT Galata will occupy a landmark building on Bankalar Caddesi), an area which already sees the first signs of gentrification, as offices of the creative industries increase in number and several chic restaurants have opened in the neighborhood.

While they hope that Karaköy will be able to preserve its original identity, Ceylan Tokcan and Anlam Arslanoğlu concede that this is not very likely to be the case. They mention frequent rumors about the lighting district around Karaköy and Galata being moved to a different part of the city altogether, news of a hotel project on Bankalar Caddesi and the Galataport project close to Karaköy as indicators that the transformation of Karaköy is already well on its way. (Interview with Ceylan Tokcan and Anlam Arslanoğlu)

In such manner the symbolic economy recycles real estate and draws cultural consumers into the interrelated production of symbols and space. Culture therefore can also be used to frame and humanize the space of real estate development or, as in the case of Şişhane, to clear the area of drug-addicts or other unwanted marginalized groups. Cultural producers who supply art (and sell ‘interpretation’) play a prominent if somewhat obscured role in these processes because they legitimize the appropriation of space, behind which lies a struggle between financial capital and an increasingly impoverished and isolated local population. (Zukin, 1995: pp. 9-10, 22; Deutsche and Gendel Ryan, 1984: p. 93)

Istanbul’s urban landscape

The reinvention of the Turkish Republic and the accompanying process of modernization followed spatial strategies at two different levels: first, it focused on the transformation of the country into a nation-state; second, cities were to become the testing ground for modernity. As the implementation of a radical modernity project proved difficult after WWII, the result was the implementation of a modernization process with populist tendencies. Extensive investment in the service and manufacturing industries was necessary to create job opportunities for the large numbers of migrants who had recently flocked to the cities. In order for these groups to

be integrated and settled in compliance with the norms of the modernity project, further large-scale investment in housing and infrastructure was required. Rural migrants also needed to be educated in terms of the ways and culture of the modern city and how to use it. Having just left their villages, these newcomers did not have such a capacity and the inevitable outcome was the emergence of urban slums. “If the tourist is someone here today and gone tomorrow, the stranger [the immigrant from rural Anatolia] is someone here today who cannot leave tomorrow, someone who cannot go back” and therefore stays tomorrow. (Gürbilek, 2011: p. 26; see also Tekeli, 2010: p. 36)

The story of Istanbul changed dramatically after 1980. Turkey increasingly followed a neo-liberal direction, implementing an extroverted export-based growth policy and leaving a conservative mixed-economy policy behind. It has grown and transformed through the initiatives of powerful actors such as large organizations and their high-volume capital investment in developing mass housing projects, organized industrial zones, educational and service campuses and special free-trade zones. (Tekeli, 2010: p. 39)

In his account of Turkey in the 1990s, Çağlar Keyder describes how Turkey’s modernization project has drifted into a crisis, as a fear of the exhaustion of the global project of modernity arose - a project which Turkish modernizers had interpreted and translated into an emulation of cultural achievements of the West and which confined local culture to the space of the folkloric. In their top-down understanding of modernization, the Turkish elites identified the ‘people of Turkey’ as the object of modernization. But while national developmentalism yielded economic and material progress, the development of individual autonomy, of legal rights and full citizenship lagged behind. National homogeneity was fashioned rather around ethnic unity than built on a civic identity as an aggregate of individuals. While powerful business elites started to demand predictability and accountability from the policies of the state and its bureaucracy as a framework for political liberalism and citizenship, the traditional authoritarian proponents of a paternalistic state tried to assert its nationalist and populist legitimation. These two trajectories thus became two of the dominated forces in the struggle in Turkey of the 1990s. (Keyder, 1997: pp. 37-39, 47-49)

Even more recently, since 2000, Istanbul has entered an entirely new era with rapid transformation taking place on an unprecedented scale. These changes have

manifested themselves mainly as investments in the transportation infrastructure, construction on vacant land and as transformations of the existing built environment. Constructions on vacant land come either in the form of shopping malls in almost every possible empty space or in the residential form of gated communities for different social groups. Together with mass housing by TOKİ, ‘gating’ has become one of the main design principles for residential projects in the city. The attraction of such gated communities is furthered by the deployment of professional security guards and the safety of the concrete walls, as well as from the symbolic wall built by the proximity of people with equal lifestyles and the exclusivity of their community. (Ahıska, Yenal; 2006: p. 322)

The notion of ‘urban transformation’ has been at the center of the public authorities’ urban discourse, a term used by politicians at all levels as a tool to justify the organization of the physical sphere and presented as a solution to almost all of the city’s ills. The prevalence of such discourse has contributed significantly to the formation of a legitimate base and support among the mainstream population for the concept. Projects under the title of urban transformation include, for example, the Galataport project on the waterfront of the European side, which envisages a mixed-use area for the use by tourists and the ‘general’ public, that involve cruise-ship ports, shopping centers, hotels, offices and recreational areas. Other target areas are historical districts, which, due to the expansion of the city, have developed from peripheral areas into inner-city neighborhoods. More affluent social groups move into these areas, which, in turn, gain visibility on the city’s consumer, culture, entertainment and tourism map. Previous residents, often recent migrants to the city with low income, are being forced out by the increase in real estate prices. Furthermore, the implementation and execution of laws, which facilitate expropriation without obtaining consent by property owners, paved the way for renewal projects of areas, which had been previously untouched by such processes. Although the processes of urban transformation differ in scale, location and implementation, their outcomes are such that they serve the appropriation of existing land or built environment for the use of higher-status groups. (Islam, 2010: pp. 60-63; Ahıska, Yenal; 2006: pp. 301-302)

Furthermore, the change of Istanbul’s urban landscape is also shaped by the expansion of existing and emergence of new retail spaces.

“As consumption becomes more conspicuous, the places of production move further from the city. Shopping malls have replaced what were once open spaces, factories and garages. [...] The removal of production from the public’s eye also means the gradual demise of production-based forms of social identity and opposition. Instead of workers and classes, the denominations now used are consumers and non-consumers.” (Ahıska, Yenal; 2006: pp. 82-84)

Such urban transformations and the increased inflow of foreign tourists have turned Istanbul into a city of spectacle, as Nurdan Gürbilek describes:

“For in those years not only foreigners but Istanbul’s own residents began too look upon their city as a site of spectacle, reducing the neighborhoods where they lived, the ground on which they walked, to a point of view accidentally theirs, and realized their lives had value only to the extent they were viewed. The people of Istanbul were now expected to look upon their own city from outside, with the eyes of a foreigner, and wait for other to discover their value in this great city, which more and more resembled a shop window with every passing day. [...] The European foreigner had long been important to modern Turkish society, but rather as a model to be emulated. The difference now that the foreigner became a tourist, a customer, someone to curry favor with rather than imitate.” (Gürbilek, 2011: p. 22)

The 2000s then saw the following simultaneous developments: non-governmental organizations and large corporations initiated international cultural events and institutions, which were inserted into formerly decaying urban areas. Such areas were cleared of squatter settlements and slums in order to make way for state-financed housing schemes for the private market. Thus, the city turned exclusively to ‘culture’ and the government to a policy of ‘generalized gentrification’. (Göktürk, Soysal, Türeli; 2010: p. 16)

The urban arts festivals, such as the Istanbul Biennial, organized by IKSVM and to be held in its twelfth edition in 2011, are another key contributor to the further ‘spectacularization’ of cities. What had started in Venice in 1895, has become a means of representation of cultural prestige for cities around the globe. Biennials, as Banu Karaca argues, while issuing the claim to engage a broader public with the arts, serve as another platform for the convergence of economic interests, cultural policies and artistic practice. These urban art festivals, not unlike the signature architecture by star architects, can ‘put a city on the map’ by giving it visibility and prestige reaching well beyond the art world. In such contexts, artists and cultural operators are being deployed

as service providers for city marketing purposes, with the aim to attract (foreign) visitors and international capital. (Karaca, 2010: pp. 318-319; Spence, 2011)

Practices of cultural consumption and production are key factors in the creation and alteration of the urban landscape. They become part and sometimes driving forces in the processes of urban transformation. The following chapters will attempt to explain in detail what makes food practices, primarily eating out, and the practices of the art world, and here especially the institutional form of the museum, such powerful fields, to trace their similarities and to explicate why they function so well together.

5. CONCEPTUAL FOUNDATIONS OF EATING OUT

Food-ways and taste as practices of cultural consumption and distinction

“Food and eating, then, are intensely emotional experiences that are intertwined with embodied sensations and strong feelings ranging the spectrum from disgust, hate, fear and anger to pleasure, satisfaction and desire. They are central to individuals’ subjectivity and their sense of distinction from others.” (Lupton: 1996, p. 36)

In his survey and analysis of French households’ expenditure and behavior regarding food (drawing on data from 1972) Pierre Bourdieu concludes, that the art of eating and drinking remains one of the few areas in which the working classes contest the legitimate art of living, as peasants and industrial workers maintain a joy of convivial indulgence, while at the same time changes in the structure of spending on different types of food is accompanied by increased expenditures on health, beauty, clothing and cultural and leisure activities among clerical and commercial employees. (Bourdieu, 1984 [2010]: pp. 179-180)

But eating habits cannot be reduced to the types of food consumed or money spent. They are at the same time dependent of the whole life-style and habitus of individuals and social groups. The taste for particular dishes is mediated and acquires meaning through preparation and cooking as well as style and place of consumption. And underlying all those aspects is a whole conception of the domestic economy and of the gendered division of labor. Thus, Bourdieu suggests, there is a particularly strong divide between the working classes and the upper echelon of the dominant class, in which women devote their spare time to child care and the transmission of cultural capital. He employs a similar class-based approach to the relation between food and body: tastes in food, he argues, depend on the idea each class has of the body and the effects of food on the body, its strength, health and beauty.

“Taste, a class culture turned into nature, that is, embodied, helps to shape the class body. It is an incorporated principle of classification, which governs all forms of incorporation, choosing and modifying everything that the body ingests and digests and assimilates, physiologically and psychologically. It follows that the body is the most indisputable

materialization of class taste [...]” (Bourdieu, 1984 [2010]: pp. 185-186, 190)

The term ‘taste’ comprises and is used in two differing, although related meanings: When applied to food and eating, taste denotes the sensation people feel, when they take food or drink into their mouths, linked to the sensitivities of taste-buds and described through a limited set of taste categories. An alternative, broader definition of ‘taste’ is a sense of style or fashion related to any commodity. The terms ‘good’ or ‘bad’ taste can denote either an appropriate, or ‘tasteful’ sense of style, or an inappropriate or vulgar sense of style. Taste in both terms is generally represented as the private and individualized disposition of a person according to their specific likes and dislikes. Fashions around tastes may not be fixed in time, but nevertheless are experienced as binding by individuals. However, the idea of ‘good taste’ is also understood as a universal standard, an ideal that is socially communicable and that people should adhere to. Taste thus becomes both an aesthetic and a moral category. It is a means of distinction, a way of either subtly or explicitly (see Chapter 3 on sub-cultures and niche-consumption) identifying and separating ‘refined’ individuals from the Other (for example, ‘vulgar’ classes). Good taste is something that is acquired through the implicit learning of and the acculturation into a certain subculture rather than being explicitly taught. (Lupton: 1996, pp. 94-95)

Taste, according to Teil and Hennion, is a performing activity, which succeeds only when it relies on its own results and effects. It is not only about the inherent specific qualities of, for example, food and wine or music and visual art, but more about the way certain types of food or music (for example, authentic ethnic cuisines and jazz) have effects and carry additional meanings, which arise out of a whole set of practices, fashions, bodies and collectives. “Taste is an action, not a fact: it is an experience, not an object.” (Teil and Hennion, 2004: p. 35)

The ‘civilized’ body and embodiment

Bourdieu identifies another strand of distinctions in the style of consumption: the free-and-easy working class meal stands in opposition to the bourgeoisie’s way of eating, which is concerned to eat with all due form in the sense of rhythm (expectations,

pauses, restraints) and sequence (fish before meat, cheese before dessert, or vice versa in countries other than France). This basic opposition resonates in the contrast between food as material reality, a nourishing substance, which sustains the body and gives strength on the one hand, and social form, formality and the elective asceticism of self-imposed rule on the other. In short, freedom and the refusal of complications as opposed to respect for all the forms perceived as instruments of distinction and power. (Bourdieu, 1984 [2010]: pp. 197-199)

In ‘The Civilizing Process’ the German-British sociologist Norbert Elias traces the development of table manners and other eating habits, as embodiments of social or intellectual life and examines how these commands and prohibitions, while in continuous movement, help to shape the individual and his or her body to become ‘civilized’. Throughout the seventeenth century, customs, behaviors and fashions of the court were penetrating the upper middle classes, where they were imitated and altered in accordance with different social situations. Although they thereby lost some of their character to distinguish the upper class, it also compelled the elites to further refine and develop their customs and behavior. Through this mechanism – the development of courtly customs, their dissemination ‘downwards’, their slight social transformation, their devaluation as marks of distinction – the constant movement in behavior patterns through the upper class received part of its momentum. These changes include what may be described as an advance of the threshold of embarrassment and shame, as ‘refinement’, or as ‘civilization’. This ‘progressive’ concept of civilization also implies that, once completed, the process has been forgotten and these classes want to accomplish this process for other nations and for the lower classes of their own society, whereas, to themselves, civilization appears as a firm, naturalized state one does or does not possess. (Elias, 1978: pp. 81-82, 84-85) The ‘civilized’ self’s body is constructed as the body that is self-contained, highly socially managed and conforming to dominant norms of behavior and appearance (i.e. the outward display of embodiment). The contemporary emphasis on self-knowledge and self-control is an outcome of the modern sensitivity to manners and ways of behaving in the social sphere. (Lupton: 1996, p. 19) But nothing in table manners is self-evident or the product of a ‘natural’ feeling of delicacy. Over centuries, in direct social interaction and use, their functions were gradually defined, their forms consolidated through the passage of models from

one social unit to another, from the centers of a society to its margins. (Elias, 1978: p. 88)

Complementary to Elias' inquiry about the development of table manners as an integral part of the civilizing process, Stephen Mennell looks into the civilizing of the appetite and the changes of food intake in the quantitative sense. While in pre- and early modern times external constraints on appetite derived mainly from religious and state regulations (fasting, sumptuary laws) and medical opinion, these came to be increasingly supplemented by measures of self-restraint. (Mennell, 1997: pp. 315, 321) The civilizing of appetite appears to have partly been related to the increasing security, regularity, reliability and variety of food supplies. But just as the civilizing of appetite was entangled with several other strands of the civilizing process (including the transformation of table manners), so the improvement in food supplies was only one aspect in the complex of the ways people behaved. The increased security of food supplies was made possible by the extension of trade, the progressive division of labor in a growing commercial economy and by the process of state-formation as well as internal pacification. As the improvement continued, segments of the better-off groups in society were able to copy the elite, who, in turn, became specialists in the arts of consumption and of practices of fine distinctions, since their entire social identity depended upon those. The more closely-knit webs of social interdependence produced by state-formation and the division of labor tended to shift the balance of power gradually towards lower social groups, leading to intensified social competition. Knowledgeability and a sense of delicacy in matters of food, as opposed to sheer quantitative differences, became a marker of distinction, which in parallel implied a degree of restraint, in so far as it involved discrimination and selection, the rejection as well as the acceptance or combinations of certain foods. (Mennell, 1997: pp. 326-328)

Modes of behavior, which earlier were not felt to be in the least distasteful, were increasingly met with expressions of repulsion. The standards of delicacy found expression in corresponding social prohibitions. These taboos were nothing other than ritualized or institutionalized feelings of displeasure, distaste, disgust, fear or shame, feelings which have been socially constructed and which are constantly reproduced in particular forms of conduct. Similarly, Lupton argues that food habits and preferences are central practices of the self, directed at self-care via the continuing nourishment of the body with foods that are culturally deemed appropriate, constituting a source of

pleasure and acting symbolically as commodities to present a persona to oneself and others. (Elias, 1978: pp. 103-104; Lupton, 1996, pp. 15-16).

“Thus, change in food behavior occurs as improvisation, slow and incremental development on hegemonic models regarding the proper meal, entertaining, the obligations and rules of companionship, etc. [...] habits of eating seem resistant to change. Ultimately, there are few ways of doing the millions of eating events occurring daily.” (Warde and Martens: 2000, p. 222)

“Food and eating are central to our subjectivity, or sense of self, and our experience of embodiment, or the ways that we live in and through our bodies, which is itself inextricably linked with subjectivity.” (Lupton: 1996, p.1, 22) The conduct of emotions and of the body plays an integral role in the modern notion of the ‘civilized’ self. In the present era there is an abundance of tacit and overt regulations around the importance of the ‘civilized’ body; that is, the body that is tightly contained, consciously managed, subject to continual self-surveillance as well as surveillance by others. Contemporary cultural meanings and expectations pertaining to food and eating practices have been shaped and reproduced via these understandings around the notion of the ‘civilized’ body. What Foucault describes as the ‘practices of the self’ are then the ways in which individuals respond to external imperatives concerning self-regulation and comportment, to rules of behavior, emotion and thought, and how they recognize them as relevant and incorporate or embody these imperatives into their everyday lives. Such practices ‘inscribe’ or ‘write’ upon the body, marking and shaping it in culturally specific ways, which are then ‘read’ or interpreted by others. Religious ethics, disseminated fashions (of the court or of the upper classes) or changes in food production thus all influence the bodily practices of food consumption. (Lupton: 1996, p. 15)

Pleasure

“Serving and eating food are, and have become very sexy, and art very exciting.” (Changa’s Tarik Bayazit)

The enormous variety of options for Eating Out in almost every major city, the rapidly growing market of cookbooks, food-writing and cooking shows on TV, the genre of gourmet-traveling and the growing interest in entertaining at home suggests that food and food practices have risen to a prominent position in the industries catering to the past-time of a growing number of people. Clearly, the range of interests in food as an aesthetic, creative and pleasure-giving substance spans from little interest in food (or overt dislike) over the view of food as mere sustenance to a demonstration of an overwhelming enthusiasm for and enjoyment of food, the latter being represented in a gourmet culture - usually among the economically privileged, in which ‘artistic’, ‘refined’ and ‘innovative’ cuisine is appreciated and celebrated, both when dining out and preparing special meals at home, for oneself or when entertaining guests. The preparation and consumption of a meal thus become framed as a source of enhanced sensory and social enjoyment, of pleasure rather than work. (Warde and Martens, 2000: pp. 195-197, 202-203; Lupton: 1996, pp. 143-145)

With such a highly aestheticized approach to food which is strongly linked to economic privilege and cultural capital, “meals become a marker of social status and distinction, a fashionable commodity that defines the consumer as ‘in the know’ in a way similar as does knowledge of fine wines, literature or fine art.” (Lupton: 1996, pp. 146-147)

This varying degrees of interest in and enjoyment of food can be, at least partially, explained by two major ethics that make up the modern subject, existing in continual tension with each other: One is the ethic of rationality, privileging self-control and discipline; the other is the Romantic ethic emphasizing the expression of, and engagement with, one’s emotions and inner impulses. The continuing struggle between these two ethics is also evident in the discourses around food and eating and in the dual imperatives of commodity culture: on the one hand, to spend, consume, indulge oneself and to release control; and on the other, the imperative to save, produce, impose self-discipline and deny or limit pleasures. These ethics have spatial and temporal

dimensions, too: the workplace, the working day and the working week are usually characterized by production and ascetic self-discipline, while the evening, the weekend, the holiday, the home and public spaces such as shopping malls, pubs, bars and restaurants are the times and spaces within which consumption and hedonistic self-indulgence take place. (Warde and Martens, 2000: pp. 163-164; Lupton: 1996, pp. 150-151) But discipline and hedonism are no longer incompatible, as the former is understood to be leading to the latter. Such hedonism is increasingly identified with consumer culture, although consumerism is not simply an expression of hedonism, as much consumption is routine. (Warde and Martens: 2000, p. 163)

However, pleasure can be derived both adhering to norms of self-control at some time and at other times transgressing them. That is to say that the 'rational' imperatives around eating certain foods while denying oneself others - for reasons of health and in the quest for a 'normal' body - that are currently privileged in western societies, may be rejected or ignored, giving way to urges to eat prohibited foods in the quest for self-expression and emotional and bodily release. Again there is a continual dialectic between the pleasures of consumption and the ethic of asceticism as means of constructing the self: each would have no meaning without the other. Eating habits for many people seem to follow this circular pattern: people indulge themselves, feel momentary pleasure followed by guilt, anxiety or frustration, then they attempt to diet and deny themselves their favorite foods, and then feel the need for pleasurable release again. (Lupton: 1996, pp. 147-149, 153)

Another source of pleasure (neophilia), or sometimes anxiety (neophobia) is the increasing variety of different ingredients, meals, menus and cuisines, which is available nowadays. It also has potentially considerable consequences for social classification and aesthetic judgment. This variety initially might make it increasingly difficult to use consumption as a means to receive approval and esteem of others for one's style and taste, as it creates room for greater differentiation of sub-cultures, which hinders effective judgment between groups. But a new kind of strategy, to value variety for variety's sake, equates knowledge and experience of the widest possible range of alternatives with cultural sophistication. This cultural 'omnivorousness' can thus become a key form of displaying cultural and symbolic capital. (Warde and Martens: 2000, p. 79)

Especially the restaurant managers (Tarik Bayazit) and food writers (Anil Birer) and researchers (Tangör Tan) among my interviewees shared the following opinion:

The taste and palate of Turkish customers is rather conservative. They will rather choose something at least vaguely familiar from a venue and refrain from trying out new dishes or ingredients. While this seems like a blunt generalization, two other observations and statements underline this assumption: on the one hand, the influx of restaurants of international ethnic cuisines (such as South-East Asian or Indian) to Istanbul as compared to other big cities seems rather slow and moderate. Furthermore, for a lot of Turkish people, the social aspect prevails over the culinary experience when eating out.

Cultural capital and collectively patterned behaviors still seem to generate and significantly influence the capacity to behave knowledgeable in public, to exercise discriminating taste when selecting places to go and things to eat and to facilitate evaluation and enjoyment of and conversation about culinary matters. But the diversity of life-styles and the use of ambiguities, inconsistencies and resistance in individual and social strategies together with the increased variety of available foods and ways of food provisioning, have not only changed the practice of food consumption and Eating Out but make it increasingly difficult to distinguish these practices along traditional lines of social analysis. (Miller, 1987: p. 155; Warde: 1997, p. 8-10)

Still today, eating is first and foremost a domestic activity, the communal mode of eating and entertaining at home, or being catered for at somebody else's (family, friends, ...) home remains strong or even gained additional significance in recent years. At the same time, through the increasing manufacturing of foodstuffs, the continuous popularity of convenience food and take-away and delivery dishes, entire meals become easily and readily available as commodities. Institutional catering (in hospitals, schools etc.) is becoming increasingly governed by market competition.

While most of the above notions of pleasure, embodiment and ethics are relevant for all modes of food provisioning and consumption, in the following I will primarily focus on Eating Out in commercial outlets, i.e. restaurants and cafés.

Eating out

Not surprisingly, demographic factors such as higher income and education, younger age, size of household etc. are still strongly associated with the frequency of eating out, and are mediated by the lack of practical constraints like care for young children or the availability and accessibility of gastronomic outlets (dependent on city of residence). (Warde and Martens: 2000, pp. 71-73)

But the frequency of restaurant visits can not be reduced to demographic factors alone, but seems to point at aspects of people's overall organization of their everyday lives, where visiting restaurants has become a leisure activity in its own right. Even more so, the choice of particular types of restaurants, to be seen in the right places and to let others know that one is familiar with the most exciting or rewarding experiences, is part of a process of display and performance, which contributes to reputation and becomes a key marker of social distinction. (Warde and Martens: 2000, pp. 74-75)

For many people, eating food outside the home, particularly in a formal restaurant setting, is the idealized symbol of 'civilized' eating, contrasting the familiarity and taken-for-grantedness of the home with the formality and novelty of the restaurant meal. The restaurant experience does not only appeal to one's taste-buds, but to the need to differentiate oneself and to represent oneself as a culinary adventurer or connoisseur with a highly developed ability to discern style in food and to engage in the luxurious, finer things of life. The 'elegant dining experience' is frequently perceived as the ultimate eating event. Eating at a restaurant is associated with a special occasion, celebration, treating oneself or another, wealth and sophistication. The emotions that are expected to cohere to the experience are those of pleasure, excitement and happiness. In Warde's and Martens'¹³ survey of Eating Out in the UK it becomes readily apparent that eating out, in its ideal and its actual form, has much potential for being enjoyable (moreover, as it is the purpose of going out to eat to enjoy oneself). It is always likely to

¹³ Warde and Martens base their inquiry on data collected in the UK in the 1990s.

be a source of pleasure and social involvement, since all get fed and very few people eat out alone.

Dining Out, or to decide for an alternative mode of provisioning¹⁴, is thus an important practice of the self in western societies, particularly among the most economically privileged social groups. The choice of restaurant, the combination of dishes and wine become a public demonstration of an individual's possession of both economic and cultural capital - as their performance of taste. Choice of restaurant and dish are therefore markers of identity like other commodities. Indeed, at the level of fine dining, it is assumed that acquiring the appropriate taste in food and wine requires hard work, a process of education similar to that of learning about fine art. (Lupton: 1996, p. 98; Warde and Martens: 2000, pp. 189-190)

“Part of the pleasures of the dining out experience involves spectacle, gazing upon others and being seen by them, publicly displaying one's happiness and satisfaction at eating good food and socializing with one's dining partners.” (Lupton: 1996, p. 99)

But the aspect of performance does not only reside with the restaurant-customer and his or her representation of taste and connoisseurship. It has as much to do with the activities of the waiting staff around wine and certain dishes, as it does, more recently, with the activities of the chef (and his or her eventual celebrity status) in the increasingly popular open kitchens, where the preparation-process can be observed by diners. Similarly, Sharon Zukin argues that waiters and management, design and ambience as well as customers themselves establish a restaurant's relative status and thus indicate class and distinction. In cities like New York, which Sharon Zukin takes as her example, London or Barcelona, the cultural capital of waiting staff plays a distinct role, as they themselves often are (or are trying to become) artists, or have an immigrant background; their economic and cultural networks consequently influence a restaurant's

¹⁴ Warde and Martens use the following categorization: (Warde and Martens, 2000: Part 1, Chapter 2)

The Domestic/Communal Mode (Eating In) comes in different forms, be it cooking for oneself and core-family members, (commercial) home-delivery and take-away services or by entertaining related kin, friends and associates.

The Institutional Mode refers to provisioning by and at the workplace, hospitals, schools or the army or through state-subsidised non-for-profit institutions.

The Commercial Mode of Eating Out the refers to the wide variety of for-profit eating establishments which range from fast-food outlets, to cafés and bistros, hotel restaurants, fine dining or ethnic restaurants etc.

style. The restaurant itself is both theater and performance. It serves and helps create the symbolic economy. ‘Chef’s tables’, communal tables directly located in the restaurant kitchen, are much sought-after and signify an even more intimate relationship with the chef and his or her creation. (Ashley et.al.: 2004, p. 144; Zukin, 1995: pp. 155-156)

Eating Out in restaurants also points at the culturally shaped expectations, that surround the experience, and at a heightened sense of self-consciousness and uncertainty about one’s social competence. Through these expectations, the restaurant meal is more vulnerable than the ‘everyday’ meal to disappointments because of the idealized notion of the meal as a special occasion. The public nature of eating in restaurants also means that the individual must engage in the appropriate normative behavior in what is often still a highly ritualized setting, inciting in some people the emotions of anxiety and embarrassment. (Lupton: 1996, pp. 102-104; Ashley et.al.: 2004, pp. 147-148)

Since for many people Eating Out is still an occasional treat, there is a ‘sense of occasion’ connected to the restaurant visit, which is further enhanced by the release from normal domestic responsibilities of having to shop, cook and clean up afterwards, but instead being served by someone else, even though the commercial meal out is clearly only a temporary respite for predominantly female providers, its exceptional occurrence merely underlining the normality of a gendered domestic division of labor. All this, together with the sense of variety and novelty and the available choices, make eating out – for some – the ‘exotic other’ of eating at home. (Ashley et.al.: 2004, p. 146; Warde and Martens: 2000, pp. 223-224)



Müzedechanga also features Turkish design, by interior designers Autoban. The restaurant won an award as 2007's best new restaurant by British life-style magazine Wallpaper. Foto by Changa.

The final phase of a chain of production-consumption (the preceding stages being provisioning, access, delivery) is that of enjoyment, where the consumer clearly expects, even from routine consumption, and experiences some sense of gratification., In his ethnography about kitchen work in restaurants, Gary Alan Fine argues that restaurant food has an aesthetic, sensory dimension that is evaluated as such by both producers and consumers. But most sociological contributions view consumption rather as strategic individual or collective action to mark social position, thus the aspect of competitive instrumental satisfaction prevails over any expressed or felt gratification. But according to Warde and Martens enjoyment relates not only to the short- or long-term benefit the consumer derives, but maybe even more so to the intrinsic experiences of the act of consuming a product or service: to have shared in lively conversations, to have passed time in congenial company, to have presented oneself attractively to others are possible benefits derived from dining out. Such intangible benefits do not follow necessarily or predictably from the channels of earlier phases in the production-consumption cycle. (Fine, 1996: p. 13; Warde and Martens: 2000, pp. 164-166)

In order to arrive at a more systematic analysis of gratification through consumption of commodified products and services Warde and Martens propose a schematic typology of gratification, which distinguishes two levels of intensity along four areas or elements of gratification. The consumer's experience then can be described as a compound set of varying gratifications. (Warde and Martens: 2000, pp. 186-187)

	TYPES OF GRATIFICATION			
	Sensual	Instrumental	Contemplative	Social
	Bodily pleasures, hedonism.	Achievement, putting means to valuable ends.	Fantasy, aesthetic appreciation, reflection.	Conversation, participation, sympathy, trust.
Low intensity	Pleasure	Satisfaction	Entertainment	Participation
High intensity	Joy	Achievement	Appreciation	Mutuality

The intensity of sensual pleasures derived from meals is strongly influenced by the individual's approach to food (aesthetic vs. ascetic) or his or her position in the cycle between self-discipline and indulgence (see above). Consumption will usually be a source of entertainment, always one of satisfaction, in the least sense that the diner will be the recipient of the products of someone else's labor; and it will often be considered fair exchange, in the sense reasonable value for money, since normally customers are well informed in advance about the prices of products and services they are about to consume or purchase. Moreover, it may provide a source for contemplative gratifications of aesthetic appreciation (see Fine above), and also in some instances be a source of esteem in social circles where familiarity with excellent restaurants, varied culinary knowledge and experience or novel gastronomic events are valued. To a much lesser extent eating out might symbolize personal accomplishment - either because it points at having sufficient discretionary income or because social esteem signifies personal esteem. (Warde and Martens: 2000, pp. 189-190)

There are three additional, strongly interlinked elements of eating out, which make it such a prominent and meaningful practice of (cultural) consumption:

(I) The event-character of eating out marks boundaries of inclusion and exclusion: With whom one might share a meal is an indicator of social distance; the significance of the meal occasion, the elaborateness of the food might signify and underline the proximity and affection between companions. The meal event is a potential source of immediate social enjoyments of conversation and communicative action, which may lead to a better understanding of one another, and also of conviviality, of having fun together. An ‘event’ – the collection of people together for purposes of entertainment – is thus a highly effective source of the enjoyment of consumption. “By capitalizing upon the capacity for events to bring people together in situations whose outcome may be partly uncertain (for, implicitly, we might miss something memorable if we were absent), and where they might expect to obtain the intrinsic satisfactions of participation, events’ organisers may make a wide possible range of consumption activities attractive.” (Warde and Martens: 2000, pp. 215-218)

(II) The impression of variety is functional both for suppliers, who can thereby differentiate their products and services from those of other providers, and for consumers, because the options (venue, food, company) they select stand as signs for their individuality, their difference from other people. But the impression of variety and difference has to be constructed and constantly reproduced, and events can be a highly effective stimulus for the impression of variety. An important feature of the ‘event’ is that it is structured without being entirely predictable. Although the content and structure of meal events and their rituals of social performance in restaurants have become subject to informalisation and therefore increasingly relaxed, most consumers still need to be able to anticipate a certain degree of order to avoid the threat for the event to become incomprehensible or unpredictable. Small differences, so that one celebration can be distinguished from another, may be sufficient to sustain regular demand for the service-providers, who deliver events. (Warde and Martens: 2000, pp. 218-219)

(III) Warde and Martens further suggest that dining out requires a form of social arrangement whereby diners must behave in ways which will not distract from each other’s enjoyment, which entails that people will seek an atmosphere which is mutually pleasing.

“Deep-set rules of companionship are the key or core values of the eating out experience; [...] they have an authority and inviolability which means that companionship incurs a certain set of obligations involving co-presence, communicative competence and some form of social commitment or investment. Joint participation creates the occasion, in the sense that the atmosphere both at individual tables and across the restaurant as a whole is a function not just of the ambience of the restaurant as designed by its management but of a form of social and collective self-servicing by the customers. This is not a process of conscious orchestration so much as an expression of the high level of self-discipline, which the general process of informalisation requires of individuals. It is the basic self-discipline of diners that gives them the power to improvise a meaningful social encounter on alien territory.” (Warde and Martens: 2000, pp. 175-176, 225-226; see also Steel, 2009)

Symons, in his reflection on Georg Simmel’s sociology of the meal, states that it is at the meal that people gather most convincingly. In addition, the meal involves, simultaneously, the satisfaction of bodily needs and the operation of cultural refinements and regulations, such as agreed mealtimes, etiquette or table conversations, all through which a meal can become a means of both social inclusion and exclusion. (Symons, 1997: p. 341)

“Of everything that people have in common, the most common is that they must eat and drink. It is precisely this which is, oddly enough, the most egoistic, and the most unconditionally and most immediately limited to each individual; what I think, I can let others know; what I see, I can let them see; what I say, hundreds can hear – but what the individual eats, no one else can eat under any circumstances. [...] However, insofar as this primitive physiological fact is absolutely general to humanity, it immediately becomes the contents of shared actions, the sociological structure of the meal comes about, which directly unites the exclusive egoism of eating with a frequency of meeting, a habituation to association as is seldom attainable through higher or more spiritual motives. Communal eating and drinking releases a tremendous socializing power that allows one to overlook the fact that one does not really eat and drink ‘the same’ but totally exclusive portions of food and drink.” (Simmel, 1957 [1994]: p. 346)

According to most of my interviewees, the social aspect and value-for-money of Eating Out are still prevailing over the culinary experience or sensations of novelty for most Turkish restaurant customers. While the latter is gaining importance, the sense of participation and mutuality, the opportunity to enjoy conversation and companionship still are key to Eating Out. The friendliness of the venue’s owner and its waiting staff as well as the atmosphere and intimacy of the premises all play an integral role in making

the Eating Out event a pleasant social occasion. Matters of restaurant-design, over-elaborate serving and cooking techniques will not be able to compensate for deficits in the aforementioned aspects of sociality. (Interviews with Tangör Tan, Tarik Bazayit, and food writers Ebru Erke and Anıl Birer.)

Towards a culinary field in Turkey

For the commercial producer, innovation involves presenting certain basic elements of the meal-performance reconfigured in different combinations. A restaurant owner can make both an aesthetic and personal statement by differentiating the business from others. For some consumers the contemporary market offers an exciting abundance of alternatives, which can be used for particular purposes, for others much of this choice is irrelevant for their tastes or requirements. Restaurants and cafés thus do more than just serve meals and beverages, they also do address various images, values and desires, so that customers and owners can display their specific lifestyles in semi-public space. (Ahıska, Yenal; 2006: p. 382)

The strategy of ‘omnivorousness’ (see also above) is one possible response to this ‘increasing variety’, a search for as wide a range of experience as possible. In the process consumers may develop tastes for a wider range of items than previously, without the necessity to have favorites, i.e. to value one type of item over another. Although the variety of options is surely increasing, there is nevertheless a tendency to exaggerate its extent, for much specialization is based upon minute variation of mass-production techniques and components. However, some customers do consider those differences considerably significant. (Fine, 1996: pp. 10-11; Warde and Martens 2000: pp. 219-220)

The restaurant world focuses on the production and consumption of a more or less well-defined culinary product and is held together by a network of individuals (chefs and restaurant owners, restaurant critics, diners), whereas a culinary culture, fixed in practices, codes and values, is a model of culinary reception or consumption. A gastronomic or culinary field, as Patricia Ferguson Parkhurst suggests in her analysis of

nineteenth century French gastronomy, is influenced, to a large extent, by textual discourses that (re)-negotiate the tensions between production and consumption. A field can be understood as a structured system of social positions, which are occupied by individuals, groups or institutions, and of the forces, which exist between these positions. Then gastronomy and the restaurant world, where susceptibility and resistance to change, the drive towards innovation against forces of tradition are all integral elements of the culinary discourses, can serve as a fruitful example of a cultural field. The discourses and practices constituting the field remain, according to Ferguson, bound to a national framework. (Ferguson: 1998, pp. 636-637)

But while the role of elaborate discourses might be a relevant one in the French example invoked by Ferguson, Fine as well as Warde and Martens emphasize that the terminology of pleasure, a key element in the practice of eating out, is imprecise and limited: For Warde and Martens' interviewees, when asked to describe their most recent eating out experiences, the sensual aspects of eating proved resistant to verbal articulation. This absence does not mean that individuals cannot express opinions about food, but they rather rely upon a set of shared assumptions that they express in an indirect and implicit manner. Similarly, the chefs studied by Fine clearly did not engage in aesthetic discourse. Although they recognized the sensory and aesthetic qualities of their work and its products, their terminology is not grounded in theory but rather an occupational/practical language, which relies on articulations of shared experiences. According to Fine, most restaurant critics, unlike critics in the art worlds, are not cultural conservators, but consumer guides. Thus culinary aesthetic discourses are limited to a small number of food writers, upwardly mobile customers and serious foodies. This general verbal limitedness might also help to explain why most sociological inquiry has shied away from the analysis of aesthetic appreciation in the culinary field, because flavor, taste and smell do not have precise standards of judgment. (Fine, 1996: pp. 205, 214-216; Warde and Martens: 2000, p. 176, 191)

As for the emergence of an autonomous culinary field in Turkey, international summits and other high-profile political and cultural events hosted in Turkey as well as Turkish food-events abroad have proved to be an important stage for the representation of Turkish/Ottoman culture and cuisine. Besides the taste of certain showcase dishes, the more minimalist display (as opposed to Orientalist opulence) and aesthetic composition are regarded as key to attributing a new modern image to Turkish cuisine

on the global market. This global representation not only helps to provide Turkish cuisine with added exposure and attention within Turkey, but also serves as a reference point in the attempts to stabilize the character of Turkish cuisine. A central role in the efforts to re-position Turkish cuisine is occupied by the emerging figure of the ‘individual chef’. Whether trained according to traditional Turkish culinary education or in Europe or the United States, chefs play an integral role in the introduction and transformation of the new Ottoman cuisine and in its presentation as the foundation of Turkish cuisine. Chefs, together with the emergence of exclusive food magazines featuring reviews and annual awards, and the expanding range of eating establishments, act as “both destabilizing forces and agents of standardization as they work on the transformation and revision of dishes to create a modern Turkish cuisine.” (Karaosmanoglu, 2007: pp. 429-431)

Furthermore, with the inflationary increase of food features in various media, for most people in Turkey’s city’s,

“articles about food and restaurants have become ‘normal’, if not in view of any actual consumption, at least out of a desire to stay informed. Thus, certain foods, which carry little chance of reaching the more general public, are nevertheless coded into the public sphere through cultural mechanisms both as concrete consumer objects and as codes in a socio-cultural space.” (Ahiska, Yenal; 2006: p. 387)

The restaurant as site in the culinary field

The American and some of the European restaurant scenes have benefited from waves of (third-world) immigration (from Vietnam after the war in Indochina, from China), bringing with them their cuisines, cooks and customers in search for the food of their countries of origin but also low-wage kitchen laborers.

Inns, tea- and coffee-houses and taverns have long served food for a price, bringing dining into the public sphere, but it was not until the mid-eighteenth century that the first restaurant was established. In the aftermath of the French Revolution, these establishments grew in number and importance as courtly cuisine declined. While restaurants were not created in direct response to political and social changes, these

changes facilitated their development. In the meantime, restaurants have altered from a respite for the rich to a bastion of the middle class. Restaurants meet a combination of aesthetics, status and entertainment needs. The spread of restaurants was also a consequence of the agricultural revolution, the desire for mass feeding in urban areas, and the needs of the elites for quality-food in status-conferring surroundings. Thus, symbolic issues merged with the structure of the political economy in fostering the restaurant industry. (Fine, 1996: pp. 5-6)

Restaurants have possibly changed the face of public dining forever, as they presented an entirely new way of eating out. Anyone, including women, could go there at any time of day, sit at their own table, order what they liked off a menu, and pay for it separately. Frequently staffed by ex-courtly chefs relieved of their posts by the French Revolution, restaurants were unlike any previous public eating-houses, in terms of décor and clientele. By giving clients a choice of what to eat, restaurants were transforming the ancient laws of the table, often replacing its companionship with theatrical individualism. Eating out would not only focus around and fuel the sociality of the diners, but also display the gastronomic genius of the chefs. Restaurants also required a whole new kind of diner to appreciate them fully. ‘Mixed dining’ was soon all the rage, as fashionable men and women began eating out together for pleasure, in a way still recognizable today. By the early twentieth century, restaurants were the new focus of social life in the West. (Steel, 2009: pp. 230-232)

The role restaurants play in any national cuisine today, and especially the variety of different types in terms of ethnic cuisine, ambience etc., is a complex one. Where food cultures remain strong, professional and domestic cookery can co-exist in a mutually beneficial relationship. However, in weak food cultures, restaurants can become a substitute for cooking. At their best, restaurants can be fun, entertaining or romantic, allowing us to see friends on neutral territory, and occasionally to eat sublime food, which we would be incapable of cooking ourselves. At worst, they stop us engaging with and caring about food. “There is no denying the capacity of restaurants to animate public space. Innovative restaurateurs and a thriving restaurant scene can transform whole areas of cities.” (Steel, 2009: pp. 239-240)

6. VIEWING ART AND ITS CONCEPTUAL FOUNDATIONS

Theories of aesthetic judgment and the aesthetic pleasures of cultural consumption

“The passion for art is, as for believers, very religious. It unites people, its message is of common humanity. Art has become my religion – others pray in church. It’s a banality, but you don’t possess art, it possesses you. It’s like falling in love.” (Art collector Francois Pinault in an interview with Jackie Wullschlager. (Wullschlager, 2011: p. 3))

At this point, before turning to a closer inspection, primarily following Tony Bennett’s work, of the institution of the museum, it seems appropriate and useful to briefly touch upon theories, which try to explicate the relevance of culture and arts, in order to situate my own discussion of practices of cultural consumption and the uses and pleasures derived from them within a wider theoretical-aesthetic framework. It might also help to shed some light on how viewers, be it museum visitors or museum founders and collectors such as Francois Pinault, are influenced by artworks.

Dealing with questions of art and beauty, aesthetics’ principal concerns can be seen as those of defining the concept of ‘art’, or at least, providing an account of how we come to recognize artworks as artworks, questioning the relationship of art to the non-art or ‘real’ world and thereby raising questions about the role of representation and expression in art. Matters of art’s relationship to moral and political activity and providing a philosophy of criticism that explores how works of art are interpreted and evaluated are further concerns. (Edgar, 1999 [2008]: p. 4)

“With the birth of the aesthetic, then, the sphere of art itself begins to suffer something of the abstraction and formalization characteristic of modern theory in general. [...] Aesthetics is thus always a contradictory, self-undoing sort of project, which in promoting the theoretical value of its object risks emptying it of exactly that specificity or ineffability which was thought to rank among its most precious features. The very language which elevates art offers perpetually to undermine it.” (Eagleton, 1990: pp. 2-3)

Eagleton argues that the aesthetic has played such a dominant role in modern thought because of the versatility of its concept. For a notion, which is supposed to signify a kind of functionlessness, it has served a variety diverse functions.

“But if the aesthetic returns with such persistence, it is partly because of a certain indeterminacy of definition, which allows it to figure in a varied span of preoccupations: freedom and legality, spontaneity and necessity, self-determination, autonomy, particularity and universality, along with several others. [...] the category of the aesthetics assumes the importance it does in Europe because in speaking of art it speak of these other matters, too, which are at the heart of the middle class’s struggle for political hegemony.” (Eagleton, 1990: p. 3)

The construction of the modern notion of the aesthetic artifact seems therefore inseparable from the construction of the dominant ideological forms of modern society, and from a whole new form of human subjectivity, which is aligned with that social order. But Eagleton’s argument is also that the aesthetic, understood in a certain sense, provides an unusually powerful challenge and alternative to these dominant ideological forms, and is in this sense an eminently contradictory phenomenon. (Eagleton, 1990: p. 3)

In the following I will loosely and selectively follow the categorization, analyses and terminology deployed by Eleonora Belfiore and Oliver Bennett in order to highlight those theories and notions of the impact of the arts and culture on individuals and society (in the broadest sense as their function and their effects on people), which I consider the most relevant for my further analysis of the artistic (museum) and, to a certain extent, the culinary field (restaurants). (Belfiore and Bennett; 2008: pp. 13, 35-39)

Personal wellbeing

The point that the enjoyment of art can result in a pleasurable experience that enhances personal well-being was made, among others, by Immanuel Kant. For Kant, the arts have primarily a cognitive function, and the aesthetic pleasure lies precisely in the constant attempt to move from imagination to understanding through the aesthetic experience. (Belfiore and Bennett; 2008: p. 92) Kant provides

“...an account of aesthetic judgment that is grounded in the universal structure of the human mind (so that a genuine judgment of beauty is such that all ought to agree with it); and he separates aesthetic experiences from experiences of merely sensual pleasure, principally in terms of the disinterestedness with which the spectator engages with the aesthetic object,

and the lack of any practical purpose that can be attributed to the object.” (Edgar and Sedwick; 1999 [2008]: p. 5)

While Kant and other stressed the effects of the arts on the well-being of a community (such as the universal community of mankind or the nation-state), others, such as Schopenhauer, emphasize the point of view of the isolated individual, who finds consolation and escape from the unbearable human existence and the pressures of society through the aesthetic experience, be it as a producer or as consumer. (Belfiore and Bennett; 2008: p. 93)

Education and self-development, moral improvement and civilization

“The [Renaissance] idea that the arts and literature are a means to educate and instruct through pleasure and enjoyment [...] became a central notion in thinking and writing about the arts. [...] the idea of delightful instruction through the aesthetic experience”. (Belfiore and Bennett; 2008: pp. 113-114)

Even after this period, many thinkers felt the need to defend the arts from persisting suspicion and critique (by, for example, the Church) and the belief that artistic engagement could, at best, provide amusement and pleasure, but not a source of enlightenment. Such earlier as well as modern notions ascribe an intrinsic educative function to the arts and underline the claim for the moral, educational and formative powers of the arts and high-culture. (Belfiore and Bennett; 2008: pp. 122-123)

The arguments for the moral and civilizing function of arts developed during the French Enlightenment. Until the eighteenth century, the fine arts were the privilege of the aristocracy and the wealthy, and the emphasis was on artistic consumption as a way to combat the inevitable ennui of everyday life. Enlightenment philosophers “put forward a radically different view and advocated an art, which could forge citizens imbued with moral and civic values and virtues. In other words, they postulated that art should be used for the education and moral improvement of mankind.” (Belfiore and Bennett; 2008: p. 127)

In Germany, the eighteenth century, too, represents a moment of theoretical elaborations that highlight the links between art and morality. Kant made it clear that, when exposed to a work of art, simply taking pleasure from it is not an adequate response on the part of the viewer. The pleasure that derives from being exposed to

beauty, for Kant, needs to be ultimately directed towards morality, since only moral ideas can be contemplated as relevant ends. Such attribution of a humanizing and civilizing function to the arts for society was also systematically deployed as a moral justification for the exploitation and oppression of the colonies by European imperial nations at the turn of the nineteenth century. (Belfiore, Bennett; 2008: pp. 129, 145)

Political instrument

“The governmentalization of culture [...] aimed precisely at more enduring and lasting effects by using culture as a resource through which those exposed to its influence would be led to ongoingly and progressively modify their thoughts, feelings and behavior.” (Bennett, 1995: p. 23, 24)

One of the reason why the arts seemed a fruitful instrument for politics is the fact that the arts are believed to affect people in many subtly ways and thus can be put to use of social engineering and political propaganda. (Belfiore and Bennett; 2008: pp. 146-147)

“Culture – in so far as it was referred to the habits, morals, manners and beliefs of the subordinate classes – was targeted as an object of government, as something in need of both transformation and regulation. In the mid to late nineteenth century the relations between culture and government come to be thought of and organized in a distinctively modern way via the conception that the works, forms and institutions of high culture might be enlisted for this governmental task in being assigned the purpose of civilizing the population as a whole.” (Bennett, 1995: p. 19)

Nevertheless, it is also being argued that the arts have the capacity to counteract and undermine the hegemony of mainstream discourses and political power, thus potentially playing an emancipative social role and contributing to progressive political change. (Belfiore and Bennett; 2008: p. 164)

Social stratification

In this view, the lower classes are thought to subscribe to the aesthetic values and the criteria of good taste elaborated at the top of the social scale, as this would offer them a way to climb up the social ladder. The mechanisms by which aesthetic consumption, together with style, fashion and behavior, all contribute to processes of

social differentiation, allow the individual a sense of social distinction, and, at the same time, a sense of belonging to a certain social group. An individual's identity is the product of individual agency and energy, but it has meaning only within the community by virtue of being constituted according to the rules of that community. (Belfiore and Bennett; 2008: pp. 169, 174)

Bourdieu and Darbel refer to “the myth of an innate taste which owes nothing to the constraints of apprenticeship”, but argue that “aesthetic pleasure presupposes learning and, in any particular case, learning by habit and exercise, such that this pleasure, an artificial product of art and artifice, which exists or is meant to exist as if it were entirely natural, is in reality a cultivated pleasure.” (Bourdieu and Darbel; 1997: pp. 108-109) They go on to state that:

“It is because it is the ‘realized aesthetic’ or, more precisely, culture (of a class or era) become nature, that the judgment of nature (and its accompanying aesthetic pleasure) can become a subjective experience which appears to be free and even won over in the face of common culture. The contradictions and ambiguities in the relationship of cultivated individuals with their culture are both promoted and sanctioned by the paradox which defines the realization of culture as naturalization.” (Bourdieu and Darbel; 1997: p. 110)

Viewing Art in Museums: a practice of cultural consumption and distinction

When parents regularly take their children on museum visits (to concerts etc.), cultural capital is transferred from one generation to the next, it is being further accumulated and refined through the educational system; cultural capital denotes the ensemble of dispositions, which are learnt over time and are necessary for the appreciation and understanding of cultural goods. Taste therefore cannot be independent of apprenticeship and educational capital, it is not an innate pre-disposition. Cultivated individuals, though, take their own distinction and their capability to make disinterested aesthetic judgments for granted, the link between culture and education is being denied or forgotten. Thus, for Bourdieu and Darbel, the museum reinforces a feeling of belonging for those, who can appreciate and appropriate the works of art, and for the others a feeling of exclusion. Appropriation of artworks, in that sense, refers to the prior knowledge of deciphering them and to having the ability to classify them (and their creators) vis-à-vis other artworks within “the universe of artistic representations.” (Bourdieu and Darbel: 1997, pp. 39, 109-113; Brubaker: 1985, p. 757)

Besides educational capital Bourdieu also relates the disposition to fully appreciate works of art with the distance from economic necessity. Material or symbolic consumption of artworks manifests this ‘ease’. The distance from necessity and from those others, who are trapped in and by economic constraints, amplifies the disposition necessary for aesthetic judgments and distinction across a diverse range of social practices. (Bourdieu, 1984 [2010]: pp. 190-191)

“...Collections only function in this manner (that is, on the one hand, to refer to a realm of significance that is invisible and absent, and, on the other hand, to mediate the visitor’s access to that realm) for those who possess the appropriate socially-coded ways of seeing – and in some cases, power to see – which allow the objects on display not to be just seen but seen through, to establish some communion with the invisible to which they beckon. Collections can therefore also be differentiated from one another in terms of who has access to the possibility of, and capacity for, the kinds of double-leveled vision that are called for if the contract they establish between the visible and the invisible is to be entered into.” (Bennett, 1995: p. 35)

Museums seem to mirror these structures of distinction and provide a space and site that publicly represent beliefs about the order of the world, its past and present, and the individual’s place within it. Museums of all kinds are excellent examples of such

microcosms, and art museums in particular – the most prestigious and costly of these sites – are, according to Carol Duncan, are especially rich in symbolism and, almost always, equip visitors with maps to guide them through their constructed universe and world-view. (Duncan: 1995, p. 8)

“We can also appreciate the ideological force of a cultural experience that claims for its truths the status of objective knowledge. To control a museum means precisely to control the representation of a community and its highest values and truths. It is also the power to define the relative standing of individuals within that community. Those who are best prepared to perform its ritual – those who are most able to respond to its various cues – are also those whose identities (social, sexual, racial, etc.) the museum ritual most fully confirms.” (Duncan: 1995, p. 8)

What is included in and what is excluded from the narrative structure of the museum, and on what and whose terms we see or do not see, is closely linked to questions about who constitutes this community and who shapes its identity. (Duncan: 1995, p. 9) Because museums create master narratives, which assert aesthetic values and historical accounts as objective, autonomous and universal, most twentieth-century collections of art have been criticized as subjective, contingent and western in their perspective, or as Douglas Crimp puts it, “for the museum seemed to be equally a space of exclusions and confinement.” (Blazwick and Morris: 2000, p. 30; Grimp: 1995, p. 287)

Such master narratives are mostly, but not exclusively, shaped on the ground of the museum’s decision about what goes into its collection and which art works do not merit such prestige and attention. These decisions are being made by a network of curators, museum trustees, sponsors and dealers. The museum thus contains works that meet the aesthetic standards of some or all of these actors and those standards develop in response to the requirements of such institutions as museums. When works are then being purchased and shown by the museum, they acquire the highest kind of institutional approval available in the contemporary art world. (Becker, 1982 [2008]. Pp. 117, 220)

“This is to suggest that, in addition to what gets shown in museums, attention needs also to be paid to the processes of showing, who takes part in those processes and their consequences for the relations they establish between the museum and the visitor. [...] Those sections of the population which make little use of museums clearly feel that the museum constitutes a cultural space that is not meant for them.” (Bennett, 1995: p. 103-104)

Performance and Rituals

Through the museum's particular spatial arrangements and its often imposing architecture, set apart by sculptural and cultural qualities, its space is marked for a special quality of attention, such as contemplation and learning, which is often referred to as 'liminality', a state of being outside the normal day-to-day cultural and social states. The category of liminal experience had strong affinities to modern western notions of the aesthetic experience, that mode of receptivity, which was thought to be the most appropriate in front of works of art. Museums thus frequently attempt to create and open a space sheltered from the urban sprawl, in which, it is assumed, individuals can step back from the practical concerns and social relations of everyday life and look at themselves and their world with different thoughts and feelings. (Duncan: 1995, pp. 11-12)

In the catalogue accompanying the opening of London's Tate Modern in 2000 its two leading curators describe the museum experience in a way, which resonates with these earlier notions:

"To enter the museum, we cross a threshold which takes us out of the intense dynamic of the city, through a kind of decompression chamber – the foyer – into the zone of the flaneur, of the aimless stroller. Leaving the chaotic yet regimented routines of the city behind, we are free to wander, to become immersed in a complex and shifting set of spatial and visual encounters. In a sense we prepare to open ourselves to the aesthetic experience. Works of art are rarely encountered in isolation. They are experienced in relation to each other and articulated by the architectonics of a building and the unconscious choreography of other people. Museums are activated by wandering groups and individuals, who are busy looking - at art and at each other. Museums can be playful, even libidinous spaces, where images of the human body abound." (Blazwick and Morris: 2000, p. 31)

The museum as a ritual site, as proposed by Duncan, is the place designed for the enactment of something, it is a place for some kind of performance. This performance may be enacted by an individual visitor alone, by following a prescribed route, by engaging in some sort of structured experience that relates to the history or meaning of

the site or of objects on the site. While the museum provides the sequenced spaces and arrangements in terms of architecture and exhibition design, it is the visitor who enacts the ritual. Museum visitors, and in particular those individuals who are perfectly predisposed socially, psychologically and culturally to enact the museum ritual, come away with a sense of enlightenment, or a feeling of having been spiritually nourished or restored. The same is true of any situation, in which a cultural product is performed or interpreted. Bennett argues that the museum's representational arrangement that is realized in and through its performance. "Sequential locomotion is required as the visitor is faced with an itinerary in the form of an order of things which reveals itself only to those who, step by step, retrace its evolutionary development." The power to transform viewers spiritually, morally and emotionally came to be attributed to the visual experience of artworks, and liminality described a moment of moral and rational disengagement, which leads to some kind of revelation or transformation. (Bennett, 1995: p. 43; Duncan: 1995, pp. 12-14)

As the museum audiences grew enormously and continuously throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, they adopted an unconditional faith in the value of the art museums, its attraction being situated fluidly between the following purposes: For some, the museum culture remained firmly committed to the idea that the primary function of a museum was to enlighten, educate and improve its visitors morally, socially and politically. For others, the museum and its artworks main purpose came to be aesthetic contemplation, a profoundly transforming and joyous experience, an imaginative and spiritual act of identification between the viewer and the artist. Modern installation practices, which have consistently and increasingly sought to isolate objects for the concentrated gaze, have contributed further to the museum-as-temple metaphor, with the effect that any educational effort, despite eventual assertions to the contrary, is set aside. (Duncan: 1995, pp. 16-17)

The museum's civilizing power

“Libraries, public lecture halls and art galleries thus present themselves as instruments capable of improving ‘man’s’ inner life just as well laid out spaces can improve the physical health of the population. If, in this way, culture is brought within the province of government, its conception is on par with other regions of government. The reform of the self – of the inner life – is just as dependent on the provision of appropriate technologies for this purpose as is the achievement of desired ends in any other area of social administration.” (Bennett, 1995: p. 18)

The public museum acquired its modern form during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries: its formation, Bennett argues, meant a transformation of the practices of earlier collecting institutions and the creative adaptation of aspects of other new institutions, such as the international exhibition or the department store, which developed alongside the museum. The birth of the modern museum thus must be understood in the light of a more general set of developments through which culture, in coming to be viewed as useful for governing, was fashioned as a vehicle for the exercise of new forms of power. Culture in general, and the habits, morals, manners and beliefs of the subordinate classes in particular, became an object of government, as something, which needs to be transformed and regulated. Over time the relations between culture and government came to be thought of and organized in a distinctively modern way, via the notion that the works, forms and institutions of high culture were assigned the purpose of civilizing the population as a whole. High culture’s assumed capacity to transform the inner lives and behaviors of the population, aims to ‘work at a distance’, by inscribing its objectives within the self-activating and self-regulating capacities of the individuals, rather than by increasing the formal regulatory powers of the state. (Bennett, 1995: pp. 19-20)

Culture and its institutions were expected to facilitate a variety of reforming obligations: Museums might help to raise the level of popular taste and design; they might diminish the appeal of the tavern, thus increasing the sobriety and industriousness of the populace; they might help prevent riot and sedition. In order to do so the museum needed to be fashioned for these tasks and to be put to work in new contexts, specially designed for those purposes: (I) the museum as a social space needed to be detached from its earlier private, restricted and socially exclusive forms of sociality. The museum

had to be refashioned so that it might function as a space of emulation, in which civilized forms of behavior might be learnt and thus diffused more widely through the population. (II) Rather than merely evoking wonder and surprise the museum's representations needed to arrange and display natural and cultural artifacts and to utilize them for the increase of knowledge and for the culture and enlightenment of the people. (III) The museum had to develop as a space of observation and regulation, so that the visitor's body, individually and as a collective, might be taken hold of and be molded in accordance with the new norms of public conduct.

In practice though, museums, and especially art museums, have often been appropriated by social elites, rather than functioning as institutions of homogenization. They have continued to play a significant role in differentiating elite from popular social classes and tastes.

The museum's social functioning can then be defined by the contradictory pulls between these simultaneous tendencies of homogenization and differentiation. "However, the conception of the museum as an institution in which the working classes might be exposed to the improving influence of the middle classes was crucial to its construction as a new kind of social space." (Bennett, 1995: p. 21, 24)

Bennett suggests two ways with which to explicate the contradiction between the museums' claims to universalism, to be available to all, and to fostering existing social hierarchies - a conflict which led to an increasing politicization of the museums:

(I) The marking out of time and the presentation of stages on a linear path to evolution reinforced the notion of a progressive, limitless development.

"It [the museum] provided a context, in which the visitor might rehearse and recapitulate the ordering of social life promoted by those institutions of discipline and regulation which provided a new grid for daily life. [...] The museum might be regarded as a machinery for producing 'progressive subjects'. Its routines served to induct the visitor into an improving relationship to the self." (Bennett, 1995: p. 47):

(II) The space of the museum was also envisaged as a place, in which the working classes would acquire more civilized habits by imitating the members of the middle-class. Thus the museum provided its visitors with a set of resources (the space, the exhibits) and a stage for a social performance, which aimed at ascending through the

social hierarchy, at helping to keep progress on track and at promoting a particular vision of history.

For the emerging art museum to assume its role and to deploy its civilizing potential, it needed not only to be refashioned itself but also to become closely related to a wider range of institutions – history and natural science museums, national and, later, international exhibitions, arcades and department stores – which served as linked sites for the development and circulation of new disciplines (history, biology, art history, anthropology) and their discursive formations (the past, evolution, aesthetics, man) as well as for the development of new technologies of vision. They together formed, what Bennett calls, the ‘exhibitionary complex’. (Bennett, 1995: p. 59)

Earlier collections fulfilled a variety of functions (the storing and dissemination of knowledge, the display of princely and aristocratic power, the advancement of reputations) and normally shared the principles of private ownership and restricted access. The formation of this exhibitionary complex involved a break with these principles through the transfer of significant quantities of cultural and scientific property into public ownership, where they were housed within institutions administered for the benefit of an extended general public. Museums then still consisted of enclosed objects within walls, but in the nineteenth century their doors were opened to the general public: a public, which in the eighteenth century was the witness of the spectacle of punishment, whose presence became then as essential to a display of power exercised through the museum. (Bennett, 1995: pp. 73, 96)

“The institutions comprising ‘the exhibitionary complex’ [...] were involved in the transfer of objects and bodies from the enclosed and private domains in which they had previously been displayed (but to a restricted public) into progressively more open and public arenas where, through the representations to which they were subjected, they formed vehicles for inscribing and broadcasting the messages of power (but of a different type) throughout society. (Bennett, 1995: pp. 60-61)

The exhibitionary complex permitted the construction of a temporary order, which also organized the implied public, i.e. things and peoples. And by exhibiting other peoples (in anthropological displays) and the creation of a drastically different Thus museums worked to create a national public and to confirm imperial superiority. (Bennett, 1995: p. 79)

“The exhibitionary complex was also a response to the problem of order, but one which worked differently in seeking to transform that problem into one of culture – a question of winning hearts and minds as well as the disciplining and training of bodies. [...] Through the provision of object lessons in power – the power to command and arrange things and bodies for public display – they sought to allow the people, and en masse rather than individually, to know rather than be known, to become the subjects rather than the objects of knowledge.” (Bennett, 1995: pp. 62-63, 93)

Space, access and vision

“Relations of space and vision are organized not merely to allow a clear inspection of the objects on display but also to allow for the visitors to be the objects of each other’s inspection.” (Bennett, 1995: p. 52)

Through spatial and visual arrangement, which served not to atomize and disperse the crowd but rather to regulate it and to make it visible to itself, the museum made the crowd the ultimate spectacle. Furthermore, the museum divides the ‘hidden’ spaces of knowledge production and organization, from the public spaces of passive knowledge-consumption, “where bodies, constantly under surveillance, were to be rendered docile.” (Bennett, 1995: p. 89)

What most of my field’s museum restaurants have in common, are spatial arrangements with separate entrances, which allow visits not only beyond museum hours, but, of course, also without entering the actual exhibition space and with the possibility to oversee some of the exhibited artworks and to be seen from the exhibition space. These particular spatial layouts, the cultural prestige of museums and the often very design-conscious interiors make museum-restaurants seemingly ideal venues for corporate or charity events, where economic and cultural capital can be displayed, mixed and can grant each other mutual legitimacy.

Probably the most striking example in terms of spatial arrangement is Istanbul Modern: its café is separated from the museum space only by a glass wall, which allows for maximum transparency between the two spaces and enables the restaurant customer even to get a glance at some of the artworks and at the museum crowd. Müzedechanga



Trainee chefs from the neighboring cooking school linger in the sculpture garden at the entrance to Projé4L. Foto by Michael Kubiena.

is housed in an extension of SSM's original building, which connects the mansion and the calligraphy exhibition with the newly added museum space. At Santral, both restaurants are located in separate buildings, which originally belonged to the powerplant. They therefore share the same industrial heritage architecture and cleverly integrate and highlight some of the buildings' original elements. IKSV's café is housed on the ground floor of Deniz Palas, while the X-restaurant sits on top of the building and affords views over the Golden Horn.

Security regulations and arrangements are handled very differently in the various spaces. While Santral and Projé4L do have a security check at the entrance of their exhibition spaces, the attention paid to it seems rather moderate and relaxed. At Istanbul Modern, the visitors not only have to pass a scanner and undergo a baggage check, visitors are also labeled with a sticker, which needs to be worn throughout the whole visit. SSM has its visitors undergo two security scans, the first at the ticket counter at the very entry to the park, the second at the entrance to the museum. Pera Museum and IKSV have security provisions at the entry to their spaces, while only SALT does not conduct any kind of checks at all.

Such security provisions and the restriction of access by symbolic and actual boundaries appear to run contrary to museums' claims of social inclusion and of the democratization of their audiences. Fences and access controls and the visible marking-off of the museum's privatized space from its surroundings may resemble the 'gatedness' and exclusivity of Istanbul's upper/middle class communities. The liminal space of the museum and its visitors need protection, or so it seems, from the city and its 'uncultured' segments and aspects, not unlike the gated communities' residents and their specific way of life, mentioned by (Ahıska, Yenal; 2006: p. 322)

Even though certain theorists of Postmodernism seemed to have claimed that the museum is an institution whose time is up, that the museum's discursive system has collapsed and its authority declined, the prevalent and continuous growth in museum construction, the impressive visitor-statistics of block-buster exhibitions and the must-see profile of some museums might suggest otherwise. (Grimp: 1997, p. 283)

The museum had been formative for the very way people are able to think about art and to regard museums as the most appropriate venues, in which to view and keep artworks, has become a naturalized perception. The 'triumph of art for the public' is a rarely questioned historical development. Art and the public have become to be accepted as stable, rather than historically constructed, ideological categories. But questions regarding the accessibility of museums – access for whom and what kind of access to exactly what? – would seem necessary to challenge this naturalized role of museums. (Duncan: 1995, p. 13; Grimp: 1997, pp. 287, 295)

The institution of the museum, Grimp suggests, was only as progressive as the consolidation of bourgeois hegemony itself, insofar as the museum is one of those institutions that works to guarantee that very hegemony within the cultural sphere. Once materialized within the institution of the museum, dominant aesthetics could be expected to neutralize the possibility of art as oppositional practice or resistance. Grimp furthermore identifies a tension between the resurgence of art that comfortably fits within the museum's space, both physically and discursively, and art and artists that have worked to reveal the social and material conditions of art's production and reception, that seek new audiences, that attempt to construct a social practice outside the museum's boundaries. (Grimp: 1997, pp. 286-287, 303)

The museum as a site for leisure and pleasure: The museum experience

“For, as museums are placed under increasingly strong fiscal pressure, there is enough evidence to suggest that the mechanisms of differentiation which characterized the nineteenth-century museum are being slammed into reverse. In order to attract sufficient visitors to justify continuing public funding, they thus now often seek to imitate rather than distinguish themselves from places of popular assembly.” (Bennett, 1995: p. 104)

Questions regarding the political desirability of more equitable patterns of access to, and of museums reveal tensions between populist and statist positions: the former, envisioning the museum’s future as part of the leisure industry, urging that people should be given what they want, while the latter, maintaining the view of museums as instruments of instruction, argues they should remain an institution and instrument for lifting the cultural and intellectual level of the population. (Bennett, 1995: pp. 104-105)

In the 1990s museums, like other public institutions were required by governments to justify themselves in terms of efficiency and effectiveness of service delivery. The focus on the use of culture as a tool for addressing social problems has been a key issue, as audience development for the purpose of social inclusion has become and remained a priority for many cultural organizations. Although, efforts have been made to include the wider community and make museums more accessible, some research suggests that, even as visitor numbers have increased, the social profile of the typical population of museum and gallery visitors has remained relatively stable, and continues to favor the traditional middle-class visitor. “As far as the arts were concerned, they were expected to contribute to a range of governmental strategies that included local economic development, place marketing and social inclusion.” (Belfiore and Bennett, 2008: p. 7; see also McPherson, 2006: pp. 46-47) Gayle McPherson proposes that

“Although it is widely accepted that museums continue to have an educational role, the recent emphasis on their economic dimension and role in economic re-development has led to their overall function becoming the subject of considerable debate. To judge the museum’s value solely by their contribution to local economic development is unrealistic and inappropriate.” (McPherson, 2006: p. 48)

Jackie Wullschlager observes that numerous museums have been built throughout the first decade of the new millennium in the periphery of declining regional towns in the UK, primarily with an eye to tourists, whose visits, it is hoped, will kick-start new enterprises and help urban regeneration. This museum-building spree, she then argues, is an embodiment of the democratization of and widening interest in art in the last decades. But while these regional museums somehow managed to secure the funds for constructing and inaugurating their buildings, they now face the problem to finance their exhibitions and fill their spaces with high-quality art, which will help them to attract the anticipated numbers of visitors. Furthermore, she asks who will ultimately benefit from these new museums: local residents, visiting tourists or the curators and artists (who normally come from the capital), who use these venues for their own interests. (McPherson, 2006: p. 48; Wullschlager, 2011: pp. 1-3) Great museum architecture has motivated museum visits, with some of the greatest architects in the world having become museum builders. Separate outside entrances to museum restaurants and shops are signs of museum accessibility and growing prominence of attractions and commerce. (Kotler, 2001: p. 422)

While Neil Kotler questions whether museum architecture and design are complementary to or competing with the museum, Michael Sorkin goes further in critiquing the 'co-branding' and alliance between powerful museum institutions, and star-architects, who share a global footprint (the Guggenheim and Rem Koolhaas, in his example of Las Vegas). The analysis of the spatial and architectural proximity of luxury retail outlets and the museum, together with the corporate sponsorship of exhibitions by global consumer brands, lets him conclude, that such alliances are "turning museums into boutiques and – with perfect business logic – the boutiques into franchises." (Sorkin, 2005: p. 25)



Top: The Pera Museum in the former Bristol Hotel (Foto by Michael Kubiena)

Bottom: The envisaged Cultural Center of the Suna-İnan Kırac Foundation as designed by star architect Frank Gehry (visualization by wowturkey)

In the 1980s, museums in the public sector have had to find ways of reconciling their roles as arbiters of knowledge and taste, as repositories of the officially sanctioned collective memories of communities, and as sites of scholarly endeavor with the need to demonstrate commitment to, and performance within, a national or local tourism strategy, a perception of museums as part of the infrastructure of the tourism industry which is reinforced by arts tourism and cultural policies. (McPherson, 2006: pp. 48-49)

A growing focus on commercial activities and on generating increased income through ancillary services, such as catering and retail trading are not, in themselves, a recent phenomenon. Such retailing ventures may mirror the essentially middle-class values and lifestyles of the typical exhibition-visitors. One might even argue that in its dual role as museum and shop, the museum now facilitates a form of ‘gazing’ as pre-purchase contemplation, the eventual purchase in the museum shop afterwards being the realization of that gaze. Whether or not this is really the case, the consumer experience offered by retail outlets at museums, it is argued by its proponents, might operate as an extension to the traditional educational mission of the museum, rather than just as a source of income generation, with most museums selling educational products related to their exhibitions, as well as educational books. (McPherson, 2006: p. 50)

Kotler notes, that an observable trend in museums is a growing attention to sociable, recreational and participatory experiences that redirects the traditional and singular focus on collections and exhibitions. A second trajectory is a movement away from museums as walled enclaves toward museums as parts of a cultural mosaic (architecture and design elements, programs outside museums, and a museum’s relationship to its community). Interpretation, if not a fusion, of elements of popular and elite culture, may form a wide-ranging cultural experience. Consequently, an increasing time is spent exploring contemporary culture rather than the past. Together, these shifts represent the emergence of a new way of experiencing culture. Museums and other formal cultural institutions are likely to become parts of a cultural itinerary rather than a single, isolated destination. A significant challenge then involves creating complex multi-faceted cultural itineraries, which are supposed to interweave elements of formal culture (museum visits) and elements of popular culture (e.g. food sampling). (Kotler, 2001: pp. 418, 425; Axelsen, 2006: p. 2005)

Museums, Kotler argues, compete in an expanding leisure marketplace. Funding for existing and new programs is a major preoccupation. Today, the concept of ‘museum experience’ has gained significant currency. Years ago, a museum visit was prized for aesthetics, visualization and education. Nowadays, participatory experience, intense sense-perception, situations that evoke strong responses, rather than passivity and mere spectatorship, have all become important elements of the cultural experience. Similarly, sociability has become a sought-after element for visitors. Therefore museums have established more seating and sociable spaces for members. Former canteens have turned into fancier dining rooms with cuisines-to-match, they have transformed dingy, out-of-the-way shops into carefully designed shops with high-quality merchandise.

“Museum members, who represent a large share of earned revenue, expect museums to offer diverse programs and frequent exhibition turnover, novelty and special events. Such events are construed to include any combination of different elements such as lectures and films, behind-the-scenes tours, access to special guests and to areas which are normally inaccessible, conferences and lectures, opportunities for handling or involvement with the collections. Such events appeal to the visitors’ or members’ personal as well as social motivations for attendance and offer a sense of ‘value-add’, intimacy and privilege. (Kotler, 2001: pp. 418-421; see also Axelsen, 2006: pp. 206, 217-219)

Istanbul’s museums picked up this trend, so that it is in this context that I would situate Istanbul Modern organizing guided tours of its 2010 ‘From Traditional to Contemporary’ show, which were followed by a workshop on wine tasting techniques and wine culture with expert trainers from a renowned Turkish winery.

Among Istanbul’s art institutions, IKSVM, Istanbul Modern, Pera Museum and SSM all offer membership programs. Different membership categories require different fees (from TL 25 to TL 5.000 per annum at SSM, for example) thus conflating the categories of membership and patronage and offering both under the same heading. Their related benefits range from discounts on entry fees and purchases in the museum shop, to invitations to exhibition openings and preview nights or special events, which allow members to meet and interact with curators and/or artists.

Such developments have drawn critique from a lot of museum professionals who doubt the ultimate value of crossing the line between entertainment, learning and scholarship. While most museums are burdened by the cost of conserving, maintaining, exhibiting and interpreting collections, museum attractions, calculated to draw expanded audience and income, still reach a minority of a given community's population, and fewer ethnic and younger visitors than anticipated. Nevertheless, Kotler suggests that future museums need to encompass all these aspects:

“A successful future museum will not be an entertainment center although it will have entertaining elements. It will not be a ‘cabinet of curiosities’, although art and artifacts will be important elements. A future museum will not be exclusively a place supported by collectors, cultural leaders, and elites, although their presence and support will be vital. Nor will it be a place, which caters mainly to adults who can afford membership fees. A future museum will be a place that attracts young people who want to learn and enjoy recreational activities. Museums in the future will be hybrid places, combining recreation and learning, allowing visitors diversions from the intense stimuli of strolling through galleries and viewing multitudinous objects.” (Kotler, 2001: pp. 422-423)

Still, the main concern which museums face as they become more recreation-focused is that they will lose their ‘integrity’, and will shift from their original missions to preserve and educate. Such changes tempt critics to suggest that they may become arenas of pleasure, rather than education. Most of my interviews are aware of and share such concerns, expressed for instance by Changa's Tarik Bayazit when referring to a quote by an (unidentified) director of MOMA, most probably Glenn Lowry:

“The most dangerous thing is to have a nice museum attached to a great restaurant!”

Taking this argument a bit further by reflecting on the possible interference of a restaurant with the museum space, Eda Berkmen, while in general in favor of the idea of museum restaurants and in particular for Proje4L, suggests that.

„And this might be distracting because most of the people who come here know about the stuff and they come here and contemplate it. And I have been told by many people how they appreciate the peacefulness of this place when they come from the rush of a business oriented place like Maslak. You almost come to a surreal area. So I think it could extinguish this boundary between the business oriented area of Maslak and the very quiet artful space here. I mean, I think it is good that this could join, but at the same time it

maybe would take away something.“ (Interview with Proje4L’s Eda Berkmen)

However, some maintain, that there is nothing to suggest that the museum, as a context for recreation, will conflict with its functions of collecting or educating. “While perhaps less obvious in its impacts, learning through entertainment is no less effective.” (McPherson, 2006: pp. 54-55) Awoniyi Stephen argues that

“the museum in contemporary society has evidently acquired a considerable broader public role than its early predecessors. The modern museum is, in large, a public institution, so that underlying its symbolic and utilitarian roles, therefore, is the goal of directly benefiting more of the public. Among its primary functions, the museum serves as a collector and preserver of objects, but among its broader cultural roles the museum serves as a symbol of community pride and, generally, as an institution which contributes to civic enlargement.” [...] “The museum given its combination of spaces, artifacts, visitors and its place embedded within popular culture – is viewed as a context for the broader experiences of leisure.” (Stephen, 2001: pp. 297-298)

An added role, according to Stephens, for the museum today is as a site for recreational experience. Without having to compromise its traditional functions, the modern museum may benefit from situating itself within the larger definitional context of the leisure establishment. This, he suggests, is the case because much contemporary museum visiting takes place during time, which may be described as leisure time, draws upon discretionary income and often occurs with the expectation of a pleasurable experience – the same conditions which, among others, describe the contexts of many other forms of recreation and amusement. The perspective of the museum as a context for recreation thus might not need to conflict with the museum’s functions of collecting and educating, nor does it necessarily need to negate its role as serving a greater public benefit. But museums must also compete for the public’s discretionary time (and income). (Stephen, 2001: pp. 300, 305)

Stephen describes the qualities of the leisure experience as including such phenomena as enjoyment, freedom, relaxation, personal growth and social interaction; furthermore, it can be characterized by choice, lack of constraint and being able to express oneself and to do things voluntarily. The site of the ‘future’ museum, according

to Stephen, allows for leisure to reach into the following three areas (Stephen, 2001: p. 301-302):

(I) A major function of the museum is the use of its objects for education. While the form of learning at a museum may be different in several ways from learning in the traditional classroom, it is relevant here that learning in the former is done without many of the rules and obligations, which accompany the latter.



The ‚secret‘ rooftop vegetable garden at SALT Beyoğlu. A project by German architect and landscape artists Fritz Haeg, which will become part of curatorial and educational programming. (Foto by Michael Kubiena)

(II) In the (liminal) space of the museum, an individual can contemplate and “transcend ‘mundane’ experiences and journey within deeper manifestations of the experience.” (III) As social interaction is an integral component of most types of leisure engagement, the modern museum with its array of ancillary spaces (e.g. cafeteria, theater, shop) affords a social experience for the visitor.

Some proponents of the museum experience argue as follows:

“Attracting the masses to the museum has been partly conditioned by the need to generate revenue. What the public desires is the intersection of education and entertainment. The building, its facilities and its setting are being planned to entice and enthrall.” (Stephen, 2001: pp. 301-304)

By doing so, Stephen overlooks insightful analyses such as Bennett’s (1995) account of the historical and social construction of the museum or Grimp’s (1997) critique of ascribing a stable and homogeneous character to art, to the museum’s functions and to the public and its desires.

7. THE CONVERGENCE OF THE TWO PRACTICES OF CULTURAL CONSUMPTION: FIELDWORK IN ISTANBUL'S ART MUSEUMS AND THEIR RESTAURANTS.

The following chapter deals with further central themes of my interviews and fieldwork. While they may at first sight not relate to any of the earlier conceptual chapters, I will try to underpin this part of my analysis with current concerns of museum and food research. They are centered on topics of audience and audience development, the combination of consumption and leisure practices, the actual modes of cooperation between museums and restaurants, and will close with a brief highlighted selection of further areas of intersection between food and art.

The audience

One focus topic and recurring theme of my interviews, especially with museum officials, was the notion of their museum's target audience. In the absence of visitor statistics¹⁵, a concise picture of their actual visitors is not available, but I learned that museum managers have quite a good sense of who actually comes to their institutions.

Santral's Elif Ocak explained that there is not a single target audience, but Santral rather tries to attract 'urban people': artists, art-lovers, international tourists, elderly people, housewives, families, to enjoy a mix of de-industrialized musealization of sites of production and art. Given the short existence of Santral, Ocak concedes, that they still have a way to go to reach (,touch') all these potential audience sub-groups. A second reason, according to her is that Santral does not use aggressive advertising (probably referring to large-scale outdoor campaigns of e.g. Istanbul Modern or Pera) to advertise its programs and exhibitions.

¹⁵ Only Istanbul Modern deploys a regular audience survey. Due to their unwillingness to participate in my research, this data was not accessible to me.

For Proje4L, their audience is directly linked to the content focus of their exhibition and collection.

“For us it is mainly people who know already about and are interested in contemporary art. Anyone who would come in from the street and see what we have here, they would come in and are not interested at all. They don’t really want to see it and they would maybe take 15 minutes and walk around and get out of here. [...] There is not really an age boundary, just ... art-loving people. [...] it is very international. We have people come from abroad just to see the collection. So, let’s say patrons of Tate Modern or patrons of Guggenheim Venice. All this patron groups from international art institutions come in big groups. Or we have collectors coming, [...] over the summer we always get a lot of these groups of collectors. We get international student groups, we got the Boconi Institute, design students and they got a talk from Ms Elgiz ... So people who are interested in collecting contemporary art or in contemporary private art collections.“
(Interview with Proje4L’s Eda Berkmen)

Proje4L reaches these people and keeps them up-to-date by actively managing their press relations with all the arts magazines, through contacts with the fine art universities, and, somehow in contradiction to their rather sharply defined target audience, they also make sure that they appear on travel websites and guidebooks (which reach a rather undefined target group and readership). Eda Berkmen continued to state that

“Besides from that, the collectors (i.e. the owners), sort of ,own’ friends, and their friends. So that’s a circle, which develops quite fast. People who are interested in collecting seem to be connected anyways.“

SSM, too, seems to recognize the need to sharpen – to a certain extent – the museum’s profile and synchronize it with the kind of visitors the museum wants to attract. Until now, the audience had been shaped by its diverse exhibition programs. While the permanent (calligraphy) collection attracts a certain type of (scholarly) visitors (students, scholars), the temporary exhibitions vary between crowd-pleasers (e.g. Picasso-exhibition: „something to be seen and to be seen at“) and others for a rather narrow, limited audience. The education or dance program aim at younger people (students, children) while Islamic art exhibitions attract art-lovers of this particular field, so do exhibitions paying equal tribute to ,East and West’. While ,everybody’ can not be the target, SSM does not want to define a too limited target either, the current direction seems to point at ,young adults’.“ International tourists were being targeted

especially during 2010, when Istanbul was Europe's Capital of Culture (e.g. by advertising at Istanbul's airports) while the high-end shopping mall (not far from the museum) and its clientele are also targeted with promotional activities. For SSM, its location is problematic in the sense that it is difficult to have people make the effort to go all the way to Emirgan, but at the same time an opportunity, as once people made their way they are likely to spend significant time there. About the obstacle to travel all the way up the Bosphorus for a museum visit Hüma Arslaner stated, "if they can make all the way to Sütüş [a very popular café-restaurant in Emirgan, right next to SSM], they can also come here!"

In comparison, Istanbul Modern and Pera Museum are far less specific in describing their target audience. 'Istanbul's people' (Pera Museum) and 'visitors of all ages and from all segments of society' (Istanbul Modern) do sound very inclusive, but tell us very little about which people they really want to reach. Still, their educational programs and the mix of their exhibitions (artifacts and Orientalist painting with the occasional crowd-pleasing temporary exhibition in Pera Museum; modern Turkish art with contemporary works in the area of design, architecture, photography and visual art in the case of Istanbul Modern) do suggest that younger people and people with a somewhat general interest in the arts are in focus. (website of Istanbul Modern; Eczacıbaşı Group Annual Report, 2009: p. 73; website of Pera Museum; Interview with Pera Museum's Fatma Colakoğlu)

For IKSÜ, the audience is very much dependent on the particular programs of their festivals and events and thus rather heterogeneous: While the more traditional elite circles regularly visit mostly offerings from the classical music programs, newcomers (media, fashion people) are introduced through the restaurant to the programs for the first time. On the other hand, Salon's (IKSÜ's live music and performance venue) program and the film or jazz festivals draw very different (much younger) audiences, although they are not considered target customers of the restaurant. (Interview with Deniz Ova, IKSÜ)

Obviously, due to its very recent opening, SALT was not yet able to make any comments about actual visitors. Still, my two interviewees had a rather precise idea about who will come to their two venues in the nearer future: while SALT Beyoğlu will be a more activity-oriented space, with an exhibition area, a 'walk-in-cinema', the roof-

top garden, it can be more quickly ‚consumed’ and thus potentially draw a younger crowd; SALT Galata, which will feature an archive, library and auditorium, and the building’s scale and atmosphere will invite and require the visitor to spend much more time there. Whereas both spaces are expected to initially attract an audience already acquainted to the focus and research topics of SALT (exhibitions of contemporary art, architecture and urbanism, social and economic history), SALT Galata is more likely to speak to a more academic and therefore slightly older audience. The longer-term aim is then to ‚democratize’ and to embrace a more diverse type of visitors and „turn them into participants“. Due to its location directly on Istiklal Caddesi and its intense pedestrian and tourist traffic, SALT Beyoğlu is expected to attract a significant number of foreign visitors. (Interview with SALT’s Ceylan Tokcan and Anlam Arslanoğlu)

Most of my interviewees from the restaurant businesses had something to say not only about the restaurant- but also about the museum-audiences and the overlap between them: Sites in central locations do get a lot of daytime customer traffic all days of the week, while sites at the periphery mainly rely on students and professors of the adjacent university campus (Santral) or museum visitors (SSM) or corporate types who make their way to Emirgan for business breakfasts or lunches. Weekends seem to be a different matter altogether, where museums and their restaurants become destinations for leisurely friends- and family-excursions. But restaurant (and museum) people consider the real difference to be the one between daytime and evening customers. In the evenings, Tamirane and Ottosantral are as much café-restaurants as they are performance venues and nightlife-spots; Müzedechanga becomes an upscale restaurant. So, whereas during the daytime Santral does attract some of the target groups mentioned earlier, in the evenings it becomes a gathering place for a younger affluent crowd. Müzedechanga’s evening customers are likely to have visited the museum, or frequent the restaurant for business breakfasts or lunches, or for corporate and private functions outside of the museum’s visiting hours.¹⁶

Pera, which is the only place where the café’s opening hours are limited to the museum’s visiting schedule, observes similar differentiations:

¹⁶ Interviews with Tarik Bayazit, Elif Ocak, Burak Gül

“The customers who come to Pera Café most of the time know what to expect therefore their expectations are not at stake. Nonetheless, we do have a trend of during weekdays we will welcome more females above 40 years old and during the weekends it will be a complete mixture of ages and genders. [...] Although its physical appearance at first might not strike the younger generation as appealing, but once they know they can socialize and drink, eat as comfortably as anywhere in this area, it does become a valuable asset for the museum visitor in general [...] The tricky part is the Café at times can appear rather distant for the young public; especially students whom are used to different types of café or bar settings in the Beyoğlu area. However, once they realize that Pera Café is in fact more accommodating than the other places (free wi-fi, wide range of variety to eat and no time-limitation for sitting down) it does become an attractive spot for them as well.” (Interviews with Pera Museum’s Fatma Colakoğlu)

Estimates regarding the overlap of audiences and visitors’ traffic between the museum and the restaurant differ significantly, ranging from estimates of ninety percent on weekends (Santral’s Elif Ocak and Tamirane’ Burak Gül) to much more conservative assumptions well below fifty percent (Changa’s Tarik Bayazit). Whereas museums do have visitor statistics, restaurants do not, and the quantitative overlap between their audiences is mostly unknown and remains guesswork. What they see as a commonality, though, is that the return-visitors of their restaurants at one point do go and see the exhibition, even if not during the same visit.

Another necessary differentiation, based on my participant observation, must be made between local visitors and tourist-visitors from abroad: Because of foreign visitors’ normally rather short stay in the city, individual museums are just one item on their lists of things to do and see. While this may reduce the time spent on the site, foreign tourists are very likely to combine a visit to the museum, with gift-shopping at the museum store and a quick stop at the adjacent café-restaurant. Local visitors, who always have the possibility to return, are in no rush to consume all at once and apparently do not necessarily combine a museum visit with a stop in the restaurant, at least not during one and the same visit.

Notions of audience development

In how far museum-restaurants really are a means of audience development remains questionable, as diners, who normally would not set foot into a museum, might actually never cross the threshold between the museum restaurant’s dining room and the

exhibition space. Some estimate that only about fifty percent of the museum-restaurant's guests, are actual visitors to the exhibition. (Conlin: 2001, p.3; Hoffmann: 2005, p.1-2)

My interviewees presented a strong sense of audience development but are either unsure of or remain cautious about its actual extent:

SALT Galata, which will be located in Karaköy's Bankalar Caddesi, will house a restaurant operated by well-known and well-established Istanbul Door's group, a company which already runs a number of up-market restaurants in Istanbul's Bebek and Ortaköy neighborhoods. SALT does expect that the buzz created by Istanbul Doors new venue, will draw a certain number of people, who would not otherwise make their way to Karaköy, an area, which, although very central, is only slowly becoming a destination for Istanbul's in-crowd who would otherwise not come to a museum-cum-research-institution slightly off the beaten track. (Interview with SALT's Ceylan Tokcan and Anlam Arslanoğlu)

Regarding the drawing power of the Müzedechanga-restaurant for new audience groups, SSM's Hüma Arslaner, asked about visits by the affluent corporate types, who are regular customers of the restaurant, stated: "We have those already!" (Interview with SSM's Hüma Arslaner)

Another line of argumentation about the benefits of the museum-restaurant refers to the following related concerns: As an integral part of the museum experience the museum-restaurant enables the museums to increase the visitors' overall time spent at their premises. Visitors can take a break from taking in the exhibits and can relax over food and drinks and return (refreshed) to the gallery space and continue their visits. (Interview with Tarik Bayazit)

On a similar note, Proje4L's Eda Berkmen reflects:

„Once you go to a place, not in Istanbul but abroad, it seems to me that, in contemporary art museums ... now contemporary art is really big, so you need a big space to host it, and it is hard to have this space in the city center. Sometimes it has to move out, and the viewer has to travel a long way, let's say an hour. This might be a part, you want to see art, you want to be able to eat, or something else. I feel that Santral, that's a good place where you can examine this trend, they have a concert hall, a theater, it has become a cultural center. And the other reason why I think this is important, with all

the art pieces you are looking at and spend a couple of minutes in front of each of them, it is a tiring process because you are always standing up, and it is a good thing, to sort of have a coffee in the middle of it, eat something, and then go on, because it also takes a long time, because if it is a big space, a very detailed exhibition, it takes sometimes 3 or 4 hours.“ (Interview with Proje4L’s Eda Berkmen)

The focus on the use of culture as a tool for addressing social problems has been a key issue, as audience development for the purpose of social inclusion has become and remained a priority for many cultural organizations. “As far as the arts were concerned, they were expected to contribute to a range of governmental strategies that included local economic development, place marketing and social inclusion.” (Belfiore and Bennett, 2008: p. 7) Although, efforts have been made to include the wider community and make museums more accessible, some research suggests that, even as visitor numbers have increased, the social profile of the typical population of museum and gallery visitors has remained relatively stable, and continues to favor the traditional middle-class visitor. (McPherson, 2006: pp. 46-47)

One claim forwarded by museums is that all additional services and ancillary spaces serve the educational mission of the museum.

“Museums [...] are increasingly using, what was once a mere amenity to continue the educational experience for visitors. For many museums, this means that those in charge of facilities have become curators of the café, delving into food history and culture to make eating an authentic experience. [...] Each dish not only has to taste good, it also has to speak to the wider goals of the institution.” (Mann, 2007: p. 1)

But the meeting of artistic display, educational mission and culinary creativity sometimes brings about rather bizarre or questionable associations: When the Philadelphia Museum of Art held a Salvador Dalí exhibition, one of its restaurant’s chefs created a main course including a lobster, which should resemble Salvador Dalí’s Lobster Telephone (also known as Aphrodisiac Telephone). For an exhibition entitled ‘Cleopatra of Egypt’ at the British Museum in London, the adjoining restaurant served a special of lamb-tajine with couscous (one of Morocco’s national dishes). (Conlin: 2001, p.4; Hoffmann: 2005, p.3)

In the case of Istanbul’s museums only Pera Museum tries to have the museum’s temporary exhibitions influence certain items on the menu – Colombian dishes for the Botero-exhibition, a Spanish-inspired menu for the Picasso exhibition. Even though

such efforts might have a one-time marketing effect, any claims for authenticity, and at the same time, for seasonality of the food on offer seem questionable. At my last visit to Pera Café in early spring 2011, the menu was labeled ‘Summer 2010 Menu’. At its opening, which coincided with another Picasso exhibition at SSM, Müzedechanga developed and offered a menu which had this very exhibition as its theme, by including quotes from the artist and Spanish dishes; they afterwards refrained from continuing to do so, as this would interfere with the restaurant’s overall concept. (Interview with SSM’s Hüma Arslaner and Changa’s Tarik Bayazit)

Ottosantral’s Pelin Dumanlı mentioned that she would wish for a stronger interaction between museum and restaurant, also when it comes to menu design. While she finds it difficult to conceive of food items which relate to Santral’s exhibition topics (Museum of Energy, modern and contemporary art), she rather thinks of re-inventing the restaurant’s kids menu, which she considers a weakness (in terms of creativity and nutritional aspects) in most of Istanbul’s restaurant scene, but also - because of the large share of families among its audience – a huge necessity and opportunity.

If the proclaimed aim of many museums is to reach out to and pull into the museum a wide, demographically diverse audience and to make those visitors return, then the establishment of a museum-restaurant can only be one single measure among many of a much broader approach towards a democratization of its public. While the restaurant can tempt people to extend their visit in terms of time, current attempts at blending the museum’s educational mission into the theme and menus of the restaurant still appear rather bland and, at times, even awkward.

Consumption practices

Gratification and Pleasure

“A striking feature of the contemporary landscape is the endless provision of food outlets which supplement the main activity or purpose of a whole raft of commercial premises. Thus the sports stadium and the leisure and health club, the airport, bus or train station, the museum and the art gallery, the bookshop, the supermarket, [...] give a strong sense of the range of options currently available for eating outside the home.” (Ashley et al.: 2004, p. 141)

From the above quote it seems as if Eating Out in combination with other leisurely (travel, sports) or consumption activities (shopping, entertainment) has become increasingly pleasurable, as if the combination of two such pastimes would enhance each other and the gratifications derived from them. During my fieldwork, the notion of ‘enhancement’ was brought up frequently. “The restaurant can ‘enhance’ [in the sense of extend] the quantity of time people spend in the galleries”, as it provides the opportunity to rest from viewing art, in which people invest time and concentration. It has the potential to ‘enhance’ the museum’s mission, by translating educational objectives into the ambience and menu of the restaurant, and thus improve the quality of time of the overall museum experience. I would additionally suggest that the proximity of art can also alter, enhance and interfere with the restaurant experience (see also below). Only few concede that the restaurant and any other ancillary services and spaces also have the potential to distract the audience from the original purpose of the museum visit.

Going back to Warde and Martens’ typology of gratification, it seems that the museum and the adjacent restaurant offer significant potential for providing a pleasurable experience on multiple levels. Depending on the predispositions of the individual, gratification will encompass feelings of bodily and sensual pleasures, contemplation, such as entertainment or aesthetic appreciation, as well as social satisfaction. (Warde and Martens: 2000, pp. 186-187)

In comparison to the consumption of ordinary commodities and especially the purchase of (durable) consumer goods, the museum visit and the meal in its restaurant

do not stay with you physically, but the sense of gratification might resonate for some time. As Tarik Bayazit explained:

“If you think about it carefully, going to the museum is about rewarding yourself, it is an intellectual reward that you give to yourself. You go over there [to the museum] and you improve your knowledge and what have you. It is something more sophisticated and elite etc. [...] If it is the museum’s goal to give something cultural to people, then food can be part of the process. They both [art and food] enhance and reward you. They don’t leave you with anything. You go to the bathroom and then it [the food] is gone. You look at it [the art] and it inspires you and it is gone some place inside. But both stay with you somehow, it is a memory actually. Both give you a momentary, rewarding relationship”.

They also emphasized, as mentioned already earlier, the assumption that for Turkish consumers, Eating Out is still primarily about its social aspect. Participation and mutuality give more pleasure than the culinary adventure or the excitement of trying a new cuisine or an unfamiliar dish. Few people eat out alone and most people visit museums in company of family, friends or as part of larger groups. Any leisure activity has the implicit purpose of having a good time; with this preconception in mind hardly anyone will complain, also because a complaint might spoil the experience of the others (see also Warde and Martens, 2000).

Furthermore, both fields, separately and in conjunction, offer constantly new ways and opportunities for distinction. In the culinary field, the enormous range of available ingredients, the proliferation of exotic cuisines and new techniques of preparation, the rapidly changing and growing number of restaurants in big cities, turn the capability to navigate the vast culinary field and to converse meaningfully about it, into a marker of cultural capital. Similarly, knowledge of the art world and its abundance of trends, practices, media, of its networks of players and stakeholders, and thus the appropriation of embodied and/or objectified cultural capital, can be a powerful means of distinction. The above-mentioned museum membership programs allow those who have the economic capital to participate in them to establish and experience a proximity and intimacy with the museum-space and sometimes with artists and curators, which is off-limits for the regular visitor. The equivalent in the restaurant world would be ‘chef’s tables’, communal tables directly located in the restaurant kitchen. They are much

sought-after and highly priced and signify an even more intimate relationship with the chef and his or her creation. (Ashley et.al.: 2004, p. 144)

While the increasing informalization of museum and restaurant visits might make it easier for most visitors to enter and enjoy the museum or the restaurant, it also bears the risk that through the absence of previously well-known rules or predefined sequences, other visitors may find it difficult to orientate themselves and make sense of the experience: for instance, a number of museum restaurants offer brunch on weekends or all-day breakfast menus, which remove the limits of the traditional meal schedule and rules regarding what can be consumed at which time of the day.

Thus, I would argue, that while a lot of museums make efforts to stress inclusion and democratic accessibility, by introducing compound events through membership programs, they actually offer multiple new ways for distinction. Or, to put it differently, both fields pose rather high entry-barriers in front of those who are not yet pre-disposed to participate in the intricacies of the respective field. As outlined earlier, the mere availability of economic capital (in the absence of field-relevant cultural capital or social capital in the form of accessible networks) does not automatically grant access to the field.

Performance and Spectacle

Both the museum and the restaurant are sites of performance. In the case of the restaurant, despite the trend towards more informal dining-experiences, the codes, the form and sequence of the meal still set the stage for the performance enacted by the diners. The restaurant design (in the case of museum restaurants, also the presence and proximity of fine arts), waiting staff and the increasingly prominent and visible role of the chef contribute to the sense of occasion. In a similar way, the museum space, the sequences of rooms and objects, the exhibition design and the overall architecture, prepare the visitor for the enactment and performance of the cultural product. In both cases, those consumers who are best predisposed socially, psychologically and culturally, endowed with the right amounts and mix of capital and have an internalized distance from necessity, are the most likely to enjoy the experience to the fullest, to establish a 'spiritual' connection with the chef/artist and the least likely to suffer any of

the anxieties mentioned earlier. In that regard, the sense of occasion when dining in a high-end restaurant and the liminal space of a museum, the ‘exotic otherness’ of the restaurant-experience and the absence of daily duties related to eating at home, the aesthetic experience of the museum and the possibility to ‘leave the chaotic yet regimented routines of the city behind’, seem very intimately related.

The civilizing aspects of museums and restaurants, notions of embodiment or spectacle, as discussed earlier in reference to Tony Bennett or Norbert Elias, did not immediately come up in my interviews: While my interlocutors did not speak directly of those aspects, they often mentioned cultural level, education and class as influencing factors of the visiting behavior. Hüma Arslaner mentioned that the design (lamps, furniture etc.), the entire building and the ambience of Müzedechanga might prevent some people from entering. It denotes sophistication, coolness and high prices. (Interview with Hüma Arslaner)

But the importance of material objects and artifacts, or what Daniel Miller also calls ‘Stuff’ lies not only in their appearance and physicality but also in the fact that we are often not aware of them. Nevertheless, they determine our expectations in powerful ways, by setting the scene and ensuring appropriate behavior, without being able to challenge them. “They determine what takes place to the extent that we are unconscious of their capacity to do so.” (Miller, 2010: p. 50)

On the one hand, material culture appears as a society made tangible through its material presence; on the other hand, ‘stuff’ has a remarkable capacity for fading from view, to become naturalized and taken for granted, because we constantly fail to notice what it does. “Things act much more commonly as analogous to the frames around paintings than as painting themselves. They guide us towards the appropriate way to behave and remain unchallenged, since we have no idea that we are being so directed.” (Miller, 2010: p. 155)

Probably one of the most vivid examples of spectacle in the art world are exhibition openings, in museums or galleries, where guests, invited or uninvited, can actually eat and drink while walking through the gallery space, even though such events normally are too crowded to allow for a serious look at, left alone, contemplation of the artworks. But those events are a fruitful field to observe how symbolic capital, publicly

displayed through how many people one knows and even more so through which people (the artist, the collector, ...) somebody knows, is put on view for everybody else to see.

Istanbul's restaurant and museum boom. Collaboration and choices.

The food: trends, sourcing, pricing, taste.

Over the past five to eight years Istanbul has seen an enormous increase in trendy cafés and restaurants, while the traditional daytime Esnaf lokantası and the evening Meyhane still remain a strong force in the eating out market.

Food writer Ebru Erke attributes this recent abundance of options for Eating Out with the increase in the number of single-households, a further rise in women's employment and a general rise in middle-class income, which is available and consequently used for various consumption purposes. (see also Ayata: 2002, pp. 35-36)

While the number of international ethnic cuisines still seems rather low, the menus of these newly-opened (and often quickly disappearing and re-opening) venues strike one as rather identical and inter-changeable; and this also true for most of the museum-restaurants. Most museum-restaurants serve a mix of easily recognizable international (burgers, salads) and Mediterranean dishes (pastas, risottos, pizzas) with a few Turkish or Turkish-inspired options. Prices, too, seem to be rather identical and well-above average. When I asked restaurant managers and food writers about this phenomenon, I was provided with the following argumentations:

First, according to my interviewees, the taste and palate of Turkish customers, as already mentioned earlier, is rather conservative. They will rather choose something at least vaguely familiar from a menu and refrain from trying out new dishes or ingredients. Even SSM's Müzedechanga, which probably serves the most adventurous menu, although almost entirely comprised of Turkish dishes and ingredients compromises in a way that

“everybody, even those with a more conservative taste, will find something, he or she recognizes on our menu, whereas here [in Changa, their restaurant in the Taksim area, with a different, more adventurous clientele] you almost need a dictionary to read the menu ... and those who are not familiar with this kind of food ... some might leave unhappy”, according to Tarik Bayazit.

Secondly, this conservative attitude to culinary adventures, as a slight form of neophobia, is then translated by restaurant managers into an assumed consumer demand and then, ultimately, into the menus. When asked about their benchmarks, most restaurant managers did not so much refer to international trends, but rather to market comparisons within the Istanbul restaurant scene. Furthermore, and understandably so, museum restaurants need to serve a wide variety of consumer tastes – young trendy international travelers, local or foreign families, often with small children, something which everybody can agree to at any time of the day.

One of the visitors, who said that she travels extensively for work within and outside of Europe, stated that for her, museum restaurants are a comfortable choice: Less boring than most hotel-restaurants, with decent, if mostly unexciting food.

PASTA & RISOTTO	
MANTI EV YAPIMI, ZIRHLA KIYILMIŞ KIYMA VE SARIMSAKLI YOĞURT Home-made Turkish Lamb Ravioli with Garlic Yoghurt	14.-
TORTELLİNİ; PORCİNİ MANTARI, DANA KIYMASI , MASCARPONE PEYNİRI SOSU Tortellini with Porcini Mushrooms, Minced Veal Meat and Mascarpone Cheese Sauce	19.-
LİNGUİNİ EV YAPIMI; PORCİNİ MANTARI, KARİDES, KÖZLENMİŞ PATLICAN Home-made Linguini, with Porcini Mushroom, Shrimps and Smoked Eggplant	19.-
PAPPARDELLE; FÜME SOMON, TAZE KIŞNIŞ, KAPARI SOS Pappardelle with Smoked Salmon,, Fresh Coriander and Caper Sauce	18.-
PENNE PESTO, FESLEĞEN SOSLU Penne Pesto with Basil Sauce	13.-
RİSOTTO, DENİZ MAHSULLÜ; IZGARA ORTA BOY KARİDES Risotto with Seafood and Grilled Shrimps	25.-
DENİZ ÜRÜNLERİ/ SEAFOOD	
LEVREK BALIĞI BUĞULAMA; CHERRY DOMATES, REZENE, PAZI, TAZE KEREVİZ VE ENGİNAR Steamed Sea Bass with Cherry Tomatoes, Fennel, Chard, Celery and Artichoke	45.-
LEVREK IZGARA; HAŞLANMIŞ PATATES, JÜLYEN KABAK, HAVUÇ VE KIRMIZIBİBER SOSU İLE Grilled Sea Bass with Boiled Potatoes, Jullien Squash, Carrot and Red Pepper Sauce	45.-
SOMON BALIĞI IZGARA; İSPANAKLI PATATES PÜRESİ, REZENE SALATASI Grilled Salmon with Spinach-Potato Puree and Fennel Salad	40.-
ET ÜRÜNLERİ / MEAT	
BONFILE IZGARA TAZE KEKİK VE ROSEMARY İLE MARİNE EDİLMİŞ; SARIMSAKLI PATATES PÜRESİ, SOTE İSPANAK VE DEMİ GLACE SOS Thyme and Rosemary Marinated, Grilled Veal Fillet Mignon with Garlic Potato Puree, Sauteed Spinach and Demi Glace Sauce	27.-
"ROBES PIERRE", ÖZEL BAHARATLARLA MARİNE EDİLMİŞ KUZU BONFILESİ; ROKA VE PARMESAN "Robes Pierre" Marinated Grilled Lamb with Arugula&Parmesan	25.-
KUZU PIRZOLA; PATATES PÜRESİ, IZGARA SEBZE Lamb Chops with Potato Puree and Grilled Vegetables	25.-
KÜLBASTI; IZGARA SEBZE, MANTARLI FETTUCİNİ Grilled Entrecote with Grilled Vegetables and Mushroom Fettucini	24.-
"AKÇAABAT" KÖFTESİ; PATATES TAVA, IZGARA DOMATES, BİBER VE EGE USULÜ SOTE SEBZE Grilled Minced Meat "Akçaabat" Style Served with French Fries, Grilled Pepper and Tomatoes and Aegean Style Sauteed Vegetables	22.-
PİLİÇ IZGARA; TAZE BAHARATLI RİSOTTO, SARIMSAKLI İSPANAK Grilled Chicken with Spring Herbs Risotto and Sauteed Spinach with Garlic	22.-

Menu at Istanbul Modern Café: Main courses; Pasta, seafood and meat main courses. (from the website of Istanbul Modern)

“Sometimes, when you travel a lot for work as I do, you get tired of having to try all the local dishes. Then I want the toilets to be clean and the food to be unchallenging comfort food.” (visitor interview)

Otto Burger; <i>patates tava ve turşulu mayonez ile</i>	24.-
Cheddarlı Otto Burger; <i>patates tava ve turşulu mayonez ile</i>	26.-
Baconlu Otto Burger; <i>patates tava ve turşulu mayonez ile</i>	28.-
Dana Bonfile; <i>domates salatası ve patates tava ile</i>	32.-
Dana Külbastı; <i>klasik beğendi ve patates tava ile</i>	30.-
Piliç Külbastı; <i>klasik beğendi ve fırınlanmış biberli bulgur pilavı ile</i>	22.-
Piliç Şnitzel; <i>patates ve taze baharat salatası ile</i>	20.-
Chefin Günlük Türlüsü	18.-
ızgara Mini Köfte; <i>domates, biber ve taze patates, baharatlı yoğurt ile</i>	18.-
Kağıtta Sebzeli Levrek	28.-
ızgara Somon; <i>pesto soslu mevsim sebzeler, roka ve limon sos ile</i>	25.-
Ev Yapımı Erişte; <i>etli ve mantarlı</i>	20.-
Sebzeli	17.-
Fusilli Alla Bolognese; <i>bolonez soslu fusilli</i>	20.-
Somonlu Tagliatelle; <i>krema, ızgara somon ve ıstiridye mantarı ile</i>	22.-
Kum Midyeli Linguini; <i>beyaz şarap, taze chilli, kiraz domates, sarımsak ve fesleğen ile</i>	22.-
ızgaralı Penne; <i>krema, acı sos, meksika biber marmelatı ve taze soğan ile</i>	18.-
Mantarlı Risotto; <i>parmesan ve trüf yağı ile</i>	26.-
Parmesanlı Risotto; <i>yeşil sebze salatası ile</i>	22.-

Main course menu at Ottosantral (from the website of Otto Istanbul)

Thirdly, food and drink prices seem relatively high. Although Ottosantral offers an affordable daily lunch menu and a ‘campus-menu’ for its student visitors, in the regular menus of most museum-restaurants it is almost impossible to find a main course below the TL 20-40 range (Pera Café’s menu is different in this aspect, as they only serve pastas as main courses, none of which are above TL 20). Restaurant managers

explain this on the one hand with the need for a large number of trained and un-trained staff due to their á la carte offerings and their long working hours (they usually start operating in the mornings, as soon as the museum opens its doors, and close past midnight). On the other hand, the cost for ingredients (normally thirty percent of the price of a dish), especially when using higher-quality produce, directly influences menu-prices. (Interviews with Burak Gül and Pelin Dumanli)

This feeds directly into a fourth aspect, which deserves further attention. The concern with food provenance, authenticity and healthier eating options is a trend, which seemingly connects Istanbul’s culinary scene with an internationally observable pre-occupation, which may have its roots in the counter-cuisine described by Warren Belasco (see Chapter 3) and resonates with food fashions such as foraging, promoted by the success of and buzz created around Noma in Copenhagen (the ‘best restaurant in the world’ for the last two years in a row). Noma’s kitchen team - and in the meantime a

growing number of followers and imitators - often hand-sources their exclusively Scandinavian ingredients in the immediate surroundings of Copenhagen's neighborhoods and turns them, with the help of traditional and molecular techniques, into highly inventive multi-course menus.

Some of the museum restaurants plan to or already do source their ingredients directly from producers, thus trying to avoid any mass-produced raw materials. They then use those local ingredients in the production of their international dishes. This trend, which can also be traced through the growth and increasing popularity of organic markets in Istanbul, is, according to Pelin Dumanli, fuelled by a mixture of anger with the food-industry and a growing concern about the negative impact of industrially produced convenience products. Surely, an increased desire for organically produced food items by small-scale farmers yields the opportunity to gradually change production-conditions in the long run, but is not without its flaws. Tangör Tan, a food anthropologist who searches for little-known herbs, cheeses and other produce in rural Anatolia and the Aegean region of Turkey for Istanbul's top-end restaurant Mikla, explains, that such sudden and sharp increases in demand triggered by a trend created by restaurant businesses in Istanbul could not be served by those small producers because of limits in production and logistics.

“...a certain cheese comes from the top of a mountain [in Anatolia], and when I talk to the grandmother who is producing the cheese, and I say ‘Can you send it to Istanbul?’, she says ‘Where is Istanbul?’” (Interview with Tangör Tan)

Additionally, food writer Anıl Birer detects a certain insincerity with some restaurateurs jumping on this trend by using the label of healthy ingredients and organic produce as a marketing trick, while the majority of ingredients used in restaurant kitchens still remain convenience products or mass-produced meat or vegetables. Consumers, too, might shy away from the significantly higher prices at such restaurants or at Istanbul's organic bazaars. Also in this sense, Turkey's culinary field does not differ significantly from other countries, which might seem to be way ahead when it comes to responsible food-shopping and eating. “The taste for organics, which looked for a long time like a trend that would only grow, has stalled and gone into reverse with the recession. Cheap, processed food remains our staple diet.” (Adams, 2011: p. 2)



A desert in Müzedechanga of wine-poached pear and Mastic ice-cream. Foto by Johanna Stemberger

SSM's Müzedechanga also does base its menu on Turkish ingredients, but instead of turning those into international dishes, they – with the approval of their London-based celebrity chef Peter Gordon who acts as a consultant and 'referee' – rely on Turkish dishes, but prepared in often novel and unusual ways and combinations. While they acknowledge the need to compromise and please their more conservative diners, too, they try to slightly challenge the taste-buds and culinary expectations of their customers (interview with Tarik Bayazit)

For the consumer, and especially the serious eater or 'foodie', the strategy of 'omnivorousness' is one possible way of dealing with the 'increasing variety' of food items, a search for as wide a range of experience as possible. In the process consumers may develop tastes for a wider range of items than previously, without the necessity to have favorites, i.e. to value one type of item over another. Although the variety of options is surely increasing, there is nevertheless a tendency to exaggerate its extent, for much specialization is based upon minute variation of mass-production techniques and components. (Fine, 1996: pp. 10-11; Warde and Martens, 2000: pp. 219-220) And for every new trend in the culinary field there are counter-trends and variations, which serious eaters need to be able to decipher if they want to stay abreast of the latest developments. The 'omnivor' has already been bypassed by the chef and consumer as 'locavore'. Food foraging and an emphasis on food provenance and a radical orientation

towards purely local and seasonal ingredients have gained ground and popularity. (Lander, 2011: p. 1)

In accordance with the above-mentioned pricing policies, Ahıska and Yenal argue that eating out appears first and foremost as a matter of financial means. But the choice of restaurant and, once there, the food selected and eaten relate to both economic *and* cultural capital. While up to twenty or thirty years ago, going to a restaurant was not a very common practice even for the middle classes, the growing number and visibility of eating out spaces in today's public sphere can be related to a changing cultural climate. Eating out choices have thus significantly contributed to the formation of culinary and cultural hierarchies, whose levels are marked off by financial means, refined tastes and culinary knowledgeability. (Ahıska, Yenal; 2006: pp. 385, 390)

That is also to say that one has to distinguish between different types of museum-visitors, their motives and dispositions. While cultural capital and economic capital often go hand in hand, it does not necessarily mean that an average museum-visitor can and wants to afford lunch or dinner in the museum's gastronomic facilities: whereas, for example, the entrance ticket to Istanbul Modern's permanent and temporary exhibition has increased significantly (currently TL 14 for a regular ticket, while it was TL 8 one year ago), the menu of its café offers fish and meat main courses in the range from TL 22 to TL 48. Among Istanbul's art museums, only SALT and Proje4L do not charge an entry fee. Istanbul Modern allows free entrance one day per week.

But a brief national and international comparison reveals similar ratios between ticket prices and costs for meals in the museum premises. The Modern, the top-end eatery among New York's MoMA's several dining options, is often referred to as the current benchmark in highbrow museum-dining in terms of design and reputation:

“Taking Museum dining to sophisticated new heights, The Modern is a fine dining restaurant located at the Museum of Modern Art [...] Inspired by the Bauhaus movement, The Modern was created by architects Bentel & Bentel with design playing a major role in every aspect of the dining experience. Open, elegant and filled with light, the Dining Room offers views of the Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Sculpture Garden. Both the Dining Room and Bar Room are adorned with furniture and tableware from modernist greats, with a focus on Danish design. Some of the designers are represented in MoMA's architecture and design collection, and a number of the pieces are available in the MoMA Design and Book Store.” (website of The Modern at MoMA, New York)

There a three-course dinner menu costs USD 88, and a seven-course tasting menu between USD 125 and 135, with a regular entry ticket to MOMA costing USD 20. (Other eateries at the MoMA have a much more favorable menu-ticket-price-ratio.)

The past decade in Istanbul has seen an enormous growth in the number of private commercial museums as well as in independent art-spaces. All the private art museums in my field, powered by corporate capital and motivated by a mix of public relations, good corporate citizenship and philanthropy, have appeared within the past ten years. But it is not only Istanbul's private art-institutions, which are following the trend of promoting the complete museum experience in order to develop their audience: in 2008 Turkey's Ministry of Culture and Tourism had launched an initiative to enrich the visitor experience in Turkish museums by opening of 55 museum cafés and restaurants and 95 museum shops until 2010, an investment of 15 million Turkish Lira, which is expected to yield sales revenues of up to 156 million Turkish Lira, as was recently highlighted at the occasion of the inauguration of the new facilities at Istanbul's Topkapi palace. (Hürriyet Daily News, April 21, 2010)

Modes of cooperation: economic and stylistic choices.

“You cannot *not* have one!” (Deniz Ova, IKSÜ)

Literature on museum marketing often refers to the additional revenue potential (through revenue-sharing schemes which grant the museums between eight and twenty-five percent of the restaurants' profits) and the enhanced brand-name and image, which comes with the media-attention generated through a successful restaurant-operation, which is a destination in its own right. (Conlin: 2001, p.3; Hoffmann: 2005, p.1-2)

In the case of Istanbul's museum restaurants, too, revenue-sharing agreements are the preferred mode of financial cooperation over fixed rental agreements. Such kind of economic relation underlines the mutual responsibility for attracting customers. Furthermore, as none of the museums really knows, which aspect of the museum experience actually is the drawing force for visitors and how many of those do visit both, it makes even more sense. As I already described the different behaviors of daytime and evening customers, Tarik Bayazit puts it as follows: “The day-time visitors

are clearly the museum's, the evening customer is mine.” (Interview with Tarik Bayazit)

As museums are expensive to run (salaries for curatorial, management and administrative employees, insurance expenses, costs of outsourced security and cleaning personnel, electricity and heating in the galleries and storage facilities etc.), the revenue generated by ancillary spaces is a welcomed contribution to museum budgets.

“You got to share it! What if they [the museum] decide not to bring any [temporary] exhibition and just show their painting [permanent] collection which people have already seen? For me, the restaurant, it is very difficult to bring people to Emirgan, if there is no attractive exhibition going on. Still, I do have all the costs of operating the restaurant, food, staff, [...]. The museum restaurant is, of course, a profit center, but it [the museum] cannot run on the restaurant alone. A well-run museum restaurant can be a good contributor but it can never be the main source of finance for the museum.” (Interview with Tarik Bayazit)

While IKSŞV claims that the revenue generated by its ancillary spaces (café and restaurant, SALON, the design shops) feeds into the operating budget of IKSŞV's organization of around 80 people, SALT intends to re-direct these incomes into its research and curating budgets. (Interviews with IKSŞV's Deniz Ova and SALT's Ceylan Tokcan and Anlam Arslanođlu)

IKSŞV as such emphasizes its non-for profit character – it maintains that its operations and the organization of all festivals depends primarily (between 70 and 80%) on the funding of corporate sponsors, while the rest comes from individual sponsors/members, the shared revenue created by the ancillary spaces of the restaurant, café, shop and concert venue, and “state contributions that depend entirely on prevailing economic conditions”. (Interview with IKSŞV's Deniz Ova, IKSŞV website)

But the cooperation between museum and restaurant extends beyond the financial aspect. Firstly, the choice of restaurant, which provides the culinary side of the museum is frequently made by the founders and main patrons of the museum. In the case of SSM, Changa was directly approached, briefed and commissioned by the Sabancı family, based on an already existing friendship. Similarly, the Borsa group was the caterer of choice for IKSŞV's X-restaurant and, after some consideration of other options, for Istanbul Modern. Some museum patrons also do have a significant say in

the design of the restaurant premises and even menus. The X-restaurant on top of IKSÜ's building was conceived in close cooperation between Şakır Eczacıbaşı and Rasim Özkanca, the owner of the Borsa restaurant group, whereas the Sabancı family gave the owners of Changa a carte blanche regarding the restaurant's interior design and menu. At Santral, on the other hand, the selection of restaurants, the subsequent lease and operations are based on a tender process. Whatever the selection process looks like, the intention must be a friction-free long-term cooperation, as any change in caterer would most likely be accompanied by a re-arrangement of the restaurant space which would definitely impact the museum's operations. (Özendincik, 2010: p. 1)

Another notable trend regarding the cooperation is the choice of already well-established names in gastronomy, be it those of famous restaurants or restaurant groups or those of individual chefs, whose profile is gaining increasing importance in Turkey's culinary field (something which can also be observed, for example in London's or Vienna's museums). Changa, the Borsa group, Istanbul Doors or celebrity chef Murat Bozok are, at least to some, household names of the Istanbul restaurant scene. The underlying logic is one of marketing and branding. The restaurant's, the chef's image rub-off onto the museum's reputation and, eventually, can add another layer and new momentum to its perception in the public.

It is also interesting to note that, as in the case of Santral's Tamirane, this move can also develop in the other direction. Tamirane, having made a name for itself as a trendy museum café-restaurant with decent food and an interesting line-up of live-music and DJ-performances has started to branch out into a new culinary genre by opening up its first (of a planned chain) of smaller outlets in the city (Tamirane Express Quality Food). (Interviews with Changa's Tarik Bayazit and Tamirane's Burak Gül)

What all my interlocutors were agreeing on was that the restaurant and any other ancillary spaces must only serve to enhance the museum (experience) as stated above and should not interfere too much with the museum's original purposes, whichever these may be. As one restaurant manager put it: "The restaurant is a very commercial thing, the museum very academic." While the attributes need not be entirely accurate for either of them and for each and every museum/restaurant, it underlines the careful balance necessary for a harmonic collaboration of the two.

Practical considerations in everyday operations

There are a number of practical considerations, which make the convergence of art spaces and restaurants not entirely trouble-free in daily operations. Especially those restaurants, which are directly housed in the museum's building, are subject to several limitations:

(I) Issues of security are a major concern here. As the artworks on show, regardless whether they are part of a permanent collection or temporary exhibition, represent financial values, they need to be insured against damages, theft etc. Exposure to people who are not part of the regular museum operations can increase insurance premiums, which already eat up a significant part of museums budgets. IKSV initially intended to make all floors of Deniz Palas, which houses several artworks by Turkish artists, accessible to visitors, but refrained from doing so, as the visitor traffic generated by the top-floor restaurant made control increasingly difficult. Other risks emanate from the kitchen-operations (Interviews with IKSV's Deniz Ova, Changa's Tarik Bayazit):

“A restaurant is a totally different operation than the one of a museum. [...] I have people coming here, delivering food, perishable ingredients. There might be water leaking through, a restaurant kitchen might have bugs, there may be customers who get drunk and might smash a glass. All kind of things can happen in a restaurant.”

Furthermore, the earlier described security arrangements at museum entrances, which normally also apply to restaurant-only customers or after the museum's visiting hours, are something, which a stand-alone restaurant would normally not impose on its guests.

(II) Other problems range from the smells created in the kitchen and the restaurant space over the noise of lunch- and dinner-crowds to the traffic generated by delivery services of various suppliers and other providers. Such disturbances may well pose the risk of taking something away from the sometimes solemn atmosphere of the museum space. (Interview with Eda Berkmen)

(III) A final consideration is the long-term viability of the cooperation between the museum and the restaurant. Although regulated through contracts and often mediated by long-term personal friendships, a major disagreement between the two could lead to a situation in which the caterer would need to be changed. As Tarik Bayazit puts it, once

you have a restaurant museum, you cannot have it without. At SSM, the more economical visitor-café, although defunct now for some time, still occupies the space in front of the entrance of the private mansion, which visitors must pass. SSM's Hüma Arslaner calls the fully furnished space with its unused bar, the coffee-tables and chairs, "almost an art installation".

Restaurants in separate buildings do share some of the same concerns, but as in the case of Santral, they have significantly more freedom and face less restrictions, for example, the afternoon jazz-sessions on weekends would not be possible in a space directly located within the museum's boundaries. On the other hand, Ottosantral and Tamirane establish visual links via the shared industrial heritage architecture, which keep them at least loosely attached to the museum's space.

Further intersections

There are numerous and rather different intersections between the culinary and the artistic fields. In this last section I want to highlight a few, which should help to complement the picture of shared trajectories.

While the 'hybridity' of contemporary art museums seems to blur boundaries between the museum and other sites of leisure, it might be useful - in order to further understand their appeal (and possibly distinct character) - to imagine museum restaurants as a highly-domesticated and commodified version of artist-run restaurants and cafés, a genre, which – in its original form - could be described as a form of sub-cultural consumption space. In temporal proximity to the counter-cuisine movement in the United States described by Warren Belasco (see Chapter 3), a number of artist-run cafés and restaurants appeared in Los Angeles and New York. Their primary intention was to rescue art from the commercial and institutional spaces of the museums and galleries. Some of these did not serve any edible items at all, but, as in the case of one of the forerunners of this trend, Al's Café in Los Angeles, little crafted assemblages named after real food. At its start, it was mainly frequented by artists and their friends, but only after a little while it became a meeting point of artists and others who were either interested in the artworks, the proximity of artists or in the reasonably priced

drinks. As the café did not offer any other artistic entertainment than the creation of its owner/chef, its main attraction were the inter-personal exchange and the blurring of roles between artists and viewers. (Groos, 2009: pp. 61-63)

At 'Food', an artist-run restaurant initiated by Gordon Matta-Clark and Caroline Goodden in New York, the, this time, edible dishes and its function as a meeting point were complemented by events, performances etc., its innovative culinary aspect remaining in the foreground. What these spaces had in common was their temporary nature (either as part of the concept or because of the commercial incapability of their initiators), the entanglement of food and life, art as a component of everyday life and food production and consumption as a creative activity. (Groos, 2009: pp. 66, 73-73) A more recent phenomenon are temporary pop-up restaurants - improvised kitchens and restaurant spaces, at unusual locations (car-parks, abandoned shops), normally (and legally) not designated for the use as gastronomic ventures, run by either professional chefs or by innovative cultural entrepreneurs. They usually function without giving their customers any *à la carte* options but rather a fixed menu, they do not use any kind of advertising, but rather are propagated by word-of-mouth. This trend found so many imitators in such a short period of time and became so heavily covered by restaurant reviews and the life-style press, that it almost disappeared as quickly as the restaurants popped up.

I definitely do not want to argue that today's museum restaurants have much in common with any of the two examples, except for the extent to which they place art and culinary production and consumption in spatial proximity. I rather want to suggest that such kind of alternative spaces and practices of consumption and production, are easily dragged into the mainstream by the media-created buzz and by those who intend to imitate the artistic modes of production and consumption, as Sharon Zukin suggests. (Zukin, 2001: p. 262)

As for Istanbul, food and art do get permanent attention in life-style and other media and are presented right next to each other under the headline of urban life (-style). Furthermore, for some time now, Istanbul's food and art scene have acquired a prominent position in the pages of international life-style publications. Some of the visitors I interviewed at Santral were referring exactly to such publications (Wallpaper,

Monocle, Food+Travel) as the sources for deciding on their itineraries during their stay in the city.

The figure of the high-profile, global celebrity chef can be seen as another parallel to the art world and some of its superstar-artists or -curators. Not unlike some of these artists, who employ assistants and students for the actual production of their artworks, the handful of global celebrity chefs lend their name, expertise or consultancy to establishments around the globe, without actually cooking there. The ability to recognize these names in the restaurant-world thus becomes another area of potential distinction and an arena of connoisseurship among the consumers.

There is a commonality in language and a mutual exchange of metaphors, through which art and the culinary field infect each other: from the quote in the introduction (Chapter 1) of art and the museum as ‘food for the soul’, over Carol Duncan’s reference to the ritual qualities of the museum which create “a feeling of having been spiritually nourished or restored.” (Duncan: 1995, p. 13) The borrowing of language can also extend to its visual written form, as, for example, the new art-space of the Koc-foundation and collection does in its opening exhibition: “The catalogue and visual identity of the exhibition [are] reminiscent of a luxurious menu at a three-star restaurant.” (website of Arter)

A final, but rather significant conceptual parallel lies in the way the two fields are constituted. The culinary field, as Patricia Ferguson Parkhurst suggests in her analysis of nineteenth century French gastronomy, is influenced, to a large extent, by textual discourses that (re)-negotiate the tensions between production and consumption, not unlike critical discourses in the artistic field and theories of art, which determine what is considered art and what not (Danto: 1964, p. 581). If a field can be understood as a structured system of social positions, which are occupied by individuals, groups or institutions, and of the forces which exist between these positions, then gastronomy, where susceptibility and resistance to change, the drive towards innovation against forces of tradition are integral elements of the culinary discourses, clearly resembles

“[...] other modern arts, that occupy fields that are similarly divided or, more accurately, fragmented among multiple production sites, each of which negotiates invention and convention. Every field will have its

distinctive networks and strategies, its bastions of traditionalism along with outposts of innovation.” (Ferguson: 1998, pp. 636-637)

8. CONCLUSION

“We want surprise, enchantment and education in a building that lives up to its Old Masters and hip, young gunslingers. These are no longer the dusty places for rainy Sundays from our childhood; museums, thanks to a boom in blockbuster shows, investment in architecture and in great art itself, have again become the regenerative, civilizing, enlightening places – the homes of the Muses – they were named for.” (Bound, 2010: p. 108)

Museums today, at least in the view presented by the above lines published in *Monocle*, one of the leading international life-style magazines and an ‘authority’ on matters of taste, travel and culture, must meet a huge variety of expectations: They need to accommodate (collect, preserve, exhibit) art, old and new, in world-class architecture; they need to fulfill certain functions, which traditionally have been considered the role of the museum (civilize, educate, enlighten) but at the same time they have to be enchanting and entertaining. What Robert Bound forgets or avoids to question (and answer) is who exactly is ‘We’, or – returning to my original research questions – who is the audience, who is excluded and who benefits from the dominant configuration of the modern museum?

In my conceptual analysis and fieldwork I, too, have attempted to do many things in order to explicate and shed light onto the normative trend of museum restaurants as the convergence of practices of cultural consumption, in general and in Istanbul’s private art museums in particular:

I took Pierre Bourdieu’s work on social practices and the ways they are constituted as a starting point for my discussion of contemporary cultural consumption practices. I consider Bourdieu’s analyses helpful in many ways: his notions of field, habitus and different types of capital and their possible conversions try to synthesize and mediate between concepts of consumption explained through (structural) conditions of production alone and notions of agency and individuality. Still, by being grounded in and based on French society of the 1970s, his analysis falls somehow short of accounting for the enormous variety of and changes in consumption practices, life-styles, and the emergence (and disappearances) of niche-consumption and sub-cultures in the everyday of contemporary urban life, or what Daniel Miller in his works on

material culture calls, the “actual brilliance often displayed in the art of living in modern societies by people of all classes, and the use of ambiguities, inconsistencies, resistance, framing and such devices in individual and social strategies.” (Miller, 1987: p. 155) But his concept of taste, as a classifying practice of one’s own and other’s choices, works extremely well for today’s consumerist society as well.

My analysis went on to discuss, how production and consumption practices of the art world and the restaurant world are mapped onto, weaved into each other, and ultimately alter the fabric of the urban landscape, and how the two are complicit in strategies of urban redevelopment and processes of gentrification. Images of change and desire and places of consumption are created around and by the symbolic economy. The symbolic economy and its accompanying discourses reflect concepts of order and disorder, of inclusion and exclusion and the decisions on what and who should be visible or not. Museums and their ancillary spaces and services, regardless whether they are designed and newly built by star-architects or re-use urban landmarks of, for example, the industrial era, always raise questions of the cultural needs of local audiences, of their value for tourism and the hospitality industry and of their ability to attract paying audiences and consumers. (Zukin, 1995)

The interviews conducted throughout my fieldwork often brought about such questions regarding Istanbul’s changing cityscape and the role of museums in the process of urban redevelopment. While, for example, Santral still seems very isolated from its surroundings of Eyüp, the presence of art institutions in parts of Beyoğlu (Şişhane, Karaköy) contributes to the accelerated changes of these neighborhoods. My interviewees’ answers ranged from partial denial to an awareness of the complicity of the arts and culture sector with such transformations, from which only some, usually those who are endowed with the right amount and mixture of economic, cultural and symbolic capital can benefit.

Even though such processes (de-industrialization, gentrification, spectacularization,...) are not unique to Istanbul, but can be observed in most ‘global’ cities, the rapid increase and striking resemblance of the privatized spaces of gated communities and private museums in Istanbul is remarkable. Actual and symbolic boundaries draw lines of distinction between different lifestyles and separate and

protect material cultures and the behaviors, performances and rituals framed by them from on another.

Istanbul is increasingly portrayed in tourist guides and glossy magazines as a life-style or cultural capital. While the gaze of the ever-increasing number of foreign tourists (and resident foreigners) is no longer exclusively directed at the city's history or cultural and artistic heritage and while Orientalist images and metaphors of East and West still feature prominently, Istanbul's art scene, its festivals, the booming restaurant-trade or features about fashion have gained significant importance. One may argue that every portrait of any city in a life-style magazine concentrates on urban culture, food or fashion, but the shift in Istanbul's case is quite drastic and remarkable. Naturally, the emergence of the private museums and alternative art-spaces in the past decade plays a big role in this shift. The negative consequences of such transformations receive little to no attention, on the contrary, re-development is rather presented as a means to battle all kinds of urban ills.

My chapter on food practices and Eating Out re-visited concepts of taste, distinction, civilizing processes and tried to pay tribute to the pleasures as well as anxieties derived from the restaurant experience. Warde and Martens' multi-dimensional typology of gratification proved to be a useful explanatory framework as it presents a thoughtfully compound analysis of pleasure, grounded in their research of Eating Out in the United Kingdom. It also works well for situating the practices of Eating Out and the restaurants scene in Istanbul, where the social aspects still seem to prevail over culinary adventurism and neophilia. I have also tried to show how the 'ordinary' consumers, professionals and scholars (of the culinary and artistic field) often have difficulties to put pleasurable and sensual experience into language, which is comprehensible outside their very field.

As my initial aim was to point out the conjunctions and commonalities of Eating Out and Viewing Art, I took a similar approach to discussing the arts and the institution of the museum. Starting from a selective investigation of the different uses to which art and the aesthetic have been put, I emphasized the civilizing powers of the museum as well as its role in the contemporary leisure industry. The latter advocates that the museum blends the former, its civilizing function as well as its educational mission, with elements of entertainment, popular culture and recreation into a hybrid form

which, in turn, becomes an integral part of cultural itineraries, for tourist and local audiences alike. The critique of such approaches focuses on the loss of integrity of the museum, brought about by the increasing commodification of cultural goods and artifacts, as well as on their inability to further social inclusion, an effect intended by policy makers and hoped to be achieved by the increased informalization of museums.

My fieldwork in museums and their restaurants has yielded similar results. Even if notions of embodiment, civilizing rituals or power did not explicitly come up in the interviews with museum- or restaurant-managers and visitors, this does not imply that these are no longer at work. Nor does it mean that they are absent in today's art museums or restaurants. I would rather suggest that such notions have become so naturalized, these functions so taken-for-granted, that hardly anybody speaks of them. And so are the dispositions necessary to navigate the rules and intricacies of the museum and dining experiences. I would also conclude from my fieldwork, that Istanbul's art museums are increasingly informal, although enough visual, actual and imagined boundaries exist for visitors and especially those, who have never set foot into such institutions. But while most museums claim and sometimes act as if they would want to become more inclusive and democratic with respect to their target audience, which would imply an observable diversity, their actual visitors still seem very homogeneous.

Which brings me already to the convergence of the two practices – eating out and viewing art in the setting of museum restaurants – and its effect on visitors as well as the modes of cooperation between the museum and the restaurant. Few people do question the presence of a restaurant at the museum premises. For the regular museum-goer, it has become a taken-for-granted amenity of a museum visit. In the case of museums located away from the center, a drink and/or snack in the museum-café may become part of the excursion; once they make the effort to go to Emirgan or Eyüp, some visitors combine seeing the exhibition with a purchase in the museum shop and a break in the restaurant. Especially the more affluent visitors (with variations), international tourists and local upper/middle-class visitors, normally with professional background and the necessary disposable income, tend to go for the 'full museum-experience'. For all museums, regardless of location, the restaurant, the shop and eventually the other ancillary spaces (cinema, performance venue) serve as means to enhance the time spent in the museum, in terms of quantity and quality, and to offer a

space and the time to relax from the activity of Viewing Art, which is said to require concentration and effort.

For the museum, the restaurant is a welcomed source of additional revenue – usually regulated by revenue-sharing-agreements, which feed into the institution’s operative expenses or into the curatorial and artistic programs. Furthermore, the selection of a particular type of restaurant, increasingly well-established, well-known restaurant (group) brand names or celebrity chefs and the attachment of their image to the one of the museum are expected to yield marketing effects and to earn the museum additional publicity and eventually access to the restaurant’s, the chef’s followers. In Istanbul, it seems, that the choice of restaurant is also an extension and a further public display of the museum-patrons’ taste and symbolic and cultural capital.

In how far a restaurant, its menu and ambience can really translate parts of the museum’s objectives into the culinary aspect of the museum experience, remains largely questionable. Most museum-restaurants need to please a diverse group of customers and thus are shaped by projected customer expectations. Their menus reflect this limitation and try to offer something for everybody; even those restaurants, which intend to somehow challenge the conservative tastes and expectations of their visitors, concede that they need to make compromises, also in the sense that they recognize the need to keep the museum in the foreground and their own operation, position and offering comparatively low-key, at least during the museum’s visiting hours. The uniformly above-average prices of Istanbul’s museum restaurants are frequently attributed to an emerging trend, the use of high-quality, predominantly organic ingredients, which most of the venues claim to follow. This, together with the costs incurred by the pricey operation of a fully-fledged restaurant and customers, who are willing and able to afford those prices, on the one hand make museum-restaurants above-average, reliable, but mostly (in culinary terms) unexciting options for Eating Out, on the other hand the proximity of the museum and its art works grant them a distinct ambience, which seems to be appreciated by a seemingly growing audience.

Judging from the way they engaged in the discussion of my research, the concern with their target audience and the museum-restaurant’s capability to contribute to the notion of audience development are shared, it seems to me, by most museum- and restaurant-managers. Although museums do have visitor statistics, the extent of overlap

between the museum and the restaurant audience is unknown and estimates differ widely. Most of them assume that the drawing power of a well-run restaurant with an established brand-name and the attributes which are assumed to be attractive for visitors (quality and value-for-money, ambience) do make a difference. But in how far it allows the museum to tap into new audience groups rather than to accommodate and enhance their offer for already loyal returning visitors or whether the restaurant appeals primarily to restaurant-only customers remains unclear. The bottom-line was that theirs is a mostly harmonious relationship with mutual benefits, but not an altogether friction-free cooperation. This is largely due to the very different nature of the museum and the restaurant operation, with very different emphases on topics like security and accessibility.

While these highlights from my analysis might have partly answered the question of who goes to Istanbul's museums (and eventually their restaurants), and who benefits from changes in the cultural infrastructure of a city, the question what such developments mean for the future of the museum and the restaurant, still remains open.

“To think of art in terms of entertainment is simply a return to the astonishment and delight associated with the first private renaissance museums: a sensuous, thought-provoking experience quite different from the dutiful didacticism of most large contemporary institutions, where visitors often spend more time reading about the art than looking at it. The museum's much criticized shops and restaurants have the capacity, when handled in an appropriate manner, to serve this experience.” (Newhouse: 1998, p. 190)

While equating art with entertainment seems a rather simplifying and problematic maneuver, Newhouse also concedes that a mishandling of the entertainment-museum relationship can quickly develop into crass commercialism, which may interfere with the art. But museum officials frequently quote the potential for attracting new audiences by offering alternative or complimentary experiences, which remove entry barriers to their institutions, as the main rationale behind the branching out into more commercialized activities. (Newhouse: 1998, p. 191)

I have already argued that the extent to which the informalization of museums through the integration of ancillary spaces has actually led to a widening of the audience

and in how far goals of social inclusion are being achieved remain debatable. Even in the UK, where access to most museums is free (of charge) and where museums like Tate Modern (one of the role models of successfully re-using industrial heritage architecture, of blending commercial offerings with a mix of blockbuster-shows with more challenging programs) have seen record visitor numbers, the achievement of social inclusion goals are questioned, especially, in the light of severe public funding cuts.

In Istanbul, the prominence of private capital and sponsoring for the arts, further questions come to the fore: private collections are based on private tastes, and programs and exhibitions are a product of the social network of artists, curators, collectors and patrons. Now, the rapid, one might even say, inflationary increase in Istanbul's art spaces in the past decade needs to go hand-in-hand with the development of an audience ready to visit all those spaces. For the time being, one is left with the impression that all these institutions cater to one and the same group or at least rather similar groups of people, be it local elites, in the sense of being endowed with the right mix of economic and cultural capital, or be it international tourists, with similar attributes.

But as most of Istanbul's museums claim, with certain deviations in the way they phrase such claims, to be for everyone - and some museums seem to offer a bit of everything for everyone, just like their adjoining restaurants – how can they attract audiences with different tastes? A restaurant, a shop, which implicitly extend the style and taste of the museum and its founders seem a rather meager attempt at doing so.

The culinary world and Istanbul's restaurant scene, too, are tangled up in contradictory demands for authenticity, originality and the economic need to grab and appeal to the attention (and money) of mainstream audiences. The sheer abundance and speed of changing culinary trends makes it increasingly confusing and difficult, for producers and consumers alike, to navigate the culinary field in meaningful ways. This frequently leads to a uniformity and homogenization of design (of menus and interiors) and taste.

As for the museum, blockbuster-shows, which 'one needs to see and to be seen at' may be another poor answer to this question. And how can art unleash its potential for powerful challenges to dominant ideological forms, when it is confined to the spaces

and realms of mainstream taste? Does this mean that it will remain enmeshed and aligned with the prevailing social order? (Eagleton, 1990)

Or will we witness, once the intense phase of the ‘cultural competition of some sort’ over public attention between Turkey’s corporate art patrons will have waned, a ‘Balkanizing’ of the museum, as Arthur Danto has called it, where each social community wants its own museum, as their artists, tastes or heritage are not being properly presented in the mainstream institutions? (Freeland, 2001; Danto, 1997)

I guess the answer cannot be that a single museum is able to fulfill all the expectations set forth by Robert Bound or Neil Kotler, in his notion of museums as hybrid places. They also need to remain cautious of the proponents of urban redevelopment by the means of culture, even though how museums, in theory and in practice, can manage to come to terms with the various forces of the art world (the art market, corporate patronage) *and* meet the demands of the public (local and national governments, various audiences, communities,...) remains very much unclear. Although museums have served a variety of purposes over time and still do today, they cannot be everything to everybody. Nor will any restaurant become memorable by trying to suit everybody’s taste.

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Interview with Pera Museum's Fatma Colakođlu (Film, Video and Communication Proramming Manager). February, 17. 2011.

Interview with Proje4L's Eda Berkmen (Museum Coordinator). March, 24. 2011.

Interview with SSM's Huma Arslaner (Incoming Exhibitions Manager). January, 13. 2011.

Interview with SALT's Ceylan Tokcan (Associate Director of Marketing and Communications) and Anlam Arslanođlu (Fundraising and Development Manager). April, 19. 2011.

Interview with Santral's Elif Ocak (Public Relations Manager of Santral and Managing Partner of Tamirane). January, 12. 2011.

Interview with Changa/Müzedechanga's Tarik Bayazit (Owner). May, 4. 2011.

Interview with Müzedechanga's Gökcen N. (Restaurant Manager). January, 13. 2011.

Interview with Otto's Pelin Dumanlı (Kitchen Supervisor). May 1, 2011.

Interview with Tamirane's Burak Gül (Restaurant Manager). April, 30. 2011.

Interview with Tangör Tan (Food anthropologist and consultant at Yiyecek Iyecek Group). May, 6. 2011.

Interview with Biray Anıl Birer (food journalist. TimeOut Istanbul, Food+Travel). May, 14. 2011.

Interview with Ebru Erke (food writer. Former food editor of Food+Travel, cookbook author and freelance food-writer). May, 16. 2011.

Interviews with museum and restaurant visitors of Santral. April, 30 – May, 1. 2011.

Museum and restaurant websites:

Museums in the field:

IKSV: www.iksv.org

Istanbul Modern: www.istanbulmodern.org

Pera Museum: www.iksv.org

Projet4L: www.proje4l.org

SALT: www.saltonline.org

SSM: muze.sabanciuniv.edu

Santral: www.santralistanbul.org

Restaurants in the field (with separate websites):

X-Restaurant at IKSV: www.xrestaurantbar.com

Müzedechanga at SSM: www.changa-istanbul.com

Ottosantral at Santral: www.ottoistanbul.com

Tamirane at Santral: www.tamirane.com

Other museums and art spaces:

Arter, Istanbul: www.arter.org.tr

MOMA, New York: www.moma.org

Museumsquartier, Vienna: www.mqw.at

Royal Museum of Fine Arts Belgium, Brussels: www.fine-arts-museum.be

Tate Modern, London: www.tate.org.uk

Venice Biennial, Venice: www.labiennale.org

Vitra Design Museum, Weil am Rhein, Germany: www.design-museum.de

Whitechapel Gallery, London: www.whitechapelgallery.org

Other restaurants:

Borsa Group of restaurants, Istanbul: www.borsarestaurant.com

Istanbul Doors Group of restaurants, Istanbul: www.istanbuldoors.com

Mikla, Istanbul: www.miklarestaurant.com

Noma, Copenhagen: www.noma.dk

The Hoops Inn at the Henry Moore Foundation, Hertfordshire: ww.hoops-inn.co.uk

Other web-resources:

Critical Studies in Food and Culture Blog: www.foodandculture.blogspot.com

The Guardian, Word of Mouth Blog: www.guardian.co.uk/lifeandstyle/wordofmouth

Istanbul Eats. A serious eater's guide to the city: www.istanbuleats.com

Istanbul Yiyecek Iyecek Food and Beverage Group: www.istanbulyi.com

The Observer, Food Monthly: www.guardian.co.uk/theobserver/foodmonthly

Slowfood International: www.slowfood.com

Suna – İnan Kıraç Research Institute on Mediterranean Civilizations:
www.akmed.kaleicimuzesi.com

Yeditepe University, Gastronomy and Culinary Arts Department: www.yeditepe.edu.tr

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